

**Lotus Pond, Bicultural Ripples:
The Psychological Orientations of Korean-Canadian Practitioners of
Buddhism**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines whether Buddhist beliefs and practices serve to reinforce and/or promote a Korean and/or Canadian cultural prism for next-generation Korean Buddhist practitioners in Toronto, Canada. I define Korean and Canadian cultural prisms based on the cross-cultural psychological framework of Individualism-Relational Collectivism (I-RC) and Analytical-Holistic (A-H) cognition. The aim of my research is to problematize culture in the construction of religious meaning and behaviour for relatively bicultural individuals. My research question can thus be summarized as follows: How is religious meaning and behaviour culturally constructed by next-generation Korean Buddhist practitioners in Canada? What role do individual cultural orientations and the different Buddhist cultural traditions play in this cultural construction and how does Buddhism compare to the other religions (namely Protestantism) practiced by younger-generation Korean-Canadians in this regard? By answering these questions, I ultimately hope to show whether the meaning system of Korean culture is preserved through religion among the younger generation of Korean Buddhist practitioners. I hypothesize that, due to the relatively non-authoritarian nature of Buddhism, the light of Buddhist beliefs and practices will predominantly be refracted through the *a priori* cultural prism of the individual in question, and the role of Buddhist doctrine and institutions in promoting a particular orientation (individualistic/relationally collectivistic and analytic/holistic) will be minimal and subordinate to the individual. The particular cultural orientation of this prism will, in turn, be dependent upon individual levels of monoculturalism (Korean *or* Canadian) or biculturalism (Korean *and* Canadian). In this way, Buddhism may serve to both preserve and undermine the Korean cultural meaning system. By comparison, I hypothesize that the relatively authoritarian nature of (Protestant) Christianity will likely encourage younger-generation Korean Christians to relate to their religion in a predominantly uniform way, regardless of the individual's cultural orientation.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Topic of Research

The integral role that religion plays in the preservation of ethnicity for immigrants has been well documented. Ethnic religious institutions have served as community centers of activities through which immigrants have been able to retain a sense of 'homeland' ethnicity in the host country on multiple levels, including social, cultural, economic and psychological. Since the latter half of the 20th century, there have been a growing number of East Asian immigrants to both Canada and the United States, where ethnic Chinese and Koreans now represent one of the largest visible minority groups. Consequently, an increasing amount of academic literature has focused on the religiosities of members of these groups. In the case of the immigrant Korean community, where Christians comprise the vast religious majority, the ethnic Protestant church in particular has prominently contributed to the preservation of Korean ethnicity among its first-generation members, as well as among members of the North America-raised younger generation, by providing them with the space in which to engage in co-ethnic fellowship and social networking and cultural activities.

On the other hand, very few studies have seriously looked at the religiosities of immigrant Korean Buddhists, the other prominent Korean religious community in North America. It has been argued that Korean Buddhism maintains one distinct advantage compared to Korean Christianity on the issue of retention and preservation of ethnicity: As an Asian religion that is deeply embedded in the culture of Korea, Buddhism is closely associated with traditional Korean culture. Hence, many first-generation Korean Buddhist immigrants are able to retain a strong sense of 'Koreanness' simply by

being Buddhist, which represents a more ‘authentic’ Korean identity compared to being Christian. To my knowledge, there are no comprehensive and in-depth academic studies that explore this issue in terms of the subsequent younger generation of Korean Buddhists in North America, despite this close cultural association. My research proposes to help fill some of this gap and need by examining the relationship between culture and religion for Korean Buddhists of this generational group within the context of Canada.

2. Previous Work in the Field & Theoretical Frameworks

Recent scholarly literature on immigration and religion in North America has focused on the “new” ethno-religious communities – East and South Asia, the Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America – where religion was found to be highly “salient” (Warner 1998) for members of these groups. That is, immigrant religious institutions and practices were found to serve multiple social, ethnocultural, economic and spiritual functions that buffer the acculturation process for immigrants in their new environment (Carnes and Yang 2004; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Warner and Wittner 1998). In particular, religion provided new immigrants with the space and means through which to engage in a negotiation of identity boundaries between the Old World and host country cultures (e.g. Kalbach & Richard 1990; McLellan 1999; McGown 1999). However, the importance attached to ethnicity and heritage culture appears to lessen among the younger subsequent generations, who prefer to affiliate themselves with more mainstream religious institutions and prioritize their religious over ethnic identities. These intergenerational religious differences and patterns were not unique to the new immigrant groups – parallels have been illustrated in the cases of early European and Japanese immigrants to Canada (Mol 1995; Mullins 1989).

Since the post-1960s liberalization of Canada and the United States’ restrictive European-based immigration laws, the ethnic Korean community has grown to become one of the largest visible minority groups in North America: It was the ninth largest in Canada in 2011 (Statistics Canada

2013b) with a population of 168,890 (including single and multiple ethnic origin responses; Statistics Canada 2013a) and the fifth-largest ethnic Asian group in America in 2010 with a population of over 1.7 million (including multiracial or multi-ethnic Koreans; Min 2013: 36-7). It is also a religiously unique community insofar as its religious demographics are in stark contrast to the religious patterns in the homeland. That is, Buddhists comprise 25 percent, Protestants 20 percent, and Roman Catholics 7 percent of the population of Korea (Min 2010: 36), making them the three largest religions in the country. According to the 2001 Canadian Census, however, approximately three-quarters of the Korean community in Canada are Christian – 32 percent Protestant, 25 percent Roman Catholic, 19 percent “other Christian” – while the minority is represented by a small Buddhist contingent that constitutes 3.81 percent of the overall community (Beyer 2010: 117).¹ Similarly, it is estimated that approximately three-quarters of Korean immigrants in the United States are Christian, the majority of whom are affiliated with the ethnic Protestant church (Kim and Kim 2001; Min 1992, 2010, 2013b), and Korean Buddhists comprise a fraction of the overall population.² The religious overrepresentation overseas of Korean Christians has been linked to a composite of factors, including the fact that most of the early Korean immigrants were Christian prior to immigrating due to the historical role of American and Canadian missionaries in facilitating the initial immigration of Korean Christians to North America; the fact that immigration largely attracted urban dwellers in Korea, where the vast majority of Christians reside; the popular Korean perception of the United States and Canada as traditionally Christian nations; and the fact that the early establishment of Korean Protestant churches as the de facto local Korean community centers also encouraged non-Christian Koreans to eventually convert to Christianity after immigrating (J.G. Kim 1984; Kim and Kim 2001; Min 2010, 2013b; Yoo n.d.).

¹ It should be noted that a significant portion of the ethnic Korean community in Canada – 20.3% or one-fifth – also claimed no religion (Beyer 2010: 117).

² While there appears to be a lack of available national statistics in the United States, Min (2013b) found that 8 percent of Koreans in New York that he interviewed in 2005 identified as Buddhist, while a survey conducted in the Korean community in Los Angeles in 1981 found that 5.3 percent of respondents identified as Buddhist (Yu 2001).

Due to its significant presence within the immigrant Korean community, it is not surprising that scholarly literature on the sociology of Korean religions in North America has focused predominantly on the experiences of the first and subsequent generations of Korean Protestants (Alumkal 2001; Chai 1998, 2001b; Couto 2000; Hurh and Kim 1990; J.G. Kim 1984; Kim & Kim 2001; Min 1992, 2005, 2010; Song 1997).³ While the church provides the first generation of Korean Christian immigrants with a socio-cultural space in which to adjust to immigrant life and engage in co-ethnic fellowship and social networking and cultural customs and practices, separate usually English-language congregations offer the more acculturated younger generation of Koreans a unique subcultural space in which to socialize with their co-ethnic peers who share bicultural dispositions and similar life experiences. A sense of Korean ethnicity is thus reinforced and solidified in this way. At the same time, however, some studies have shown that younger-generation Korean Protestants in the United States, who are mostly evangelical in religious orientation, are increasingly prioritizing religious activities, values and identities over Korean cultural activities, values and identities, especially in comparison to their parents' generation. Since Protestant Christianity is not an "indigenous" Korean religion and therefore lacks substantive and symbolic links to traditional Korean culture, this prioritization of "Christian universalism" over "ethnic particularism" can serve to weaken or undermine a sense of Korean ethnicity (Alumkal 2001; Chai 1998, 2001b; Min 2005, 2010).

A growing body of sociological, historical and ethnographic literature on the immigrant Korean Buddhist community in North America has emerged in recent years (Baker 2010; Chai 2001a; Kwon 2003; Min 2013b; Soeng 1998; Suh 2004; Yu 2001). While the Buddhist temple plays a similar social and spiritually supportive role for its members as the Christian church, the extreme intra-ethnic minority status of Korean Buddhist immigrants in North America, lack of social programs in the temple, and relatively low levels of congregationalism – the frequency in which members participate in temple services and activities – translate into less opportunities for Korean Buddhists to build co-

³ Sociologist of religion Peter Beyer has noted that, in general, the literature on the religiosities of the younger (second) generation of migrants in the United States is disproportionately about Christians (Beyer 2013b: 293).

ethnic social and business networks and engage in co-ethnic fellowship. In addition, because most of the leadership roles in immigrant Korean Buddhist temples are reserved for monastics, the temple does not offer its immigrant male lay members, who are often forced to accept work in the host country that does not reflect their educational and professional backgrounds, as many opportunities for upward social mobility as the Korean Protestant church, where male congregants can hold honorary positions such as elder or deacon (Suh 2004).

In spite of the relative lack of social benefits offered in the Korean Buddhist community, many Korean Buddhist immigrants feel that being Buddhist also means being loyal to traditional Korean culture, especially in the transplanted environment, and represents a more “authentic” Korean identity than being Christian (Suh 2004). This is because Buddhism in Korea has substantively incorporated elements of traditional Korean culture (as well as contributed to its development) throughout its more than 1,600-year history on the peninsula, and thus its aesthetics, rituals and practices (e.g. temple architecture, use of classical Sinitic language in the liturgy, celebration of traditional Korean holidays and use of the lunar calendar) are highly symbolic of Korean culture. Indeed, the immigrant Korean Buddhist temple is also said to recreate an ‘authentic’ cultural space – a “Korean oasis” (Chai 2001a: 276) – insofar as many of the religious artifacts and texts have been imported from Korea. By comparison, the Protestant Christian tradition was introduced into Korea relatively recently at the end of the nineteenth century and has incorporated significantly less Korean cultural elements. As sociologist Pyong Gap Min (2010) has noted, participation in the religious rituals of Korean Buddhism alone (whether at home or the temple) can thus promote a strong sense of Korean ethnic identity among adherents, while Korean Christian immigrants maintain ethnic identity only through active participation in the church, where Korean cultural customs and activities are practiced and held independent of the religious liturgy.

Little scholarly attention has been paid to the subsequent and younger generation of Korean Buddhists in North America, who are largely treated as an academic afterthought within the larger

context of the first generation. This is not unexpected given that second-generation Korean Buddhists appear to be discarding their inherited religious identities in drastic numbers (Beyer 2010) or rarely participate in the religious services and activities of the local Korean Buddhist temple, the latter of which has been attributed to a variety of factors such as the lack of co-ethnic peers, available English-language facilities and, ironically, the ‘authentically Korean’ cultural environment of the temple that is perceived to be foreign to the younger generation who predominantly grew up in the West (Chai 2001a; Kim 2008; Suh 2004; Yu 2001). Since the ethnic Korean Christian church offers greater opportunities for co-ethnic fellowship and socialization, some have even converted to Christianity (Chai 2001a; Suh 2004). Have most inherited Korean Buddhist young adults in Canada and the United States, then, converted to Christianity? Or have many abandoned religion altogether?

Limitations of Buddhist Statistics

A review of both the sociological literature on contemporary Buddhism in the West and immigrant Korean Buddhism in North America, however, raises the distinct possibility that, not only may many of the younger generation of Korean Buddhists in North America have retained their inherited religiosities but in alternative institutional or largely non-institutional forms, next-generation Koreans from non-Buddhist backgrounds may be substantively engaged in Buddhism without religiously identifying as Buddhist. The universal and practical benefits of Buddhist meditation for modern ailments such as stress have been touted in the mainstream media and literature in the West, in particular by psychologists and psychotherapists, in the latter half of the twentieth century (see, for example, Kornfield 1993; Epstein 1995; Fromm et al. 1960; Kabat-Zinn 1990, 2005). This has precipitated the establishment of large numbers of “Buddhist-inspired” (Sumegi 2005: 94) meditation centers in North America that have further stripped Buddhism of both its religiousness and ‘Asianness’ by focusing almost exclusively on the non-sectarian, universalistic and practical qualities of the Buddhist teachings and practices. As a result, they have attracted significant numbers of European Western ‘converts’ to the centers who are either seeking the health benefits of meditation or

an intellectual alternative to their inherited (usually Judeo-Christian) systems of thought, minus the trappings of religious devotionism and congregationalism. Many of them, however, do not self-identify as Buddhist or subscribe to its cosmological belief system, mostly preferring to maintain their inherited religious status or their skepticism of or aversion for institutional religion in general by self-identifying either as atheist or as having no religious affiliation at all (e.g. Fields 1981; Sumegi 2005; Tweed 2002; Wallace 2002).

As a result, the ‘Buddhist’ demographic in the West includes religiously unaffiliated practitioners, including “sympathizers” (those having sympathy for Buddhism but do not embrace it exclusively); “hyphenated identities” such as “JewBu” (both a practicing Buddhist and religious Jew); and “lukewarm Buddhists” (practice more at some times of the year than others) (Tweed 2002). From a qualitative standpoint, this has important implications for it means that official statistics invariably underrepresent the number of practicing Buddhists and thus undervalue the level of interest in Buddhism among the general populace. As American studies scholar Thomas Tweed noted (2002), the United States is estimated to have hundreds of thousands of unaffiliated Buddhist meditators and millions of people in France, which officially claims six hundred thousand Buddhists, are said to be influenced by the religion. This trend of individualized religious behaviour and syncretism and de-emphasis on institutional religious affiliation among Western Buddhist practitioners in the West has led scholars to pose the question of “Who is a Buddhist?” and call for a redefinition of what it means to be Buddhist in the contemporary era (Campbell 2010; Nattier 1998; Tweed 2002).

The substantive presence of practitioners of Buddhism (among other religions) from non-Buddhist backgrounds in North America is further suggested – both theoretically and in reality – by studies in “lived religions.” These studies have shown that eclectic religious behaviour at the individual level is the norm rather than the exception: In distinguishing between the concept of lived and official religion, Meredith McGuire (2008), David Hall (1997), and Robert Orsi (1999) have argued that the religiosities of ordinary people in the context of their everyday lives are rarely neatly

congruent with the “prescribed religion of institutionally defined beliefs and practices” (McGuire 2008: 12). The religious realities of ordinary people, especially in modern societies, are never monolithic, fixed or coherent as they usually consist of an eclectic mix of religio-spiritual practices that individuals have creatively adapted and assembled in accordance with their continuously changing needs and social contexts.⁴ Culturally resonant and indigenous spiritualities are oftentimes incorporated into this eclectic mix. Ethnographic studies in lived religion that examined how North Americans actually engaged in religion in their everyday lives described cases of Christians, Jews and the religiously non-affiliated (“religious nones”) who incorporated Buddhist meditation into their religiosities because it helped them to become self-aware and “fully present” (McGuire 2008: 104) and, in some cases, even enhanced their understanding of their inherited traditions.⁵

As active consumers and participants of mainstream North American culture and social trends, it is reasonable to assume that the acculturated younger generation of non-Buddhist Koreans in Canada and America may have also taken an active interest in Buddhist meditation and/or philosophy while retaining their original religious/non-religious identity. Indeed, in her ethnographic study of immigrant Koreans associated with a Korean temple in Boston, sociologist Karen Chai noted that both Buddhism’s philosophical tradition as well as its close association with Korean culture has engendered a sense of religious duality among some Korean immigrants – “they may consider themselves Christian but explore Buddhism as a part of their cultural heritage or as a philosophical tradition” (Chai 2001a: 289). One of Chai’s informants was also a younger-generation Korean male of no religious background who took up Buddhist meditation at the local Western meditation center and who identified as a “practicing Buddhist” (286).

⁴ Given claims that a substantial portion of younger-generation Korean Christians in Canada are nominal Christians who do not regularly attend church (Couto 2000), one promising area of future research would be to explore the potential “lived” and eclectic religio-spiritual practices of members of this group.

⁵ In her study on Jewish Buddhists, or “JewBus,” anthropologist of religion Anne Vallely described how the practice of mindfulness meditation (Buddhism’s “reflexive nature”) has provided the means through which post-modern Jews have radically reinterpreted their relationship to Jewish ritual and has brought them back to mainstream Judaism (Vallely 2008).

In addition, with the increasing availability of English-language Buddhist meditation centers and literature in the West, the younger generation of inherited Korean Buddhists may have chosen to leave the ethnic Korean temple of their parents for these more culturally-viable Westernized forms and centers of Buddhism. Again, due to the de-emphasis on religiousness in the Western discourse on Buddhism, as well as the fact that their standards for what constitutes an adherent of Buddhism may be based on their parents' cultural and devotional form of Buddhist practice, inherited Korean Buddhists who are engaged in Westernized forms of Buddhism may be reluctant to wholly and fully identify as Buddhist.⁶ This kind of behaviour of not self-identifying with a particular religion in whose practices one engages is common among members of the Chinese immigrant community, many for whom the practices and rituals of Buddhism play significant roles in their daily lives but claim no particular religious affiliation because their standards for considering oneself an “adherent” of a religion are different than traditional Western ones (Beyer 2010; Lai et al. 2005).

(1) Cross-Cultural Psychological Theoretical Framework

Most of the sociological studies on immigrant Korean religions in North America discussed above address the issue of preservation of Korean ethnicity through religion to various extents. Ethnic preservation, in turn, is normally evaluated and measured in these studies based on the three major functional characteristics of immigrant ethnic groups as defined by sociologist Milton Gordon (1964): First, the ethnic group serves to reinforce a sense of belonging to the particular group – a “sense of peoplehood” (23-4) – for its individual members; second, it serves as a social vehicle through which members are able to confine all of their primary (and some secondary) relationships to their own ethnic group throughout the various stages of the “life cycle” (34); and third, it functions to reinforce an ethnocultural prism through which mainstream cultural patterns of behaviour and values are

⁶ On a similar note, religious studies scholar Sharon Suh has stated that many first-generation Korean Buddhists in the United States are also reluctant to claim a Buddhist religious identity in public “out of concern over social and business relationships with co-ethnic Christians” (Suh 2004: 4). It may be possible that the younger generation of inherited Korean Buddhists harbor similar sentiments out of concern for their social relationships with co-ethnic Christians. This may influence many of them to avoid asserting a Buddhist identity publicly, such as in official questionnaires, even though they may still self-identify as Buddhist in private.

refracted (38). Min (2010: 7) has characterized the nature of these three functions as psychological, social and cultural, respectively. The application of this conceptual apparatus to the study of immigrant Korean religions and ethnic retention has been facilitated by an active and substantial ethnic membership base, whereby specific activities within, for example, the space of the immigrant Korean Protestant church such as co-ethnic fellowship, social networking and the practice of traditional cultural customs become accessible boundary markers for measuring preservation of Korean ethnicity. Such an approach to the study of ethnic retention among the younger generation of Korean practitioners of Buddhism in North America, however, would not be entirely adequate and applicable since it appears a significant number of them are not active in their local ethnic temples and/or are associated with non-Korean (i.e. Western) Buddhist groups.

The development of the cross-cultural psychological theoretical framework based on individualism-collectivism (I-C) and analytic-holistic (A-H)⁷ cognition, however, offers a method through which retention of Korean culture – that is, the third functional characteristic of ethnicity as defined by Gordon – can be measured in other meaningful and, particularly in the case of the younger generation of Korean Buddhist practitioners, more *inclusive* ways without privileging active institutional attendance, participation and membership. First, culture is defined here as

sets of assumptions that are widely (though not universally) shared by a group of people, existing both in individual minds and in public artifacts, institutions, and practices. At the individual level, these cultural models provide implicit blueprints of how to think, feel, and act. When people act according to these blueprints, they reproduce the public models, thereby perpetuating the cultural context from which both were derived (Snibbe and Markus 2005: 704).

The I-C/A-H cross-cultural construct (see Chapter Three for an in-depth discussion concerning its theoretical and empirical foundations) asserts that, relative to European North Americans, East Asians (Koreans, Chinese, Japanese), or those predominantly raised in a Sinitic culture fundamentally shaped by the traditional Eastern philosophical systems of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism which

⁷ For simplicity, I will hereafter refer to the “Individualism-Relational Collectivism” and “Analytic-Holistic” theoretical model in the abbreviated form of “I-C” and “A-H,” unless otherwise noted.

emphasize interconnectedness, are more likely to organize the world around them in *relational collectivist* terms; that is, they tend to view the world and its components as being fundamentally interdependent and interrelated (Brewer and Chen 2007; Choi and Choi 2002; Heine 2001; Markus and Kitayama; 1991; Snibbe and Markus 1995; Triandis 1986). This fundamental worldview, in turn, serves as building blocks for the formation of particular cognitive patterns among members of that culture or society that can be characterized as *holistic*, defined as the mental inclination to perceive the world contextually, that is, primarily in terms of the relationship between a focal object and its surrounding context, and reason about world events based primarily on intuition and personal experience (Buchtel and Norenzayan 2008; Choi and Nisbett 1998; Ji et al. 2001; Nisbett 2003; Nisbett et al. 2001; Norenzayan 2005; Norenzayan et al. 2002; Peng and Nisbett 1999). In contrast, North Americans (Canadians/Americans), or those raised in a culture fundamentally shaped by the traditional atomistic philosophical systems of the ancient Greeks and Western Europe, are more likely to organize the world around them in primarily *individualistic* terms; that is, they generally tend to view the world as being fundamentally comprised of independent, autonomous and discrete parts. This worldview, in turn, activates particular cognitive patterns among members of that culture or society that can be characterized as *analytic*, defined as the inclination to perceive the world in terms of a focal object as autonomous and distinct from its context (situation), and reason about world events based on decontextualized and abstract properties and rules.

More specifically, the I-C/A-H cross-cultural theoretical framework defines the prioritized North American and East Asian worldview, or attitudinal orientations, in terms of the three basic dimensions of *self-representations* (i.e. Who am I? Who are we?), *beliefs* (i.e. How does the physical and social world work?) and *values* (i.e. How should things be and what is the right course of behaviour?); and their prioritized cognitive orientations in terms of the four dimensions of *causal attribution* (i.e. How individuals explain events), *modes of reasoning* (i.e. How individuals reason about the convincingness of arguments), *conflict resolution* (i.e. How individuals solve problems and

resolve conflicts), and *event movement perception* (i.e. How individuals perceive the direction, and nature of change, of events). This can be summarized in the following two tables:

Table 1.1 Canadian vs. Korean Cultural Worldview

Worldview/ Attitudinal Orientation	Self-representations	Agency Beliefs	Values
Individualism (Canada)	Individual uniqueness, core essence, consistency	Belief in individual agency and responsibility as basis for achievement	Self-interest primary, pursuing personal preferences, self- actualization, freedom, independence
Relational Collectivism (Korea)	Close relationships define the self, other`s outcomes are my outcomes	Role responsibilities determine behaviour, achievement requires interdependence	Responsiveness to others` needs, listening to their advice, maintaining harmony in relationships

Table 1.2 Canadian vs. Korean Cultural Cognitive Orientation

Cognitive Orientation	Causal Attribution	Mode of Reasoning	Conflict Resolution	Event Movement Perception
Analytic (Canada)	Explanation of events based on individual disposition, abstract rules/categories	Formal logic/ rule-based reasoning	“Either/or” approach	Linear
Holistic (Korea)	Explanation of events based on relationship with the field/context	Experience/ intuition-based reasoning	“Both/and” approach	Cyclical

In short, the I-C/A-H theoretical model characterizes traditional East Asian and Western culture in terms of *fundamental psychological patterns* – or what anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) characterized as cultural *meaning systems* that act as interpretative frames or refractive prisms through which members of that particular culture make sense of the world around them. In the context of my research, this framework provides specific criteria from which to measure degrees of retention of Korean culture, specifically its meaning system of relational collectivism and holism, in the

attitudinal and cognitive approach to religion of Korean-Canadian Buddhist practitioners. Their attitudinal and cognitive approach to religion, in turn, can be defined by the individual's approach to the practice of Buddhism (whether conducted in connection with a group/institution or independently) and understanding and interpretation of Buddhism's belief system.

1.5 vs. Second-Generation Koreans

The I-C/A-H cross-cultural model also contends that Asian-Canadians and Asian-Americans, the children of the first generation of Asian immigrants who grow up in an East Asian family culture and local ethnic community but within the larger context of North American society, are likely to hold and exhibit a bicultural blend of Eastern and Western worldviews and thought patterns that are intermediate in intensity and priority between those of native East Asians and European North Americans. Degrees of bicultural psychological orientations will, in turn, vary significantly between individuals within this group depending on several variables, including age and period of immigration, countries of formal education, family culture, participation in transnational and local ethnic community activities, and Asian/English-language proficiency. Indeed, sociological, anthropological and language-acquisition studies on Korean-Canadians/Americans have generally divided members of this generational group into the two subgroups of "1.5 generation" and "second generation" based on certain cultural-linguistic differences (Baker 2008; K. Park 1999; J. C. Lee and Cynn 1991). Second-generation Korean-Canadians and Korean-Americans are those who were born in North America or migrated with their parents as an infant (before the start of formal education) and spent all of their formative years in the West. 1.5-generation Koreans are generally those who migrated to North America with their parents later in age, usually as a child or adolescent and after receiving some formal education in the homeland, and spent their developmental years in both Korea and North America (although usually more time in the latter). I would like to note that, in comparison to the age range of immigration employed by the aforementioned authors, my own research uses a highly expanded definition of the 1.5 generation to include Korean immigrants who have come to Canada in

their twenties. Due to their extensive socialization in North America, second-generation Koreans are relatively Anglicized and ‘Westernized’ in cultural orientation in comparison to members of the latter group.⁸ Due to their socialization in both Korea and North America, 1.5-generation Koreans are relatively bilingual and bicultural (K. Park 1999; J.S. Park 2004) and thus ‘caught between two worlds’ because they feel neither ‘fully’ Korean nor Western in their cultural orientation (Baker 2008; Kim and Duff 2012).

It is important to note that most 1.5-generation Koreans are relatively recent migrants who came to North America mostly beginning in the latter half of the 1990s, within a socio-historical and economic context that was conducive to maintaining Korean ethnicity on multiple levels. That is, the development of various technologies over the past two decades that has led to a “greater and more intense global communicative connectivity” (Beyer 2013: 9), the increased economic wealth of recent Korean immigrant families, the continued flow of Korean immigration to North America and the subsequent rise in Korean cultural zones (e.g. Koreatowns) and local ethnic businesses has provided recent Korean-Canadian and Korean-American immigrants with more opportunities to engage in transnational activities, co-ethnic socialization and fellowship, and communicate in the Korean language while growing up (Kim and Duff 2012). Insofar as they were socialized to some extent in the homeland prior to migrating, 1.5-generation Koreans have been better positioned to enhance a Korean cultural orientation within this conducive socio-historical environment than the second generation, who are relatively Anglicized and ‘Westernized’ (Baker 2008).

⁸ The corresponding link between levels of “Westernization” in the individual and individualistic religious attitudes was reinforced in a recent study by Peter Beyer (2013a) on the religiosities and experiences of Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist young adults of recent immigrant background in Canada. Research participants were shown to be well integrated into Canadian society (“Westernized”) and exhibited far more individualistic tendencies than relationalistic ones in their approach to their religions: “There was very little evidence of the attitude “I do this because we [our cultural or religious group] do this” and much more of “I do this because I have decided for myself (or have discovered for myself, through my own efforts)” that this is the correct thing to do” (Beyer 2013a: 56, brackets mine).

Buddhism & Collectivism-Holism

Most of the systematic and comprehensive studies linking religion and Individualism-Collectivism focus on the Abrahamic faiths of, among others, Christianity and Roman Catholicism (Cohen & Hill 2007; Cohen, Hall et al. 2005; Weber 1905). In addition, these studies exclusively measure the individualistic/relational collectivistic attitudinal orientations (i.e. worldview) of the religious cultures in question; there is no comprehensive and systematic examination of their thought systems in terms of the analytic-holistic binary. Protestantism, in particular American Protestantism, is an exemplar of an individualistic religious culture because of its emphasis on the autonomy of the individual – the religion promotes the view that “salvation occurs as a process between an individual and God and is not mediated by the Church” (Cohen and Hill 2007: 710), an approach that has been generally characterized as the “priesthood of all believers.” Protestant religious identity and practice is therefore founded on the ideals of personal agency and responsibility.⁹ In comparison, Roman Catholicism is characterized as an exemplar of a collectivistic religious culture because it places greater importance on “religious symbols, corporate worship, and communal religious identity,” whereby the religious community forms an integral element of religious life (Cohen and Hill 2007). For example, Roman Catholics value the mediate role of the religious clergy and/or religious ritual and tradition, the latter of which are seen as instruments through which to create a strong sense of group identity and collective bonds.

When we consider that religion is not “universal” insofar as it is both a product of and a contributor to the culture from which it originated, it is reasonable to assume that the belief system and practices of Buddhism would reinforce the social psychological orientations that is said to be

⁹ In his seminal work, *The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, the classical social theorist Max Weber discussed in great length about how this individualistic emphasis on personal agency and responsibility (“work ethic”) in Protestantism significantly contributed to the development of capitalism in Europe (Weber 1958).

characteristic of members of East Asian culture.¹⁰ An examination of a scattering of extant philosophical, sociological and, to a lesser extent, cultural psychological research on Buddhism suggests that its traditional religious beliefs, practices and institutions appear to reflect and promote both relationalistic worldviews/attitudes and holistic thinking. For example, the traditional hierarchical division of roles between the religious clergy or elites and laity evident in some Asian Buddhist institutions reinforces an interdependent approach to religious achievement: The soteriological practice of meditation and knowledge of the scriptures are traditionally pursued by Buddhist monastics while the laity primarily serve the Buddhist clergy and engage in merit-making rituals and activities for the purposes of a more desirable rebirth (Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988; Faure 2009: 44-45; Seager 1999: 23). In addition, one of the central tenets of Mahayana Buddhism, one of the major traditions of Buddhism that historically developed in East Asia, is the Bodhisattva ideal. This concept describes the ideal Buddhist (“Bodhisattva” or “enlightened being”) as one who ‘postpones’ his/her salvation or Nirvana in order to remain in the world to help other less-realized individuals along the spiritual path. This ideal emphasizes the interdependent nature of spiritual achievement over an independent one (Faure 2009: 34-35).¹¹

Second, the Buddhist worldview of the transmigration of the soul (*samsara*) that journeys on rounds of existence governed by the law of cause and effect (karma) is based on a belief in the interdependence of all physical and non-physical phenomena – what is known as the principle of Dependent Origination. The Buddhist world is therefore an “organically structured world where all of its parts are interdependent” and intimately interrelated as causes and effects (Ratanakul 2004: 162;

¹⁰ On this point, Buddhist scholar Bernard Faure points out that it would be “mistaken to believe that [any such religious entity] transcends the cultural framework. If the absolute, or whatever passes for it, happens to manifest itself, it always does so in an eminently concrete fashion. It is not just that its linguistic expression, a posteriori, fashions it according to cultural norms. Right from the start, the latter informs all perception, be it normal or supranormal” (Faure 2004: 16, brackets mine).

¹¹ Incidentally, the Bodhisattva ideal contrasts with the concept of the elite Arhat idealized in Theravada Buddhism, one of the other major traditions of Buddhism presently found predominantly in Southeast Asia. According to Faure, the Arhat has traditionally been disparagingly depicted in Mahayana Buddhist literature as an individual who practices only for himself in order to reach nirvana as quickly as possible; the compassionate Bodhisattva, on the other hand, “aspires to become a Buddha only to guide all other beings towards Awakening, and refuses salvation if it is only individual” (Faure 2009: 34).

Ch'en 1968: 223; Fischer-Schreiber, Ehrhard, and Diener 1991: 172).¹² To this point, Buddhist scholar Bernard Faure has argued that the Mahayana Buddhist emphasis on the emptiness of nature (i.e. empty of an inherently fixed, abiding and permanent nature) based on the principle of Dependent Origination historically counterbalanced the rugged individuality of Buddhist monastics, who had left the world and its social relationships behind in their solitary quest for spiritual enlightenment, by leading them to the realization of the relativity of the individual – that is, it engendered a “strong consciousness of [the monk’s] “position” within the social or religious hierarchy” (Faure 1993: 256-57, brackets mine). Third, social psychologist Richard Nisbett (2003) has argued that one of the prominent characteristics of holistic thought is a cyclical perception of the direction of events in the world: Since holistic perspectives see “more of the field” and “notice so much,” this engenders a view of the world as an exceptionally complex and intricate place where change is the rule and stability the exception; hence, “the greater the number of factors operating, the greater the likelihood that some variable will alter the rate of change or even reverse its direction” (Nisbett 2003: 103-09, 200). The Buddhist cosmology of cyclical *samsara* serves to reinforce a holistic view of the world in this respect. The holistic thinker’s tendency to view the world as exceptionally complex and highly situation-specific also engenders another prominent feature of holistic cognition – modes of reasoning based on one’s concrete experiences of things (Nisbett 2003; Nisbett et al. 2001; Norenzayan 1999; Norenzayan et al. 2002). Buddhism’s traditional method of propagation of “*ehi passiko*” (“come and see for yourself”), which discourages acceptance of Buddhist teachings on blind faith and encourages validation through direct and personal experience, serves to reinforce this experience-based mode of reasoning.

¹² This relational collectivistic and interdependent worldview is further reflected in the concrete practices of many Asian Buddhist traditions today, in which a sense of relatedness, indebtedness and duty are constantly reinforced. For example, a homily is given before every Dharma Talk by Tibetan Buddhist teachers in which students are reminded that “all sentient beings have been related to us and been kind to us in the past, and we therefore owe them a debt of gratitude. Out of this gratitude, we practice with the aspiration to be able to assist others in their wish to be free from suffering and established in happiness” (Aronson 2004: 30)

Fifth, the traditional lack of emphasis on exclusive religious membership in Buddhism, wherein one can be both a Buddhist and Confucian or Buddhist and Christian at the same time, is said to be symptomatic of a holistic “both/and” philosophy. That is, the “Middle Way” between extreme propositions (i.e. “either/or”) is emphasized based on the philosophical view that individual parts or apparent contradictions are fundamentally interdependent and exist only in relationship to other parts; thus all things in the world have only relative and pragmatic value rather than an absolute one (Nisbett 2003: 174-76, 199-200).¹³ Finally, the foundational Buddhist meditation practice of mindfulness meditation is said to heighten the individual’s awareness and perception of the inherent relational and interconnected nature of reality, both within the self and without. For example, the practice of mindfulness meditation teaches the meditator to observe and “scan” her/his arising thoughts and the bodily physical reactions they engender, which promotes “whole” or “full” awareness and understanding of the self as comprised of both the mind and body as mutually informing wholes rather than merely discrete parts (Gunaratana 2002; Kabat-Zinn 1994, 2005; Ratanakul 2004: 163). The practice of “loving-kindness” meditation, which is especially prominent in the Southeast Asian Theravada Buddhist and Tibetan Buddhist traditions, encourages the meditator to cultivate thoughts of loving-kindness first for oneself, followed by one’s friends, then for strangers, and finally for one’s enemies. As Wallace points out, the aim of such a meditation is to “break down all barriers to loving-kindness, so that one can embrace all sentient beings in a spirit of affection and friendliness” (Wallace 2002: 39). In addition, as previously discussed, the aim of this meditation is to elicit “deep gratitude” for all sentient beings, who have all been related to the self at one point in the past, which in turn breeds an “un-selfconsciousness” and a sense of connection to others (Rubin 1996: 77). Ethnographic case studies have similarly highlighted the efficacy of meditation in cultivating a

¹³ Concrete examples of this are the pre-modern Korean religious landscape, where people were free to traverse between and simultaneously participate in the “religions” of Buddhism, Shamanism, Confucianism and Daoism without a sense of exclusive religious affiliation (Baker 2006: 257-264); and contemporary Lao Buddhists in North America, who were comfortable attending Buddhist merit-making services on Saturday and Christian services on Sunday since they saw no apparent conflict between the two religions (Van Esterik 1992).

consciousness of interconnectedness with others and the outside world (Seager 1999: 147; Campbell 2009: 134-141).¹⁴

Hence, the central tenets and religious culture of Buddhism appear to “take the East Asian cultural vision of interconnection and extend it to all human beings,” essentially universalizing the particularistic East Asian cultural emphases on a sense of connection and gratitude toward others (Aronson 2004: 16-31)¹⁵. Insofar as the Buddhist worldview and practices parallel or “universalize” traditional East Asian/Korean cultural psychological orientations, Buddhism arguably represents a vehicle through which such an orientation would be reinforced or promoted among those who are engaged in its religious culture, belief system and/or meditational practices. In other words, engagement in Buddhist practices and Buddhism’s belief systems alone would seem to promote and preserve a relational collectivistic worldview and holistic thought process, orientations that have been closely associated with traditional Korean culture.¹⁶

Two Buddhisms & Religious Authoritarianism

There are, however, two prominent arguments that undermine this likelihood in the case of younger-generation Korean-Canadian practitioners of Buddhism. First, as alluded to above, Buddhist traditions in the West have been broadly divided into the “Two Buddhisms” of

¹⁴ In an interesting ethnographic study of Western Buddhists in Toronto associated with Tibetan Buddhist traditions for her Ph.D. thesis, Patricia Campbell showed – among other things – how Buddhist meditation, along with Buddhist lectures and talks, counteracted negative affective states such as “selfishness or self-cherishing” and engendered a more holistic and interrelated worldview over time among some of her research subjects. For example, “Gwen” spoke about how meditation helped her to feel more “connected to something really good in the world” while “Carol” said it helped her to “reconnect with the responsibility that I require in my life towards myself and the world around me” (Campbell 2009: 134-141).

¹⁵ Epstein describes the typical East Asian “self” as one that is psychologically “enmeshed” in a web of relationships, which is, in fact, conducive to the goals of Buddhist meditation (Epstein 1995).

¹⁶ Moreover, cross-cultural studies in individualism-collectivism and research methodology have shown that “priming” – the act of introducing an iconic image associated with a particular culture (e.g. Mickey Mouse or Marilyn Monroe for Western culture) to the research participant – can significantly bias the responses of bicultural individuals who are capable of retrieving and accessing “multicultural selves” and cultural frames of reference in terms of one of the orientations (see, for example, Hong et al. 1997, 2000; Benet-Martinez et al. 2002). Given that Buddhism in general is closely associated with and symbolic of Asian culture, it can be argued that questions regarding their Buddhist practice and interpretations may ‘cue’ bicultural members of the younger generation of Korean Buddhists and practitioners to perceive, reason and behave in a decidedly ‘Eastern’ manner.

traditionalist or “ethnic Asian,” and modernist or “Western” Buddhism (e.g. Baumann 2002; McLellan 1999: 24-25; Prebish 1978; Seager 2002). The traditionalist Buddhist traditions in North America, which are characteristic of Buddhist temples that cater to first-generation ethnic Asian congregations, retain the traditional cosmological worldview and belief systems, ritualism and devotionism, and meditational practices of Buddhism. For example, the ethnic Asian temples and centers normally recognize and accept the cosmology of samsara and karma and adhere to the hierarchical division of roles between the religious clergy and laity. In contrast, modernist forms of Buddhism in North America, characteristic of Buddhist centers that target Westerners, differ from traditionalist forms in that the former’s religious priorities and interpretations carry a high degree of compatibility with Western cultural assumptions, views and ethos; in this sense, some have argued Buddhism has been “Protestantized” (Baumann 2002: 61; Faure 2009: 4; Mellor 1991). Specifically, the religious cultures of modernist Buddhist groups and centers have been characterized as saliently individualistic in approach and, implicitly, ‘analytic’ (by the criteria of the present cross-cultural framework) in doctrinal orientation (Baumann 2002; Bechert 1984; Seager 1999; Tweed 1992; Wallace 2002). More specifically, belief in the cosmology of reincarnation, karma and nirvana are de-emphasized, if not outright rejected, by both Western teachers and students, alongside an emphasis on only the rational, scientific and scriptural elements of Buddhist philosophy (Bauman 2002);¹⁷ the Buddhist meditational practices are utilized for non-soteriological, pragmatic and psychological purposes such as improvement of individual health and welfare and the heightening of one’s awareness of personal feelings as well as sense of individuality – rather than for purely religious experiences (Aronson 2004; Seager 1999); and the role of Buddhist monastics is diminished alongside an

¹⁷ This emphasis on the rational, scientific and scriptural elements of Buddhist philosophy is consistent with the aforementioned characteristics of analytic thinking, which prioritizes a rule- or principle-based approach to reasoning. To this point, Bernard Faure contends that Western Buddhist practitioners (“Western experts of Buddhism”) assume the traditional Buddhist position of placing emphasis on personal experience over doctrine but “tend to take refuge behind doctrinal generalities when questioned about their *own* experiences” (Faure 2004: 10, *italics mine*).

increasing spirit of egalitarianism, an increasingly gender-neutral and laity-centered approach, and a decentralization of doctrinal authority (Wallace 2002).¹⁸ In this respect, Western cultural values and predispositions are embedded in modernist and Western Buddhist organizations and, as a result, “particularized” Western psychological patterns are reinforced among members (Aronson 2004: 20), which potentially include the next generation of Korean-Canadian Buddhist practitioners.¹⁹

Second, it has been shown that Buddhism can also encourage an individualistic religious and social orientation among its adherents. In his comparative analysis of degrees of religious authoritarianism in four major world religions – Roman Catholicism, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism – Donald Smith asserted that the Buddhist tradition in general is a religion that exhibits very low levels of “dogmatic authority,” “directive authority” and the “institutionalization of authority” (Smith 1970: 169-200). Dogmatic authority is defined as the extent or “nature of the truth claims made in a religious system that condition the individual to perceive the world in a particular way,” wherein the nature of the truth claims can range from absolutist (“unqualified assertions of absolute truth”) on the highest end of the continuum to “endless pluralism and relativism” on the lowest; Directive authority is defined as the comprehensiveness of the moral regulations of a religious system that govern members’ behaviour and lives, and the

¹⁸ In his study of how the Zen tradition in North America has been markedly “Westernized,” Buddhist scholar David McMahan showed that the rigid routines of traditional monasteries as well as the traditional strict hierarchies and the authority of the Zen Master were de-emphasized in the West and primarily portrayed as iconoclastic and individualistic (McMahan 2002: 221).

¹⁹ It should be noted, however, that so-called ethnic and Western Buddhist traditions themselves are not monolithic and static categories. Many ethnic and Western Buddhist groups in North America are marked by a tension between traditionalist and modernist elements – namely monasticism versus lay membership, individual meditation practice vs. communal activities, pragmatism vs. devotionism and ritualism, emphasis on the rationalism of Buddhist philosophy vs. belief in the traditional cosmology (Baumann 2002; Seager 1999; Wallace 2002). Moreover, Hori (2010) and Soucy (2010) also showed that the character and practices of Western Buddhism are, in fact, products of globalization and global networks that have their origins in “ethnic” or Asian Buddhist traditions that were responding to the process of modernization in Asia long ago. Hence, they argue that the dichotomy of “ethnic” and “Western” Buddhism is a misleading one. My use of these terms in the analysis of my research participants in chapter four and five is in reference to the primary language of the Buddhist services (Korean/English) and the predominant ethnicities of the particular congregation (Korean/non-Korean or non-Asian), and does not presuppose their respective degrees of traditionalism and modernism.

institutionalization of authority refers to the degree to which the first two types of “authorities” are reinforced and enforced by an authoritative structure, i.e. ecclesiastical organizations (Smith 1970: 175). In the case of Buddhism, Smith characterized the extent to which adherence and acceptance of religious dogma (dogmatic authority) and moral rules and regulations (directive authority) are traditionally reinforced and enforced among Buddhist laity by the monastic order (institutionalization of authority) as very low or negligible, allotting it a score of 1, 0, and 0, respectively, on a scale of 0-3, with 0 representing the lowest level and 3 the highest (Smith 1970: 176).²⁰ This low level of authoritarianism consequently encourages Buddhists to be self-reliant and independent in both their religious and social behaviour, and Buddhism can thus be characterized as an individual-centered religion.²¹ Buddhism (as well as Hinduism) stood at the opposite end from Roman Catholicism, which was characterized as exhibiting very high levels of authoritarianism, scoring 3 in terms of all three dimensions, although Pyong Gap Min has argued that the liberalization of the Catholic Church since Smith published his findings in the 1970s would render a lower score today (Min 2010: 24). Min also argued that the level of dogmatic authority of evangelical Protestant Christianity, which was missing in Smith’s analysis, is very high and its score on Smith’s scale would be higher than that of Roman Catholicism.

These two arguments notwithstanding, there is nonetheless important socio-historical and theoretical evidence highlighting the salient relationalistic (collectivistic) and holistic orientations

²⁰ Smith’s contentions regarding the dogmatic, regulatory and institutional flexibility of Buddhism are consistent with literature elsewhere. For example, Buddhist scholar Bernard Faure argued that, in contrast to Christianity, which is defined by dogma and orthodoxy, Buddhism does not strictly emphasize dogma or orthodoxy but “at most speaks of orthopraxy or correct practice. It could be argued that there is not one Buddhism but rather several. This plurality is due in part to the absence of a central authority” (Faure 2009: 88).

²¹ In her ethnographic study of first-generation immigrant lay Korean Buddhist members of a particular temple in the United States, Sharon Suh (2004) also characterized Buddhism as a religion that emphasized individualistic beliefs and values of freedom of choice and self-reliance, which was reflected in the self-agentic religious behavior of her research participants for whom Buddhism represented a mechanism through which to find relief from everyday problems (especially those relating to gender and immigration) and build self-esteem. In light of these conflicting characterizations of Buddhism, I suspect that the individualistic and relationalistic religious attitudes of lay Buddhists may possibly be situation-specific: Relational attitudes are manifest in the soteriological context (i.e. the aforementioned merit-marking rituals for the purposes of a favourable re-birth), while individualistic attitudes are manifest in the non-soteriological context (i.e. everyday mundane problems).

of Buddhist institutions and doctrines. Furthermore, it can be further argued that the very non-authoritarian and individual-centred nature of Buddhism may minimize the role of “ethnic” and Western Buddhist organizations in terms of I-C and A-H orientations at the individual level: Because Buddhist individuals are granted religious latitude and freedom, this may encourage them to privilege and infuse their personal cultural proclivities and psychological orientations into their interpretations and practice of Buddhism.

(2) Research Question

In relation to the three major functional components of ethnicity for immigrants proposed by Milton Gordon (1964), my research approach is thus primarily linked to the third component of culture: I examine whether Buddhist beliefs and practices serve to reinforce and/or promote an East Asian cultural prism for next-generation Korean Buddhist practitioners. Based on the main cross-cultural psychological framework of this research, however, my study also proposes to further define and decompose the rather broad cultural criteria of “cultural behaviour and values” as defined by Gordon in terms of specific attitudinal and cognitive psychological patterns (see the section on the cross-cultural frame above for a description of the main components of these patterns).²²

The aim of my research is to problematize culture in the construction of religious meaning and behaviour for relatively bicultural individuals. Given the said theoretical frameworks, my research

²² For reasons of delimiting this research project to manageable proportions, I have not conducted a separate analysis here of the other two functional components of ethnicity – what Min (2010) called the “psychological” component of the individual’s sense of intimate peoplehood with members of his/her ethnic group, and the “social” component of restriction of the composition of one’s close social circle to members of the individual’s ethnic group. Due to the extensive scope of the I-C/A-H model, which is discussed in detail below in the section on research methodology and in Chapter 3, I focused exclusively on this single “cultural” dimension or component of ethnicity. An examination of the other two components in the context of religion would have further required the application of a different set of theoretical tools. On the other hand (again, discussed below), my research participants’ ethnic self-identities and composition of close social circles were, in fact, explored in my study but they were in service to an independent variable: They represented two of the several “cultural background” questions that were asked of participants, the responses to which were collectively analyzed in order to establish each individual’s predominant cultural orientation.

question can thus be summarized as follows: How is religious meaning and behaviour culturally constructed by next-generation Korean Buddhist practitioners in Canada? What role do individual cultural orientations and the “Two Buddhisms” play in this cultural construction and how does Buddhism compare to the other religions (namely Protestantism) practiced by younger-generation Korean-Canadians in this regard? By answering these questions, I ultimately hope to show whether the meaning system of Korean culture is preserved through religion among the younger generation of Korean Buddhist practitioners. I hypothesize that, due to the relatively non-authoritarian nature of Buddhism, the light of Buddhist beliefs and practices will predominantly be refracted through the *a priori* cultural prism of the individual in question, and the role of Buddhist doctrine and institutions in promoting a particular orientation (individualistic/relationally collectivistic and analytic/holistic) will be minimal and subordinate to the individual. The particular cultural orientation of this prism will, in turn, be dependent upon individual levels of monoculturalism (“Korean/Eastern” or “Canadian/Western”) or biculturalism (Korean and Canadian). In this way, Buddhism may serve to both preserve and undermine the Korean/East Asian cultural meaning system. By comparison, I hypothesize that the relatively authoritarian nature of (Protestant) Christianity will likely encourage younger-generation Korean Christians to relate to their religion in a predominantly ‘Western’ way (the latter based mostly on the available literature linking Protestantism with individualism), regardless of the individual’s cultural orientation.

(3) Critiques of the I-C Theoretical Framework & Research Parameters

Some researchers have argued that elements of individualism and collectivism can be found in all cultures and individuals, and there is a ‘pigeonholing’ tendency in some of the cross-cultural research to uncritically apply the rather broad conceptualizations of both individualism and collectivism in the characterization of a culture. In other words, it can be misleading to indiscriminately characterize and categorize members of a culture under the diffuse headings of individualism or collectivism without properly defining the specific behaviour that is being subsumed under these constructs. It has also

been argued that predominantly culture-based assumptions concerning I-C orientation run the risk of neglecting the situational dimensions of psychological orientations, specifically the socio-ecological contexts that contribute to and help shape social actors' I-C orientations (see, for example, Matsumoto et al. 1997; Oyserman et al. 2002; Voronov 2002). In addition, gender-based differences in I-C orientations have been described in previous social psychological case studies that have linked relational collectivistic traits to femininity and individualistic characteristics to masculinity (Gilligan 1982; Kashima et al. 1995), especially in terms of self-representation, in which women were “presenting themselves as more emotionally related to others than men” (Green et al. 2005, 323).²³

In response to the issue of conceptual clarity in some of the I-C research, social psychologists Marilynn Brewer and Ya-Ru Chen (2007) recently coded the content from much of the extant cross-cultural literature in I-C in terms of the three dimensions of self-construal, beliefs and values and found a great deal of conceptual convergence nonetheless (Brewer and Chen 2007). Subsequently, they were able to develop unifying definitions for the specific behaviours that were being tested or addressed in the literature in terms of these three dimensions (which I summarize in the table below) as well as further define the “collectivism” of East Asian cultural actors as “relational collectivism.” In Chapter 3, I discuss their schematic model as well as other prominent I-C research and findings that support the relative saliency of one of these specific aspects of behaviour among members of East Asian/Korean and European Western/Canadian culture – aspects which are ultimately operationalized in the following chapters to measure the I-C orientations of Korean Buddhist and Christian participants. Hence, my characterizations of participants as prominently individualistic

²³ At the same time, scholars such as Cordelia Fine (2011) and Lise Elliot (2010) have argued that claims regarding the innateness of gender differences are grossly exaggerated.

and/or relationally collectivistic in this study are strictly based on the definitions of each I-C dimension as provided by Brewer and Chen.²⁴

Furthermore, the components and specific behaviours associated with collectivism and individualism (as well as analytical and holistic cognition) are not mutually exclusive. For example, individuals in any culture will likely place some importance on both individual uniqueness as well as close interpersonal relationships when defining the self, or on the belief that achievement requires independence as well as interdependence. As Brewer and Chen have argued, all cultures must contain elements of all the components of individualism and collectivism in order to meet varied and complex demands of social life; “Where individuals and cultures differ, however, is on the *relative salience* of these elements of worldview and on where *priorities* are placed when the demands and implications of different aspects are in conflict (2007: 141, italics mine). Hence, the main argument of this theoretical framework concerns the individual’s *prioritization* of one of these orientations over its binary other along a kind of continuum – it does not assume an absolute and wholly exclusive identification with only one orientation by the individual. My analyses of research participants in this study note the co-existence of I-C and A-H in many of the individuals and, based on their initial or primary responses, the prioritization or relative salience of one of these elements in relation to the other.

Finally, as a developing theoretical frame born chiefly out of the sterile environment of ‘laboratory’ experiments, the I-C/A-H model has not been rigorously examined under the myriad possibilities of types of real-life situations or social contexts. I thus view this theoretical framework as a ‘tentative’ cultural template or blueprint that can be fluidly altered or moderated to varying degrees depending on the specific circumstance or social domain in which the individual finds her/himself (e.g. business or workplace setting versus family and social life). In this respect, my study takes a

²⁴ It should be noted here that, in contrast to the critical literature on the contentions of culture-based variations in I-C orientation, critical reviews and literature pertaining to culture-based differences in analytic versus holistic cognition appear to be minimal at this time.

critical approach to the I-C/A-H framework by testing its applicability and validity within the specific ‘real-life’ social domain of religion – specifically its institutions and doctrines – and by examining the contributions of non-ethnocultural independent and demographic variables, in particular the role of gender and class, to individual psychological orientation. On this latter point, it should be noted that while some of the cross-cultural research in I-C and A-H found female participants to be more relational (collectivistic) and holistic in orientation than male participants, the differences were generally not as significant as the cultural ones (see, for example, Kashima et al. 1995; Nisbett 2003). On balance, then, the critiques do not seem to be so important as to undermine the validity of my choice of theoretical frame.

3. Research Methodology

(1) Recruitment & Primary Data Collection

Within the broad context of next-generation Korean Buddhists in North America, my research focuses on 1.5- and 2nd-generation Korean Buddhists and practitioners in Canada, specifically those living in or from the Toronto area (with a minority living in or from the Ottawa area). In the initial recruitment phase, which included the posting of recruitment advertisements on social networking sites (Facebook, Kijiji Toronto, Craigslist Toronto), I recruited participants mostly through direct phone calls to the heads of the Buddhist centers or temples, as well as through personal invitations on site (i.e. at the temple) and via personal networks. Through snowballing, which proved to be the most effective method in recruiting participants, contact information for additional prospective participants was then ascertained from the initial set of participants. My study also includes 1.5- and 2nd-generation Korean Christian young adults living in the Toronto and Ottawa areas, a group I included mostly for comparative purposes in order to effectively illuminate the unique ways in which

Buddhism in Canada might contribute to Korean ethnic transmission and preservation. As an exemplar of an individualistic religion, Protestant Christianity stands in sharp contrast to Asian Buddhism and a comparison of the religious orientations of Korean adherents for both could shed light on the unique role of Buddhism in this regard.

For the Korean Christian (including Roman Catholics) group, I posted recruitment advertisements on social networking sites (Facebook, Kijiji Toronto/Ottawa, Craigslist Toronto/Ottawa), and visited one youth group meeting at an ethnic Korean Protestant church in Ottawa and used my personal networks to invite members of this group to be interviewed. Through means of snowballing, contact information for additional prospective participants was then ascertained from the initial set of recruited participants. In addition, I supplement my analysis of this group at various points with interview data from four Korean Christian young adults based in Vancouver, with whom individual interviews were conducted and transcribed in a separate research project for which I was a team member during the course of my doctoral studies at the University of Ottawa from 2009-10.

Initially, a total of 23 Korean Buddhists and Buddhist practitioners responded to my recruitment efforts and were subsequently interviewed; however, three of the participants were omitted from the final analyses due to their relative lack of engagement in Buddhist practice *and* expressed indifference to Buddhist teachings, which pre-empted the possibility of a substantial analysis based on the criteria of the I-C theoretical frame (discussed in detail above). In contrast, the 20 participants that were included in the final analyses maintained a Buddhist practice (mostly of the meditational variety) and most were able to articulate substantial responses, whether positive or negative in orientation, to the Buddhist teachings and worldview, from which I was able to subsequently conduct a substantive analysis. The number of 20 Korean Buddhist research participants was deemed to be sufficient based on a perceived saturation of data in terms of I-C/A-H psychological patterns, and it appeared that the collection of new data would not shed further light on the issue.

The 20 Korean-Canadian Buddhist participants embodied a range of religious identity positions (i.e. positive and negative Buddhist self-identities) and were almost equally divided in terms of institutional affiliation/association between traditionalist and modernist Buddhist centers and personalities. This group was also well balanced in terms of “inherited” Buddhists (11), i.e. those who were raised in a Buddhist household, versus “acquired” Buddhists/Buddhist practitioners (9), i.e. those who were not raised in a Buddhist household but currently engage in Buddhist practice, the majority of whom in this study came from Christian backgrounds (usually Protestant) with a minority from non-religious backgrounds;²⁵ female to male participant ratio (11 females versus 9 males); and 1.5 generation Korean-Canadian (i.e. those who immigrated to Canada from Korea after early childhood and have highly retained Korean cultural customs and habits) to 2nd generation Korean-Canadian (i.e. those who were either born in Canada or immigrated in early childhood and were highly assimilated to mainstream Canadian culture) participant ratio (11 versus 9). To this latter point, all 20 research participants had lived in Canada for a minimum of 8 years. The age range of the participants was between 21 and 41 years and the mean age was 30. Finally, all but two of the participants characterized their socio-economic class growing up and presently as middle class; the other two described their social class as upper class, which is noted in their respective analyses.

The profiles of the group of 10 Korean-Canadian Christian participants were relatively more uniform in character than Korean Buddhist participants: All but one (i.e. 9/10) Korean Christian participant self-identified as Christian; all but one (9/10) member was an “inherited” Christian, i.e. those who were raised in a Christian family; all participants characterized their socio-economic class growing up and presently as middle class (10/10); the female-to-male participant ratio was equal (5 females versus 5 males); and the 1.5-generation Korean-Canadian to 2nd-generation Korean-Canadian participant ratio was well-balanced (6 versus 4). To this latter point, all 10 research participants had

²⁵ The terms “inherited” and “acquired” Buddhist, coined by the Buddhist scholar Suwanda Sugunasiri (2005), refers to a Buddhist who was raised in a Buddhist household and a Buddhist who was raised in a non-Buddhist family, respectively. The terms avoid some of the misleading connotations of the more commonly-used “ethnic Asian” and “convert” Buddhist.

lived in Canada for a minimum of 10 years. The age range of the participants was between 21 and 37 years and the mean age was 29. The total number of 10 Korean Christian research participants was deemed to be sufficient based on a perceived saturation of data in terms of I-C/A-H psychological patterns.

In terms of current Buddhist institutional affiliation and association, 11 of the 20 Korean Buddhist practitioners were principally affiliated or associated with ethnic Korean Buddhist centers or temples (i.e. traditionalist form of Buddhism), and the remaining 9 with modernist Buddhist traditions, including Western-oriented Tibetan Buddhist, Theravadin and Japanese Zen groups. Some research participants self-identified as Buddhist while others were hesitant or outright rejected one; however they were united by their engagement in Buddhist beliefs and practices. My reasons for including non-identified Buddhist practitioners in my research project were, as discussed in the preceding section, to account for the strong possibility that, similar to the growing trend of Westerners who “sympathize” with or are practicing Buddhism but not self-identifying with the religion, many younger-generation Koreans may likewise be substantively engaged in Buddhist practices while declining a positive Buddhist identity.²⁶ Of the 10 Korean Christian participants, 8 were evangelical Protestants, five of whom were simultaneously affiliated with both mainstream Canadian and ethnic Korean churches, two with exclusively the English-language congregations at Korean churches, and one exclusively with the Korean-language congregation at an ethnic Korean church; and 2 were Roman Catholics, one of whom was affiliated with a mainstream Canadian church and the other exclusively with the Korean-language congregation at an ethnic Korean church. Five Korean Christian participants were recruited from each of Toronto and Ottawa.

²⁶ I use the term “Korean Buddhist” in this dissertation to mean both self-identified Korean Buddhists and non-Buddhist practitioners of Buddhism.

The primary data for the group of Korean Buddhists was obtained exclusively through in-depth, face-to-face individual semi-structured interviews²⁷ and questionnaires via e-mail, and supplemental and comparatively structured follow-up questions via e-mail where necessary; the questionnaires were administered to four of the twenty participants who were unable to participate in an individual interview due to consistent logistical and scheduling conflicts.²⁸ These face-to-face individual interviews, which were recorded and subsequently transcribed and coded (see below), e-mail questionnaire responses, as well as e-mail responses to follow-up supplemental questions, provided the primary material on which I based my analyses. I did, however, supplement my analyses of some of the responses with my personal observations as a member of the Hanmaum Seon Won (HSW) over the past decade. HSW is the only Korean Buddhist institution in Toronto to my knowledge (and at the time of this writing) that operated a youth group with any regularity and with a sufficient number of members.²⁹ The primary data on which I based my analyses of the group of Korean Christians was obtained exclusively through e-mail questionnaires and supplemental questions via e-mail where necessary, which were subsequently coded in the manner described below.

I would like to note here that the main cross-cultural theoretical framework of my research was born post-facto: I did not embark on my individual interviews with my primary research subjects –

²⁷ I did, however, conduct two interview sessions with two or three individuals collectively for reasons of logistics.

²⁸ Some of the participants who participated in the face-to-face interview and were later sent supplementary e-mail questionnaires expressed their preference for the latter method due to the luxury the written questionnaire afforded in terms of thoughtful and deeper articulation of one's thoughts and responses.

²⁹ In this regard, I find my own research perspective to be akin to that of Robert Buswell, whose book *The Zen Monastic Experience: Buddhist Practice in Contemporary Korea* (1992) largely drew on his personal experiences as a Buddhist monk in Korea who entered the monkhood not as an academic with an ethnographic agenda but as a "committed" spiritual seeker. He notes that his own accounts and perspectives, which he likens to that of a "captive or castaway" in a new environment who reports on in his/her observations and experiences post facto, avoids some of the pitfalls and problems of authority and marginalization that has occurred in traditional objectivist ethnographic writing: Like a spectator looking down upon what is other, "I chose to be not an outside observer, gazing down upon the monastery as if from on high" (Buswell 1992, 14-15). As a practitioner and member of the Korean Buddhist community in Toronto, my own interviews with other members of the Korean Buddhist community in Toronto in the following chapters were conducted as an insider – a co-ethnic who was "committed" to this particular religious community and tradition. In this way, I believe my perspectives and accounts substantively avoid some of these pitfalls. At the same time, however, as Sharon Suh (2004) has shown in her ethnographic study of Korean Buddhist immigrants in the United States, gender and power relations also play an integral role in the interview process. I recognize that, as a co-ethnic male researcher situated on the higher rung of the age-based hierarchical ladder of Korean culture, the responses of my female research participants may have been 'biased' in this respect (i.e. their responses may have been consciously oriented to fit the Korean cultural expectations of 'proper' female behavior).

Korean-Canadian Buddhist young adults – with the a priori knowledge and pre-conceived plan to utilize and apply this theoretical model to my research data. My initial aim was to ask my research participants broad and open-ended questions concerning the role that religion and culture plays in their lives and allow the data to “speak for itself.” In this process, I was able to discern a distinct pattern in the initial responses of my primary research subjects by the fifteenth interview transcription. More specifically, I recognized a bipolarization of responses that appeared to be prominently “collectivistic” (e.g. close relationships defined the participant’s Buddhist self-identity) or “individualistic” (e.g. personal compatibility with the religious beliefs and practices defined the participant’s Buddhist self-identity) in character, whereby the former response type was significantly more typical of respondents with perceptibly strong Korean language skills (and usually comparatively weak English language proficiency) while the latter response was mostly typical of those with fluent English-language abilities and extremely low levels of Korean-language proficiency. As a result, I conducted further research into social theories in relation to language, which in turn ultimately led me to the cross-cultural I-C/A-H psychological model, whose contentions and arguments were generally consistent with the overall cultural orientations and corresponding responses of my research subjects. The detailed and nuanced nature of the I-C/A-H model did, however, require that I supplement my initial set of broad and general questions with ones that were more specific. Hence, before subsequently embarking on my interviews with my secondary research subjects – Korean-Canadian Christian young adults – my interview questions were significantly more defined, specific and structured, which resulted in my decision to utilize e-mail questionnaires with members of this group. In addition, the previously positive feedback I received from some members of the Korean Buddhist group regarding the merits of the questionnaire format versus face-to-face interviews was also a contributing factor in this decision.

(2) Method of Analysis

Each research participant – both Korean Buddhist and Christian – was asked a series of questions that were broadly divided into two sections: The first section focused on questions regarding participants’ personal background, including ethnic self-identity, language proficiencies, family culture growing up, countries of formal education, ethnicities of members of close social circles and transnational activities. The second section focused on questions regarding the individual’s religious background and orientation, including religious self-identity, religious practice, religious worldview and beliefs, and views of other religions.³⁰ These questions were semi-structured and hence qualitative in method of inquiry.

I first classified the twenty Korean-Canadian Buddhist participants (as well as the 10 Korean Christian participants) into three categories based on the degrees to which they self-identified with Korean or Canadian culture, or relatively equally both.

- (1) Korean Cultural Orientation (KCO)
- (2) Korean and Canadian Cultural Orientation (KCCO)
- (3) Canadian Cultural Orientation (CCO)

Participants who self-identified ethnically as singularly Korean or identified more closely with Korean than Canadian culture were placed in the category of “Korean Cultural Orientation” (KCO); those who self-identified with both Korean and Canadian culture in relatively equal parts were placed in the category of “Korean and Canadian Cultural Orientation” (KCCO); and those who self-identified as singularly Canadian or more closely with Canadian than Korean culture were placed in the “Canadian Cultural Orientation” (CCO) category. Ethnic self-identity was deemed to be a strong indicator of the participant’s dominant cultural psychological orientation based on cultural psychologist Hoshino-Browne et al’s important findings on Asian Canadians, which showed a clear

³⁰ Please see Appendix II and III for the sample list of questions that were asked of both Korean Buddhist and Christian participants in this study.

link between cultural self-identification (i.e. three categories of “I feel more Asian,” “I feel more Canadian,” or “I feel equally Asian-Canadian”) and culturally ideal self-concepts people hold and, by implication, the ways in which they relate to the world in general (Hoshino-Browne et al. 2005). Moreover, research participants’ overall responses to the first section of questions regarding personal background, which I encapsulate for each individual in Chapter Four, appeared to consistently justify their ethnic self-identities.

The religious orientations of each participant in terms of attitudinal (Individualism-Relational Collectivism) and cognitive (Analytic-Holism) psychological processes were then determined based on an analyses of their responses to the religion-oriented questions in the second section. I should note here that my understanding and interpretation of the I-C/A-H theoretical framework is primarily based on the works of contemporary social and cross-cultural psychologists, namely Marilynn Brewer and Ya-Ru Chen (2007), Hazel Rose Markus and Shinobu Kitayama (1991), Richard Nisbett (2003, 2001) and Ara Norenzayan (1999, 2002). First, determinants of attitudinal religious orientations were, in turn, based on participants’ primary or prioritized religious *self-representations*, *beliefs* and *values*, and characterized in terms of the Individualism-Collectivism (I-C) binary. These three domains represent the normative criteria through which social and cultural psychologists measure individual attitudinal orientations. Participants’ responses to the questions of “Do you self-identify as Buddhist/Christian and why/why not?” (self-representation) and “How and why do you practice Buddhism/Christianity?” (beliefs, values) formed the primary data from which I measured their I-C religious orientations.

Second, determinants of each participant’s cognitive religious orientations were based on their primary or prioritized perceptions and reasoning in terms of (cosmological) *event movement*, *causal attribution*, *mode of reasoning* and *conflict resolution*, and characterized in terms of the Analytic vs. Holism (A-H) cognitive binary. Specifically, participants’ responses to questions such as “How do you understand the Buddhist/Christian worldview of cyclical karmic existence/salvation and

deliverance?” and “Do you subscribe to this worldview and why/why not?” (event movement perception, causal attribution, reasoning mode) and “What do you think of other religions?” and “Do you think can one be both Buddhist/Christian and an adherent of another religion such as Christianity/Buddhism at the same time?” (conflict resolution) formed the primary data from which I measured research participants’ A-H religious orientations.

The combined total of seven criteria or domains (3 for I-C and 4 for A-H) was each weighted as a single point in terms of I-C/A-H and numerically valued out of 3 and 4, respectively. In other words, with some exceptions, each participant was assigned an I-C value out of 3 and A-H value out of 4 that yielded either a numerically equal value for both orientations or a value in favour of one. The quantification of each of the respondent’s responses to the interview questions was implemented only as a heuristic device to represent the nuances of research participants’ I-C/A-H orientations in a succinct and precise format. This additionally facilitated cross-analyses between the KCO-KCCO-CCO sub-groups, as well as helped isolate other factors such as gender that may have contributed to their particular religious orientations. Responses to questions posed by the I-C/A-H criteria that reflected both an Individualistic-Relationally Collectivistic or Analytical-Holistic orientation relatively equally were scored as 0.5 for each orientation. In cases in which participants expressed a response that was *prominently and ostensibly* in favour of one orientation and yet simultaneously exhibited *partial* sympathy or inclination for the other opposing orientation, I used my qualitative sense of things and judgement and normally scored the former and latter as 0.75/1 and 0.25/1, respectively. There was, however, one exceptional case in which I scored one response as 0.90/1 and 0.10/1 in terms of A-H orientations for reasons explained in the participant’s individual analysis.

The accumulated I-C and A-H values for each cultural sub-group (KCO-KCCO-CCO) within both the Korean Buddhist and Korean Christian groups were represented in percentile values and then compared against both the sub-group’s predominant cultural orientation as a whole and the cultural orientation of the institutional affiliations with which they were mainly associated. In other words,

based on the I-C/A-H theoretical model, we should theoretically expect a consistent pattern (i.e. relatively high numerical value) of collectivistic-holistic attitudes and modes of thinking among the KCO Buddhists/Christians (i.e. those Korean Buddhists/Christians who identified more closely with Korean than Canadian culture); a blend (i.e. relatively intermediate numerical value) of individualistic-relationally collectivistic and analytical-holistic attitudes and modes of thinking among the KCCO Buddhists/Christians (i.e. those Korean Buddhists/Christians who identified relatively equally with both Korean and Canadian culture); and predominantly (i.e. high numerical value) individualistic-analytical attitudes and modes of thinking among the CCO Buddhists/Christians (i.e. those Korean Buddhists/Christians who identified more closely with Canadian culture). If the above patterns were to emerge among the three sub-groups, this would be suggestive of the relatively supportive or malleable role of the Buddhist/Christian institution in question – whether ethnic or Western in orientation – in either conforming and reinforcing or allowing participants to infuse their individual cultural orientations into their religious approach. Inconsistencies with the above patterns among any of these sub-groups, however, would be suggestive of the moderating or mediating role of the ethnic or Western Buddhist/Christian institution in question in terms of individual religious orientation. Through these individual case studies, I ultimately hoped to show the role that Buddhism in Canada plays in terms of reinforcing or undermining East Asian/Korean ethnicity at the level of deep cultural and psychological patterns. The inclusion of the group of younger-generation Korean Christians would help determine whether the role that Buddhism as an institution plays in this respect was unique or common to other religions.

In summary, my method of analysis can be broadly characterized as the *application* of the I-C/A-H cross-cultural theoretical blueprint to the specific ‘reality’ or context of religion. Insofar as this cross-cultural frame is used to measure cultural behaviour, my analyses are premised on an acceptance of the traditional cultural psychological orientations associated with members of East Asian and North American cultures. Given the relatively small size of the research sample, I am

aware that the results and conclusions of my study cannot be generalizable to all younger-generation Korean-Canadian religious experiences. My hope is that it offers an alternative perspective and theoretical possibility that substantively contributes to the burgeoning research in the area of religion, immigration, culture and ethnicity.

(3) Chapter Sequence & Secondary Data Sources

In the first chapter after this Introduction, **Chapter Two**, I present an historical overview of Korean immigrant religions in North America, with a focus on Canada, in order to locate the younger generation of Korean-Canadian Buddhists (and Korean-Canadian Christians) within the broader socio-historical and religious context. I also discuss the socio-historical contexts in which 1.5- and second-generation Koreans grew up in North America in order to account for differences in degrees of biculturalism (retention of both Korean and Canadian cultural elements) and monoculturalism (retention of mostly Korean or Canadian cultural elements) between members of these two groups. To these ends, I make reference to the religious, socio-historical, statistical (Census Canada data), ethnographic and linguistic data on first-, 1.5-, and second-generation Korean immigrants in Canada. However, I also make frequent reference to the substantively larger amount of available data and resources on the religiosities and immigrant experiences of ethnic Koreans in the United States to suggest parallel experiences among Koreans in Canada – a parallel worth noting insofar as both first- and next-generation Koreans in Canada and the United States share the common experiences of emigrating from Korea and culturally adjusting to life in a Western society, or growing up in culturally Korean homes within the broader context of a European mainstream culture, respectively. As a Canada-born second-generation Korean who was raised in a Buddhist household in Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s within the broader contexts of an immigrant Korean community that was majority Christian in terms of religion, as well as a volunteer worker at two Korean Buddhist centers

and temples in Toronto – namely Hanmaum SeonWon (HSW) and Jeong Hae Sa Temple (JHST) – over the past several years, I also draw significantly on my personal memories, experiences and observations to supplement extant socio-historical literature with direct and “lived” insight into the past and present situations, conditions and experiences of Korean Buddhist and Christian institutions and their members in Toronto. I ultimately endeavour to show the socio-historical development of divergent religious attitudes between the religious liberalism of Korean Buddhism and conservatism of Korean (Protestant) Christianity (i.e. as represented by their institutions, clergy and community of adherents), as well as the socio-historical contexts from which the concept of the so-called 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean-Canadian emerged.

In **Chapter Three**, I introduce the reader to the cross-cultural psychological theological framework of Individualism-Collectivism/Analytical-Holism (I-C/A-H) on which the central thesis of this research is based. In this chapter, I first discuss the socio-historical contexts from which primarily collectivistic-holistic and individualistic-analytical orientations emerged in East Asian and North American culture, respectively. To this end, I make reference to sociological, historical, cultural, psychological and linguistic studies – especially ones pertaining to Korea and Canada – that discuss these East-West cross-cultural variations. Based on the work of contemporary social and cultural psychologists such as Richard Nisbett, Hazel Rose Markus, Shinobu Kitayama, and Ara Norenzayan, I then describe some of the specific laboratory experiments that were conducted – again, with a focus on those that involved native Koreans, bicultural Koreans in Canada and America, and Euro-Canadians and Euro-Americans – which provided the empirical bases upon which this cross-cultural theoretical model was validated, refined, and its prototype established. This is followed by a summary of the primary components of this theoretical model, which I propose to use as my criteria to measure the psychological dimensions of the religious orientations of my research subjects in the following chapters.

Chapter Four introduces individual case studies of Korean Buddhist participants and represents the first step in responding to the primary research question: In what ways does Buddhism in Canada uniquely contribute to the reinforcement or undermining of East Asian/Korean ethnicity at the level of underlying psychological patterns? Based on the ethnocultural and religious background data accrued from individual interviews with Korean Buddhists, I provide detailed summaries of the religio-cultural backgrounds of each the 20 participants. I then conduct an analysis of each of the Buddhist participants in the method described in detail in the immediately preceding section (“Method of Analysis”) in an attempt to comprehensively respond to the primary research question. The three distinct ethnocultural subgroups established within this group of Korean Buddhists (i.e. KCO-KCCO-CCO) are considered and analyzed separately, as well as cross-analyzed where relevant. The possible contributions of other sociological and non-cultural psychological factors, such as gender and class, to the resulting individual religious orientations are also explored.

Chapter Five introduces individual case studies of Korean Christian participants and represents the second and final step in responding to the primary research question. Based on the ethnocultural and religious background data accrued from individual questionnaires conducted with the Korean Christians, I provide summaries of the religio-cultural backgrounds of each the 10 participants. I then conduct an analysis of each of the Christian participants in the method described in detail in the immediately preceding section (“Method of Analysis”), in order to discern the role that Christianity (especially Protestantism) plays in terms of reinforcing or undermining East Asian/Korean ethnicity at the level of underlying psychological patterns. The three distinct ethnocultural subgroups established within the group of Korean Christians (i.e. KCO-KCCO-CCO) are considered and analyzed separately, as well as cross-analyzed with the respective Korean Buddhist sub-groups from the preceding chapter where relevant. The purpose of cross-comparing the overall religious orientations of the group of Korean Christians with the group of Korean Buddhists would be to

illuminate the unique ways that Buddhism in Canada contributes to the preservation and/or subversion of Korean ethnicity.

CHAPTER TWO

KOREANS AND THEIR RELIGIONS IN CANADA:

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

1. Korean Christians and the Beginnings of a Korean Community

Koreans first came to Canada as foreign students supported by Christian missionary scholarships as early as the 1910s (J.G. Kim 1984; Yoo n.d.). They were invited to Canada by Canadian missionaries who had previously worked in Korea during the tumultuous and violent period in which the country was colonized by Japan (1910-1945). The work of these early missionaries, which included many Americans, planted the seeds of change in the religious landscape and identity of Korea, which had been hitherto dominated by the major Eastern religions of Confucianism, Buddhism, Shamanism and Daoism. While most Korean students returned home after their studies, Canadian missionaries continued to help Koreans come to Canada to study in the decades that followed, during which time Korea endured poverty and further political unrest in the country's transition toward democracy after the Korean War (1950-53) (Baker 2008: 160). Due in large part to the proselytization efforts and social aid of these missionaries in these difficult socio-economic times, Koreans began to perceive Canada as a place that offered a peaceful, civilized respite and a better life because it was "God's country" (J.G. Kim 1984; Yoo, n.d.).

The Canadian immigration policies in effect at the time, however, prevented Koreans from relocating to Canada as immigration was restricted to Europeans through to the 1960s. Canada's immigration policy underwent significant changes in 1966 under the administration of Lester B. Pearson,

which based its immigration policy on Canada's economic needs rather than on racial criteria. A points-based individual merit system was subsequently introduced that gave preference to immigrants with strong English language and trade skills and a relatively high level of education (Matthews 2002). This triggered the first wave of Korean immigrants to Canada in the late 1960s and through to the mid-1970s. From 1965 to 1975, the Korean community in Canada grew from a mere 93 to 12,686 people in total (Yoo, n.d.). This first wave of immigrants came to Canada to escape the living conditions and poor economy in Korea, which had been devastated by the Korean War, and worked in various labour intensive, blue-collar jobs or small businesses that did not require a specialized skillset or a high level of English-language proficiency, such as convenience stores, factories, and drycleaners. Similarly, the United States also expanded its immigration policy to include non-Europeans during this time period, resulting in large numbers of Koreans immigrating to America (Min 2013a).

The first contingent of Koreans to immigrate to Canada consisted of religiously devout Christian families that had remained in close contact with the early Canadian missionaries. These Korean families settled in Toronto and many of the first generation of male Korean immigrants went on to study Christian theology at the post-graduate level and were eventually ordained as ministers. They, in turn, subsequently invited members of their extended family and friends in Korea to immigrate to Canada in what became a domino effect of 'relational immigration.' This marked the beginnings of the formation of the first Korean community in Toronto, which was predominantly comprised of Christians (J.G. Kim 1984). As the Korean community grew larger, the de facto leadership of the community fell into the hands of the ordained Korean ministers, who were considered the intellectual elite of the community due to their Canadian educational background. The ministers eventually felt the need for Korean-language religious services and this resulted in the establishment of parallel congregations within one of the United Church of Canada buildings in Toronto in 1967, in which Korean and European Canadian congregants attended services offered in their own languages at different times on Sundays. The Korean congregation

eventually merged with the UCC to become the Toronto Korean United Church, which marked the establishment of the first Korean Christian congregation in Canada (J.G. Kim 1984).

By the early 1980s, during the second wave of Korean immigration to Canada (1975-1985), the dozen Korean congregations that were established across Canada – half of which were located in Toronto and the others mostly in Vancouver and Montreal – served as the central meeting places on Sundays for local Koreans, and new Korean immigrants relied heavily on the expertise, knowledge and support of fellow churchgoers in settling into immigrant life (Couto 2000; Guenther 2008). The churches also provided a space of cultural and spiritual solace where members could engage in co-ethnic fellowship and preserve cultural customs, share their immigrant experiences and hardships as well as receive spiritual uplift from the religious teachings. The Korean churches also contributed to the development of their respective regional ethnic communities, sponsoring cultural events and Korean language schools and establishing Korean-language newspapers and radio and television programs, thus setting “the structure and tone of Korean communal life in Canada” (J.G. Kim 1984). While most of the early Korean immigrants may have been Christian prior to their arrival, the establishment of the churches as the de facto “community center” for Koreans, the religion’s leading role within the community, and the perception among Korean (and other Asian) immigrants to Canada as a Christian nation likely caused many non-Christian Koreans such as Buddhists to eventually convert to Christianity (Couto 2000; McLellan 1999: 5). By 1980, close to 90 percent of the Korean immigrant population in Canada (17,000 out of about 20,000 people) self-identified as Christian, most of whom were affiliated with the Presbyterian church and United Church of Canada (J.G. Kim 1984). The Korean church also provided its male members, for many of whom were relatively well-educated white-collar professionals in Korea who experienced downward occupational mobility once immigrating to Canada due to language and other sociocultural barriers, the opportunity for upward social mobility in the form of honourable positions such as elder or deacon. In general, the Korean church provided an environment where the “pre-immigrant

status and educational backgrounds” of the first generation were “recognized and validated” by their co-ethnic peers (J. Kim 2008: 17).

With the dramatic increase in the number of Korean immigrants and Christians to Canada and available funds in Korean Christian congregations during the third wave of Korean immigration that occurred throughout the 1990s and new millennium,³¹ some Korean Christian congregations eventually outright purchased new church buildings across Toronto. By 1995, Korean Christians in Toronto owned or rented 150 Protestant (mostly Presbyterian) churches and two Roman Catholic churches (Yoo n.d., “Religion” section). Beginning in the late 1990s and through to the new millennium, ethnic Korean churches in Toronto accumulated enough human and financial resources to also provide exclusively English-language services and sermons for the next generation of congregants (i.e. the children of first-generation Korean immigrants) that usually followed the Korean-language service on Sundays. Christianity also maintained its intra-ethnic religious majority status during this time as 75.2 percent of Korean immigrants in Canada identified as Christian in 2001 (Beyer 2010: 117). Compared to the previous decades, Korean churches in Canada in the post-1990s period were able to offer significantly more diverse English-language programs and to effectively accommodate the growing numbers of its younger congregants.

Based on new-millennium surveys conducted in metropolitan cities with some of the largest ethnic Korean populations, at least 70 percent of Korean-Americans were estimated to be affiliated with the Christian church (e.g. Min 2013b: 78; Yu 2001: 212), which parallels the religious demographic of Korean immigrants in Canada. The majority of Korean immigrant churches in both countries have also been Presbyterian in denomination and highly evangelical and conservative in religious orientation (Baker 2008: 169-70; Bramadat and Seljak 2008: 425; Guenther 2008: 383; Min 2010: 38). The three most

³¹ Korean immigration to Canada was especially large during the third wave of immigration in the 1990s and new millennium: By 2006, sixty percent of the Korean community in Canada had immigrated within the past ten years (Noh et al. 2012: 21).

popular denominational affiliations of Korean immigrant churches in Canada have been Presbyterian (representing the majority), followed by Methodist, United Church of Canada and Baptist, reflecting the denominational affiliations of Canadian churches that sent missionaries to Korea in the first half of the twentieth century as well as the largest Protestant denominations in the peninsula (Baker 2008: 169; Couto 2000; Guenther 2008: 383). In addition, paralleling the social conditions that engendered the spectacular historical rise of Protestantism in Korea – in which the rapid urbanization process beginning in the 1960s uprooted “confused” and “depressed” South Koreans living in small rural villages and Protestant churches’ “feverish religious rallies, in which traditional Shamanistic elements were syncretized, and their tight-knit ‘cell groups’” offered such Koreans a familiar respite and sense of belonging (Cho 2013: 108-9) – the popularity of evangelicalism among immigrant Koreans has also been attributed to the immigrant experience of uncertainty and insecurity, in which the evangelical and conservative orientation of Korean churches provided immigrants with the “urgent need” of certainty in terms of absolute belief, exclusive religious membership and strict moral standards, which they found attractive (Kim and Kim 2001: 92). In this way, the immigrant environment only served to enhance an evangelical orientation among Korean Christians.

The evangelical bent of most Korean immigrant churches is exemplified in their emphasis on intense piety, early-morning prayer sessions, faith healing, and missionary zeal. Korean immigrant churches have also been characteristically “congregation-oriented” due to the prevalence of Korean pastors who were educated in Korea, where the emphasis is on regular congregational participation (Min 2010: 82). In their comparative study of the religious orientations of immigrant Korean, African-American, Hispanic and Caucasian Christians in America, sociologists Kwang Chung Kim and Shin Kim (2001) found that Korean Christians generally exhibited a highly conservative theological orientation – and one that was essentially identical to evangelicalism – in terms of the strength of their belief in heaven and hell, Satan, the return of Jesus Christ, the sanctity of heterosexual marriage, importance of the Bible in everyday life, and personal salvation (Kim and Kim 2001). The study also revealed that immigrant

Korean Christians generally emphasized the importance of developing a personal relationship with God, viewed the Bible as the absolute guide for secular as well as religious matters (i.e. biblical inerrancy), and considered non-traditional sexual relations as evil. Sociologist of religion Pyong Gap Min has argued that the generally conservative attitudes of the Korean Protestant church stem from the inherently high levels of what Donald Smith (1970) characterized as “dogmatic authority” (176), or the “conviction that one’s religion has the absolute truth” (Min 2010: 23), of evangelicalism.

(1) Younger Generation Korean Christians

While immigrant Korean Roman Catholic parents showed flexibility in terms of the intergenerational transmission of the Catholic faith to their children, which has been attributed to the relatively liberal theological orientation of Korean Catholicism (Min and Kim 2005), the first generation of Korean Protestant immigrants “took their faith and stewardship responsibilities seriously” (Yoo, n.d.) and felt that the transmission of a Christian faith to their children was a “matter of life and death” (Min 2010: 7). Their children, or the younger generation of Korean Protestants in North America, were given additional incentive to attend church on a regular basis while growing up: It essentially represented the primary social space in which they could regularly congregate and socialize with large numbers of their co-ethnic peers. Similar to the socio-cultural role that the ethnic Korean church played for the first generation of immigrants, the English-language congregations of the Korean church represented vehicles through which the more acculturated younger generation could reproduce a new subculture, one in which congregants could share their common life experiences growing up as a bicultural and ethnic minority in the West (Cha 2001).

Many of the younger generation of Korean Protestants also maintained their religion through to adulthood, although in varying degrees and forms. A study of 300 second-generation Korean-Canadians, for example, found that two-thirds either remained active and committed Christians or nominal Christians;

the remaining one-third had left the church altogether (Couto 2000). Many of those who remained active, however, sought to physically and symbolically separate themselves from the immigrant Korean congregations of their parents, either by exclusively attending the English-language congregations of their parents' church or by switching to other pan-Asian or multiracial (and evangelical) churches or ethnic campus ministries. Regardless of this congregational shift, the vast majority of English-language younger-generation congregations in Korean immigrant churches and Korean university campus communities in Canada and the United States have remained evangelical in religious orientation (Alumkal 2001; Baker 2008; Chai 2001b; S. Park 2001). One of the main factors behind the congregational shift and separation was the combination of the strong egalitarian values of the acculturated younger generation and the conservative orientation of evangelicalism itself: many Korean-American and Korean-Canadian Protestants regarded the church as a purely religious space and the emphasis on Korean culture in the congregations of their parents as both "un-Christian" and a sign of "cultural rigidity" (Min 2010: 147; Couto 2000). For example, the younger generation was unable to relate to the first generation's Confucian male "need for hierarchical status" and was dissatisfied with the gender roles of their parents, which were deeply rooted in Confucian values and regarded as oppressive to women (J. Kim 2008; Min 2010: 176). The congregations of younger-generation Koreans were also markedly more individualistic in their religious orientation than those of their parents: The former emphasized the cultivation of an individual and personal relationship with God, while those of the latter group placed more emphasis on the "collective experience of communicating with God largely through the medium of the pastor's sermons" (Min 2010: 144). Some researchers have also argued that a bipolarization of religiosity and ethnicity has been occurring within the congregations of next-generation Koreans, in which Christian religious practices and values ("Christian universalism") are being prioritized over Korean cultural and ethnic activities and elements ("ethnic particularism"). This "grounding" in religion consequently undermines a sense of Korean ethnicity and identity among the younger generation of Korean Christians (Alumkal 2001; Chai 2001; Min 2010).

2. The ‘Other’ Korean Religion: Buddhism

A small but “loyal” number of these early immigrants from Buddhist backgrounds retained their inherited religious identities despite the overwhelming presence of Christians in the Korean community and concomitant pressures to convert to Christianity. In 1981, 495 Koreans in Canada self-identified as Buddhist (Beyer 2006), which represented a negligible fraction of the overall Korean immigrant population of about 20,000 at the time. The lack of a Korean Buddhist institutional presence in Canada was partly due to the fact Korean Buddhism was working to restore its identity during this time amidst sweeping reforms after hundreds years of religious oppression during the rule of the Confucian Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) and the Japanese colonial period (1910-45), as well as amidst much subsequent internal strife (Buswell 1992: 24-36). This was compounded by the fact there were too few Korean Buddhists in Canada to warrant a substantial institutional presence supported by the leading Buddhist administrations in Korea. In fact, it was mostly the growing interest among certain individual members of the monastic community in Korea to spread the Dharma in the West that prompted the establishment of two of the first three Korean Buddhist temples in Canada (i.e. Toronto) in the late 1970s and 1980s.

Kwang Ok Sunim, a Korean Buddhist nun, was one of the first to establish a Korean Buddhist temple – Bulgwang Sa Temple (BST) – in Canada in 1978. She was sent to Toronto officially as an international missionary by the Chogye Order of Korean Buddhism, a Seon (Zen) sect that was and remains the largest Buddhist sect in Korea, where she exclusively served the needs of the immigrant Korean community (Sugunasiri 2008: 7-8). She rented out office space in an old building where a small but consistent group of adherents attended her weekly Sunday Dharma services, which consisted of chanting, meditation, yoga and sutra classes (Sugunasiri 2008: 19, 75). By the late 1980s, however, her membership grew to over 150 families or households. Like the Korean Buddhist temple in America (Chai 2001; Suh 2004; Yu 2001), BST simultaneously served as both a spiritual, social and cultural space for the first generation of Korean immigrants, who could speak their native language among their co-ethnic peers, engage in Korean cultural customs and receive spiritual counseling in times of personal difficulty. In Kwang Ok Sunim’s

own words, one of the main reasons many non-Christian Koreans converted to Christianity as opposed to Buddhism upon immigrating to Canada was due to the “very aggressive” proselytization activities of Korean Christians, whereas Buddhists “wait until the individual comes to Buddhism” (Sugunasiri 2008: 74). Indeed, the relatively passive and liberally democratic approach of Buddhism to propagation was evident in some of the Korean Buddhist temples in the United States, where regular religious participation and religious membership was generally not stressed and activities and programs to attract both non-Buddhist as well as younger-generation Koreans to the temple were comparatively lacking (Chai 2001a; Suh 2004; Yu 2001). Ironically, this very tolerant theological attitude had the unintended consequence of facilitating the post-immigration conversion of many first- and next-generation Korean Buddhists to Protestantism (Suh 2004).

The Korean Buddhist monk Samu Sunim was also one of the pioneers of Korean Buddhism in Canada, establishing a Korean Buddhist temple in Toronto in the 1970s. While he was affiliated with the Chogye Order, he came to Canada independently of the administration due to the personal desire to spread the Buddhadharma in the West. In his own words, he came to Canada with the “full intention of making a North American Buddhism” that accommodates Western traditions, “make[s] some departures from [the] Korean tradition” (Sugunasiri 2008: 139) and is non-sectarian in religious orientation. Due to the limited number of Buddhist adherents and available funds, he initially operated his temple out of the basement of a residential home in which he was living. His presence and engaging teaching style, however, attracted a small but growing following of non-Asians. As the number of Western followers steadily increased over the years, eventually usurping his Korean following, Samu Sunim moved to a larger building in downtown Toronto and became the abbot of the Zen Buddhist Temple (ZBT), which primarily served the Anglo-Saxon and Jewish communities (Sugunasiri 2008: 18, 61). By the 1980s, the size of his congregation grew to over 100 members. His temple programs included long hours of meditation, chanting and public services, and Dharma study sessions that ran throughout the week. His

Korean congregation, on the other hand, came only on Sundays where he would conduct the Dharma service in the Korean language.

Hwasun Yangil Sunim, a Buddhist monk also affiliated with the Chogye Order, arrived in Toronto in 1986 at the request of his teacher to “spread the seeds of Dharma in the West.”³² Like Samu Sunim, while initially serving a few Korean faithful in a cheap, rented office space in downtown Toronto, he eventually attracted a substantial membership base consisting mostly of non-Asians. He later moved to a larger space and settled on the name “Awakened Meditation Centre (AMC)” for his temple. Yangil Sunim eventually established parallel congregations within his temple in which ethnic Korean laity members participated in the Korean-language services and rituals while Western practitioners met at separate times and participated in activities that centered on meditation, in particular Zen meditation involving koans³³ and mindfulness meditation.³⁴ Sociologist Eui-Young Yu (2001) observed similar patterns in the parallel congregations of Korean Zen Buddhist temples in the United States: while congregations targeting Westerners focused on sitting meditation, the ethnic congregations were largely centered around Sunday Dharma service, including ceremonies, chanting, scripture studies and cultural, social and fellowship activities. Hence, Korean practice is much more “devotional and religious” (Yu 2001: 221-2). Parallel congregations and their differences in religious character were not a phenomenon unique to Korean Buddhist immigrant temples in North America (McLellan 1999: 88-94). Sociologist of religion Paul Numrich, for example, showed that, in contrast to lay immigrant Buddhists at a Theravada Buddhist temple in America who practiced a highly ritualistic form of Buddhism, the practices of non-Asian

³² Quoted from the Awakened Meditation Centre website, in the section “Master Yangil,” at <www.awakenedmeditationcentre.com>. Accessed on Aug. 13, 2012.

³³ A koan is a cryptic riddle given to the Zen meditator as a means to “break free from the cage of the intellect.” This style of meditation represents the traditional method of practice in the Zen, or Seon as it is pronounced in the Korean language, tradition in East Asia.

³⁴ The emphasis on meditation in non-Asian congregations is evident in both the ZBT and AMC. For example, the ZBT (www.zenbuddhisttemple.org) offers a variety of courses and programs in meditation for the interested Westerner; the AMC (www.awakenedmeditationcentre.com) offers Saturday Zen meditation classes for non-Koreans in which the core of the 3-hour class is comprised of meditation, while, tellingly, the Korean-language page does not make mention of any separate meditation classes.

American 'convert' Buddhists at the same temple emphasized the meditative and philosophical aspects of Buddhism over the religion's ritualistic elements (Numrich 1996).

The AMC and ZBT were also benefactors of the growing mainstream interest in Buddhism and Eastern philosophy that was substantively kick-started by the counterculture movement in the US in the 1960s. Western psychologists helped keep Buddhism in the mainstream consciousness of North Americans in the 1980s and thereafter by touting Buddhist mindfulness meditation as a scientifically valid and psychologically beneficial practice. The popularity of Buddhism in North America during and after the 1980s was also greatly aided by Buddhism's worldwide image as a religion of peace and compassion, due in large part to the peaceful political activism of the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet against the takeover of his country by communist China, for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989. As a result, Buddhism in Canada was seen as a religion that could positively contribute to the society's quest for social tolerance and good citizenship (McLellan 1999: 11-12).³⁵

The third wave of Korean immigration to Canada was accompanied by a proportionate increase in the number of Korean Buddhist immigrants to Toronto. By 1991, there were a reported 1,060 Korean Buddhists in Canada, more than double its population a decade ago; ten years later in 2001, the Korean Buddhist population more than tripled to 3,875, although that still represented a tiny 3.8 percent of the total Korean population in Canada of 101,715 at the time, compared to 75.2 percent for Christians and 21 percent of those with no professed religion (Beyer 2006). Most settled in the Greater Toronto and Vancouver areas, which is presently home to the two largest ethnic Korean populations in Canada.³⁶ As of 2012, according to the Ontario Korean Business Directory of the Korea Times Daily,³⁷ there were 11

³⁵ According to Peter Beyer, a conservative estimate of the "Western" or Euro-Canadian Buddhist population in Canada by 2001 was in the low 20,000s, which is double what it was a decade earlier. Based on these numbers, Buddhism is "the Canadian religion attracting the highest number of outside converts in absolute numbers or in percentage terms, after Christianity" (Beyer 2010: 128).

³⁶ Toronto is home to the largest ethnic Korean community in Canada with a population of 64,755 self-identified Koreans (including those who self-identified with multiple ethnic origins), followed by Vancouver with 49,875 self-identified Koreans (Statistics Canada 2013a).

³⁷ Available online at <<http://yellowpage.koreatimes.net/ypage/category/289>>. Accessed on June 26, 2012.

registered Korean Buddhist organizations in the Toronto area, the majority of which were established in the post-1990s period, mostly serve the immigrant Korean community, and are associated with the Chogye Order,³⁸ albeit with a few notable exceptions: one of the enlisted organizations is a Won Buddhist sectarian group, a new religious movement within Korean Buddhism that is laity-centered and which developed within the last century but which does not maintain any institutional links with mainstream Korean Buddhism; and another is privately operated (i.e. without the presence of Buddhist clergy); and the third is *Pyeonghwa-Sa Temple* (PST) in Richmond Hill, a member of the *Ch'eontae* (Tien-Tai) Order of Korean Buddhism, one of the other prominent and non-Zen Buddhist sects in Korea. Of the Korean Buddhist temples in current operation in Toronto, the most noteworthy in terms of number of adherents and size of facilities are the AMC, ZBT, and, among the post-1990s additions, Hanmaum Seon Won (HSW), PST and Jeong Hye Sa Temple (JHST)³⁹, most of whom have as many as hundreds of registered Korean adherents (although not all are regular attendees).

According to Donald Baker (2010: 175-76), there are now three Korean Buddhist temples in British Columbia, all of which maintain an association with their head temples back in Korea and exclusively serve the needs of the Korean immigrant community – there are no parallel congregations. The largest is Seogwangsa in Surrey, which sees as many as 1,000 devotees attend their Sunday services, runs a Korean-language school for, and teaches traditional Korean music to second generation Koreans. The temple also emphasizes its close links with traditional Korean cultural practices, inviting the local ethnic community, for example, to visit the temple “to eat red bean porridge on the Winter solstice” like Koreans in the homeland (Baker 2010: 176). Moreover, Seogwangsa’s building is an architectural and aesthetic replica of traditional Korean Buddhist temples and buildings.

³⁸ Although, like Korean Buddhist temples in America (Suh, 2004), in many cases monks and nuns are given a relatively high degree of freedom to develop their own teaching styles and their links to the head temples in Korea can be characterized as loose.

³⁹ Jeong Hye Sa Temple appears to be the only one of the post-1990s additions wherein parallel congregations exist. The center teaches a style of meditation to its Western contingent that seems to incorporate elements of Daoism, such as diaphragm breathing and building individual *ki*, or life energy, along with Buddhist-style sitting and walking meditation. (This observation comes from my personal experience as a participant in a one-day meditation retreat for Westerners held at JHST in February of 2007.)

The relationship between the Korean Protestant and Buddhist communities in America was often marked by tension as both the first and younger generations of Korean Buddhists felt alienated by what they perceived to be the exclusivist religious attitudes and aggressive proselytizing efforts of the former (Suh 2004; Chai 2001a). As the individual stories of Korean Buddhist participants in this study will attest (Chapter Four), these tensions were also apparent in the Korean-Canadian community. Korean immigrants who retained their Buddhist religious identity and institutional affiliation viewed their Korean Christian counterparts as lacking Korean nationalistic pride who were easily “duped” by the religio-political motives of Western civilization and thus betrayed their home country – in their minds, “to be Korean is to be Buddhist” (Suh 2004: 140). Korean Buddhism was thought to symbolize traditional Korean culture because it had incorporated (as well as represented) many elements of Korean culture such as the use of the lunar calendar and celebration of traditional holidays (Kwon 2003: 118). Retaining a Buddhist identity, therefore, was a means to retain one’s heritage culture and “true” identity. Korean Buddhists also disliked the militant zeal with which Korean Protestants proselytized and what they perceived to be the overly rigid doctrines of the Korean Christian church that required exclusive religious membership, active church attendance and missionary work among its congregants. They felt more comfortable with the liberal doctrine and flexibility of Korean Buddhism wherein proselytization and institutional attendance were not overly emphasized and adherents could do as they wished (K.C. Kim 2008; Suh 2004; Yu 2001).

(1) Younger-Generation Korean Buddhists

The relative lack of available funds, human resources, facilities and organizational structure in immigrant Korean Buddhist temples hampered the temple’s ability to reach out to the children of the Buddhist laity. The abbots and abbesses in charge of these institutions were educated in Korea and lacked English-language proficiency and an understanding of the unique and bicultural experiences of young Koreans to appeal to and transmit the Dharma to them. As noted earlier, Korean Buddhism was also preoccupied by internal strife and disorganization back home, which hampered efforts to develop a

referent framework and know-how to effectively adapt to the organizational demands of modern religious propagation (Buswell 1992). The younger generation regularly attended their local Korean Buddhist temple only as elementary school-aged children chaperoned by their parents (who could not leave them alone at home), and most usually stopped attending beyond their childhood years. As sociologist Karen Chai (2001a) and religious studies scholar Sharon Suh (2004) have pointed out, however, Korean Buddhist parents have unwittingly played a role in this respect: They subscribed to the Buddhist teachings of individual karmic destiny and freedom of choice and believed that to “force another person to bend to one’s will is then seen as a most un-Buddhist act” (Suh 2004: 19). These democratic attitudes have had the unintended consequence of “an increasing Christianization of many second-generation Buddhist children, who simply choose to socialize with their Korean American peers, most of whom are involved in the church” (170). In some cases, Korean Buddhist parents even approved of their children attending the Christian church because it offered the opportunity for them to socialize with their co-ethnic peers who shared Korean values.

While some of the Buddhist temples established youth groups, they were sparsely attended or failed to remain viable long-term for a variety of reasons, such as the lack of English-language leadership and co-ethnic fellowship opportunities, especially in comparison to the local Korean churches. Karen Chai Kim (2008) stated that some younger-generation Koreans also found the temple to be foreign and uncomfortable, since it catered mostly to the cultural needs of the first generation and enforced the traditional rules of hierarchy and seniority; the chanting services and Dharma Talks were conducted in Sinitic and vernacular Korean, respectively; and they had to perform prostrations and constantly sit on the floor surrounded by exotic Buddhist images. Most of the time, the younger generation only attended the temple on important cultural and religious days in the calendar year, such as *Ch’opail* (Buddha’s Birthday), *Seolnal* (Lunar New Year’s) and *Ch’useok* (Korean Thanksgiving). It is not surprising, then, that by 2001, when most had reached adulthood and were free to make a more independent choice as to

their religious identities, only 260 Canada-born second generation Koreans – out of the total population of Korean Buddhists in Canada of close to 5,000 – self-identified as Buddhist (Beyer 2010).

On the other hand, those who did attend their local ethnic temples and centers with any regularity consisted primarily of 1.5-generation Koreans, including study-abroad students⁴⁰ (Chai 2001a). Their participation was facilitated by their relative familiarity and comfort level with Korean culture and the Korean language, as well as the appeal of socializing with fellow 1.5-generation Koreans and study abroad students (*yuhaksaeng*) who shared similar immigrant experiences and bilingual abilities. Based on my experiences as an adherent of HSW in Toronto growing up and presently, the HSW offered youth group meetings (although on an inconsistent basis) in which group members, consisting almost entirely of 1.5-generation Koreans, normally congregated in a small room after the Sunday lunch or on a separate day (usually Saturday), where they were given spiritual counsel in the Korean language by one of the resident monks. Youth group members usually did not fully participate in the main Sunday service and the Dharma Talk that followed, which was largely the ‘privileged’ domain of first-generation members; rather, they remained on the ‘sidelines’ ready to help out with chores wherever they could, such as cleaning, helping prepare lunch, providing support to the head monk before, during or after the services, or taking care of the children. During lunch, which was usually prepared by female members,⁴¹ the meal tables were hierarchically arranged by gender and age, with older male members sitting at the front of the dining room, followed by middle-aged male members, older female members, middle-aged female members, and finally young adult and youth members (both male and female). In addition, the older members of the youth group were spoken to by the younger generation using honourific language in accordance with the Korean language system, and the monks/nuns were accorded an extremely high degree of respect. In this way, younger-generation HSW members retained the traditional Confucian

⁴⁰ Due to the paucity of extant material on the religiosities of the younger generation of Korean Buddhists in Toronto, my knowledge here is based on my observations as a personal practitioner of Buddhism at meditation workshops at three Korean Buddhist temples in Toronto (HSW, JHST, and PST) from January 2008 to April 2012.

⁴¹ In a recent visit to HSW in December 2012, I discovered that the center had since instituted a new rotational and gender-neutral system of meal preparation consisting of separate teams, comprised of both men and women, which alternately prepared the Sunday lunch each week.

value and belief systems of age-based hierarchy, role responsibilities and respect within the temple environment.

3. 1.5 vs. Second-Generation Koreans

Socio-economic factors such as long work hours and workweek chiefly prevented many early Korean immigrants to North America (i.e. those who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s) working in blue collar jobs from actively engaging in the early socialization process of their children. As a consequence, the second generation were largely unable to maintain their heritage-language abilities, which they had acquired at home prior to the start of their formal education, and they eventually became highly Anglicized: they conversed in English at school, amongst their peers, and even with their siblings at home. A similar pattern was observed among ethnic Chinese and Japanese youth in America, who were especially likely to lose their heritage-language abilities in the early years of school, where mainstream education and peer socialization played an integral role in this loss (Fillmore 1991). As research in second-language acquisition learning and identity formation has shown, language use at home between parents and children is the most crucial factor in determining whether the heritage language and a strong identity rooted in the heritage culture will be maintained or lost over the generations (Hinton 1999; Li 1999; G. Cho 2000). The loss of heritage language abilities among the second generation was also due in part to the lack of a perceived utility, and hence incentive, in becoming bicultural and bilingual in other contexts, especially in terms of future professional work (Hinton 1999; Cavallaro 2005; Lee 2002). This sort of language shift to English on the part of the second generation normally negatively impacts family relations, because family members cannot understand and meaningfully express themselves with each other due to the language-gap between adults and their children (Fillmore 1991). The linguistic divide in the immigrant family can also lead to a skewed socialization process wherein the Anglicized immigrant child absorbs the sociocultural norms and attitudes of the wider society more than the indigenous cultural norms at home – not only through the meanings conveyed through mass media, the educational system and their peers, but also through the structural and functional nature of the language itself (“language

socialization”; see Scheffelin and Ochs 1986; Vygotsky 1978; Whorf 1956). The Confucian values that second generation Koreans did learn, such as respect for age-based hierarchy and respect along with individual sacrifice,⁴² created a dissonance with what they learned at school, amongst their peers and through the mass media in North America, which emphasized a more liberal, egalitarian and horizontal approach to hierarchy and the values of independence and pursuit of individual goals. For example, second-generation Korean-Americans perceived the Confucian method of parenting of strong discipline and expectations of child obedience as a sign of rejection from their parents when, conversely, this was a sign of higher parental acceptance in the homeland⁴³ (Pettengill and Rohner 1985). According to classical acculturation theory, these dissonances lead to acculturation strategies whereby the second generation children of immigrants either attempt to balance both cultures (integration/biculturals); reject the heritage cultural system altogether and exclusively follow mainstream culture (wholesale assimilation/monoculturals); reject the mainstream cultural system altogether and exclusively follow the practices of the heritage culture (separation/monoculturals); or follow neither culture (marginalization) (Berry 1997). To this point, Donald Baker has noted that many second-generation Korean-Canadians often claim they “feel” more Canadian than Korean and prefer to blend into mainstream Canadian society rather than actively seek to participate in Korean cultural groups (Baker, 2008: 170, 173). On the other hand, Kyeyoung Park (1999) and Minjeong Park (2005) have shown that many younger-generation Koreans in North America substantively integrate both Korean and Western cultural elements and their bicultural, hyphenated identities are not stable, absolute identifications but change according to time and speaker.

The economic growth of Korea in the 1980s that continued through to the new millennium, along with the establishment of investment immigration programs in Canada in the 1990s, produced the third

⁴² As Jean Kim (2008) and Choi et al. (2001) have pointed out, the Korean parental sacrifice of working long, laborious hours as well as the acceptance of post-immigration downward mobility for the sake of their children’s future has had a significant and lasting influence on the younger generation, as it was and remains a factor which motivates many 1.5- and second-generation Koreans to excel in their academic and professional careers.

⁴³ Korean adolescents in Korea perceived greater parental behavioural control as an indication of higher parental acceptance (Pettengill and Rohner 1985), which is likely a byproduct of the degree of cultural importance that is placed on social role responsibilities in Korean society and culture.

wave of Korean newcomers to Canada beginning in the late 1980s and which continued through to the new millennium. These investor immigrants represented an economically wealthier cohort group upon arrival compared to the first and second waves of Korean migrants. Instead of coming to Canada based on economic need, many were motivated by the educational and English language-learning opportunities for their children – English-language proficiency was considered and remains a highly valuable asset in Korea in the globalized world (J. Kim 2008: 17-18). Many of the children of Korean immigrants who arrived in Canada and America in this period were pre-teens or adolescents who had received some formal education in Korea (usually elementary school-level education) prior to migration. Due to their relatively late age of arrival, members of this group came to be defined as the “1.5 generation,” since they fell somewhere in-between the Canada-born (or U.S.-born) second generation and the first generation of their parents with whom they arrived.⁴⁴ They have also been referred to as the “parachute” generation because they landed in North America in the middle of their developmental years (A. Lee 2006). It should also be noted that many 1.5-generation Korean migrants, particularly in Canada, consisted of *yuhaksaeng*, temporary study-abroad foreign students who arrived on student visas with designs of returning to Korea with their families upon completion of their education abroad (Baker 2010: 178).⁴⁵ A significant number of 1.5-generation Koreans also immigrated to North America with a single parent (usually the mother), with the father remaining behind in Korea to provide economic support for the family overseas. This practice in which the father remains home and earns money for the sake of his children’s education overseas has become so prevalent in Korea that the fathers have been given the endearing epithet *kireogi*, which literally means “wild geese,” an iconic bird in Korea known for their natural devotion to their spouses and offspring (J. Kim 2008; Baker 2008: 163). As Baker has noted (2010), “wild geese” Korean fathers represent one of the factors that enable 1.5-generation Korean students to retain a strong sense of

⁴⁴ The group of 1.5-generation Korean members represents a substantial and growing generational subgroup in the ethnic Korean community in Canada – 35 percent of ethnic Koreans who migrated to Canada between 1996 and 2000 fell in the 5-19 age group (Kim and Duff 2012: 85).

⁴⁵ In the past decade, Canada has hosted more study-abroad students from South Korea than any other country: Close to 38 percent of those entering Canada with student visas in 2005 came from South Korea, followed by foreign students from China (Baker 2008: 163).

Korean identity, as they consistently remind their children that “their real home is across the Pacific” when they come to visit them in Canada (178).

1.5-generation Koreans in Canada and America were likely better equipped and positioned to retain Korean cultural elements and sense of Korean ethnicity than second-generation Koreans who grew up in the preceding decades. First, the increased economic wealth of Korean families as well as white-collar employment opportunities within the growing Korean community in Canada (e.g. real estate companies, ethnic community banks, travel agencies etc.) likely provided more time for parental supervision and socialization at home, which in turn provided more opportunities for Korean parents to reinforce Korean values and customs among their children and preserve their heritage-language abilities and their sense of Korean identity. Hence, even Canada-born second-generation Koreans who grew up during this period were likely able to develop higher levels of Korean-language proficiency and to have absorbed traditional cultural norms to a greater extent than second-generation products of the first and second waves of immigration. That 79.7 percent (104,905) of all Koreans living in Canada in 2011 described Korean as the language most spoken at home (and another 13 percent spoke Korean on a regular basis) attests to the extent to which the Korean language has been maintained among immigrant Korean households in recent years (Statistics Canada 2012).

Recent drastic technological developments in transportation and telecommunications such as the Internet and the accompanying myriad social networking sites in Korea, as well as satellite and ethnic TV programming airing Korean dramas in North America, have allowed 1.5-generation migrants growing up in the 1990s and new millennium to physically live overseas but continue to consume Korean popular culture virtually, thus creating “imagined” transnational communities (McLellan 1998) that allowed them to continue to feel powerfully connected to the wider Korean homeland and to feel “more like Koreans in Canada than like Canadians who happen to be Korean” (Baker 2010: 178). More recently, the enormous popularity of Korean popular culture internationally, in particular its soap operas and blockbuster movies, known as the “Korean Wave” may have enhanced a sense of ethnic pride and identity among the 1.5

generation. Young Koreans in North America have also been able to conveniently and frequently communicate with their friends and relatives in Korea, especially through its version of Facebook called “Cyworld,” which contributes to the creation and maintenance of these imagined communities. Citing one of the main reasons members of the 1.5 generation in America regularly consumed popular Korean TV programming, Jung-sun Park’s study found that many of them could not empathize with popular American TV shows such as “Friends,” mostly due to limited cultural understanding – specifically “the different cultural ‘emotive’ codes and body language” of the TV characters (J.S. Park 2004). Park contends that a non-native level of English proficiency plays a critical role in this inability to culturally empathize. A study by Jean Kim and Duff also pointed out that 1.5-generation Koreans in Canada may be pressured to be literate in Korean pop culture due to their active participation in local Korean peer networks where “displays of Korean identity are crucial” (J. Kim & Duff 2012: 85).

The growing number of Korean migrants to Canada during the third wave of Korean immigration prompted the development of multiple Koreatowns and commercial ethnic enclaves in the Greater Toronto and Vancouver areas where Korean immigrants could meet most of their socio-cultural needs without having to speak English. In the case of 1.5-generation *yuhaksaeng*, for example, Donald Baker has noted that, since so much of their lives “outside of the classroom are spent in Korean cultural zones, very few of them adopt a Canadian self-identity and the vast majority of them would resist being labeled Korean-Canadians, even though they might have spent a lot of time in Canada” (Baker 2008: 170). The larger size of the local ethnic Korean communities has also created more employment opportunities in Korean-owned local businesses, in which the predominant language spoken is Korean and most of the clientele are ethnic Koreans. The relatively significant presence of these types of businesses is evidenced by the fact that 15 percent of employed Koreans aged fifteen or older in Canada spoke a language other than English or French most often at work in 2006 (J. Park 2012). It is reasonable to assume this non-official language was Korean and that these Korean-Canadians were employed at “ethnic businesses serving mostly Korean compatriots” (26). Hence, the substantively bilingual (Korean-English) 1.5

generation may have grown up with the added incentive to maintain their Korean language proficiency as well as Korean cultural sensibilities – likely more so than the relatively unilingual second-generation group of Koreans who grew up in the same time period – due to their perceived utility in multiple contexts. On the other hand, while 1.5-generation Koreans may have retained and internalized many aspects of Korean culture and recognize they are different culturally than “real Canadians,” they also recognize they are different from Koreans in the homeland (“real Koreans”) due to the limited amount of time they were socialized in Korea (Baker 2008: 171). In this sense, members of this group feel neither fully Korean nor Canadian and are caught between two worlds – what Kim and Duff have characterized as “acculturation without assimilation” (Kim and Duff 2012: 94).

As Donald Baker (2008) has noted, the degrees to which 1.5-generation Koreans retained Korean cultural sensibilities and customs, however, also proved to be a source of a schism with their second-generation ethnic counterparts, who felt a greater distance from Korean culture than members of the former group. For example, older 1.5-generation Koreans usually demanded respect from younger members of Korean university campus organizations “because they had retained the Korean Confucian value in which even a small difference in age creates a social hierarchy in which the junior should defer to a senior. Second-generation Korean Canadian members of these campus organizations who absorbed the more egalitarian spirit of Canadian culture, however, resented demands for deference from those only slightly older than they were” (173). In addition, my personal experiences growing up in the local Korean community in Toronto support Donald Baker’s observations that 1.5-generation Korean-Canadians are sometimes derogatorily referred to as “FOBs” (Fresh off the Boat) by the second-generation group due to the former’s readily apparent “Koreanness” (e.g. perceptible English accent, style of dress) and thus a perceived inability to assimilate to Canadian society. On the other hand, members of the latter group sometimes derogatorily refer to second-generation Koreans as “whitewash” (i.e. “awashed in white culture”) or “banana” (i.e. “yellow exterior but white interior”) due to what they perceived to be an overly eager desire to assimilate and forget their cultural roots (Baker 2008: 172).

4. Concluding Remarks

In summary, two prominent themes appear to emerge from the above discussion on Korean immigrant religions and migrants in Canada and the United States:

(1) One salient difference between immigrant Korean Buddhism and Protestantism in North America lies in their levels of institutional and theological conservatism and liberalism. Korean Protestantism in North America is a mostly evangelical and conservative Christian institution that emphasizes adherence to the Protestant belief system, proselytization activities, active institutional attendance and participation and exclusive religious membership. In contrast, immigrant Korean Buddhism is a mostly Zen (Korean: *Seon*) and relatively liberal institution that emphasizes self-motivation and self-determination in terms of religious membership and institutional participation. The literature also indicates that, in comparison to Korean Protestantism (and similar to Korean Buddhism), immigrant Korean Roman Catholicism is a theologically liberal religion institution in which exclusive religious membership and participation are de-emphasized.

(2) The younger generation of Koreans in Canada can broadly be divided into the two subgroups of 1.5 generation and second generation, between which there exists significant cultural differences: Most members of the former subgroup spent some of their early formative and educational years in Korea prior to migration, predominantly migrated to Canada in a globally connected environment during the 1990s and new millennium that provided easier and more frequent access to homeland culture, and consequently have managed to retain a relatively strong sense of Korean identity and values. By comparison, most members of the latter subgroup grew up almost entirely in Canada during the 1970s and 1980s, prior to the drastic advancement in global technologies, and consequently are relatively Westernized in terms of their cultural identities and values. Hence, the definition of a 1.5-generation Korean that I employ for the purposes of this study is a migrant Korean who received some formal education in Korea prior to

migrating to Canada during the globally-connected time period of the 1990s and new millennium; a second-generation Korean is one who was either born in Canada or migrated to Canada prior to receiving any formal education in Korea.

Given these inter-religious and intra-generational (i.e. within the group of next-generation Koreans) cultural differences, not only will Korean Buddhist and (Protestant) Christian young adults in Canada likely differ in their general attitudes and approach to religion, there may be subtle and varying degrees of religio-cultural differences within their own religious peer groups. The next chapter describes the theoretical basis of this research that will provide the cultural psychological criteria through which to measure and examine these differences.

CHAPTER THREE

CROSS-CULTURAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

INDIVIDUALISM VS. RELATIONAL COLLECTIVISM (I-RC) &

ANALYTIC VS. HOLISTIC (A-H) COGNITION

Interest in Asian culture and philosophy in North America was evident as early as the first half of the 19th century in the writings of the American literary Transcendentalists, namely Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman. These writers were drawn to the mystical component of Eastern religious practices such as Buddhism, Hinduism and Daoism, which they had read from English-translated texts brought over by the early missionaries to Asia. This was followed by the first World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago held in 1893, which was organized by Western Christian leaders who were seeking to cooperate with and learn from the other world religions. The series of meetings brought together – among others – Confucian, Buddhist, Daoist and Hindu leaders from India, Sri Lanka, China and Japan. Some of these Asian religious leaders would later return to America to further expound their teachings to the general public. (Fields 1981; Coleman 2001) The Asian wars at the mid-century mark of the 20th century, namely the Korean War (1950-53) and Vietnam War (1959-75), brought the region to mainstream public attention in North America as many Asian refugees fled the poor and war-ravaged conditions back home to the US and Canada. This garnered sympathy from the American and Canadian publics for not only the Asian peoples but also their cultural heritage, resulting in an increasing demand for courses on Asian religions in the universities to better understand and empathize with the 'other side' (Matthews 2006). There was also widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of spiritual life in many Christian denominations beginning as early as the turn of the 20th century in North America, which culminated decades later in the counterculture movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The counterculture

movement once again brought Asian religions and philosophy to the mainstream and drew the attention of literary writers (most prominently the “Beat Generation”), philosophers and psychologists. With the increasing economic wealth and political power of Asian nations in the latter half of the 20th century combined with developments in information technology, interest and academic research in Asian culture, society and religion has since grown immensely.

The increasing interest and research in Asian culture and society also brought to the fore issues relating to differences between the socio-cultural systems of East Asia and the West, which was broadly defined in terms of collectivism (former) versus individualism (latter) (See, for example, Tonnies 1957; Lukes 1973; Hall 1976; Macfarlane, 1978; Triandis, 1982, 1995; Hidetoshi 1983; Hofstede, 1984; Westen 1985; Capps and Fenn, 1992; Masakazu 1994). That is, the degree to which relational harmony and collective interests prevailed over individual interests and goals in many of the major social practices of East Asian culture appeared to be markedly stronger than in Western/North American culture, which prized individual rights, interests and goals.

1. Sinitic vs. North American Culture: Philosophical Foundations

The relational collectivistic ideals of East Asia stem largely from Chinese culture, which is steeped in the value and philosophical system of Confucianism (Westen 1985) and which came to exert a powerful influence on the cultures of its smaller neighbouring countries of Korea and Japan beginning thousands of years ago. With its primary emphasis on social values and order, Confucianism has historically been a more powerful institution for organizing state and society in East Asia (Shim et al. 2008: 17) than the region’s other prominent systems of thought, such as Buddhism, Daoism, and Shamanism, which – while philosophically similar to Confucianism in their emphasis on the interconnectedness of all things in nature – otherwise share an emphasis on otherworldly matters and

mystical and transcendental practices.⁴⁶ Confucius established his value system in response to the prevalence of wars and chaos in China at the time, which led him to believe that “people are not created equal and do not become equal throughout their lives. Rather, when they are born, they are weak and need parents” (Clark 2000: 31). Thus, for peace and social order to reign, it was imperative that individual roles and behavioural expectations were clearly defined and established for people in all levels of society. He espoused the 5 Primary Relationships that were based on patriarchal hierarchy and reciprocity: (1) King-Subject, based on Justice-Loyalty (2) Father-Son, based on Love-Filiality (3) Husband-Wife, based on Initiative-Obedience (4) Elder Brother-Younger Brother, based on Brotherly Love-Respect (5) Friends, based on Mutual Faith. As a result, under the Confucian system, a person is always defined in relation to someone else throughout their lifetime and is expected to fulfill their roles and duties to maintain societal harmony (Shim et al. 2008; 27). The strong relational collectivistic values of Chinese culture later came to exert its powerful influence on Buddhism, one of the other major systems of thought of China that has also deeply influenced the culture, which became infused with both Confucian and Daoist ideals after it was imported from India around the 3rd century C.E. (Hughes and Hughes 1950).

Indian or Early Buddhism, which emphasized ascetic renunciation, self-effort and individual-oriented enlightenment, was transformed in China into a relatively lay-oriented tradition that emphasized collective effort and enlightenment (“universal salvation”) (Chan 1957-58). While monks in India sought individual enlightenment in order to never return to the world of samsara (cycle of birth and death), the Chinese introduced the concept of the Bodhisattva Vow – those who postpone enlightenment in order to help others along the path – and the idea of divine grace through prayer to Buddhas living in heavenly abodes. This form of Buddhism came to be known as “Mahayana” (literally “Great Vehicle”) and is the

⁴⁶ For example, Buddhism teaches that humans are karmically bound in the cycle of samsara (cycle of birth and death), and emancipation is achieved through spiritual transcendental discipline; Shamanism teaches that the external world (spirits of the dead and of nature) is intimately connected to and influences the internal or human world, and these external forces can be appeased through the divine and charismatic mediation of the shaman; Daoism teaches that the energy of the cosmos flows through all living beings and hence the goal is to live one’s life in harmony with the “Way” (i.e. cosmic energy), the actual practice and realization of which involves inner alchemy, which in turns requires self-effort and hermetic removal from social ties and relationships.

dominant Buddhist tradition in East Asia today. In this sense, one could argue that Mahayana Buddhism is an exemplar of a relational collectivistic religious tradition because of its emphasis on relationships, community and obligations.⁴⁷ The tradition of Mahayana Buddhism eventually made its way into Korea and Japan in the 5th and 6th centuries C.E. and has since likewise become embedded in the cultures and thought systems of the two countries.

The individualistic ideals of North American culture (and Western civilization in general) is said to stem from a variety of time periods and fields, such as ancient Greek philosophy, the advancement of capitalist economies and the culture of family and kinship in the Medieval period, and the revolutionary ideals of Western Europe in the early modern period (beginning of the 16th century) (Baumeister 1987; Capps and Fenn 1992; Cromer 1993; Hamilton 1973; Lukes 1973; Macfarlane 1978, 1987; Tonnies 1957; Westen, 1985). Most of these political, economical and social movements and trends eventually spilled over into North America (Aries 1980; Thornton and Fricke 1987). Ancient Greek philosophy and culture viewed society as comprised of inherently equal individuals, wherein a just and fair society allowed individuals the freedom to express their thoughts and challenge authority in a culture of critical debate. (Galtung 1981; Hamilton 1973: 25) As a byproduct of the focus on the individual, ancient Greek philosophy developed analytic thought in which the world was composed of individual objects that could be dissected into their particular properties and classified and whose behaviour was governed by their category. Rule-based categories provided the foundation for formal logic and rationality, the fundamental means of public debate in ancient Greece. (Hamilton 1973, 33) The revolutionary periods of thinking in Western Europe and America that began with the Renaissance (14th-17th C) and included the Protestant Revolution (16th C), Enlightenment (17th C), and Scientific Revolution (16th-18th C), represented a return to Classical Greco-Roman individualism, as the previously dominant socio-political systems that were based on religious faith, tradition and authority were being challenged and overthrown by rational, scientific and empirical inquiry. As a by-product of the focus on the individual, the revolutionary ideals

⁴⁷ Other collectivistic religious traditions in this regard are Judaism, Hinduism, and (to a lesser extent) Catholicism. (Cohen and Hill 2007).

also emphasized humanism – the idea that this physical world is as important as the other world after death, and thus examining the basic nature of humans and their natural rights became the order of the day. Western Europeans began to reject the absolute authority of the Pope in Rome because it was based on acceptance and dependence on faith and tradition and thus subversive of the basic value of individual rights and freedom (Lukes 1973). The Protestant Revolution pushed Christian practice and theology in a new direction that emphasized individual religiosity and the “priesthood of all believers” – the personal relationship between the individual and God without the mediation of the institutional clergy. Churches that promoted social activities, relationships and community were seen as inferior and backwards by the Protestant church (Capps and Fenn 1992; Cohen & Hill 2007). The revolution also made sacred the value of individual responsibility and work (Weber 1958). Protestantism, therefore, is an exemplar of an individualistic religion because of its strong individual orientation toward religiosity and its minimization of the value of social community (Cohen and Hill 2007). Calvinists, specifically the Puritans and Presbyterians, many of whom formed the majority of the new settlers to North America, intensified the ideal of individual egalitarianism during the Reformation. In contrast to the Confucian view of individuals as “weak,” Kant encapsulated the spirit of the revolutionary movement in the West that attempted to empower the individual: “‘Have courage to use your own reason!’ – that is the motto of Enlightenment” (Kant 1963).⁴⁸

2. Korean vs. Canadian Social & Linguistic Systems

The relational collectivistic and individualistic ideals manifest today in various aspects of East Asian and North American society and culture, in particular in the areas of family, education, and communication (language and media), which serve to reinforce the traditional orientations of the respective societies. Confucian values teach that family harmony, which is the act of fulfilling the

⁴⁸ Clifford Geertz described the Western individualistic conception of the self as separate-from-other as a minority view in the world: “[T]he Western conceptions of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against a social and natural background is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world’s cultures.” (Cited in Aronson 2004: 20).

prescribed family roles and duties, should be the source of individual happiness, since each member owes their very existence to their parents⁴⁹ and therefore they should maintain an eternal and un-payable sense of indebted gratitude to them (Shim et al. 2008). Parents (as well as grandparents, uncles, aunts) in Korean culture, for example, command a large degree of respect and obedience from the children as they are considered to have accumulated superior wisdom and knowledge in their older age and, as a result, assume (in particular the father, who is considered the head of the household) a highly authoritarian position in the patriarchal family hierarchy who makes the final decision on all family-related matters. The father is also the traditional breadwinner of the family. From the perspective of the Korean parent, common expressions of filial piety are mainly twofold: First, the father (usually the eldest son in his family growing up) is traditionally expected to invite his own parents to live under one roof with his wife and children so as to look after them in their old age, in what commonly becomes a multi-generational household; second, the father dutifully and devoutly performs ancestral memorials every year on the anniversaries of ancestors' deaths as well as on *Chuseok*⁵⁰ (Korean Thanksgiving), which involve elaborate and solemn rituals and prostrations and the participation of all family members.⁵¹ The wife is expected to support her husband by supervising household matters, such as providing food for family members and being the primary caregiver of the children (Clark 2000). From the perspective of the son, one of the common expressions of filial piety in Korea is the individual achievement of material and social success, which brings honour and prestige to the family name. For example, receiving admission into a prestigious university in the capital city of Seoul is considered one of the integral stages of social success and instantaneously elevates respect others will have for the family and the family name. The older brother/sister is expected to provide life mentoring, cover all the costs for social outings, and overall be a good role model to the younger brother/sister; while the latter is expected to respect the older brother/sister by seeking advice and guidance whenever needed. Failure to fulfill or transgression of

⁴⁹ In other words, everyone had parents who gave birth to them and who subsequently clothed, fed and housed them when they were dependents.

⁵⁰ Korean-English transliterations in this dissertation are based on the McCune-Reischauer Romanization system.

⁵¹ It is said that Korean families will endure long traffic hours to make the trek to the tomb of the clan patriarch located in the rural regions of Korea to pay their respects on *Chuseok* (Shim et al. 2008).

family duties and obligations by one individual can bring collective shame and dishonour to the family as a whole and cause them to lose face (Kalton 1977). North American families, on the other hand, are comparatively centered on the nuclear family and a respect for and acknowledgement of the independence and unique wants and needs of individual members (Lesthaeghe 1983; Razi 1993; Thadani 1978). While European Western parenting is usually described as authoritative, parents do not necessarily view their children as extensions of themselves (and vice-versa) but as independent individuals in their own right who are entitled to make their own choices (Gray and Steinberg, 1999): North American parents consistently encourage their children to be independent and do things on their own and make choices for themselves: “Would you like to go to bed now or would you like to have a snack first?” (Nisbett, 2003: 58) Western development psychological literature articulates the goal of normal child development as “separation and individuation” wherein children “should grow up to have their own identity and make choices independent of others’ influence” (Aronson 2004: 21). While familial expectations, roles and rules do exist, in particular for the children, they are less rigidly hierarchical and relatively egalitarian compared to the East Asian family. Grandparents usually live separately from their children and their families, both husbands and wives commonly have professional careers, children are encouraged to seek personal over parental fulfillment, and siblings can be “best friends.”

Failure to fulfill familial expectations and roles or transgression of rules may also bring a measure of guilt and shame to the North American family member, but this is mostly confined to the individual and the family as a whole does not necessarily collectively “lose face” or are “shamed.” The marked differences in emphases on relational collectivism in East Asia versus individualism in North America are reflected in child disciplining practices: While North American families may discipline their children by grounding them (i.e. keeping them within the home), East Asian families discipline their children by “kicking” them out of the house. In other words, North American children associate pain with closeness to home (i.e. live by family/household rules, less freedom and opportunity to express the individual self),

while East Asian children associate pain with distance from home (i.e. loss of family support and thus core identity) (Suler 1993).

The Confucian family hierarchical climate has been transferred to other institutions and areas of East Asian society such as the educational system. In the “family” of the school classroom, the teacher plays the role of the parent and students the children, who are taught to hold the former in high esteem because of their superior accumulation of knowledge and wisdom in their older age (Shim et al. 2008). The level of deference for the Korean teacher is reflected in the “Song of Un-Payable Indebtedness to the Teacher,”⁵² which is traditionally sung every year on Teacher’s Day from primary to secondary school, during which the students collectively serenate their respective teachers by expressing their “oceanic” debt of gratitude and love for the teacher, as well as the promise to “repay” him/her by later engaging in work benefiting the Korean nation. Students, as a result, are not encouraged to intellectually challenge their teachers or peers early on in the classroom, an educational normative that continues into the postsecondary level wherein debates usually proceed with caution and deference so others are not offended and harmony is maintained (M.S. Kim 2002). The overall climate of the Korean educational system may be encapsulated by the Korean/Japanese proverb that admonishes “the nail that sticks up gets hammered down.” Conversely, teachers in North America do not receive the same level of respect as those in East Asia. Indeed, North American students may sing songs about teachers, but the songs are usually derogatory in nature: The popular “School’s Out” children’s rhyme that is usually sung at the end of the school year sings “No more pencils, no more books, no more teachers’ dirty looks.” The Greek culture of debate is one of the foundations of the educational curriculum in the West, where students are encouraged to “speak up” and assert their individuality by freely articulating their thoughts and opinions to others and intellectually challenging each other early on in the classroom (Hamilton 1973). UCLA Professor Kyeyoung Park, who grew up in the Korean educational system, recounted a personal story as a

⁵² This is my own translation of the Korean title of this song, *Seuseungeui Eunhye* (스승의 은혜), the lyrics for which can be found on literally hundreds of Korean websites by doing a search through the Korean “Google” of portal search engines, Naver.

university student in the United States that captures this cultural difference in debating styles and communication: While her soft and seemingly unassertive speaking style was mistaken in the American classroom for a “lack of confidence” and “not knowing,” her communication style of not “speaking up” was simply an expression of Korean deference and humility for the sake of trying not to offend anyone – “classroom harmony” (cited in Shim et al. 2008: 67). The proverb that relatively describes the spirit of the North American classroom is “The squeaky wheel gets the grease.”⁵³

Relational collectivistic and individualistic values are prominently present in the popular media of East Asian and North American society, respectively. Distinguishing between *ideal effect*, the states people desire and want to feel, as opposed to *actual effect*, the states people actually feel, some studies have shown that Chinese media portrays the ideal effect as calmness, serenity and tranquility to a much greater extent than American media, which strongly portrays ideal effect as excitement, elation, and enthusiasm. For example, representations of happiness in the magazines of the two cultures contrast markedly, with American women’s magazines showing “more excited smiles than equivalent Chinese women’s magazines” (Ruby et al. 2012: 1206). Such Chinese media portrayals promote an environment conducive to relational harmony, that is, to dictate that “individuals control and subdue their emotional expressions so as to maintain harmonious relationships and not impose their feelings on others” (ibid). American media portrayals, in contrast, create an environment conducive to self-actualization, since individuals are “aroused” to seek individual passions that will lead to personal fulfillment. Korean advertisements on television and magazines are more likely to emphasize collective benefits and preferences (e.g. “We have a way of bringing people closer together”; “Ring out the news of business friendships that really work”) than American advertisements, which emphasize individual benefits and preferences (e.g. “Make your way through the crowd”; “Alive with pleasure”) (Han and Shavitt 1994). When citing the possible causes for crimes in newspapers, the Chinese media tend to cite causes that are

⁵³ It should be noted that recent research suggests that certain aspects of Korean culture and society have changed in the face of rapid globalization in the new millennium to become more like the individualistic West (see, for example, Heine and Lehman 2003; Shim et al. 2008). However, it is also reasonable to assume that change will likely be piecemeal and that many traditional Korean cultural elements still endure today.

situational in nature, such as relationships (e.g. “did not get along with others”) and societal contributions (“victim of Chinese educational policy”), whereas North American media tend to cite causes related to individual disposition, such as attitudes and traits inferred from past behaviour (“a darkly disturbed man”; “very bad temper”) (Morris and Peng 1994). In an empirical study conducted by Kim and Markus (1999), advertisements targeting Americans were shown to emphasize how buying an object will make them unique, whereas advertisements targeting East Asians emphasized how buying an object will allow one to conform to others.

According to language socialization theory, language plays an integral role in the socialization process as it becomes one of the fundamental means through which socio-cultural norms are learned, internalized and assimilated. Speakers always learn a language in social context (i.e. socialized to use language) and thus automatically assimilate socio-cultural norms in the language acquisition process (i.e. socialized through language) (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). Assimilation of socio-cultural norms, in turn, develops socio-culturally defined habits of thinking, feeling and acting for members of that society (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986; Vygotsky 1978; Whorf 1956). The East Asian languages, both from a structural and functionalistic sense, largely exemplify and reinforce the Confucian value system. For example, the personal pronoun or subject identifier “I” or “you” or “she” is omitted in most conversational exchanges in the Korean language because they are assumed: The Korean equivalent of the question “What are you doing/Have you been well?” literally translates to “What doing/Been well?” Most utterances in Chinese, Korean and Japanese begin with the context or topic, as if to indicate that the self is always a passive subject embedded in and dependent upon the environment or context – that action is “the consequence of the self operating in a field of forces” (Nibsett 2003: 158). Most English sentences begin with the subject identifier “I” or “You,” as if to indicate the self is always an active agent that is acting upon and shaping the environment or context.

In addition, Korean speakers are generally taught to refer to related others, such as family members, classmates and teachers, using the collective pronoun “our” rather than the personal pronoun

“my,” such as in “our family,” “our classmate,” and “our teacher.” The proper expression in English in most cases is “my family,” “my classmate,” and “my teacher.” As a result, the “our” approach of East Asian languages may serve to inculcate in the speaker a sense of self that spans beyond the borders of the individual to include others – that is, a “we-ness” or “we” consciousness whose sense of self begins with the collective (Shim et al. 2008).⁵⁴ The “my” approach of English, on the other hand, may serve to breed a sense of identity in the speaker that is relatively smaller, compact and singularly defined – an “I-ness” consciousness whose sense of self begins with the individual.

Finally, the pervasive Confucian-based linguistic system of honorifics and the complex morphosyntactic rules governing them in East Asian languages (“socialized to use language”) is said to strongly reinforce the Confucian social stratification system (“socialized through language”).⁵⁵ In the Korean language, terms of deference are consistently applied when the speaker is addressing or referring to strangers, older-aged individuals or those with relatively high social status. For example, older family members and school teachers and professors in Korea are strictly referred to or addressed by their relative title in the family (e.g. *eomma/abba* – “father/mother”; *hyeong/nuna* – “older brother/sister”), or in school (e.g. *seonsaengnim* – “teacher”; *kyosunim* – “professor”), and never by their first names.⁵⁶ Communication with or in reference to such older groups of individuals is also accompanied by grammatical changes, in particular the addition of suffixes and the replacement of regular verbs with honorific ones, which serves to accentuate the level of respect of the speaker for the older other. For example, depending on the relationship and its level of formality, the above family/school-related titles are sometimes accompanied by the honorific suffix *nim*, meaning “the respected” or “the honourable,” when younger individuals refer to or address them. Thus “mother” (*eomma*) becomes “respected mother” (*eomeo-nim*), “older brother” (*hyeong*) becomes “respected older brother” (*hyeong-nim*), and “teacher”

⁵⁴ Citing the influence of Korean Shamanism, P.C. Hahm has referred to the “we-ness” consciousness of Koreans as “ego-overlap” (Hahm 1988: 67).

⁵⁵ This strict linguistic system of enforcing honorifics is referred to in the field of linguistics as a “bound system of status denotation.” The Korean language is considered an exemplar of such a bound system of status denotation (McBrian 1978: 320).

⁵⁶ In situations that necessarily require a reference to their first names, this is done in a highly indirect and discreet manner by the younger individuals.

(*seonsaeng*) becomes “respected teacher” (*seonsaeng-nim*). While the English language system of honorifics does exist, it is significantly less in breadth and depth than East Asian languages; as author Charles McBrian has noted (1978), formal terms of address and terms of deference such as “Mr./Ms.,” “Sir/Madame,” “The Honourable/The Respected,” or “Teacher/Professor” are used only in narrowly defined social situations and are not necessarily maintained after initial introductions or in the long-term. In addition, honorific transformations or conjugations of verbs generally do not apply to the English language in situations involving communication between individuals of significant age or social status gaps.⁵⁷

The following table summarizes the literature that has described the marked differences between Korean/East Asian and Canadian/North American society in terms of their social and linguistic systems:

Table 2.1 Korean vs. Canadian Social & Linguistic Systems

Culture	Language Culture	Family Culture	Educational Culture	Media Culture
Canadian (North American)	Linguistically subject-prominent, “I”-ness, agentive, open system	Independence and individual fulfillment	Individual critical thinking and debate	Promotes excitement
Korean (Sinitic)	Linguistically topic-prominent, “we”-ness, communal, bound system	Harmony based on role-defined obligations	Teacher-student hierarchy and harmonious relations	Promotes calmness

⁵⁷ This relatively optional or lax linguistic system of honorifics is referred to as an “open system of status denotation.” In contrast to the Korean language, the English language is an exemplar of an open system of status denotation (McBrian 1978: 320).

3. Korean vs. Canadian Cultural Worldview

Social psychologist Geert and Jan Hofstede compared the patterns of thinking, feeling and acting – in other words, the worldview – of members of a certain society to computer software,⁵⁸ calling these patterns the products of a “mental programming” process that occurs throughout the lifetime of the individual, but most significantly in early childhood as this is the time a person is most susceptible to assimilation and learning (Hofstede and Hofstede 2010: 4). As a result, it is more difficult to unlearn these programs that one has assimilated in early childhood at a later age. The mental programming begins with the early socialization process within the family and is continuously supplemented, complemented and reinforced by the society at large (e.g. educational, social, and communicative systems). In this sense, Hofstede and Hofstede’s concept of mental programming bears similarities with Pierre Bourdieu’s *habitus* (1977) and Emile Durkheim’s *milieu social* (1912/2001), concepts that refer to the socially-learned set of habits or dispositions that broadly guide an individual’s action. Recent social and cross-cultural psychological research has focused on (1) systematically and empirically testing the effects of traditional East Asian and North American socio-cultural systems on the worldviews of contemporary cultural members – in particular, given the globalized nature of the world today and the process of modernization and Westernization that has occurred in East Asia, the extent to which traditional socio-cultural systems may have been minimized or undermined; (2) measuring these differences in terms of priorities or relative salience (since individuals by nature are never absolutely relationally collectivistic or individualistic but fall somewhere along a continuum); and (3) organizing this knowledge and establishing the defining characteristics of the Eastern and Western worldview in terms of individualism versus relational collectivism (I-C). Worldview has generally been decomposed into three dimensions that answer the basic questions about the nature of the world for individual members of that culture or society: *Self-representations* (i.e. Who am I?), *agency beliefs* (i.e. How does the world work?) and *values* (i.e.

⁵⁸ Although Hofstede and Hofstede do qualify their statement by cautioning the reader that unlike computer software, the human mind has the “ability to deviate and exercise creativity” (Hofstede and Hofstede 2010: 4).

What is important in life?) (See, in particular, Brewer and Chen 2007 for an overview and conceptual clarification of past I-C cross-cultural research).

In terms of research methodology, past cross-cultural laboratory tests and experiments consisted of standard personality assessment tools (usually questionnaires) that either exclusively or comprehensively measured the self-representations, agency beliefs and values of participants in terms of I-C. They were also based on both a quantitative (standardized and scaled measurements) and qualitative (observed individual behaviour and approach to tasks) analytical approach. Most questionnaires described various hypothetical situations and presented the research participant with a list of possible responses to these situations – responses that could be broadly characterized as either relatively individualistic or (relationally) collectivistic in orientation. The hypothetical situations were designed to pit individualistic against collectivistic ideals and hence assess participants' priorities, that is, where "priorities are placed when the demands and implications of different aspects (of the self) are in conflict" (Brewer and Chen 2007: 141). Respondents were then asked to rate or rank on a Lickert-type scale (e.g. 1-7) the strength of their agreement with each of the possible "I-C type" responses, with *describes me very well* on one extreme end of the scale and *doesn't describe me at all* on the other. Standardized psychological measuring tools were then applied to quantify the results for each respondent in terms of I-C.

Three exemplars of the personality assessment tools that were utilized (and which reflect the general format and style of most other tests) include the Twenty Statements Test (TST), a free-format questionnaire that asks participants to make twenty statements in response to the question at the top of a blank sheet of paper "Who am I?"; the Self-Construal Scale (SCS), a questionnaire in which participants are asked to indicate the strength of their agreement/disagreement (in terms of applicability to the self) with multiple statement-answers (each reflecting either an individualistic/relationally collectivistic orientation) to various hypothetical situations; and the Relational, Individual and Collective Self-Aspects (RIC) Scale, a questionnaire consisting of a total of ten questions in which participants are asked to indicate the strength of their agreement/disagreement (in terms of its applicability to the self) with three

statement-answers (each reflecting the three self-aspects) to a hypothetical situation or question (Kashima & Hardie 2000).

The questionnaires and laboratory tests were mostly administered to contemporary undergraduate students (with relatively balanced female-to-male ratios) in large urban-centered universities in both North America (e.g. UBC and University of Waterloo in Canada; University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign and New York University in the United States) and East Asia (e.g. Seoul National University and Chung-Ang University in Seoul, South Korea; Tokyo University in Japan), and instructions and questionnaires were translated into the appropriate languages (and translated back to ensure accuracy) where necessary. Many of these studies also included samples of East Asian university students who grew up in North America (hereafter referred to as Asian-Canadians/Asian-Americans) as a research component. This group was added in some of the studies for the purposes of researching the effects of acculturation – the strong possibility that they might ostensibly embody bicultural orientations that are intermediate between European North Americans and native East Asians, as some Asian Canadians/Asian Americans may have spent a substantial portion of their childhood in East Asia before immigrating to North America at a later age and hence be influenced by both societies and cultures; or some may have mostly grown up in North America but were simultaneously influenced by their experiences of East Asian culture both at home and/or in the wider ethnic immigrant community. In either case, it was reasoned that this group was substantially, though not completely, socialized into North American culture.

As cultural psychologist Steven Heine (2001) has noted, European respondents in many of the extant cross-cultural studies are represented by Americans, whose culture may be said to represent an extreme case of individualism among Western nations in view of its founding ideology that “emphasizes the importance of self-determination and individual rights” (Heine 2001: 884). In this regard, Canada, which emphasizes the ideals of multiculturalism, seems to be less individualistic than the United States. At the same time, however, it can be argued that “Canada more closely resembles the United States culturally and psychologically than any other nation” (Heine 2001: 884-85). Similarly, he has argued that

Korea, China, and Japan are united in their shared Confucian heritage as well as their shared philosophical foundations of Buddhism and Daoism, which all place a strong emphasis on interrelational harmony and which provides a “theoretically meaningful contrast” with North American independent selves.

Various cross-cultural psychological studies examining the three dimensions of worldview of self-representations, agency beliefs, and values revealed marked differences in the I-C scores between East Asian and European North American participants (Cho et al. 2010; Choi and Choi 2002; Cousins 1989; Hoshino-Browne et al. 2005; Heine et al. 1992; Hui 1988; Kim et al. 1994; Matsumoto et al. 1997; Rhee et al. 1995; Singeles 1994; Suh 2002; Triandis et al. 1986). In terms of **self-representation**, East Asian respondents represented the self in terms of their identification with others or social groups and roles (e.g. “I am Sarah’s friend”; “I cook dinner with my sister”; “I am the oldest child in my family”) to a greater extent (in terms of frequency and/or priorities) than Euro-Canadians and Euro-Americans, who were more likely to represent the self in terms of individual essence and abstract psychological attributes (e.g. “I am hard working and friendly”; “I am ambitious”; “I am moody”) – that is, as a “situation-free agent characterized by personal styles of acting, feeling and thinking” (Cousins 1989: 126). Asian-Canadians/Americans were usually intermediate between the two subgroups in terms of frequency and prioritization of relationalistic and individualistic self-representations (For self-construal comparisons between South Korean vs. Korean-American vs. Euro-Americans, see Rhee et al. 1995; for South Korean vs. Euro-American self-construals, see Choi and Choi 2002; for Asian-Canadian vs. Euro-Canadian self-concepts, see Hoshino-Browne et al. 2005; for Japanese vs. Euro-Canadian self-concepts, see Heine et al. 1992; for South Korean vs. American self-construals, see Suh 2002; for Korean-American vs. Japanese-American vs. Chinese-American vs. Caucasian American self-construals, see Singeles 1994; and for Japanese vs. American self-construals, see Cousins 1989).

For example, Rhee et al.’s study (1995) found a “significant linear decrease in both abstract and autonomous self-descriptions when moving from Euro-Americans through ... singly identified Asian

Americans [self-identified as “Asian-American”], and doubly identified Asian Americans [self-identified as both “Asian” and separately as “Asian-American”] to Koreans” (Rhee et al. 1995: 150, brackets mine). South Korean students’ self-descriptions were largely defined by specific situations as well as relational ties (e.g. sisters, son, last child) while Euro-Americans characterized the self in terms of emotional states and abstract traits; Asian-American students who identified more closely with their ethnic Asian origins were mostly similar to South Korean self-representations and those who identified least with their ethnic origins were mostly similar to Euro-American self-construals. Rhee et al. argued that the predominance of specific, situational and relational self-representations among Koreans can be attributed to the in-group focus of relational collectivistic cultures and the value placed on not standing out from other in-group members.

Since the goals of relational harmony usually take precedence over individual goals in a relational collectivistic society, East Asians predominantly see themselves as inextricably tied to others and their environments (i.e. interdependent self-construal), to the extent that the East Asian is “literally a different person in the family than in his role as a businessman” (Nisbett 2003: 176). As a consequence, members of these cultures are likely to change their self-description depending on the situation they are presented with (being with parents, professor, friend and so on) (Suh 2002) and are ready to endorse contradictory views of their personality (for example, introverted and extraverted at the same time) (Choi and Choi 2002). Since the goals of the individual are prioritized over the goals of relational harmony, North Americans predominantly view themselves as separate and distinct from their environments (i.e. independent self-construal). The independent self places emphasis on self-consistency and considers the latter important for self-esteem, even if it comes at the cost of rigidity, and thus North Americans are not likely to change self-descriptions (Suh 2002).

For example, Heine et al. (1992) conducted a cross-cultural study on the self-concept clarity, defined as “a measure of the extent to which a person feels that he or she has a clear, consistent, and unchanging understanding of their self” (n.p.), between Japanese exchange students and Canadian

students who were at least third-generation Canadians, or second-generation Canadians of European ancestry, at the University of British Columbia:

As the nature of the interdependent self is highly context-specific, the self is considered to vary greatly from situation to situation, for example, as a function of the others that are present or the role that one occupies within the group. The independent self, on the other hand, is more likely to remain distinct from the environment, and therefore would be more resistant to situational fluctuations. We reasoned that the differences regarding the situational dependence between these two construals of self would be manifested in scores on a self-concept clarity measure, and we expected Japanese respondents to exhibit lower levels of self-concept clarity (or higher self-concept confusion) than Canadian respondents (Heine et al. 1992: n.p.).

Heine et al. found that Japanese respondents scored significantly higher in self-concept confusion than Canadian respondents. In addition,

We hypothesized that for Canadians, where an unambiguous, autonomous and consistent sense of self is valued, a low sense of self-concept clarity would be distressing, and thus associated with lower self-esteem. Meeting the Canadian cultural imperative of individuality would appear to require a clear sense of the self that constitutes the individual, and makes him or her distinct from the environment.

We reasoned that the contextualist nature of the Japanese, or interdependent construal of self would suggest that an inconsistent, or unstable, self-concept would not necessarily have the same negative connotations as it might for Canadians. The interdependent self-concept is expected to vary with the situation, hence one's self-esteem is not expected to be as directly linked to the clarity of the self-concept (ibid n.p.).

The correlation between self-concept confusion and self-esteem was significantly smaller for Japanese respondents than the Canadian sample.

A study by Hoshino-Browne et al. (2005) tested the cognitive dissonance experienced in the decision making of 64 Euro-Canadian and 52 Asian-Canadian undergraduate students (116 in total) at the University of Waterloo. The Asian Canadian students were all born in Asia (Hong Kong, China, Vietnam, Taiwan) but had lived in Canada for at least several years. The study found that European Canadian students predominantly experienced cognitive dissonance when they felt the decisions they made (in a situation presented to them by the investigators) were irrational and/or influenced by other people. This is because an irrational choice threatened their ideal of an independent self-concept, which in the decision-making process includes the “need to be rational and to make choices independently of or free from other entities and contexts” (Hoshino-Browne et al. 2005: 295). Hence they were inclined to engage in justifying their decisions or choices in such cases to reduce cognitive dissonance. The Asian Canadian students presented a more complex case: The more strongly Asian Canadians identified with their heritage culture, the more they experienced cognitive dissonance when making decisions for close friends (and not when making decisions for themselves), since there was the fear they might have made interpersonally inconsiderate decisions, which threatened their ideal of an interdependent self-concept. Hence they were inclined to engage in justifying their decisions or choices in such cases to reduce cognitive dissonance. Those who weakly identified with their Asian culture (and thus more with Canadian culture) experienced cognitive dissonance and reacted to it in the same situation as the European Canadians did. Since they leaned more in one direction than the other, both the strongly and weakly identified Asian Canadian students were labeled “monocultural Asian Canadians.” The third sub-group that emerged from the Asian Canadian contingent were those who strongly identified with *both* Asian and Canadian cultures, and they experienced cognitive dissonance when both an independent and interdependent self-concept was threatened, indicating this group embraced both independent and interdependent self-concepts as their cultural ideals. This group, given the label “bicultural Asian Canadians,” seemed to be able to “smoothly cross the boundary of two cultures and readily switch

between the two cultural mind-sets” (Hoshino-Browne et al. 2005: 309). The study showed that there is a clear link between cultural identification and culturally ideal self-concepts people hold. Although both the monocultural and bicultural Asian Canadian students were born in Asia and later immigrated to Canada, some have continued to live in a predominantly Asian cultural zone, “surrounded by people with the same ethnic background and cultural assumptions,” while “others have lived in an environment in which they were immersed in North American culture” (Hoshino-Browne et al. 2005: 297). These were important cultural factors that highly shaped their self-construals.

In terms of **(agency) beliefs**, East Asians expressed the belief that role responsibilities determine behaviour and that achievement requires interdependence (e.g. “Colleagues’ assistance is indispensable to good performance at work”) to a greater extent (in terms of frequency and/or priorities) than European North Americans, who primarily expressed the belief that individual agency and responsibility are the primary bases for achievement (e.g. “In the long run, the only person you can count on is yourself”). (For comparisons in agency beliefs between South Koreans vs. Korean-Americans vs. Euro-Americans, see Rhee et al. 1996; for South Korean agency beliefs in non-cross-cultural perspective, see Cho et al. 2010 and Cha 1994; for Hong Kong Chinese vs. Euro-American agency beliefs, see Triandis et al. 1986 and Hui 1988). For example, Cha (1994) studied the differences in perspectives on socio-cultural obligations and roles between two generations of South Koreans – one generational group consisting of young adults in their twenties and the other group consisting of those 50 and older – to measure the impact of modernization (namely individualism) in Korea on the attitudes of the younger generation. He found that, while the younger generation of twenty-something participants showed less willingness to sacrifice personal development for family obligations and role responsibilities than the fifty-something generation, Koreans in both age groups were, on the whole, more relationally collectivistic than individualistic in terms of their belief in the importance of social in-group obligations. Cho et al. (2010) studied the academic and social adjustment behaviour of undergraduate Korean students in Seoul and found that relational collectivistic beliefs about agency such as the sharing of academic information, studying together and supporting one another for the purposes of academic success were salient in students’

responses, despite the fact Korean universities have increasingly adopted “Western operational styles” that emphasize independence and self-reliance (Cho et al. 2010: 83). In addition, Nisbett noted that a study by Iyengar and Lepper (1999) not only showed a marked difference between East Asians and Euro-Americans in terms of agency beliefs, but also reflected how early in childhood cultural worldviews are assimilated:

Social psychologists Sheena Iyengar and Mark Lepper asked American, Chinese, and Japanese children aged seven to nine to solve anagrams, such as, “What word can be made from GREIT?” Some of the children were told to work on a particular category of anagrams; other children were given a choice about which anagrams to solve, and still others were told that the experimenter had spoken to the child’s mom, who would like the child to work on a particular category. The researchers then measured both the number of anagrams solved and the time spent working on them. The American children showed the highest level of motivation – spending more time on the task and solving more anagrams – when they were allowed to choose the category. The American children showed the least motivation when it was Mom who chose the category, suggesting that they felt their autonomy had been encroached upon and they had therefore lost some of their intrinsic interest in the task. Asian children showed the highest level of motivation when Mom chose the category (Nisbett 2003: 58-9).

In terms of **values**, East Asians prioritized the values of maintaining relational harmony, responsiveness to others’ needs, and listening to others’ advice (e.g. “Family members should stick together no matter what sacrifices are involved”) to a greater extent than European North Americans, who generally prioritized the values of self-interest, pursuing personal preferences, and independence and freedom (e.g. “The most important thing in my life is to make myself happy”). (For comparisons in values between South Koreans vs. Korean-Americans vs. Euro-Americans, see Rhee et al. 1995; for South Korean values in non-comparative perspective, see Cho et al. 2010; for South Korean vs. Euro-

American values, see Choi and Choi 2002; for Korean-American vs. Japanese-American vs. Chinese-American vs. Caucasian American values, see Kim et al. 1994; for South Korean vs. Asian-American vs. European American values, see Matsumoto et al. 1997; for South Korean vs. American values, see Matsumoto et al. 1998; for Hong Kong Chinese vs. Euro-American values, see Triandis et al. 1986 and Hui 1988). For example, Nisbett cited the study by Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1993), who conducted a survey over a period of several years that gave dozens of questions to middle managers taking seminars in Holland from – among other countries – Canada, the US, Korea and Japan.

Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars presented their students with dilemmas in which independent values were pitted against interdependent values. To examine the value of individual distinction versus harmonious relations with the group, Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars asked the managers to indicate which of the following types of job they preferred: (a) jobs in which personal initiatives are encouraged and individual initiatives are achieved; versus (b) jobs in which no one is singled out for personal honor, but in which everyone works together. More than 90 percent of American, Canadian, Australian, British, Dutch, and Swedish respondents endorsed the first choice – the individual freedom alternative – versus fewer than 50 percent of Japanese and Singaporeans (Nisbett 2003: 63).

Kashima et al. (1995) conducted a study of 254 South Korean undergraduate students in Seoul, 256 Japanese students in Tokyo and 134 Euro-American postsecondary students in Chicago, as well as 158 Euro-Australian postsecondary students in Melbourne. The study showed that Korean and Japanese students consistently prioritized relational collectivistic values of responsiveness to others' needs (e.g. "I feel like doing something for people in trouble because I can almost feel their pain") and interpersonal harmony (e.g. "I feel uneasy when my opinions are different from those of members in my group") more frequently than Euro-American and Euro-Australian students, who relatively placed more importance on

self-interest (e.g. “I often do what I feel like doing without paying attention to others’ feelings”) and pursuing personal preferences (e.g. “I based my actions more upon my own judgments than upon the decisions of my group”) than East Asian respondents. The study also interestingly noted intra-East Asian differences in relational collectivistic attitudes: Korean students showed overall higher levels of the relational collectivistic value of responsiveness to others’ needs than Japanese students, which was attributed to the emphasis on “emotional relatedness” (934) in Korean culture, as reflected in the prominence of cultural concepts such as *cheong* (affection) and *woori* or “we-ness.” In a related study by Tsai et al. (2006), it was found Asian American and European American college students valued the emotions of excitement, enthusiasm and elation (conducive to the individualist values of self-actualization and fulfillment) more than Hong Kong Chinese did, while the same Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese valued the emotions of calmness, serenity and tranquility (conducive to relational harmony) more than European Americans, suggesting that Asian Americans fall somewhere in-between these two subgroups (Tsai et al. 2006).

As these studies have also shown, individualism and relational collectivism are not mutually exclusive concepts and co-exist in individuals of all cultures. Indeed, the prevalence of contradictory I-C proverbs in both the East and West is further evidence that I-C are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts within a given culture (Brewer and Chen 2007).⁵⁹ Furthermore, since the laboratory tests have not and cannot possibly cover the myriad social situations and venues of everyday life and society, it remains to be seen whether the relational collectivistic/individualistic orientations of East Asians/North Americans are retained across diverse situations and public venues.

⁵⁹ For instance, in North America, “too many cooks spoil the broth” but “many hands make light work”; in China, “a single hand clapping, though fast, makes no sound” but “rather than have three or four people steal a cow, it is better to steal a dog alone” (Brewer and Chen 2007: 141).

Table 3.2 Decomposition of Individualism vs. Relational Collectivism (I-RC)

Construct	Prioritized Self-representations	Prioritized Beliefs	Prioritized Values
Individualism	Individual uniqueness, core essence, consistency	Belief in individual agency, responsibility, basis for achievement	Self-interest primary, pursuing personal preferences, self-actualization, freedom, independence
Relational Collectivism	Close relationships define the self, other's outcomes are my outcomes	Role responsibilities, determine behaviour, achievement requires interdependence	Responsiveness to others' needs, listening to their advice, maintaining harmony in relationships

(*Source: Brewer and Chen 2007: 141)

4. Korean vs. Canadian Cultural Cognitive Orientations

Analytical psychologist Carl Jung was one of the early researchers to recognize, in the 1950s, the predominance of holistic thought processes in East Asians that starkly contrasted with the analytic and empiricist thinking of the West. As Harold Coward writes,

In Jung's view, Eastern psychology was nothing more than a kind of scholastic description of psychic processes with no necessary connections to empirical facts. Because of this lack of empirical method, Eastern thought, said Jung, suffers "a curious detachment from the world of concrete particulars we call reality." As evidence for this contention Jung reported that Easterners, while gifted in seeing things in their totality, had great difficulty in perceiving the whole in terms of its empirical parts. For example, of his conversation with the Chinese scholar Hu Shih, Jung said, "... it was as though I had asked him to bring me a blade of grass and each time he had dragged along a whole meadow for me ... each time I had to extract the detail for him from an irreducible totality." The East, said Jung, still views reality metaphysically in terms of the whole, and

describes the whole in cognitive projections which often have little to do with the nominalistic concepts of the empiricist (Coward 1985: 62).

More recently, social and cross-cultural psychologists such as Richard Nisbett (2003), Ara Norenzayan (1999, 2001) and Steven Heine (2001) hypothesized that the specific socio-culturally defined worldviews and practices and traditional philosophical systems of East Asian and North American cultures would serve to orient members' cognitive processes, that is, their patterns and habits of perceiving and reasoning the world around them, in prominently differentiated paths. These socio-historical and cultural forces were viewed as fundamental "tenets" or building blocks in the cognitive development of members of that particular culture. Gorodnichenko and Roland (2011), for example, have argued that the perception of the outside world follows essentially the same logic as the perception of self (i.e. self-construal). Since the fundamental tenets of East Asian socio-cultural systems emphasize relationships, interrelational harmony and interdependency, it was reasoned that East Asians would be inclined to perceive objects as part of wholes, that is, as embedded in a nebulous web of relationships with others or their environment; less focus is placed on the individual objects themselves (Gorodnichenko and Roland 2011). This process of cognition is defined as *holistic* – the process of perceiving and reasoning about the world that *prioritizes* attention to the relationship between the context (field) and a focal object (Brewer and Chen 2007; Nisbett, 2003). It is also characterized as contextualized or field-dependent cognition.⁶⁰ Since the building blocks of North American socio-cultural systems place relative emphasis on the individual, individual autonomy and independence, it was reasoned that North Americans would tend to perceive objects as discrete entities existing independently of the field having certain unique features. This thought process is defined as *analytic* – the process of perceiving and

⁶⁰ In a study of collectivism and holism within Western religious groups, Zachary Dershowitz found that Orthodox Jewish boys, who grow up with relatively high levels of social constraints such as clearly-defined role relations, attended to the social world (field dependent) more than secular Jewish boys, who, in turn, attended to the social world more than Protestant boys (Dershowitz 1971).

reasoning about the world that prioritizes attention to a focal object and its internal attributes. It is also characterized as decontextualized or field-independent cognition.

The analogy that can be used to characterize the overall difference between analytic and holistic thought processes is the lens of a camera: Holistic thought tends to use a wide-angle lens or “zoom out” to capture a wide field of view, while analytic thought tends to use a telephoto lens or “zoom in” to magnify a particular object. If one person views the world through a wide-angle lens and sees objects in contexts, whereas another views the world through a telephoto lens and focuses primarily on the object and its properties, these two people will likely approach events quite differently. The person with a wide-angle view would be inclined to see events as being caused by, or to solve problems by considering, or to understand things in terms of complex, interrelated contextual factors. The person with a narrower and focused view, on the other hand, would be inclined to see events as being caused by, or to solve problems by considering, or to understand things in terms of individual or central objects and their properties (Nisbett 2003: 109). In a related empirical study by Norenzayan (2008) that applied the Group Embedded Figures Test⁶¹ on Canadians, Chinese and Arabs, Canadian participants were found to attend less to the background (i.e. field-independent) than the Chinese, who in turn were less field-dependent than Arab participants (cited in Heine and Ruby 2010: 260).

Similar to the research methods used to examine I-C cultural variations in worldview, past cross-cultural studies that assessed specific the dimensions of cognition in terms of A-H consisted mostly of questionnaires. For the purposes of this study, I focus on four particular dimensions or aspects of cognition discussed in the literature: *Causal attribution* (i.e. How individuals explained and predicted events), *conflict resolution* (i.e. How individuals solved problems and resolved conflicts), *reasoning modes* (i.e. How individuals reasoned about world events) and *event movement perception* (i.e. How individuals perceived direction and nature of change of events in the world). Research investigators based

⁶¹ The Group Embedded Figures Test, invented by Herman Witkin in 1971, is a standard cognitive assessment tool that measures an individual’s perceptive behaviour in distinguishing object figures from the background or field (usually a distracting background) in a presented image.

in the various regions administered parallel tests (translated into the appropriate language where necessary) to mostly undergraduate university students in large urban-centered universities in both North America (Canada, U.S.) and East Asia (Korea, China, Japan). Methods of analysis were quantitative in nature (standardized and scaled measurement tools). The questionnaires normally described various hypothetical situations and presented the research participant with a list of possible responses to these situations – responses that could be broadly categorized as either analytic or holistic in orientation. The hypothetical situations were designed to pit analytic against holistic thought processes and hence assess participants' cognitive priorities – where they gave primary attention when perceiving and reasoning certain situations – in various dimensions. Respondents were asked to rate or rank on a Lickert-type scale (e.g. 1-7) the strength of their agreement with each of the possible “A-H type” responses, with *highly agree* on one extreme end and *highly disagree* on the other.

In terms of **causal attribution**, studies showed that East Asians attributed the causes of events to the relationship between objects and their contexts (e.g. “How people behave is mostly determined by the situation in which they find themselves”) to a greater extent (in terms of frequency and/or priorities) than Euro-Americans, who were more likely to attribute the causes of events to attributes internal to the object (e.g. “How people behave is mostly determined by their personality”); the scores of Asian-Americans were intermediate between East Asians and Euro-Americans, rating the holistic-oriented statements higher than Euro-Americans but lower than native East Asians, and the analytic-oriented statements lower than Euro-Americans but higher than native East Asians (For comparisons in causal attribution styles between South Koreans vs. Asian-Americans vs. Euro-Americans, see Choi et al. 2000; for South Korean vs. Euro-American causal attributions, see Norenzayan et al. 2002a; and for a comprehensive review of literature on South Korean/Chinese/Japanese vs. Euro-American causal attributions, see Nisbett et al. 2001 and Nisbett 2003).

Since holistic thought processes tend to perceive the relationship between the focal object and its field, East Asians reason that an individual's behaviour is significantly determined by their situation.

Since analytic thought processes tend to focus on the individual object and its internal attributes, North Americans reason that an individual's behaviour is generally determined by their own disposition, that is, understood in terms of its "essence" or underlying attributes. For example, Ara Norenzayan, Incheol Choi and Richard Nisbett (2002a) conducted a cross-cultural study in behaviour-prediction tendencies among Korean students at Yonsei and So-Gang University in Seoul, South Korea and Euro-American students at the University of Michigan. Participants were asked to rate the degree to which they personally agreed with each of the following statements about human behaviour:

1) How people behave is mostly determined by their personality. One's personality predisposes and guides an individual to behave in one way, not in another way, no matter what circumstances the person is in. In a sense, behavior is an unfolding of personality. One's behavior is remarkably stable across time and consistent across situations because it is guided by personality. Therefore, if we know the personality of one person, we can easily predict how the person will behave in the future and explain why that person behaved in the particular way in the past.

2) How people behave is mostly determined by the situation in which they find themselves. Situational power is so strong that we can say it has more influence on behaviour than one's personality. Often, people in a particular situation behave very similarly, despite large individual differences in personality. Therefore, in order to predict and explain one's behavior, we have to focus on the situation rather than personality. Personality plays a weaker role in behavior than we used to think.

3) How people behave is always jointly determined by their personality and the situation they find themselves. We cannot claim that either personality or the situation is the only determinant of our behavior. Our behavior is an outcome of the complex interaction between personality and situational factors. We always have to consider personality and situation simultaneously. Therefore, we cannot predict and explain one's behavior with personality or situation alone (Norenzayan et al. 2002a: 119).

While Korean and Euro-American participants “were equally likely to endorse a dispositionist theory of behavior [i.e. statement 1], Koreans agreed with a situationist theory [i.e. statements 2 and 3] more” (Norenzayan et al. 2002a: 118, brackets mine).

In terms of **modes of reasoning**, studies showed that East Asians reasoned about the convincingness of arguments based on personal experience and intuition⁶² to a greater extent (in terms of frequency or priorities) than European North Americans, who were more likely to judge convincingness based on formal logic, rules and abstract principles (For comparisons in modes of reasoning between South Koreans/Chinese vs. Asian Americans vs. Euro-Americans, see Norenzayan, Smith, Kim, & Nisbett, 2002; for Korean- and Chinese-Canadian vs. Euro-Canadian reasoning modes as well as South Korean vs. American modes of reasoning, see Buchtel and Norenzayan 2008; and for a comprehensive review of the literature on South Korean/Chinese/Japanese vs. Euro-American/Euro-Canadian reasoning styles, see Nisbett et al. 2001 and Nisbett 2003). The scores of Asian-Canadians and Asian-Americans were relatively balanced between the two types of reasoning modes and thus intermediate between those of the East Asian and European North American groups.

Holistic thought processes tend to perceive objects as defined by their contexts, which engenders a view of the world as exceptionally complex and highly situation-specific. East Asians therefore generally recruit their concrete experiences of things and intuition in reasoning about the convincingness of an argument (Nisbett 2003; Nisbett et al. 2001; Norenzayan 1999; Norenzayan et al. 2002). Since analytic thought processes tend to perceive objects as discrete with fixed attributes that belong to set categories, North Americans generally rely on the abstract rules and principles that govern such categories and apply formal logic in their judgments about the validity of an argument. For example,

⁶² Norenzayan et al. (2002) called this experience- and intuition-based reasoning mode “exemplar memory,” in which the convincingness of an argument is based on the degrees of similarity of the argument to “previously stored exemplars retrieved from memory” (656).

Norenzayan (2003) conducted studies that tested the belief bias – in which individuals judge plausible conclusions as more logically valid than less plausible ones, even though formal logic may dictate otherwise – in the deductive reasoning of Euro-Canadian, Chinese, and Arab undergraduate students. The results showed that Euro-Canadians were less susceptible to the belief bias, remaining true to the rules of formal logic, than the Chinese, who showed a preference for plausible conclusions over formal logical ones in service to their intuition or experiences. The Arabs showed an even higher level of holistic processing than the Chinese.

In a similar study, Norenzayan et al. (2002b) tested the degrees of reliance on formal rules versus experience and intuition in the reasoning tendencies of South Korean undergraduate students at Yonsei University in Seoul, Euro-American undergraduate students at the University of Michigan, and Asian-American undergraduate students at the University of Michigan who were of Korean and Chinese ethnic background. Specifically, the study examined

the extent to which people spontaneously rely on formal rules versus intuition to mentally represent naturally occurring categories. This was done by setting logic against the typicality of category exemplars. Typicality-based reasoning relies on the similarity relations among particular exemplars of a category, with typicality judgments usually (but not always) being a function of the number of features shared by other category members. For example, penguins are atypical birds because of their perceptual peculiarities – large body, small wings, inability to fly – that set them apart from other members of the category “bird.” This type of reasoning is intuitive in that it relies on the perceptual features of actual category members, or on second-hand knowledge of the perceptual features of exemplars of a category.

Participants rated how convincing they found deductive arguments such as:

1. All birds have ulnar arteries. Therefore, all eagles have ulnar arteries.
2. All birds have ulnar arteries. Therefore all penguins have ulnar arteries.

There are two known strategies one can recruit to reason about these arguments. Reasoners following logic would “discover” the hidden premises in each argument, that “All eagles are birds,” and “All penguins are birds.” Once these hidden premises are exploited, the argument becomes a standard valid deductive argument. Armed with this knowledge, participants should be equally convinced by the typical and atypical arguments.

But the typicality of the conclusion category can make the arguments more convincing to the extent that reasoning is guided by intuitive strategies rather than logic. When participants evaluate both typical and atypical arguments, a *typicality effect* is found, that is, participants are less convinced of the atypical arguments than typical ones (Norenzayan et al. 2002: 668).

The results showed a “large typicality effect” for Koreans, a “marginally significant” one for Asian-Americans, and no effect for Euro-Americans, whose responses were “consistent with logic, being equally convinced by both arguments” (Norenzayan et al. 2002: 671).

In terms of **conflict resolution**, tests and experiments showed that East Asians attributed the cause of a problem or conflict to both sides and to reconcile the conflict by advocating a “middle ground,” dialectical resolution⁶³ (e.g. “Both the mother and daughter have failed to understand each other” but “in the not-too-distant future the two would likely come to see eye-to-eye”) to a greater extent than North Americans, who were more likely to attribute the cause of a conflict exclusively to one side and to resolve conflicts by advocating a unidirectional resolution (e.g. “The mother has failed to understand the

⁶³ Dialecticism in the East Asian case is similar to the Hegelian formula of thesis-antithesis-synthesis, but also includes the element of transcending contradiction, and reconciling contradiction by espousing a moderate alternative that is known as the “Middle Way,” a tenet that is espoused in all three of the major traditional religions of the East – Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. Contradictions can thus be transcended from a holistic viewpoint because the contradiction is seen as situation-dependent therefore relative. Peng and Nisbett (1999) have referred to the East Asian form of dialecticism as “naïve dialecticism” (Peng and Nisbett 1999).

daughter” and so “the mother should learn to better listen to her daughter”) (For comparisons in conflict resolution processing between South Korean/Japanese vs. Canadian/American businessmen, see Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars 1993; for a relatively comprehensive review of South Korean/Chinese/Japanese vs. Euro-American/Euro-Canadian conflict resolution literature, see Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan 2001 and Nisbett 2003). Since holistic thought processes perceive objects in relation to the field, they tend to see the source of a conflict as situation-specific rather than inherent in the individual. Hence, from the East Asian perspective, the source of a conflict is generally rooted in *both* party A and party B and thus conflicts should be resolved through compromise. Analytic thought processes tend to perceive objects in terms of abstract categories, which cultivate in the analytic thinker a commitment to universally applied rules. From the North American perspective, then, the source of a problem is rooted in *either* party A or party B (i.e. unidirectional) and thus problems should be resolved through contestation and in favour of one side. For example, Nisbett cited a Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars study (1993) that gave hypothetical questions over a period of several years to middle managers taking seminars in Holland, who were from Canada, the US, Korea and Japan (among others) that pitted dialectical against unilateral approaches to conflict resolution:

One of their questions deals with how to handle the case of an employee whose work for a company, though excellent for 15 years, has been unsatisfactory for a year. If there is no reason to expect that performance will improve, should the employee be (a) dismissed on the grounds that job performance should remain the grounds for dismissal, regardless of the age and of the person and his previous record; or (b) is it wrong to disregard the 15 years the employee has been working for the company? ... More than 75% of Americans and Canadians felt the employee should be let go. About 20 percent of Koreans and Singaporeans agreed with that view (Nisbett 2003: 65).

In terms of **event movement perception**, studies showed that East Asians perceived events to be moving in a cyclical pattern involving frequent reversals in direction to a greater extent than Americans,⁶⁴ who tended to view events as consistently progressing in a linear and particular direction (For comparisons in event movement perception between Chinese vs. Americans, see Ji, Su, Nisbett 2001; for a review of some of the cross-cultural literature on event movement perception, see Nisbett 2003). For example, Ji et al.'s (2001) study asked Chinese students at Beijing University and American students at University of Michigan several questions regarding possible future trends, such as global economy growth rates, based on information that showed past/present rates and trends. The Chinese students made more predictions that were “opposite” to the past/current trends (i.e. anticipated a slowing or reversal of the trend, especially in cases where growth rates showed acceleration) than Euro-American participants, who made more predictions consistent with the trend than the Chinese – that is, if a particular trend went up or down, they were more likely to predict that it would continue going up or down, and growth rate acceleration was conversely a “strong indicator of continued movement in a particular direction” (Nisbett 2003: 105).

As I discussed in Chapter 1 (Introduction), since holistic perspectives see “more of the field” and “notice so much,” this engenders a view of the world as an exceptionally complex and intricate place where change is the rule and stability the exception; and “the greater the number of factors operating, the greater the likelihood that some variable will alter the rate of change or even reverse its direction” (Nisbett 2003: 103-09, 200). Nisbett further argued that the Daoist concept of “the Way,” which characterizes nature as “returning” or moving in endless cycles, and the Buddhist concepts of impermanence and constant change (i.e. Dependent Origination; see Introduction for a more detailed explanation of this concept) as well as its cosmology of reincarnation (i.e. cycle of birth and death) are natural products of this field-dependent perspective (2003: 13-17, 200). Similarly, Confucius also proposed a cyclical “U-shape life model” in which “the golden time was in the past, and we need to return

⁶⁴ As Nisbett (2003:108) has noted, due to the lack of cross-cultural studies that test the event movement perceptions of Westerners from non-U.S. countries, the test results tentatively apply only to Americans.

to it” (Ji et al. 2001: 451). In contrast, since analytic thought tends to focus attention on a central object and thus attends to a “small part of the environment versus a lot of it,” the world is consequently perceived as a relatively simple place wherein “not much change is to be expected” (Nisbett 2003: 103). From this perspective, rather than a reversal of direction, change mostly occurs in the same particular direction and at the same rate. Nisbett further argued that the predominance of linear perceptions of event movement in the West is reflected in its concepts of Utopia, including those found in Puritanism, Shaker communities and Mormonism, which are generally characterized by a “steady, more or less linear progress” toward the attainment of Utopia and “once attained, they become a permanent state” (Nisbett 2003: 107).

The predominant thought systems (worldview and cognitive processes) of East Asia and North America are each the result of an altogether self-reinforcing, sociocognitive homeostatic system (Nisbett, Peng, Choi & Norenzayan, 2001: 304). The specific orientations of cognitive processes are circularly linked back to social practices, since the social practices (i.e. familial, educational and communicational practices) converge to “mentally program” a specific set of worldviews about the nature of the world (i.e. self-representations, beliefs, values); the worldviews subsequently serve as the “tenets” that steer cognitive processes (i.e. ways of perceiving and reasoning the world) in a specific direction; and the conditioned cognitive processes “return” to both justify the specific worldviews and support the social practices – “People hold the beliefs they do because of the way they think and they think the way they do because of the nature of the societies they live in.” (Nisbett, 2003, 201)

The results of these systematic cross-cultural studies can be summarized in the following table:

Table 3.3 Decomposition of Analytic vs. Holistic Cognitive Orientations

Cognitive orientation	Causal attribution	Reasoning mode	Conflict resolution	Event movement perception
Analytic	• Explanation of events based on individual disposition, abstract rules/categories.	• Abstract rule-based/ abstract principle-based/ formal logic-based reasoning .	“Either/or” approach.	Linear
Holistic	• Explanation of events based on relationship with the field/context.	• Experience-based/ intuition-based reasoning. • Experience-based associative/relationship thinking.	“Both/and” approach.	Cyclical

In the relatively substantial amount of cross-cultural psychological research conducted on the acculturated younger generation of Asian-Canadians and Asian-Americans, their attitudes and cognitive emphases consistently scored either “intermediate” between those of native East Asians and European North Americans or were identical to those of Euro-Canadians and Euro-Americans (e.g. Norenzayan et al. 2002; Hoshino-Browne et al. 2005; Tsai et al. 2006). This appears to indicate that Asian Canadians/Americans have ‘multicultural selves’ in which multiple self-concepts and their culturally regulated thought processes are simultaneously or sequentially accessible. The relative accessibility of these multicultural aspects in the individual, in turn, varies depending on *degrees* of biculturalism in the individual (e.g. some may be closer to the monocultural end on the biculturalism continuum), or even on whether the individual sees her/his dual cultural identities as integrated than if they see them in opposition (Benet-Martinez et al. 2002). Hence, Asian Canadians/Americans may exhibit predominantly individualistic/analytic orientations, relational collectivistic/holistic orientations, or a relatively balanced blend of these two orientations. In the applied arena of religion, the cultural orientation of the religion itself becomes an independent variable that could potentially moderate or mediate the cultural orientations of the individual. As a result, the culturally-defined ways in which the individual generally approaches

and relates to the world around her/him may not always be applicable to the ways in which she/he approaches and relates to his/her religion – that is, the individual’s religious self-identification process, personal forms of religious practice, interpretations and understanding of the religious belief system, reasoning process in justifying personal beliefs, and perception of other ‘out-group’ religions. The role of culture in these aspects will be examined in the next chapter through individual case studies of Korean-Canadian practitioners of Buddhism.

CHAPTER FOUR

KOREAN-CANADIAN BUDDHIST PRACTITIONERS:

INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES

The cultural and religious orientations of twenty practicing Buddhist young adults of Korean descent living in or from Toronto (with a minority living in or from Ottawa) were individually measured and analyzed in terms of the I-C and A-H cross-cultural framework. This study sample was well balanced in terms of inherited Buddhists (11), that is, those who were raised in a Buddhist household, versus acquired Buddhists/Buddhist practitioners (9), that is, those who were raised in a different religion (usually Christianity); female to male participant ratio (11 females versus 9 males); and second-generation Korean-Canadian (those who were either born in Canada or migrated in early childhood and before the start of formal education) to 1.5-generation Korean-Canadian (those who migrated to Canada from Korea in late childhood or beyond and after receiving some formal education in the homeland) participant ratio (9 vs. 11). The age range was between 21 and 41 years and the mean age was 30. Finally, all but two of the participants characterized their socio-economic class growing up and presently as middle class; the other two described their social class as high and I note this in their respective analyses.

Participants were categorized into one of three cultural subgroups based primarily on their ethnic self-identities. Those who self-identified ethnically as exclusively Korean or identified more closely with Korean than Canadian culture were placed in the category of “Korean Cultural Orientation (KCO)”; those who self-identified with both Korean and Canadian culture in relatively equal parts were placed in the category of “Korean and Canadian Cultural Orientation (KCCO)”; and those who self-identified as exclusively Canadian or identified more closely with Canadian than Korean culture were placed in the

“Canadian Cultural Orientation (CCO)” Other socio-cultural and linguistic factors, such as family culture growing up, Korean/English-language proficiency, time spent in Korea/Canada and countries of formal education, and close social circle, were considered and appeared to consistently and ostensibly substantiate participants’ ethnic self-identifications. The purpose of establishing these subcategories was to differentiate the degrees to which participants were likely to be influenced by Korean and/or Canadian culture.

The religious orientations of each participant in terms of attitudes and cognitive processes were then determined based on an analyses of their responses. Determinants of attitudinal religious orientations were, in turn, based on participants’ primary or prioritized religious self-representations, agency beliefs and values, and characterized in terms of the individualism vs. relational collectivism (I-C) binary. Participants’ responses to questions such as “Do you self-identify as Buddhist and why/why not?” (self-representation) and “How do you primarily practice Buddhism and why?” (beliefs, values) formed the primary data from which I drew my conclusions.

Determinants of participants’ cognitive religious orientations were based on their primary or prioritized perceptions and reasoning in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, modes of reasoning and conflict resolution, and characterized in terms of the analytic vs. holistic (A-H) cognitive binary. Participants’ responses to questions such as “Do you subscribe to the Buddhist teachings and why?” (mode of reasoning), “Do you subscribe to the Buddhist worldview and why?” (causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning) and “What do you think of other religions? Can one be both Buddhist and an adherent of another religion such as Christianity at the same time?” (conflict resolution) formed the primary data from which I drew my conclusions in this case.

To recap, the I-C/A-H cross-cultural theoretical model is defined in the following terms:

Table 3.1 Canadian vs. Korean Cultural Worldview

Worldview/ Attitudinal Orientation	Self-representations	Agency Beliefs	Values
Individualism (Canadian)	Individual uniqueness, core essence, consistency	Belief in individual agency and responsibility as basis for achievement	Self-interest primary, pursuing personal preferences, self- actualization, freedom, independence
Relational Collectivism (Korean)	Close relationships define the self, other`s outcomes are my outcomes	Role responsibilities determine behaviour, achievement requires interdependence	Responsiveness to others` needs, listening to their advice, maintaining harmony in relationships

Table 3.2 Canadian vs. Korean Cultural Cognitive Orientation

Cognitive Orientation	Causal Attribution	Mode of Reasoning	Conflict Resolution	Event Movement Perception
Analytic (Canadian)	Explanation of events based on individual disposition, abstract rules/categories	Formal logic/ abstract rule-based reasoning	“Either/or” approach	Linear
Holistic (Korean)	Explanation of events based on relationship with the field/context	Experience/ intuition-based reasoning (or experience- based“ relationship thinking”	“Both/and” approach	Cyclical

Based on this cross-cultural blueprint, one might hypothesize that KCO Buddhist participants will engage in Buddhist practice and understand and interpret its belief system in primarily relational collectivistic and holistic terms; CCO participants in primarily individualistic and analytic terms; and KCCO participants in a relatively balanced blend of these attitudinal and cognitive orientations. The question that I seek to address in this chapter, however, is: What is the role of religion in this respect? Will Buddhism moderate or mediate the individual’s cultural construction of religious behaviour and meaning? I would like to note that the real names of participants have been changed for reasons of

confidentiality, and all quotes (in double quotation marks) below are the participants' own words that have been extracted from the transcripts of the interviews.

1. Korean Cultural Orientation (KCO)

(1) KCO Individual Case Studies

Sa-In

Sa-In is a 28 year old female study-abroad student who was born in Korea and came to Toronto immediately after graduating from high school in 2001, during the third wave of Korean immigration to Canada. Both her parents live in Korea. She is currently working on her B.A. in accounting at a university in Toronto and is also employed at a Korean accounting firm. Her close circle of friends consists mostly of recent Korean immigrants (1.5 generation), with whom she primarily communicates in the Korean language, and in her spare time she likes to consume mostly Korean media online. Because Sa-In is in constant contact with Koreans at her workplace during the week and on the weekend at the local Korean Buddhist center, she feels she does not “really belong to Canadian society.” Consequently, Sa-In ethnically identifies as exclusively “Korean.”

Religious Background

Sa-In grew up in a Buddhist family in Korea. While her parents did not “push” her to regularly attend the Buddhist temple growing up, she presently attends the local Korean Buddhist center in Toronto – HanMaUm Seon Won (HSW) – more often now than she did in Korea, which she thinks is largely socially motivated since she does not have family here other than her sister and needs others to “rely” on

for support.⁶⁵ Sa-In self-identifies as Buddhist because she has been Buddhist since “I was in my mother’s (tummy), when I wasn’t born ...,” referring to the long lineage of Buddhism in her family that extends to her grandparents.

Sa-In describes her religious practice as mainly consisting of regular attendance at the local Buddhist center, which serves as a “reminder” for her to continuously strive to meditate to “control yourself” – a “kind of mind control” – since “you keep forgetting (when outside of the center).” In visits to the center during my fieldwork, I have also observed Sa-In actively volunteer her services, teaching the Korean language to second-generation Korean-Canadian children and, as a young member of the center – wherein the traditional cultural age-based hierarchical system prevails – dutifully performing the bulk of the chores with her peers. Sa-In says her knowledge of Buddhism entirely consists of that which she “learnt from Buddhist monks” as well as that which she is “learning from my life.” She subscribes to core Buddhist teachings such as karma and reincarnation because “this is what I learnt from Buddhist monks,” specifically that “When things happen, there is always reason why it happens to me” and thus “it is very important that ... they admit their situation.”⁶⁶

Sa-In is proud of being Buddhist in Canada because “it’s different” and she finds Canadians respect her religion. However, she feels more restricted in revealing her Buddhist identity to Korean Christians, whether in Korea or Toronto, as many are of the evangelical variety who approach her “even in a subway” and try to “force” her to convert. One of her colleagues at work is Catholic, who she finds is more receptive and accepting of her Buddhist faith than “Christians.” She would “love to learn” about other religions like Christianity in the future so that “we can understand their culture,” although she has no intention to convert. Sa-In also does not believe that a person can be both Buddhist and Christian

⁶⁵ Based on my experiences as a member of the HSW growing up in Toronto, the center primarily serves the ethnic Korean community: The head monks are ethnic Koreans who were invited to come to the center to serve the lay community, who consist mostly of first-generation Korean-Canadians with a sprinkling of 1.5-generation Korean-Canadians and international students, and to lead the religious services, which are conducted in the Korean language.

⁶⁶ Based on my understanding of the Korean language, Sa-In’s statement of “important that ... they admit their situation” represents a literal translation into English of the Korean expression “*Jagi eui sanghwang eul injeong hada*,” which figuratively means “you should accept your own lot in life (and not envy others).”

simultaneously because Buddhists believe that God is within (“God is myself”) while Christians believe God is “outside” and “they rely on God for their lives.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Sa-In’s religious attitudinal orientation can be characterized as relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. She attributed her Buddhist identity to the long tradition of Buddhism in her family and, hence, close relationships define her religious self – that is, the outcomes of close others (family’s religious identification) are also her outcomes (personal religious identity).

Sa-In’s religious practice is primarily defined by collective engagement with the HSW Sangha community, in particular the resident monks, who served as a reminder and inspiration for her to continue to apply meditation to her everyday life. The fact that she characterized her main form of practice in terms of collective engagement rather than individual practice suggests the prioritization of the belief that achievement requires interdependence over personal agency. Moreover, the fact that she faithfully adhered to the culturally-prescribed age-based division of labour at the center further illustrates the prominence of her relational collectivistic beliefs – in this latter case, that role responsibilities determine behavior – as well as the prominence of the relational collectivistic value of maintaining interpersonal harmony. Sa-In was also content to base her understanding of Buddhist teachings primarily on the informal discursive teachings of both her parents, center monks and life experiences over the years; there was no indication that she conducted independent research of other sources and resources (e.g. texts, other teachers etc.) to further her understanding or to gain a more objective perspective. In this sense, her behavior reflects the prioritization of the relational collectivistic value of heeding the instructional words and advice of close and authoritative others over engagement in independent thinking.

In summary, Sa-In is decidedly relationally collectivistic in orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representations (1 pt.), beliefs (1 pt.) and values (1 pt.); her numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 out of 3 points in favour of collectivism.

Causal attribution, event movement perception, reasoning mode, conflict resolution. Sa-In's religious cognitive orientation is holistic in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution and mode of reasoning, and analytical in terms of conflict resolution. First, she explains the function of karma and reincarnation primarily in terms of the individual operating *in* a surrounding field of cyclical forces. For example, she states that one must accept one's lot in life because "there is always a reason why things happen" to the individual. As mentioned above, an analytical interpreter might explain the cause of a person's lot in life as self-determined, implicitly perceiving the self as relatively free and 'in control' and therefore as operating on the world. In Sa-In's explanation, however, the emphasis is on the individual as the inevitable *recipient* of cyclical karma who must learn to internally reconcile these turn of events, and the self is therefore a relatively passive entity subject to collective control, wherein the world or surrounding field of cyclical forces is operating on the self.

Sa-In subscribes to the Buddhist cosmological idea that human souls are constantly recycled because "this is what I learnt from Buddhist monks"; no further argumentation is provided. As such, her belief is based predominantly on trust in the instructional words of close and authoritative others. Whereas an analytically oriented justification of belief might defer to a 'detachable' abstract and external principle or rule, Sa-In places trust in the words of other people, which is relatively 'immediate' and intuitive in character insofar as her frame of reference is intrinsic (i.e. personal feelings), tacit, and the conclusion is reached without going through analytic steps of validation.

However, in contrast to her predominantly relational collectivistic and holistic inclinations that prioritized inter-relational harmony and contextualization, while Sa-In does express general acceptance and tolerance of other religions, she is opposed to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically

conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, citing conceptual differences in the ‘location’ of God (i.e. God is external in Christianity, internal in Buddhism). Her reasoning process here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence is decidedly analytical in orientation – since it is based on the dissection and static categorization of religions based on their abstract attributes.

In summary, Sa-In is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the three cognitive criteria of causal attribution (1 pt.), event movement perception (1 pt.), and mode of reasoning (1 pt.). Insofar as she expresses acceptance and tolerance of other religions (namely Christianity) and thus the boundaries she draws between Buddhism and other religions do not appear overly rigid, her reasoning process is holistic to a certain degree (0.25 pts); however, she ultimately rejects the possibility of a *substantive* resolution of opposing religions through harmonious integration based on abstract and categorical reasoning, which is analytical in orientation (0.75 pts.) Sa-In’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3.25 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Relationally collectivistic (3/3)	Holistic (3.25/4) ► Analytical tendency (0.75 pts.)

Ahn-song

Ahn-song is a 26 year old female university student in Toronto. She was born in Seoul, Korea and immigrated to Canada with her family when she was 3 years old in the early 1990s, during the third wave

of Korean immigration to Canada. Her family first lived in Montreal for 3 years before moving to Toronto when she was 7. Ahn-song is bicultural on many levels as she is comfortable speaking both Korean and English, her close circle of friends consist of both ethnic Koreans and non-Koreans, and she consumes Korean and North American media, the latter mostly through online sites. While Ahn-song self-identifies as “Korean-Canadian,” she prioritizes her Korean identity because her father raised her “first as a Korean” with traditional values in which she strongly believes to this day.

Religious Background

Ahn-song first started attending the local temple in Toronto because her parents took her and so it was “with no real reason behind it,” but later she started to develop her own “standpoints on where I stood spiritually” and began attending “through my own choice and willingness to learn.” She characterizes this development as a “newfound respect and enjoyment in going to the temple.” Ahn-song “definitely” identifies as Buddhist because both of her parents and their families are Buddhist and “I have been going to my temple ever since I can remember.” She is currently a member of the HSW. Further shedding light on why she identifies with Buddhism, Ahn-song has always loved going to the temple because the “scents of burning incense along with the wooden floor *Beopdang* (Dharma Hall) brought comfort to my troubled mind.” While it is difficult for her to explain on a rational level, “sometimes even just the sight of my monks’ face made me forget all my burdens.” At the center, Ahn-song joins Sa-In and other younger generation members in dutifully fulfilling her ‘junior’ hierarchical role by performing chores such as carrying over sacramental fruits to the altar, setting up tables for lunch, and sweeping the Dharma Hall at the end of the Sunday Dharma service.

Ahn-song believes in the Buddhist idea of karma and reincarnation, citing a recent personal experience that reconfirmed her belief: She had forgotten her wallet in the gym one day and had no money to buy a bus ticket, and after many strangers declined her request for money, an elderly woman kindly agreed to give her change. This elderly lady explained to Ahn-song that she too was in a similar

situation the other week and, after being rejected by many strangers, a young woman kindly gave her change:

She said she saw me getting rejected by a few [people], saw herself last week [in me] and was showed compassion forward, it was a great little moment.

Ahn-song also feels “logic” is not needed to justify her belief because she likes “to live life simple, not complicate things, otherwise we become complicated people.”

Ahn-song is “definitely” interested in learning about other religions and people’s “personal experiences with them.”⁶⁷ Despite being Buddhist, she has visited local Korean Christian churches at the invitation of her Christian friends, although she felt no connection “whatsoever.” She does feel, however, it is important to remain “open-minded” not only religiously but “in all aspects of life.” Ahn-song also believes it is possible to be both Buddhist and Christian at the same time because Buddhism is not so much a religion as “a way of life,” as well as the fact “Krishna, Jesus, Buddha” are ultimately the “same god” in the sense they represent a “greater purpose other than yourself in this world.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Ahn-song’s religious attitudinal orientation can be characterized as both relationally collectivistic and individualistic, albeit in varying degrees, in terms of self-representation, but relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values. Like Sa-In, she initially attributes her Buddhist identity to her family’s long lineage of Buddhism with respect to both of her parents’ families, and thus close relationships define her religious self-construal. However, Ahn-song noted that her identification with Buddhism is based not only on family history but also her own independent “standpoints” that developed as she matured. It is evident then that she also attaches

⁶⁷ Her comments here reinforce the importance that Ahn-song places on concrete experiences, emphasizing the desire to understand other religions in terms of people’s personal experiences with them rather than in terms of abstract theology.

importance to personal convictions when constructing her religious identity. In this regard, Ahn-song's religious self-representation is concurrently marked by collectivism and individualism.

Ahn-song's religious practice is primarily defined by collective engagement with the HSW Sangha, in particular the resident monks, whom she relies on in times of personal hardships, i.e. their mere presence alleviate her anxieties, the latter of which have impacted her more than the verbalized teachings they passed on to her. Being present in the environment of the temple itself also provides relief for her "troubled mind." As she does not make reference to an individual Buddhist practice away from the center, her approach to her religious practice suggests the prioritization of the belief that achievement requires interdependence over personal agency. Moreover, like Sa-In, the fact that Ahn-song dutifully adheres to the cultural system of labour at the center serves to further illustrate the prominence of relational collectivistic beliefs, that is, that role responsibilities determine behavior. This also simultaneously reflects the importance she attaches to the value of maintaining interpersonal harmony, since the young are tacitly paying respects to their elders in agreeing to take on the bulk of the hard labour, and the elders, in turn, provide wisdom and leadership. Ahn-song is also satisfied to base her understanding of Buddhist teachings primarily on the informal verbal teachings of both her parents and center monks growing up; there is no indication that she has conducted independent research of other sources and resources (e.g. texts, other teachers etc.) to further her understanding or develop a more objective perspective. In this sense, her behavior reflects the prioritization of the relational collectivistic value of paying close attention to the instructional words and advice of close and authoritative others over the individualistic value of engagement in independent research and thinking.

In summary, Ahn-song is markedly relationally collectivistic in religious orientation in terms of the two attitudinal criteria of beliefs (1 pt.) and values (1 pt.). Insofar as she places primary (i.e. initial) importance on the role of her family relationships in terms of her Buddhist identity, Ahn-song's self-representation is predominantly relationally collectivistic in character (0.75 pts.); on the other hand, the fact that she additionally alludes to the role of her own convictions simultaneously reflects an

individualistic inclination, albeit secondary in nature, in this regard (0.25 pts.). Ahn-song's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2.75 points out of 3 points in favour of collectivism.

Event movement, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, conflict resolution. Ahn-song's religious cognitive orientation is holistic in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution. First, she interprets the function of karma primarily in terms of cyclical and collective interaction (i.e. relationship between an object and the field). For example, an individual's experience of generosity from a stranger is attributed to a chain or recycling of generosity that links back to other strangers. Based on the theoretical framework of analytical versus holistic thinking as discussed in Chapter Two, an analytical interpretation might attribute the cause of such an event to the individual (salient object) and the good karma he/she has accrued (attributes/properties), which implicitly perceives the self as 'in control,' or primarily responsible for the fortunate turn of events, and therefore as operating on the world. In Ahn-song's interpretation, however, the individual is the recipient of cyclical goodwill deriving from others and she therefore perceives the self as a relatively passive entity subject to collective control, wherein the world or "surrounding field of forces" (Nisbett, 2004) is operating on the self.

Ahn-song subscribes to the Buddhist cosmology of karma because it represents a "simple" and agreeable explanation of events that could otherwise be "complicated" to account for. This "simple" explanation, in turn, is essentially based on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: She perceives congruity between a concrete personal experience, i.e. others' generosity is regenerated to ultimately benefit her, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. Buddhist concept of karma, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on supporting concrete experience. Whereas an analytically oriented justification of belief might refer to a 'detachable' abstract and universal principle or rule, Ahn-song prioritizes her personal and concrete experiences, which are relatively 'immediate' in character insofar as the person's frame of reference is intrinsic, directly experienced and the conclusion is reached without going through the analytic steps of validation (see Chapter 2).

Ahn-song adopts an attitude of openness to and acceptance of other religions, despite their conflicting theologies vis-à-vis Buddhism, by attending primarily to their commonalities and/or synchronization (e.g. all religions “believe in a greater purpose other than yourself in this world” and therefore “Krishna, Jesus, Buddha, they’re all the same to me at the end of the day.”). This reflects the presence of the holistic inclination to accommodate both ends of conflicting propositions through harmonious compromise. At the same time, however, by additionally basing her “both/and” holistic position on the fact Buddhism is better represented by the category of philosophy than religion, she also exhibits the analytical tendency to justify beliefs in terms of abstract categories and their particular attributes.

In summary, Ahn-song is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the three cognitive criteria of causal attribution (1 pt.), event movement perception (1 pt.), and mode of reasoning (1 pt.). Insofar as she expresses an openness toward other religions as well as the possibility of a *substantive* resolution of opposing religions (i.e. Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity) through harmonious integration (i.e. emphasis on their commonalities and fluid inter-religious boundaries), Ahn-song’s reasoning process is primarily holistic in terms of conflict resolution (0.75 pts.); on the other hand, insofar as she supplements her response with a statement that reflects an appreciation of abstract categories (i.e. Buddhism is a philosophy rather than a religion), her reasoning process is also marked by analytical tendencies (0.25 pts.). Ahn-song’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3.75 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Relationally collectivistic (2.75/3) ► Individualistic tendencies (0.25/3)	Holistic (3.75/4) ► Analytical tendency (0.25/4)

Soo-an

Soo-an is the 25-year-old younger sister of Sa-In. She was born in Korea and came to Canada as a study-abroad high school student in 2000, during the third wave of Korean immigration. She eventually completed her B.A. in economics in Canada and currently works as a bank teller in Toronto. Soo-an self-identifies ethnically as exclusively “Korean”: While Canada is multicultural and ethnically diverse, Soo-an sometimes does not feel a sense of belonging to Canada, which she thinks is possibly due to her lack of English language skills or her “personality.” She has always made an effort to befriend non-Koreans but continues to feel like a “FOB”⁶⁸ when she is around them. As a bank teller, many customers also ask her “Where are you from?” which makes her feel “kind of weird” and adds to this sense of alienation. Most of Soo-an’s friends are recent Korean immigrants like herself, with whom she predominantly communicates in the Korean language. In her spare time, she also watches mostly Korean media programs online.

Religious Background

Soo-an grew up in a devout Buddhist family in Korea and she currently regularly attends the Sunday Dharma Services at HSW along with her sister Sa-In. She says it is only “natural” for her to identify as Buddhist since

our family background is Buddhist, so like you know it was natural that we always go to Buddhist temple, every year like New Year’s and all that, so yeah, naturally ...

Soo-an practices Buddhism mostly in times of need, whenever “there’s a ... problem stuck in my mind and I can’t get rid of it,” in which case the “first thing I think about is like calling *Juingong*⁶⁹ or call my mom and ask her for good advices based on Buddhist ... words.” She adds that her decision to turn to Buddhist teachings and practice for solace does not feel so much like a conscious decision as it does a

⁶⁸ Acronym for “Fresh off the Boat,” a colloquial and somewhat derogatory term referring to recent immigrants who have not substantially assimilated to the culture of the host country.

⁶⁹ The *Juingong* is a Korean word that is often translated as the “True Doer (behind one’s thoughts and actions).” The main form of praxis taught at HSW is to consistently “let go to, entrust in, and observe one’s *Juingong*.”

natural response, since “I’ve been doing this (for a long time) and my whole family is doing it.” Soo-an is also clearly mindful of her cultural duties as a younger member at the center, where rather than participating in the main Dharma Service, she usually remains “behind the scenes” and engages in miscellaneous tasks such as preparing the altar foods and providing care to the children of adult members who are participating in the Service.

She applies the meditative practice expounded by HSW to her everyday life, which has given her the opportunity to understand that her “physical body and the name I am given right now” is like a “one time” outfit she is wearing in this life, and she is trying to “find” her “true me” in order to “know how to handle and react to many circumstances I encounter in this life.” Furthermore, Soo-an believes everyone has a “strong and pure energy” latent in them but this is “completely shut down” by the “right or wrong” standards of thinking in this world; thus, she is personally striving to “communicate” more with her “inner me” in order to draw out these “positive energies” and use them to “perform to be a better person in this life.”

Moreover, Soo-an says she agrees with the Buddha’s teachings, in particular the idea that “all the moments happening around me” occur for a reason, namely due to the karmic cycle of birth and death. For example, out of the “trillion” people that she could “meet” in this life, “I was born as my parent’s daughter and my sister’s and brother’s siblings,” and “the only way” for her to explain this is because of “karma that I have built in the past ... so I have reincarnated in (the) form of Soo-an⁷⁰ today.” Soo-an’s understanding of such Buddhist concepts are based on what she learned directly “at the temple and (from) monks,” although her parents and siblings also “remind” her of them when she encounters everyday situations “where it is really needed.” While she will “sometimes” read books about Buddhist theory, she does not enjoy them because “it sounds ... complicated,” and prefers reading Buddhist books that are based on “real life stories or something that can (practically) advise me.”

⁷⁰ A pseudonym has been inserted here in lieu of participant’s real name.

Soo-an “respects” other religions and does not believe they have wrong beliefs – all religions exist to help people “take care” of their lives. Reflecting a dialectical approach to ‘conflict resolution,’ she attempts to reconcile Christian and Buddhist beliefs by saying

God may exist but it may have been another great man who tried to save helpless human beings to find the way out. And it may have been applied different way.⁷¹

She is interested in learning about other religions “like Catholicism” so that she can “understand” them better, although she would not consider converting. The topic of religion does arise sometimes when she meets her non-Korean friends, who are from various religious backgrounds. In such cases, Soo-an usually plays the role of a mediator, reminding them that no religion intentionally tries “to hurt people ... make you do bad things.” Like Sa-In, she feels restricted in expressing her Buddhist identity in Canada only to other Korean Christians, especially of the evangelical variety. In fact, Soo-an refrains from revealing her Buddhist affiliation to evangelical Korean Christians who approach her in the subway, because then they “wouldn’t want to give up” in trying to convert her. She finds it difficult to flatly “say no” to them in “front of (their) face” because they are usually older-generation Koreans and that kind of behavior would be considered “very rude” in Korean culture. Korean Christians find it “strange” that a young person like herself would identify as Buddhist due to the “stereotype” in the Korean community that Buddhism is an archaic religion practiced only by “older people.” Soo-an says they find it more strange she has been able to maintain her Buddhist identity while living in a traditionally Christian country like Canada. While Soo-an views all religions as similar at their root, she does not think a person can be simultaneously Buddhist and a follower of another religion like Christianity. This is because some of the “basic ideas” surrounding the belief systems of the two religions are irreconcilable: Christianity has “rules” that demand exclusive belief in their God, while Buddhism is non-theistic; and while Christianity teaches to first “believe me (God), then I will get you there (heaven),” the Buddhist approach is the opposite.

⁷¹ I have interpreted “another great man” to mean the historical Shakyamuni Buddha and “applied in different way” to mean that the goal is similar but the method is different.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Soo-an's attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, and both relationally collectivistic and individualistic in terms of beliefs and values. In terms of self-representation, she attributes her "naturally" Buddhist identity to her upbringing in a Buddhist family, and does not make reference to the role of her own personal convictions in the identification process. Hence, the outcomes of close others (family's religious identification) are predominantly her outcomes (personal religious identity).

On the one hand, Soo-an's religious practice is marked by collective engagement with her mother, on whom she depends for Buddhist advice and support in times of spiritual need. In addition, similar to the other "singular Korean" participants, much of her understanding of Buddhism derives from the informal verbal instructions of her mother and HSW monks, and she dutifully performs her culturally-prescribed role of labour at the center. These behavioral patterns suggest the strong presence of relational collectivistic beliefs and values, namely the belief that achievement requires interdependence and role responsibilities determine behavior, as well as the values of listening to the advice and instructions of close and authoritative others and maintaining interpersonal relational harmony. On the other hand, Soo-an actively applies the style of meditation espoused by HSW to her everyday life in order to find her "true me" and become a better person. She has also explored other Buddhist literature, although mostly of the non-academic and practical variety. These behavioural patterns additionally suggest the presence of individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in individual agency and responsibility as the basis for achievement as well as the values of independence and (religious) self-actualization.

In summary, Soo-an is markedly relationally collectivistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of self-representation (1 pt.); however, insofar as she ostensibly places equal importance on religious 'achievement' through both collective and independent action, Soo-an's beliefs

and values are relatively equally relationally collectivistic and individualistic in character (0.5 pts. each). Soo-an's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 points out of 3 points in favour of collectivism.

Causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning, conflict resolution. Soo-an's cognitive religious orientation is holistic terms of causal attribution, event movement perception and mode of reasoning, and both analytical and holistic, albeit to varying degrees, in terms of conflict resolution. Soo-an explains the function of karma and reincarnation primarily in terms of cyclical and collective interaction (i.e. relationship between the self and the field). For example, present-day interpersonal relationships are the recycled product of past-life bonds. Based on the theoretical framework of analytical versus holistic thinking as discussed in Chapter Two, an analytical interpretation (of karmic reincarnations) might be inclined to explain the cause of such an event primarily in terms of individual achievement, e.g. the individual has 'earned' these relationships via the good/bad karma he/she has accrued, by which the self is implicitly perceived as 'in control,' or the ultimate doer of these turn of events, and therefore operating on the world. In Soo-an's interpretation, however, the emphasis is on the individual as the inevitable *recipient* of cyclical karma, and the self is therefore a relatively non-agentic and passive entity subject to collective control – wherein the world or surrounding field of cyclical forces is operating on the self.

Soo-an subscribes to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations because, in her mind, that is the only plausible explanation (i.e. "the only way I can explain") for the otherwise randomly selective nature of interpersonal relationships; no further argumentation is provided. Soo-an's response here is ostensibly based on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: She perceives congruity between a concrete personal experience, i.e. seemingly random nature of the people who come into our lives, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. Buddhist concept of cyclical karmic existence, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on supporting concrete experience. Whereas an analytically oriented justification of belief might defer to a 'detachable' abstract and external principle or rule, Soo-an defers to associative or similarity judgments as the basis for her belief, and such judgments are relatively

‘immediate’ in character insofar as the judging person’s frame of reference is intrinsic, directly experienced and the conclusion is reached without going through the analytic steps of validation (see Chapter 2).

However, in contrast to her relational collectivistic and holistic inclinations that prioritized inter-relational harmony and contextualization, while Soo-an expresses respect for other religions and a desire to understand them better, she is opposed to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, citing irreconcilability of belief systems fundamental to the two religions. Her reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence, is analytical in orientation – since it is based on the dissection and static categorization of religions based on their abstract attributes.

In summary, Soo-an is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the three cognitive criteria of causal attribution, event movement perception, and mode of reasoning (H=3 pts.). On the other hand, insofar as she respects other religions and maintains a desire to learn more about them (namely Christianity), and thus the boundaries she draws between Buddhism and other religions do not appear overly rigid, her reasoning process is somewhat holistic (H=0.25 pts); however, similar to Sa-In, she ultimately rejects the possibility of a *substantive* resolution of opposing religions through harmonious integration based on abstract and categorical reasoning, which is analytical in orientation (A=0.75 pts.) Soo-an’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3.25 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Relationally collectivistic(2/3) ► Individualistic tendency (1/3)	Holistic (3.25/4) ► Analytical tendency (0.75/4)

Jae-ju

Jae-ju is a 41 year old male entrepreneur who owns a private language institute for Korean students wishing to come to Canada to study. He immigrated to Canada with his parents in his twenties during the second wave of Korean immigration to Canada in the late 1980s. Having immigrated at a relatively late age, he is significantly more comfortable communicating in Korean than English, which is the language he uses when communicating with his wife, 1.5 generation Korean-Canadian friends, and his mother. While Jae-ju would ethnically self-identify on paper as “half and half” (Korean and Canadian), in reality he feels “more Korean” than Canadian because his line of work involves interaction with mostly other Koreans and he travels to Korea more than five or six times per year. If he were traveling abroad, for example, and someone asked him “Where are you from?,” he would respond “Korean.” He characterizes his socio-economic class growing up as “middle-high” and presently as “high.”

Religious Background

Jae-ju, who grew up in a Buddhist family, is currently a member of Pyeonghwa-Sa Temple (PST), which his devout mother helped found and where he regularly attends the Sunday Service with his wife. PST’s services are conducted exclusively in Korean and the temple serves the ethnic Korean community. His wife, who is Catholic, began attending the temple after marrying Jae-ju, which is in following with traditional Korean cultural customs in which the wife ‘converts’ to the husband’s religion. Anticipating that the young couple and their children might want to attend the local Korean church for social reasons, however, Jae-ju’s mother gave them her blessing to ‘convert’ on the condition that the church was Catholic, which she considered to be closer to Buddhism. In fact, Jae-ju was baptized at one point by the Korean Catholic church in anticipation of this, although they have yet to switch religious institutions. This openness and acceptance of other religions extends to his attitude toward his children, who are currently being raised as Buddhists: If they wanted to convert to Christianity, “I would say then

go to Catholic.” Jae-ju self-identifies as Buddhist because, ever since he could remember, his mother would take him to the temple every Sunday back in Korea and “that’s my whole ... life, you know growing up from temple.” In addition, he fondly recalls talking to many Buddhist monks growing up and learning “so many things” from them and the fact he “loved” the “feel (of the temple) ... especially the mountain.”

Jae-ju’s religious practice consists of regular Sunday Service attendance at PST, where he engages in chanting, prostrations and prayers with other adherents. He will also observe certain disciplines on special days and occasions each month, such as coming to the temple to pray every day and refrain from “cutting (my) hair” for one month ahead of a special religious event; or ensuring that he phones a woman before a woman calls him every first day of the month, since otherwise this would invite “bad luck.” Jae-ju says he learned about these rituals – and almost all of his “Buddhist knowledge” for that matter – from his religiously devout mother.

Jae-ju thinks the basic teachings of Buddhism concern “how many times you prostrate ... three times for each section (of the Dharma service),” the aforementioned special days and occasions in each month of the Buddhist calendar in which certain disciplines are observed, and the afterlife, in which the Buddha talked about “two things: the sky and underground” (i.e. heaven and hell). This knowledge of Buddhism was gleaned from his experiences at the local Buddhist temple and from discussions with his mother growing up. In particular, Jae-ju subscribes to this Buddhist view of the afterlife because “I saw paintings in temple” in which they “advertised bad people going down to hell,” referring to the artistic renderings of Buddhist cosmology found in most Dharma Halls of Buddhist temples in Korea. When informed some Buddhists subscribe to the ideas of karma and reincarnation, Jae-ju expresses skepticism as to their validity, claiming “I don’t believe it.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Jae-ju's attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. He attributes his Buddhist identity to the influential role of his mother and his upbringing in a Buddhist environment, including the physical environment, and does not make reference to the role of his own personal convictions in the identification process. Hence, close relationships define his religious self-construal.

Jae-ju's religious practice is primarily defined by collective engagement with the PST Sangha community on days in which Dharma services are held; he does not make any reference to the existence of an individual practice beyond the confines of the temple. The fact that he characterizes his main form of practice in terms of collective engagement rather than individual practice suggests the prioritization of the belief that achievement requires interdependence over personal agency. Moreover, Jae-ju is content to base his entire understanding of the Buddhist teachings on the informal and discursive instructions of his mother and temple monks, as well as his observations attending the temple over the years; he does not give any indication that he has conducted independent research of other sources and resources to further his understanding or gain a more objective perspective of Buddhism. In this sense, his behavior further illustrates the prominence of the relational collectivistic belief in interdependence as the basis for (learning) achievement. It also shows that Jae-ju prioritizes the relational collectivistic value of trusting and heeding the instructional words and advice of close and authoritative others over engagement in independent thinking and research. Moreover, that he was (and still is) willing to attend the Catholic church for the sake of his wife and children is an indication that Jae-ju highly values maintaining harmony in interpersonal relationships.

In summary, Jae-ju is decidedly relationally collectivistic in orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (C=3 pts.); his numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 out of 3 points in favour of collectivism.

Causal attribution, mode of reasoning, conflict resolution. Jae-ju's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as holistic in terms of causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution, but analytical in terms of event movement perception. First, he explains the 'Buddhist' notion of misfortune primarily in terms of collective interaction (i.e. relationship between the self and the field). For example, an individual's "bad luck" is attributed to extrinsic factors such as phone calls from others and the receiving of a haircut. In Jae-ju's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the recipient of others' actions who must appease these external forces at regular intervals, i.e. pre-empt phone calls first day of each month, refrain from cutting hair ahead of special events, and the self in Jae-ju's world is therefore a relatively non-agentic and passive entity constantly subject to collective control, wherein the world or a "surrounding field of forces" operates on the individual. In contrast to other KCO participants, however, Jae-ju subscribes to the 'Buddhist' view of the afterlife in which the individual follows a particular path of ascension or descent into the "sky or underground" and rejects the idea that souls may return to the world in different physical incarnations. He thus perceives individuals in the world as eschatologically moving in the linear direction of advancement – whether desirable or undesirable in nature – in which the destination represents a permanent state; and as discussed in Chapter Two, a linear perception of event movement is one of the hallmarks of analytical cognition.

Jae-ju subscribes to the Buddhist teachings, in particular the teachings concerning the origins of misfortune and the cosmology of heaven and hell, based on what he was taught by his mother, the temple monks, as well as his own visual observations growing up at the local temple. As such, his belief is based on trust in the instructional words of close and authoritative others as well as on the holistic reasoning method of associative logic in the latter case: He associates an observed or experiential event, i.e. observation of temple painting depicting "the sky and underground," with religious doctrine, i.e. Buddhist cosmology, and this association forms the basis for justification of belief. In this respect, Jae-ju's way of perceiving and reasoning is relatively 'immediate' and intuitive in character insofar as his frame of

reference is intrinsic (i.e. personal feelings and experiences), tacit, and the conclusion is reached without going through analytic steps of validation.

Jae-ju's behavioural and cognitive approach to other religions is fluid and dialectical in orientation: Despite their conflicting theologies, he agreed to be baptized into the Catholic religion while retaining his inherited Buddhist identity for the social health of his family. Exclusive religious allegiance is also not as important to him as "what we can learn" from the various religions. In this respect, Jae-ju is inclined to transcend and integrate clashing systems of religious ideas and beliefs by attending primarily to their social as well as philosophically and uniquely instructive benefits rather than dogmatic differences. This reflects the prioritization of a holistic inclination to accommodate both sides of conflicting propositions through harmonious compromise.

In summary, Jae-ju is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the three cognitive criteria of causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution (H=3 pts.); however, his (cosmological) event movement perception is decidedly linear and analytical (A=1 pt.). Jae-ju's numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Relationally collectivistic (3/3)	Holistic (3/4) ► Analytical tendency (1/4)

Jaewon

Jaewon is a 25 year old male who recently graduated from university with a degree in computer engineering. He was born in Korea and came to Canada with his parents as an international high school student in 2000, during the third wave of Korean immigration. In the beginning, he felt socially alienated from his predominantly Caucasian peers in Ajax (outside of Toronto) due to linguistic barriers. As a result, Jaewon felt and continues to feel like a “FOB” in Canada and self-identifies ethnically as exclusively “Korean.” Only after moving to Toronto to attend university did he forge friendships with his ethnic Korean peers, mostly 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians like himself, with whom he communicates mostly in the Korean language and spends most of his spare time in Korean cultural zones.

Religious Background

Jaewon originally did not have an interest in religion, having grown up in a non-religious home where his parents never stressed its importance. However, his difficult experiences at university, where he experienced academic “obstacles” and felt “alone” and needed “something to hold,” initially led Jaewon to the church. He attended the local Korean Christian church on Sundays at the urging of his friends, who were mostly Christian. He did not feel the church was a good fit for him, however, because its emphasis on the tenet that one must believe in God in order to go to heaven “wasn’t like very ... my thing.” This eventually brought him to HSW, where he recently became a regular member. Jaewon identifies as Buddhist because he finds the religion’s emphasis on “studying myself” and meditation “interesting,” as well as helpful in overcoming personal obstacles.

Jaewon characterizes his religious practice as regular attendance at HSW every Sunday so that he can continue to hear “good words” about Buddhist teachings from the resident monks, with whom he communicates in Korean. He consistently attends HSW to be “reminded” of Buddhist teachings and “get like motivations and stuff,” as it is “really hard for me” to retain and apply what he has learned when he is outside of HSW.

Jaewon says his knowledge of Buddhism is not sufficient enough to discuss it, since he only recently took an interest in Buddhism and his understanding thus far is mostly based on what the HSW monks have taught him. Based on my own impressions and observations during the interview, Jaewon also did not ostensibly exude any interest or desire to know more about Buddhist philosophy – only practical ones. As well, he seemed content (at least, for the present time) to trust and base his understanding of Buddhism entirely on the “good words” of the HSW monks. In this way, Jaewon’s approach to religion generally reflects similar tendencies with the above participants, namely the holistic preference for constructing their religious worlds on the building blocks of lived experiences.

Like some of the other participants, Jaewon has been approached by proselytizing Korean Christians on the street, but “I just ignore them.” While his close friends are mostly Korean Christians and Catholics, their religious differences are never a source of conflict because “we don’t really touch, like, others’ religion.” While Jaewon feels Christianity is not a good fit for him, he still “respects” the religion and believes “everyone is different” when it comes to religious tastes.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Jaewon’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values. Jaewon attributes his Buddhist identity to the fact that the Buddhist teachings are compatible with his own personal worldview tendencies and needs; he does not make reference to the contributions or influence of interpersonal relationships in this regard, although this is likely due to fact he only recently began attending HSW. Nonetheless, Jaewon’s religious self-construal is primarily based on his personal convictions or ‘core essence.’

Jaewon’s religious practice is primarily defined by collective engagement with the HSW Sangha community, in particular the resident monks, on whom he depends for religious guidance and motivation; an individual practice beyond the confines and support of the temple has yet to fully develop. The fact

that he characterizes his main form of practice in terms of collective engagement rather than individual practice suggests the prioritization of the belief that achievement requires interdependence over personal agency. Jaewon is also content to base his entire understanding of the Buddhist teachings on the informal and discursive (“good words”) of the center monks; he does not give any indication that he has conducted independent research of other sources and resources to further his understanding or gain a more objective perspective of Buddhism. In this sense, his behavior further illustrates the prominence of the relational collectivistic belief in interdependence as the basis for (learning) achievement. It also shows that Jae-ju prioritizes the relational collectivistic value of trusting and heeding the instructional words and advice of close and authoritative others over engagement in independent thinking and research. However, the fact that Jaewon elected to convert to Buddhism over Christianity due to the former’s emphasis on self-determinism reflects individualistic tendencies, namely a belief in individual responsibility as the basis for achievement.

In summary, Jaewon is markedly relationally collectivistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of values (C=1 pts.), ostensibly relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs although his predilection for a religion that emphasizes self-determinism suggests the presence of individualistic inclinations (C=0.75 pts., I=0.25 pts.), but decidedly individualistic in terms of self-representation (I=1 pt.). Jaewon’s numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 1.75 points out of 3 points in favour of collectivism.

*Mode of reasoning.*⁷² Jaewon justifies his conversion to Buddhism rather than Christianity based on the fact the former’s teachings appealed to him in a general way (e.g. he found them “interesting”) while the latter’s eschatological doctrines did not somehow resonate with him (e.g. “not my thing”). Insofar as his argumentation here is minimal, difficult-to-verbalize and general in overall character, his

⁷² I was unable to ascertain and analyze Jaewon’s thought process in terms of the Buddhist teachings and worldview and dual Buddhist-Christian identities – as I had done with the other KCO participants – due to his self-professed lack of knowledge in the initial interview as well as unavailability for supplemental questions, respectively. I have therefore attempted an analysis of his cognitive tendencies based on his other responses, namely his reasoning process for converting to Buddhism over Christianity.

reasoning process is primarily based on a direct and ‘immediate’ perception of things. In this sense, Jaewon’s way of justifying belief is intuitive and, thus, holistic in orientation.

In summary, Jaewon is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the one cognitive criterion of mode of reasoning (H=1 pt.); his numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 1 point out of 1 point in favour of holism.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Relationally collectivistic (1.75/3) ► Individualistic tendency (1.25/3)	Holistic⁷³ (1/1)

Timothy

Timothy is a 25 year old male university student majoring in psychology, with a focus on Buddhist psychology. He was born in Korea where he completed some of his elementary education before immigrating to Canada with his mother at age 10 in 1995, during the third wave of Korean immigration. His *kirogi* (“wild geese”; see chapter 3) father remained behind in Korea in order to financially support the family. Most of his close friends growing up in Canada and presently are 1.5 generation Koreans and *yuhaksaeng*, with whom he speaks mostly in the Korean language, although he is comfortable speaking and reading in both Korean and English. Timothy “very often” follows online Korean pop music and TV

⁷³This characterization, of course, comes with the caveat that it was based on a single rather than comprehensive set of criteria and is therefore relatively inconclusive.

programs, in particular TV shows about past lives and ghosts. While he self-identifies ethnically as a “1.5 generation” Korean-Canadian, he feels he leans “more towards Korean” because he remains in contact with his junior high school friends in Korea through social media.

Religious Background

Timothy grew up in a family that did not have a particular religious affiliation, although his father was an avid reader of Buddhist books, including books on Tibetan Buddhism. His parents were “open-minded” about his selection of religious affiliation, although they did not want him to adopt a religion until he became old enough to think for himself. Travis always had an interest in “world religions” and he initially attended the local Korean Catholic Church at the invitation of his friends, but “I really didn’t like the idea of sin” and he did not feel “comfortable” with the demands of attending church every Sunday because it was affecting his school work. One day he visited the Zen Buddhist Temple (ZBT), where the head monk is ethnically Korean and with whom he could communicate in the Korean language. He immediately “clicked” with the Buddhist teachings when the monk told him that life is “temporary, painful,” which resonated with his own experiences. He also found the concept of *samsara*⁷⁴ “really interesting.” Travis now self-identifies as Buddhist because the Buddhist teachings, in particular the idea of karma, make “sense” to him and answers “a lot of questions about (that which) we don’t know”

Timothy presently attends Pyeonghwa-Sa Temple (PST), which he prefers over ZBT because the environment at PST is “very peaceful.” He is especially interested in the “mysterious” aspects of Buddhism, which he believes was influenced by his father, and likes the fact PST monks discuss “more about ghosts and spirits ... performing exorcism and stuff.” Travis does not care for the social activities that occur at PST, preferring to engage in private discussions (in Korean) with the head monk, who once told him he was “very related to Buddhism” in his past life, which he found interesting. Timothy is particularly attached to Korean Buddhism because it represents a combination of Zen and indigenous

⁷⁴ Sanskrit word and Buddhist concept meaning “endless cycle of birth and death” – in other words, the cycle of karmic reincarnations.

Korean religions, and prefers to study under Korean spiritual teachers because he connects better with them. Timothy characterizes his Buddhist/spiritual practice as consisting of “some” meditation at home, although he does not meditate as regularly as before, and Dahn yoga, a Korean school of yoga practice that focuses on developing a person’s *ki*⁷⁵ or “life force.” He does not like to read books on Buddhism, however, because, generally speaking, “I don’t like reading (laughing).”

Timothy believes in the Buddhist idea of karma and reincarnation, citing recent personal encounters with others that have served to “strengthen” his view:

I often imagine about a few others' (and my own) past lives. These are just imaginations, not hallucinations. Yet, these images have helped me understand others' and my own behaviour in the present ... for example ... he is one of my closest friends. In my imagination, however, he made a wrong/immoral choice, and I had suffered and lost trust of others because of his choice. Due to this image, I can understand some of his actions and intentions well in the present. Yet, I will remain supportive until he makes good choices in this lifetime and improve our friendship.

Timothy ultimately describes his belief in karma and reincarnation as “ineffable” as his views are largely influenced by these “imaginations” which are not based on any “tangible evidence or explanations.”

The only time Timothy experiences religious discrimination in Canada is when he meets Korean Christians, who are “more fundamental” in their beliefs. However, he does not believe other religions are wrong and that Christianity, for example, does not necessarily conflict with Buddhism because God is something that “lives in my heart” and simply represents an entity “more advanced or higher” than human beings. He also adds that he does not want to reject the idea of a Christian God because no one really

⁷⁵ The Korean Romanization of the more well-known Chinese Romanized version and concept of *qi* or *chi*.

knows the truth and, without any certainty, he believes it is “okay” for one to believe in Buddhism and the existence of God at the same time.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Timothy’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as primarily individualistic in terms of self-representation, and both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values. First, Timothy attributes his Buddhist identity to the fact that the Buddhist teachings are philosophically consistent with his own personal worldview tendencies; he does not indicate the prominent role of close relational others in this regard. Hence, Timothy’s religious self-construal is primarily defined by his personal convictions or disposition.

Timothy’s religious/spiritual practice consists mainly of activities that eschew large-scale collective activity in favour of relatively independent ones, such as private meditation at home, private discussions with the head monk at PST, and an individual yoga practice. As Timothy states, he does not care for the socializing aspects of the Buddhist temple. These behavioural patterns suggest the prominence of individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in individual agency and responsibility as the basis for achievement as well as the values of independence and religious self-actualization. Like Jaewon, Timothy also experimented with Christianity before converting to Buddhism due to philosophical compatibility, which further illustrates a sense of personal agency and independence in pursuing personal preferences on his part. On the other hand, Timothy is content to base most of his understanding of Buddhism on the informal and verbal teachings of his father and the temple monks. He does not give any indication that he has independently explored textual resources and/or other sources of information to complement his understanding or develop a relatively objective perspective of Buddhism; by his own admission Timothy has an aversion for texts. His behaviour in this regard here reflects the prominence he places on the relational collectivistic belief that (learning) achievement requires

interdependence between the self and close others, as well as the relational collectivistic value of trusting and heeding the instructional words and advice of close and authoritative others.

In summary, Timothy is markedly individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of self-representation (I=1 pt.), and both individualistic and collectivistic, albeit to varying degrees, in terms of beliefs and values: His religious practice is by and large characterized by a prioritization of individual responsibility and independence (I=1.5 pts.) with the exception of the source of his knowledge of Buddhism, which he ostensibly gleans from direct contact with trusted others (C=0.5 pts.). Timothy's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2.5 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, conflict resolution. Timothy's cognitive religious orientation is holistic in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution. First, Timothy explains the function of karma and reincarnation primarily in terms of cyclical and collective interaction (i.e. relationship between the self and the field). For example, the negative outcomes of present-day interpersonal relationships (e.g. loss of interpersonal trust) are attributed to a chain or recycling of similar unfavourable interactions that link back to past lives. In Timothy's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the recipient of these cyclical interactions who must learn to accept and internally reconcile these turn of events (e.g. Timothy can "understand some of [his friend's immoral] actions and intentions" and will "remain supportive until he makes good choices in this lifetime") and he therefore perceives the self as a relatively passive entity subject to collective control, wherein the world or "surrounding field of extrinsic forces" is operating on the self.

Timothy subscribes to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations based on his "imaginings," which are "ineffable" and not grounded in "tangible evidence or explanations." As such, his belief is based predominantly on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: He perceives congruity between a concrete personal experience, i.e. loss of interpersonal trust in the present,

and a conceptual proposition, i.e. Buddhist concept of cyclical karmic existence, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on supporting concrete experience. In using his imagination, Timothy defers to similarity (congruity) judgments as the basis for belief, which is relatively ‘immediate’ in character insofar as the judging person’s frame of reference is intrinsic (self-imagined), difficult-to-verbalize and the conclusion is reached without going through analytic steps of validation.

Timothy’s cognitive approach to other religions is fluid and dialectical in orientation: He expresses agreement with the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity/Islam at the same time, by attending primarily to their commonalities/syncretization (e.g. both religions believe in “an entity more advanced or higher (such as God) than human” and that “God ... lives in [the] heart”). In addition, the ultimate unknowability of the validity of religious teachings should permit this sort of religious syncretization – “Without any certainty, I think it’s okay for one to believe in Buddhism and the existence of God at the same time.” In this respect, Timothy’s response exemplifies the holistic inclination to compromise in the face of a conflicting proposition through an exclusive concentration on harmonious elements.

In summary, Timothy is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of all four cognitive criteria of causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution (H=4 pts.); his numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 4 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2.5/3) ► Relationally collectivistic tendency (0.5/3)	Holistic (4/4)

Bomin

Bomin is a 30 year old male who recently graduated with a degree in Traditional Chinese Medicine from a Canadian institute. He was born in Korea and finished up to Grade 10 before immigrating to the Toronto area at the age of 16 with his parents in the late 1990s, during the third wave of Korean immigration to Canada. Most of his close friends are recent Korean immigrants because he feels “more comfortable with people who can speak Korean.” However, he does consume “a lot” of both Korean and North American media programs and popular culture, the former via mostly online sites and satellite television. Bomin self-identifies ethnically as exclusively Korean because of his substantive “[Korean] cultural background.”

Religious Background

Bomin grew up in a Buddhist family in Korea and he currently attends HSW in Toronto. He self-identifies as Buddhist because “I can get the answers about life which I seek.” Bomin’s religious practice is comprised of two main aspects: center attendance and individual practice. He regularly attends HSW because Buddhism originally provided him with “these ideas” about life and thus “it’s not my philosophy, it’s their teaching.” The resident monks also help him “a lot” as their guidance as well as mere presence and “way of life” allow him to develop a new perspective on life. As a result, he tends to “practice” more when he is around them. For these reasons, Bomin once lived full-time at HSW for six months. Furthermore, Bomin admits he is well aware of his cultural duties as a younger member at the center, which was evident in his actions – he proactively sought opportunities to help others and performed various miscellaneous chores at the behest of the resident monks. He states that he enjoys this because “I feel I am living when I help other people” and because “I feel I am planting my inner self.” However, Bomin adds that his Buddhist practice is “continuous” regardless of location, as “I try to examine my mind all the time without judgment.”

Bomin subscribes to the Buddhist idea that each individual's consciousness is "connected" to all others, so if one became "lost in the desert" but sent a "signal to the brain of the universe" for help, a pilot in the air at the time may steer his plane in the direction of the desert without realizing why, since all beings are connected "at the level of (the) subconscious." In addition, he believes in the idea of reincarnation and karma because he thinks the world would not be "fair without it."

Bomin does not think other religions are necessarily wrong or one is better than the other, as they "originally ... all have the same purpose" but time and people have "corrupted" their teachings. He has attended the local Korean Christian church in the past for various reasons but he did not like how the church "forces" congregants to donate money or consistently attend Sunday services, which he says is not the case in the Korean Buddhist temple. Bomin also thinks that, unlike Christianity, Buddhism cannot be considered a religion because there is no belief in a god. For that reason, one cannot be both Christian and Buddhist at the same time – "the concept of god is totally different from what I believe."

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Bomin's attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, and equally both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values. Bomin attributed his Buddhist identity to the fact that the Buddhist teachings are compatible with his own personal worldview tendencies; he does not make reference to the contributions or influence of his family or other close relationships in this regard. Hence, Bomin's religious self-construal is primarily defined by his personal convictions or 'core essence.'

On the one hand, Bomin's religious practice is defined by collective engagement with the HSW Sangha, in particular the resident monks, on whom he depends for religious support and inspiration. Like Sa-In and Ahn-song, there is no indication his understanding of Buddhism derives from any sources other than the informal and discursive teachings of the HSW monks. In addition, he devotedly fulfills his culturally-prescribed role of labour at the center. These behavioral patterns suggest the strong presence of

relational collectivistic beliefs and values, namely the belief that achievement requires interdependence and role responsibilities determine behavior, as well as the value of listening to the advice and instructions of close and authoritative others. On the other hand, Bomin places equal importance on the independent application of meditation beyond the confines of the religious institution, i.e. “I try to examine my mind all the time without judgement,” and the interpersonal harmony-promoting acts of assistance at the center also represent yet another opportunity for him to realize his “inner self.” These behavioural patterns additionally suggest the presence of individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in individual agency and responsibility as the basis for achievement as well as the values of independence and religious self-actualization.

In summary, Bomin is markedly individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of self-representation (I=1 pt.), but ostensibly equally both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values (I=1 pt., C=1 pt.). His numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning, conflict resolution. Bomin’s cognitive religious orientation is decidedly holistic in terms of event movement perception; markedly analytical in terms of mode of reasoning; and concurrently holistic and analytical in terms of causal attribution and conflict resolution – although the latter criterion to varying degrees. Bomin explains the Buddhist karmic worldview in terms of both individual action and cyclical and collective interaction. For example, a hypothetical – and seemingly coincidental – set of events, i.e. the rescue of someone in the middle of a desert who is without means of communication, is attributed to both personal agency (i.e. sending a signal to Brain of Universe) and to the inherent psychic interconnectedness between the airplane pilot and the lost individual. In Bomin’s interpretation, there is equal emphasis on both individual responsibility, i.e. the individual has ‘initiated’ this rescue via the sending of a signal to the universe, in which the self is implicitly perceived as the initial doer of these turn of events and therefore operating on the world; and on the individual as the end recipient of these cyclical forces, wherein the self is also a

passive entity subject to collective cooperation and the world has operated on the self in such an event. Hence, his explanation of karmic events is both analytical and holistic in orientation.

Bomin subscribes to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations because “without it, the world would not be fair.” In contrast to most of the KCO participants, who based their belief primarily on concrete personal experiences and their associations, Bomin justifies his belief by making reference – albeit indirectly and implicitly – to an abstract and dominant principle or universal law, namely the law of cause and effect, without which no moral authority would exist. As such, whereas the associative or holistic reasoning of the above KCO participants was based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and ‘immediate’ in character, Bomin’s way of justifying beliefs is based primarily on an extrinsic, ‘detachable’ and deliberate factor (i.e. on an abstract and dominant principle). Bomin’s justification is therefore analytically oriented.

While Bomin expresses acceptance of other religions and perceives unity between them at the fundamental level (i.e. in terms of original purpose), he is opposed to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, citing profound and fundamental doctrinal differences on the issue of theism. His reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since it is based on the dissection, isolation and static separation of religions based on their abstract attributes.

In summary, Bomin is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the one cognitive criterion of (cosmological) event movement perception (H=1 pt.), prominently analytic in terms of reasoning mode (A=1 pt.) and equally both holistic and analytic in terms of causal attribution (A=0.5 pts., H=0.5 pts.). In terms of conflict resolution, insofar as Bomin perceives an original and fundamental common bond between religions, and thus the boundaries he draws between Buddhism and other religions appear to be highly fluid, his reasoning process is holistic (H=0.25 pts); however, similar to Sa-In and Soo-an, he ultimately rejects the possibility of a *substantive* ‘resolution’ of opposing religions through harmonious

integration based on a reasoning process defined by abstraction and categories, which is analytical in orientation (A=0.75 pts.). Bomin's numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.25 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendencies (1/3)	Analytical (2.25/4) ► Holistic tendencies (1.75/4)

(2) KCO Summary Analysis

The following is a summary table of the religious orientations of KCO participants in terms of the following six categories: Gender, age, generation (1.5 vs. 2nd generation), institutional association or affiliation, and attitudinal (Individualism vs. Collectivism) and cognitive religious orientations (Analytical vs. Holism). For the category of Institutional Affiliation, I have broadly classified research participants into the following two affiliations: "Ethnic," or participants affiliated with the Korean-language congregation at the local Korean Buddhist temple/center, and "Western/Independent," or those affiliated with the English-language group at a local Western-oriented Buddhist temple/center or those who independently follow the English-language teachings of a particular North American teacher/source.

i) < KCO Summary Table >

Name	Gender	Age	Generation	Institutional Affiliation	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Sa-In	F	28	1.5	Ethnic Korean	C = 3 I = 0	H = 3.25 A = 0.75
Soo-an	F	25	1.5	Ethnic Korean	C = 2 I = 1	H = 3.25 A = 0.75
Ahn-song	F	23	2 nd	Ethnic Korean	C = 2.75 I = 0.25	H = 3.75 A = 0.25
Jae-ju	M	42	1.5	Ethnic Korean	C = 3 I = 0	H = 3 A = 1
Jaewon	M	25	1.5	Ethnic Korean	C = 1.75 I = 1.25	H = 1 A = 0
Timothy	M	25	1.5	Ethnic Korean	C = 0.5 I = 2.5	H = 4 A = 0
Bomin	M	30	1.5	Ethnic Korean	C = 1 I = 2	H = 1.75 A = 2.25
Totals = 7 participants	F=3 M=4	Mean age = 29	1.5 Gen=6 2nd Gen=1	Ethnic Korean=7	R. Collectivism = 67% (14/21) Individualism = 33% (7/21)	Holism = 80% (20/25) Analytical = 20% (5/25)

*I=Individualism; C=Relational Collectivism; A=Analytical, H=Holism

Based on the above table and individual case studies, five salient patterns emerged among members of the KCO group:

(1) With the exception of one participant (i.e. Ahn-song), all of the KCO participants (6 out of a possible 7) were so-called 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians who lived and completed some of their early formal education in Korea before immigrating to Canada. They immigrated during the post-1990s and -new millennium period, at a time when the size and scope of ethnic Korean enclaves and support networks in the metropolitan Canadian cities and the availability of various forms of technology through which to engage in transnational activity were greater than that of the post-1960s and -70s Korean communities and time period, respectively (see Chapter Two, subsection “1.5 Generation Vs. 2nd Generation”). These lived and formal educational experiences in Korea and the socio-historical context in which they immigrated to Canada were reflected in the background stories of KCO members, most of whom made

direct or indirect reference to lived experiences in Korea, co-ethnic friendships and frequency of Korean-language communication with others, Korean cultural zones as their primary space of socialization or frequent consumption of online Korean media programs, in their justification of a singularly Korean or “more Korean” ethnic identity. This is further suggestive of the significant role that early childhood experiences, heritage language proficiency, social circles as well as transnational activity play in reinforcing one’s sense of ethnicity of heritage among the younger generation of immigrant parents.

(2) With the independent variables of age bracket and socio-economic class remaining relatively constant, i.e. all but one participant – Jae-ju – fell within the 20-30 age bracket and characterized their social class growing up and presently as middle class, the attitudes and cognitive processes of members of this group when ‘doing’ Buddhism were consistently and predominantly relationally collectivistic (or an eclectic combination of collectivism and individualism) and holistic, respectively. In percentage terms, the rate of frequency of relational collectivistic attitudinal responses among KCO group members was 67%, compared to 33% for individualistic responses; and the rate of frequency of holistic cognitive responses was 80% compared to 20% for analytically-oriented responses. Inasmuch as members of this group identified more closely with Korean than Canadian culture, this pattern is consistent with the I-C cross-cultural theoretical framework as discussed in Chapter Two, which conceptualizes that those who are strongly influenced by East Asian cultures are inclined to relate to the world around them primarily in relational collectivistic and holistic ways, especially when compared to those who are more strongly influenced by Western cultures. In addition, in view of the fact all seven KCO participants were affiliated with the ‘ethnic’ and Korean-language congregation of a Korean Buddhist temple/center – as opposed to the ‘parallel congregation’ (see Chapter Two, subsection “Rise of Western Buddhism”) of English-language religious services available in some cases – it appears the ethnic Korean Buddhist tradition reinforces traditional Korean attitudes and cognitive processes.

(3) If we classify the religious orientations of KCO participants by gender, we have the following table of numerical data:

i) KCO Religious Orientations by Gender

Gender.	No.	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Females	3	Individualism = 14% (1.25/9) Collectivism = 86% (7.75/9)	Analytical = 15% (1.75/12) Holism = 85% (10.25/12)
Males	4	Individualism = 48% (5.75/12) Collectivism = 52% (6.25/12)	Analytical = 25% (3.25/13) Holism = 75% (9.75/13)

The frequency of individualistic attitudinal responses among male KCO participants (48%) was much greater than that of their female counterparts (14%); and, conversely, the frequency of relational collectivistic responses among female KCO participants (86%) was notably higher than that of male participants (52%). This gender-based discrepancy in attitudinal orientations are generally consistent with previous social psychological case studies that have linked relational collectivistic traits to femininity and individualistic characteristics to masculinity (Gilligan, 1982; Kashima et al., 1995; Green et al. 2005), in particular in terms of self-representation, in which women were “presenting themselves as more emotionally related to others than men.” (Green et al. 2005, 323) To this latter point, the religious self-representations of all three KCO female participants were primarily defined by their close relationships (i.e. family) versus one out of the four male KCO participants. However, non-gender-related factors may have also significantly contributed to this pattern: Two of the three male KCO participants who exhibited religious attitudes that were prominently individualistic in character – namely Jaewon and Timothy – were relatively recent converts, and thus ‘biased’ in the sense they did not have access to the same broad frame of reference (i.e. the luxury of a Buddhist pedigree and established interpersonal relationships within the religious community) as their inherited Buddhist counterparts on which to base a more relational collectivistic approach. In terms of cognitive religious orientation, the frequency of analytical/holistic responses for both genders was relatively similar.

(4) Based on the cross-cultural theoretical model of this thesis, the “either/or” analytical responses vis-à-vis religious conflict resolution in the cases of Sa-In and Soo-an, who incidentally primarily exhibited holistic and fluid religious orientations in other areas, were distinctly uncharacteristic. However, in light of their past negative experiences with evangelical Korean Christians, their uncharacteristic responses may have represented a defensive reaction to these experiences.

(5) The religious orientations of the vast majority of KCO participants were markedly characterized by a *trust* in something concrete – specifically, trust placed in the integrity of close relational others or in their own personal and lived experiences. For example, most of them self-identified as Buddhist primarily because their parents and grandparents were Buddhist; they largely deferred to their parents/local Buddhist monks and nuns for religious advice, motivation and knowledge; and they referred mostly to concrete personal experiences in interpreting and justifying their belief in the Buddhist worldview.

2. Korean-Canadian Cultural Orientation (KCCO)

(1) KCCO Individual Case Studies

Amy

Amy is a 39 year old female school board trustee based in Toronto. She immigrated with her parents to Canada when she was 5 years old in the 1970s, during the first wave of Korean immigration. She remembers being very embarrassed about her Korean ethnicity growing up in Toronto as there were few Koreans in her school and at the local Korean Buddhist temple she attended. Her poor Korean language skills, which she characterizes as “pretty bad,” only added to her lack of ethnic pride. As a result, Amy did not have any Korean friends when she was younger and, to this day, she is somewhat uncomfortable being around other ethnic Koreans. In comparison, her Catholic cousins presently have many Korean friends whom they met through the church. Depending on the circumstance, however, Amy will still self-

identify ethnically as “Korean” in Canada, although as “Canadian” when traveling abroad. She recently finished writing a fictional book about a Korean family that immigrates to Toronto in which she self-identified as a “Korean-Canadian” writer in her biographical blurb, which she believes generally reflects her overall ethnic identity.

Religious Background

Amy grew up in a Buddhist household where her parents were religiously very devout. As a testament to their faith, her mother elected to not undergo chemotherapy when she was diagnosed with breast cancer, rather relying on her calligraphic drawings of Buddhist prayers, a strict ginseng diet, and meditation. She remembers attending Bulgwang-Sa Temple (BST) in Toronto where the head clergy was a Korean Buddhist nun and where there was no gender divide in the youth group in which she participated, which made quite an impression on her at the time as she was interested in studying feminist writers. The youth group mostly met for “social reasons” and she looks back at the camping trips of the youth group, which was the only time she attended the Korean Buddhist temple regularly, as some of her fondest memories. Amy was unable to understand the teachings of the nun, however, due to the language barrier, which did make her wish at one point she could attend the local Korean church. However, Christianity never appealed to her much on a “personal level” and the zealous attitudes of the Korean Christians “scared” her. During her university years, Korean Christian students often aggressively approached her to “come to church, come to church,” which she found almost “cult-like.” This was in direct opposition to her experiences at home, where her parents never imposed their religion onto their children. As a result, when others asked her about her ethnicity, she would respond “Korean Buddhist” just to differentiate herself from Korean Christians.

While she did not identify as Buddhist previously, she has ever since she had her first child because she wanted her daughter to be able to participate in the religious holidays of Buddhism with her grandmother, noting that school board trustees are allowed personal religious holidays. She also wanted

her daughter to grow up in a multicultural environment appreciating other religions and religious events, since she presently attends a Catholic church every Sunday with her father. In this way, identifying as a Buddhist “is more for her benefit.” Amy was also deeply affected by an incident in which her daughter once introduced her father to someone else as “Catholic” and her mother as “nothing,” which sparked renewed interest in embracing her ethno-religious roots. She is more comfortable identifying as “highly spiritual” than with a religion, and she thinks the older her daughter becomes and the more she comprehends spirituality, she will move away from labeling herself as religiously Buddhist. The most significant reason she prefers not to identify as Buddhist is because she cannot intellectually accept the idea of reincarnation and “people coming back.” Her mother will not even step on a worm because she’s fearful that it may be “somebody [e.g. relative in a past life]” which has “warped” her view of Buddhism. She believes one needs faith to fully embrace Buddhism, which she admits is the “missing piece” in her life.

The Buddhism-inspired spirituality that she subscribes to and teaches her daughter is the idea of an “energy that connects everything in nature” and whose constant presence means that universe is “always looking out for me.” She likens it to the Star Wars movies and the concept of the “force.” She “loved” Star Wars because, for her, “it was a religion that made sense to me growing up,” especially in the absence of English-language Buddhist teachings at her disposal. While Amy does not engage in Buddhist-style meditation, her “spiritual practices” consist of “writing a lot” and “staring out the window and blurring out everything.” She does admit Buddhism has shaped her values and ethos because she has always considered it an open-minded and tolerant religion and always associated it with gender, social and economic equality. Amy likes the Buddhist idea of “just nothing ... silence, that’s always appealed to me ... know nothing, want nothing,” which helped her “find such relief in that calm, that peace, that silence ... and I think that’s been the biggest thing I’ve gotten from the religion ... is ... nothing.”

Amy has “very liberal” views concerning other religions, and believes a person can “embrace” both Buddhism and Christianity at once and the “two [religions] can co-exist without conflict.” Amy cites

the example of her own marriage with her “devout Christian” husband, who has attended church weekly for 17 years now, as a living testament of this possibility. In addition, she believes this is possible because she has always regarded Buddhism “more as a philosophy than an institutional form of religion.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Amy’s attitudinal religious orientation is evidently both relationally collectivistic and individualistic in terms of self-representation and values, but singularly individualistic in terms of beliefs. Insofar as Amy is temporarily sacrificing her genuine religious identity (not religious but “highly spiritual”) for the benefit of her daughter, her temporary Buddhist identity is defined by close relationships, which is relationally collectivistic in self-representation. At the same time, however, she otherwise does not identify with her inherited religion because she cannot accept the Buddhist notion of karmic reincarnations and feels she does not embody the core qualities required to qualify as Buddhist (i.e. lacks the element of faith); other spiritual worldviews are more consistent with her personal convictions. In this way, Amy’s ‘normal’ religious self-construal is defined by her core convictions and disposition, which is individualistic in orientation.

Similar to many of the participants in this category, Amy made the conscious decision to move beyond the confines of the religion in which she grew up – due in part to linguistic barriers – in search of a personally compatible spiritual worldview, which she discovered in the unique area of popular culture. In addition, her current spiritual/Buddhist practice exclusively consists of individual activity without the support of groups or institutions, such as writing, moments of silence, and “staring out the window and blurring out everything.” Amy’s thoughts and actions in this respect reflect the prioritization of the individualistic belief in personal agency over interdependency as the basis of achievement, and the prominence of the values of independence and pursuit of personal preferences. On the other hand, similar to members of the KCO or “highly Koreanized” group, Amy is content to base her knowledge and understanding of Buddhism today almost exclusively on the past teachings and words of her devout

mother and the Korean nun at the local Buddhist temple. The importance of a relatively objective and independent investigation into other sources and materials in this regard is not evident. Amy's attitude thus concurrently reflects the relative prominence of relational collectivistic values of trust in and respect for the advice of close and authoritative others.

In summary, Amy is markedly individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of belief (I=1 pt.), but equally both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation and values (I=1 pts, C=1 pt.). Amy's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution.

Amy's cognitive religious orientation is primarily analytical in terms of event movement perception, but holistic in terms of causal attribution, mode of reasoning and, for the most part, conflict resolution. First, the fact that Amy is unable to accept the Buddhist concept of reincarnated souls, or "people coming back," and she instead subscribes to a worldview in which individuals are consistently being guided in a positive direction by the universe (e.g. "universe is always looking out for [the individual]") suggests that she perceives spiritual cosmological events as moving in the linear direction of advancement rather than in a cyclical manner. In this sense, her perception of (cosmological) event movement is analytical in orientation. On the other hand, in terms of causal attribution, Amy holistically explains the function of this universal "force" primarily in terms of a binding energy that connects the individual to all things in nature (i.e. relationship between an object and the field). As noted, she further characterizes this universal force as having a paternalistic and protective nature ("always looking out for me"). In contrast to KCO participant Bomin, for example, who emphasized the individual as the primary 'doer' or initiator of a set of events, Amy's interpretation places emphasis on the individual as the recipient of this protective force who must have faith in its presence. The self in Amy's world is therefore a relatively passive entity subject to extrinsic control, and the world has operated on the self in such a case.

Amy subscribes to the Star Wars-like metaphysical worldview because it “made sense” to her growing up. Her justification is based predominantly on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: She perceives congruity between concrete personal experience, i.e. watching of the Star Wars film series, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. the “force” of the universe, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on supporting concrete experience. As such, Amy’s justification for belief is relatively ‘immediate’ in character insofar as her frame of reference is intrinsic, difficult-to-verbalize and the conclusion is reached without going through analytic steps of validation (i.e. she believes in this worldview because it “makes sense” to her).

Amy expresses agreement with the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time based on personal experience, specifically the fact she has hitherto lived in religious harmony with her Christian husband. Again, this is an example of holistic associative reasoning: Amy perceives congruity between concrete personal experience and the conceptual proposition of the co-existence (in one person) of doctrinally opposing religions, and infers that the latter concept is valid based primarily on supporting concrete experience. On the other hand, by additionally basing her “both/and” holistic stance on the fact Buddhism is better represented by the category of philosophy than religion, she concurrently exhibits the analytical tendency to justify beliefs in terms of abstract categories and their particular properties. In this latter case, Amy uses analytical means to justify holistic ends.

In summary, Amy is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the two cognitive criteria of causal attribution and mode of reasoning (H=2 pts.) and decidedly analytical in terms of event movement perception (A=1 pt.). In terms of conflict resolution, insofar as she has liberal views of other religions and expresses agreement with the possibility of a resolution of opposing religions (i.e. Buddhism and Christianity) through harmonious integration – citing her own marriage situation as evidence – Amy’s reasoning process is primarily holistic in orientation (0.75 pts.); on the other hand, insofar as she supplements her response with a statement that reflects an appreciation of abstract categories (i.e.

Buddhism is more of a philosophy than an institutional form of religion), her reasoning process is also marked by analytical tendencies (0.25 pts.). Amy's numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.75 out of 4 points in favour of holism.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendency (1.25/3)	Holistic (2.75/4) ► Analytical tendency (1.25/4)

Jenna

Jenna is a 32 year old lawyer who was recently hired as a legal officer at the United Nations. She was born in Korea and immigrated with her parents to Montreal in 1988 at the age of eight, during the second wave of Korean immigration to Canada. She moved to Toronto six years ago with her family for work-related reasons. Jenna maintained her Korean language skills while growing up in Canada by speaking Korean at home and she considers herself to be “fluent” in spoken Korean, although her proficiency is “very limited” compared to her English language abilities. Her close friends are presently “mostly Asian,” especially ethnic Koreans, but overall her social circle consists of people from diverse ethnic groups. Jenna self-identifies ethnically as Korean-Canadian, or more specifically “Canadian with Korean origins.” She especially identifies with the “more traditional values” of the Korean culture since she grew up in Korea in the 1980s just before the country's drastic modernization. Jenna also identifies with Canadian culture because of the multicultural environment in which she can find “acceptance.”

Religious Background

While Jenna was raised in a Buddhist family, she briefly attended a Korean Protestant church upon immigrating to Canada for “social interaction” and due to “social pressure.” She also attended a Catholic high school. In this way, she could have converted to Christianity had she “truly believed in it,” but she found the religion to be more “rigid” compared to Buddhism and she did not fully believe in the “worshipping aspect” of it. Jenna self-identifies as Buddhist because she was “naturally” raised with Buddhist values as both her parents’ families are Buddhist. These values have been “engrained in [her] through [her] upbringing since childhood” and she feels “more at ease” with Buddhism than other religions. She also thinks Buddhism is more of a philosophy than a religion since the worshipping aspect of Christianity is absent in Buddhism – for example, Buddhists do not attend the temple to “pray or worship Buddha, or ask for forgiveness”

Jenna usually only attends HSW with her family on special occasions such as New Year’s, *Chuseok* or Korean Thanksgiving, Buddha’s Birthday, and ancestral memorials to “pay respect to my ancestors.” Unless she is visiting HSW or attending her yoga classes, she does not “really” engage in a formal meditation practice. However, insofar as Buddhist meditation is an attempt to “empty [the] mind” and to discover one’s “inner self” and “fundamental mind,” Jenna practices Buddhism every day since she reflects on her beliefs and, in this way, tries to discover her “inherent mind/self.” She also thinks the teachings, with their emphasis on believing in the “self,” have helped her to think more positively in all aspects of her life.

Jenna believes in the cosmological teachings of Buddhism (although she qualifies her response with “somewhat”) because her family always talked about *inyeon*⁷⁶ growing up. For example,

my parents have always told me that our “Inyeon” must have been deep in prior life (i.e. we must have had a very special relations or ties in a prior lifetime and that is what could have brought us close together in this lifetime.) To a non-Buddhist, this notion may not make any sense, but I actually do believe that sometimes

⁷⁶ A Korean word that is generally understood as “fateful ties, connection, or relationship.” In the Buddhist context, however, *inyeon* normally refers to the notion of reincarnation and karma.

you meet someone who may seem very familiar or with whom you can easily connect because you may have had an Inyeon in a different lifetime. In that sense, I believe in reincarnation and destiny and karma.

Jenna was also taught to believe people should be good to others if they want to be treated with the same respect, which she thinks relates to the notion of karma.

Jenna thinks a person's religion is "very subjective" because it involves "personal belief" that has likely been influenced by one's circumstances and upbringing. One cannot, therefore, say whether a religion is right or wrong because one cannot "objectively judge something that is subjective." She thinks there is "common ground" amongst some of the religions, such as Christianity, Judaism and Islam, which describe a set of ideas "about the way one should live their life." Jenna also thinks a person can believe in both Buddhist and Christian "values." In her case, she believes that God may exist in the sense there may be something "spiritually greater" than human beings, and that the Bible contains teachings that guide one to lead a "good and honest life." Hence, Christian teachings are not necessarily inconsistent with the teachings of Buddhism.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Jenna's attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. First, Jenna initially ascribes her Buddhist identity to the strength of the influence of her parents and her upbringing and, to this extent, close relationships come to define her religious self-representation. At the same time, however, she concludes that the Buddhist values she was taught by her parents have since become naturally internalized (i.e. "engrained" in her) and are thus part and parcel to her mental constitution. The latter statement indicates the importance Jenna concurrently attaches to the individual and one's core essence in the formation of self-identity.

Jenna bases her understanding of Buddhism solely on the information informally and verbally transmitted to her by her parents. For example, she alludes to the influential role of her parents in acquiring “Buddhist values” and in understanding and subscribing to the Buddhist cosmology. There is no attempt to objectively verify her informal understanding of Buddhist values and cosmology with more formal sources and resources. While this may simply be attributable to a lack of interest in the religion on her part, Buddhism nonetheless plays a significant role in her life insofar as it constitutes one aspect of her self-identity; and in spite of this relative significance, Jenna is satisfied with understanding the core attributes of the religion based on what close others have told her. This is a strong indication that Jenna prioritizes the belief that achievement – in this case, learning achievement – requires interdependence between close relations over the belief in individual responsibility and action, especially in terms of independent thinking. By implication, Jenna’s behavior is also a strong indication of the prominence of the relational collectivistic value of listening to the advice and words of closely related others. At the same time, however, her religious practice is defined by individual agency and independence, i.e. individualistic beliefs and values, in the sense it primarily consists of the creative and independent application of the Buddhist teachings and meditation to her everyday life.

In summary, Jenna is both relationally collectivistic and individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the two attitudinal criteria of beliefs and values; however, based on the fact she prioritized the influential role of her parents, in particular her mother, in her responses over an independent form of religiosity, Jenna’s beliefs and values appeared to be prominently relationally collectivistic than individualistic in character ($C=1.5$ pts., $I=0.5$ pts.). In terms of self-representation, insofar as she placed primary (i.e. initial) importance on the role of her family relationships in terms of her Buddhist identity, Jenna’s self-representation is predominantly relationally collectivistic in character ($C=0.75$ pts.); on the other hand, the fact that she additionally alluded to the role of her own convictions simultaneously reflects an individualistic inclination, albeit secondary in nature, in this regard ($I=0.25$ pts.). Jenna’s numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2.25 points out of 3 points in favour of collectivism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution.

Jenna's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as prominently holistic in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution. Jenna explains the function of karma and reincarnation primarily in terms of cyclical and collective interaction (i.e. holistic explanation based on relationship between the self and the field). For example, the selection of her present parents, inexplicable rapport and displays of respect with and from certain others are attributed to the recycling of similar interactions that link back to past lives. In Jenna's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the recipient of these cyclical interactions who is left 'powerless' in the matter. The self in Jenna's world is therefore a relatively passive entity subject to collective control, and the world has operated on the self in such a case.

Jenna subscribes to this Buddhist worldview because it sensibly explains the seemingly coincidental nature of people's present-day relationships. Her justification process is based predominantly on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: She perceives congruity between concrete personal experience, i.e. seemingly random nature of her present-day relationships, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. Buddhist concept of karmic reincarnation, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on this supporting concrete experience. As such, Jenna's justification for belief is relatively 'immediate' in character insofar as her frame of reference is intrinsic, directly perceived and the conclusion is reached without going through analytic steps of validation (e.g. she believes in the Buddhist worldview because it "makes sense" to her).

Jenna's cognitive approach to other religions is fluid and dialectical in orientation: She expresses agreement with the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and the Abrahamic faiths of Christianity/Judaism/Islam at the same time, by attending to their commonalities that could provide the basis for religious syncretization (e.g. all religions can agree that God exists in the sense there is something "spiritually greater" than human beings; they provide ideas "about the way one should live their life" or about how to lead a "good and honest life" etc.). In this

respect, Jenna's response exemplifies the holistic inclination to compromise in the face of a conflicting proposition through exclusive concentration on mutually harmonious elements.

In summary, Jenna is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of all four cognitive criteria of causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution (H=4 pts.). Jenna's numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 4 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Relational collectivistic (2.25/3) ► Individualistic tendency (0.75/3)	Holistic (4/4)

Jeesoo

Jeesoo is a 21-year-old female university student majoring in economics. She immigrated with her family at the age of nine in the late 1990s during the third wave of Korean immigration to Canada. She was able to maintain her Korean language abilities after immigrating by communicating in the language with her family as well as at the local Korean Buddhist temple growing up. Jeesoo's circle of friends is an ethnically diverse mix, including Caucasian and Arab-Canadians she befriended in high school and Korean-Canadians she met in university. In terms of expressing and sharing personal feelings, however, she is closer to her non-Korean friends since she finds Koreans "may be a little judgmental."

Jeesoo used to follow Korean TV dramas and pop music but after recently spending one year in France on a study exchange, she “detached” herself from Korean cultural activities. She ultimately self-identifies ethnically as “Korean-Canadian” because she does not feel “totally Korean” or “totally Canadian.”

Religious Background

Jeesoo attended the local Buddhist temple with her family while growing up in Korea, and continued to do so at HSW after immigrating to Canada. Jee-Yoon identifies as Buddhist because she has been “part of the Buddhist family” since birth and “I’ve always gone to temple since I was like baby.” As she was growing up, she remembers hearing stories about the Buddhist temples and monks in Korea, as well as how sincere and devout her father was in his Buddhist practice at home, which positively “influenced” her religiously. Over time, she tried to discover more about Buddhism and, eventually, “I kind of make my own decision (as) to what I want to believe.” What she came to believe in and like was Buddhism’s emphasis on “mind wisdom.”

Jeesoo now prefers to engage in Buddhist practice on her own, distancing herself from the Korean Buddhist tradition of her parents toward a more ‘Westernized’ approach. She used to think that only Korean Buddhist monks were authentic Buddhist teachers who could properly teach her about Buddhism because “I always thought that Korean monks are like more developed in the whole enlightenment (thing).” She later discovered there are “also enlightened monks all over the world, in Thailand, in England, like everywhere,” and she wanted to “see what they can offer.” Jeesoo now incorporates into her spiritual practice the techniques and teachings on meditation that she discovered online by different teachers, such as Burt Harding, a Canadian who traveled to India to study meditation under Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi, a Hindu ascetic. While she respects the Buddhist beliefs and practices of her parents’ generation, such as ancestor worship, she does not necessarily agree with them. She is also not fond of the “chanting and stuff” during Korean Buddhist services because “it doesn’t make sense for me ... I don’t

see the point of it.” Her father also admonishes her to practice repeating the mantra *Namu Amitabul*⁷⁷ for divine protection or grace, but “I don’t really believe in ... repetitive words will bring me some sort of luck, I think it’s all in the mind.” She finds Korean temples “talk a lot about past lives” as the cause of things but “for me, like there’s no way I can prove that that existed.” She once believed in past lives simply because her parents told her they exist, but now she thinks “how do I know if it’s real, unless I saw it?” Jeessoo prefers engaging in religious practices that have a tangible purpose to it and from which she can “get something out of.” In this way, she likes the “Western” approach to Buddhism because “they don’t really talk about past lives that much, but they try to kind of talk about how to practice so that in this ... moment, like how to become happier and freer ... like living now and be happy now.” She thinks the whole point of Buddhism is “to really reach that foundation ... that interconnects everyone ... and they said the whole foundation is really about love, peace.”

Jeessoo is open to learning about other religions and believes all religions are similar in the sense they teach about “oneness.” She finds that Caucasian Canadians are “very open” when she tells them her religious identity, but Korean Christians are not – “they’re really about their (own) religion, I think.” Christianity, she believes, has “some hatred message too, because if you’re against bisexuals or homosexuals, they’re saying “oh they don’t exist or we should hate them.”” The homophobic sentiment is compounded by Korean culture in general, which is “very conservative.” She would never talk about sensitive issues like homosexuality with Koreans because “I once had a conversation and it didn’t go well (laughing).” She believes it is important not to accept all religious teachings as “absolutely true.” While Jeessoo sees an essential similarity (“oneness”) in all religions, she does not think a person can be both a Buddhist and Christian believer at the same time because the core religious practices of each are very different: “Praying vs. meditating are two different methods with different objectives.”

⁷⁷ *Namu Amitabul* is the Korean Buddhist term for *Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva* (Bodhisattva of Compassion).

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Jeesoo's attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as both relationally collectivistic and individualistic in terms of self-representation, and individualistic in terms of beliefs and values. In ascribing her Buddhist identity to the influential role of her parents and her upbringing, it is evident close relationships play a significant role in Jeesoo's religious self-construal. However, she also ascribes her identity to the personal "discoveries" and thoughts about the religion that occurred and developed as she matured, which simultaneously reflects the relative importance she attaches to philosophical consistency between her own dispositions and the teachings of Buddhism when constructing her religious identity. In this regard, Jeesoo's religious self-representation is marked concurrently by elements of collectivism and individualism.

Jeesoo moved beyond the parameters of her inherited ethno-religious tradition in search of spiritual fulfillment in Western and non-Buddhist forms and interpretations of meditation, and her meditative practice over the years has evolved to primarily involve individual rather than group engagement with the HSW and PST communities. Unlike many of the "Koreanized" participants, Jeesoo is also not content to base her understanding of Buddhism solely on the informal and verbal instructions of her father and the local Korean Buddhist monks – some of which she expresses strong disagreement – she received growing up, preferring to complement her understanding and to expand her perspectives by exploring Western as well as non-Buddhist writers. In this way, Jeesoo's behavior reflects her prioritization of the individualistic belief in personal agency over interdependency as the basis for achievement; as well as the prioritization of individualistic values of self-actualization and pursuit of personal preferences over the relational collectivistic beliefs of trusting and heeding the advice of close others/maintaining interpersonal harmony.

In summary, Jeesoo is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the two attitudinal criteria of beliefs and values. In terms of self-representation, insofar as she placed primary (i.e.

initial) importance on the role of her family relationships in terms of her Buddhist identity, Jeesoo's self-representation is predominantly relationally collectivistic in character ($C=0.75$ pts.); on the other hand, the fact that she additionally alludes to the role of her own convictions simultaneously reflects an individualistic inclination, albeit secondary in nature, in this regard ($I=0.25$ pts.). Jeesoo's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2.25 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

*Causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution.*⁷⁸

Jeesoo's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as non-holistic in terms of causal attribution and event movement perception, positively analytical in terms of justification of belief (or lack thereof), and both analytical and, to a lesser degree, holistic in terms of conflict resolution. First, Jeesoo expresses skepticism of Korean Buddhist concepts and practices that are based on the relationship between the self and an interconnected field. For example, she disagrees with the notion that the causes of good fortune can be attributed to extrinsic factors such as chanting the name of a Bodhisattva or ancestral worship. Her negation of these notions suggests she is disinclined to holistically perceive the individual as primarily operating in a field of forces wherein he/she is subject to collective or extrinsic (i.e. Bodhisattvas, ancestors) control. This negation is consistent with her individualistic attitudes which prioritized a belief in personal agency and responsibility over collective interdependency as the basis for achievement.

Jeesoo does not subscribe to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations because they cannot and have not been empirically verified (e.g. "how do I know if it's real, unless I saw it?"). In contrast to most of the KCO participants, who based their belief in the Buddhist cosmology primarily on concrete personal experiences and their associations, Jeesoo justifies her skepticism by making reference – albeit indirectly – to an external and dominant principle or rule (i.e. empiricism), and by which failure to abide invalidates the concept. As such, whereas the associative or holistic reasoning of said KCO participants was based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and 'immediate' in character, Jeesoo's way

⁷⁸ Since Jeesoo expressed skepticism of the cosmological teachings of Buddhism, I have attempted an analysis of her cognitive orientation in terms of causal attribution in negation (that is, what she is *not*).

of justifying beliefs is primarily based on an extrinsic factor, deliberate and ‘detachable’ in character (i.e. based on an ‘external’ abstract principle). Jeesoo’s process of justifying belief is therefore analytically oriented.

While Jeesoo expresses acceptance of other religions and perceives unity between them at the fundamental level (i.e. they all teach about “oneness”), she is opposed to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, citing the clashing nature of their conceptualizations of prayers. Her reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and aggressive cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since it is based on the dissection, isolation and static separation of religions based on their abstract attributes.

In summary, Jeesoo is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the one cognitive criterion of belief (or lack thereof) justification and decidedly non-holistic in terms of event movement perception and causal attribution – on these latter two criteria, since Jeesoo does not explicitly express an analytically-oriented response and her non-holistic inclinations are rather *suggestive* of its converse of an analytical inclination, I have assigned each criteria a total value of 0.5 points to reflect the relatively ‘insufficient’ nature of these questions compared to the others in Jeesoo’s particular case (i.e. $A=0.5 \times 2=1$ pt./1 pt.). In terms of conflict resolution, insofar as Jeesoo perceives a fundamental common bond between religions, and thus the boundaries she draws between Buddhism and other religions appear to be highly fluid, her reasoning process is holistic ($H=0.25$ pts); however, similar to Bomin, she ultimately rejects the possibility of a *substantive* ‘resolution’ of opposing religions through harmonious integration based on a reasoning process defined by abstraction and categories (i.e. concept of prayers), which is analytical in orientation ($A=0.75$ pts.). Jeesoo’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.75 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2.25/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendencies (0.75/3)	Analytical (2.75/3) ► Holistic tendencies (0.25/3)

Hailey

Hailey is a 34 year old female high school guidance counselor. She was born in Canada and her parents emigrated from Korea in the late 1970s during the first wave of Korean immigration. Her closest and “active” friends are fellow Canada-born second generation Koreans, to whom she can particularly relate having shared similar experiences growing up in Canada. She describes her Korean language abilities for a second generation Korean “pretty good,” which she attributes to the fact she started attending the local Korean Buddhist temple at a young age where the language of communication was exclusively Korean. In addition, Hailey spent a large amount of time with native Koreans in university, went to Korea for one year to study, and often volunteers in the Korean community with Korean-speaking settlement workers. She identifies ethnically as Korean-Canadian, more specifically “Canadian and my background is Korean.”

Religious Background

Hailey grew up in a Buddhist household where her parents did not embrace Buddhism until she was in middle school. Before then, her mother was Catholic and her father “looked at different religions and explored them.” Hera attended both Bulgwang-Sa Temple (BST) and Jung Hae Temple (JHT) in Toronto with her parents growing up. Her family was not a typical Buddhist family where the parents

“only come from Buddhist tradition and is a carrying on of tradition ... I think it’s (Buddhism) been a part of my parents’ spiritual exploration as well.” Hera prefers not to identify with any particular organized religion at this stage in her life because she now has a “universalist kind of perspective” of religion. Part of her universalistic perspective derives from her skeptical view of organized religion in general, which she attributes to her liberal education, in particular her studies in post-colonialism at the graduate school level. With Korea being a post-colonial nation, she continues, Korean religions are no exception in this regard. However, she believes “spirituality” is very important in life and she is striving to reconcile this with religion.

Hailey spent some time in India that “opened up my mind to the fact that ... the concept of god is not necessarily just the Judeo-Christian kind of “it’s my god or your god” kind of ... perspective I had grown up with.” She saw that East Indians “connect everything in their life with god,” which she greatly admired. The division between the secular and religion in the West, Hera notes, is not only much sharper but there is a strong secular bias, such that (in a sarcastic tone) “secular is good, secular is right, secular is equity.” She also thinks she grew up with this defensive attitude toward the Western concept of god because, as a Buddhist, she was a minority at the local Korean Catholic church she went to weekly for Korean language school, where she was not allowed to participate in any of the rituals because “we weren’t baptized.” When Hera returned to Canada from India, she started a yoga practice that has now become “more spiritual” wherein she tries “to connect with your divine self,” a practice with which she connects better than with the Buddhist practice of “emptying yourself.” Hera still engages in Buddhist mindfulness meditation, usually before sleeping, although that is changing as her spiritual needs change. She feels she is still learning about religions, which is why “I jump back and forth from different teachers that have different perspectives.”

Hailey experimented with the Korean Buddhist style of practice growing up but thinks she is “too Western, too self-centred” to take a serious interest in the tradition. For example, one of the Korean Buddhist temples she attended claimed if “you write a wish a thousand times ... and you bow the same

number ... your wish will come true,” which she thinks is “artificial” in origin. She also feels there is “a lot of community baggage there and obligation” at the local Korean temples, such as obligations “to contribute to the temple, to go to the temple, to help build the spiritual community,” adding that this inability to assimilate to the culture of Korean Buddhism is closely linked to language and cultural barriers. When it comes to spiritual practice, Hera does not want to “go into a space where I feel community obligation, and that’s what it comes down to ... I want to be able to do something for me.” As well, she finds it very frustrating talking about religion in general to the more recent immigrant members of the Korean Buddhist community, such as the “1.5’s” (i.e. 1.5 generation) or even the head nuns, because “it becomes always who’s better than what ... who’s smarter, who knows the way and what.” The form of meditation that she did learn was “very Korean style” and the teacher was not explicit about what she was supposed to experience. On the other hand, her experiences with Western Buddhist teachers were more positive because they incorporated academic and clinical psychological language, which she understood better. Hera now only attends the Korean temple on days involving important rituals.

Hailey has read many English-language books on the “general premise” of Buddhist philosophy, in particular teachings about emptiness and non-attachment as well as the Buddhist cosmology of *samsara*, karma, and reincarnation and “how that works.” She “very much” subscribes to the Buddhist cyclical cosmology of karmic reincarnations – the idea that “we have infinite number of lives and everything that comes into your life is some kind of reverberation from your past life” – and that people presently in her life are here because they have been in her life in the past and “come to my life in this lifetime for [karmic] reasons and because of our connections.” She believes in the Buddhist explanation because it explains very well the idea of “destiny.” This cosmology also greatly informs her worldview.

Hailey is open to learning about other religions, especially other people’s “experiences” with their religion and spirituality. Since her own view of spirituality encompasses the religious and spiritual views of many religions, including “attributes” of both Buddhism and Christianity, she believes it is possible for a person to identify with both Buddhism and Christianity, for example, at the same time.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Hailey's attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. First, despite the fact she grew up in a Buddhist family, Hailey elects not to identify with her inherited religion (or any organized religion) because such an affiliation would compromise her own beliefs and values concerning institutional religions as a whole. Her negative response to the question of self-identity reflects the primary importance she attaches to her own convictions and dispositions in the construction of a positive religious identity. In this regard, Hailey's attitudinal approach vis-a-vis religious self-representation is individualistic in orientation.

Hailey divorced herself from her inherited ethno-religious tradition to experiment with a variety of non-Korean and sometimes non-Buddhist meditative practices in search of personal spiritual fulfillment. Her meditative practice has also evolved over the years and is now primarily independent rather than group-oriented (i.e. involving the JST community), explicitly expressing dissatisfaction with the temple's emphasis on collective activities – "I want to be able to do something for me." In addition, in contrast to the KCO participants, Hailey does not base her understanding of Buddhism on the verbal instructions of the local Korean monks – some of which she expresses strong disagreement – that she informally received growing up, preferring to explore Western as well as non-Buddhist writers, although this development was due in part to the existence of linguistic barriers. Overall, Hailey's behavior reflects the prioritization of the individualistic belief in personal agency over interdependency as the basis for achievement, as well as the prioritization of individualistic values of self-interests and freedom to pursue personal preferences over trusting and heeding the advice of close authoritative others.

In summary, Hailey is markedly individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); her numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, knowledge processing, conflict resolution.

Hailey's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as holistic in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution. Similar to Jenna, Hailey explains the function of karma and reincarnation primarily in terms of cyclical and collective interaction (i.e. holistic explanation based on relationship between the self and the field). For example, the 'selection' of people in "[her] life right now" are attributed to the recycling of similar interactions that link back to past lives. Hailey's interpretation puts emphasis on the individual as the recipient of these cyclical interactions who is left 'powerless' in the matter. The self in Hailey's world is therefore a relatively passive entity subject to collective control, and the world has operated on the self in such a case.

Hailey subscribes to this Buddhist worldview because it "explains very well" the concept of destiny and the otherwise random nature of interpersonal relationships. Her justification process is based predominantly on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: She perceives congruity between a concrete personal experience, i.e. her present-day relationships, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. Buddhist concept of the cycle of karmic reincarnations, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on this supporting concrete experience. As such, Hailey's justification process is relatively 'immediate' in character insofar as her frame of reference is intrinsic, directly perceived and the conclusion is reached without going through analytic steps of validation (e.g. she believes in the Buddhist worldview essentially because it "makes sense" to her).

Hailey's cognitive approach to other religions is fluid and dialectical in orientation: She expresses agreement with the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time (i.e. "both/and" approach) based on personal experience, specifically the fact that she herself has been able to integrate both Buddhist and Christian views and teachings into her own individualized spirituality. Again, this is an example of holistic associative reasoning: Hailey relates concrete personal experiences to the conceptual proposition of the co-existence (in one person) of doctrinally opposing religions, and perceives conceptual viability based on this

association. It is also noteworthy that she previously expressed disagreement with the monotheistic approach of Judeo-Christian traditions that statically categorizes the concept of God in terms of “it’s your god or my god” (i.e. “either/or” approach).

In summary, Hailey is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of all four cognitive criteria of causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution (H=4 pts.). Hailey’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 4 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Holistic (4/4)

Leanne

Leanne is a 35 year old housewife who immigrated to Canada with her parents when she was 13 in the late 1980s, during the second wave of Korean immigration. She received most of her early formal education in Korea before completing high school in Canada. While Leanne feels comfortable speaking both English and Korean, she says the problem with being “1.5 generation” like herself is that one is not “100 percent” fluent in either English or Korean. Most of her friends are also 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians with whom she communicates mostly in the Korean language. Her ethnic identification has vacillated over the years: While she currently feels “half-half” (Korean and Canadian), she felt more “Canadian” before she met her Korean husband (KCO participant Jae-ju) and more “Korean” after marriage because she became more involved in the Korean community. After she gave birth to her children, however, she started to feel Canadian again because of her participation in the public

educational system due to her children. She also describes her socio-economic class growing up as middle, although presently high.

Religious Background

Leanne grew up in a Protestant Christian household, was once baptized in the Roman Catholic Church and currently self-identifies as “Christian” because of “my family,” although she has been regularly attending Pyeonghwa-Sa Temple (PST) since she married Jae-ju and moved in with her in-laws. After a number of years, Leanne grew to like the temple atmosphere and environment, saying it even helped to allay her childhood fear of Buddhist temples and their imposing statues, which “scared” her when she visited them during school field trips in Korea. She appreciates certain aspects of the temple that are lacking in the church. For example, PST members are like one “really close ... family” due to the relatively small number of adherents. She also appreciates the fact there are far less rules in the temple versus the Catholic Church, which has “so much rules and so much things we need to follow.” Unlike the church, Leanne has the freedom to pray in the main Dharma hall whenever she is so inclined. The two religions are also distinguished by the objects of prayers, as Catholics are “ordered” to pray for their families or people “that we don’t know in the world,” while PST allows its members to be more “selfish” in the sense they can pray for anything they wish, such as her family’s welfare, which Leanne thinks is another positive aspect of Buddhism. Besides engaging in prayer sessions, her religious practice also consists of regular participation in the Sunday Dharma services where she chants and prostrates along with the rest of the adherents. As such, Leanne feels she is Buddhist in this sense.

Leanne gleans most of her knowledge of Buddhism from her experiences at PST and discussions with her mother-in-law. She thinks some of the religious practices of her mother-in-law, such as using red beans to ward off evil spirits, is a “superstitious thing” and “could be from culture” rather than from the religion itself. When informed that some Buddhists subscribe to the ideas of karma and reincarnation, Leanne says she cannot accept them because “you can’t prove it.”

She is still hopeful that her family will attend the local Korean Catholic church in the future because she wants to give her children more opportunities to socialize with their peers. Leanne says her son complains about the lack of co-ethnics at PST and confided to her the only aspect he likes about the temple is that “male eats first (laughing)” at mealtimes, which he finds is refreshingly different from his experiences outside of the temple, where the culture is “ladies first.” Overall, Leanne says her main interest in religion lies in the opportunities it provides for her family to socialize with fellow Koreans; like Jae-ju, she does not have a particular interest in the doctrinal aspects of religion. She does, however, appreciate the theological differences between Christianity and Buddhism, especially in terms of the existence of “God and Jesus,” which is why she believes a person cannot claim religious allegiance to both religions at the same time.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Leanne’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values. In the former case, she resists the pressures of traditional cultural norms by electing not to self-identify with the religion of her in-laws because she feels her religious convictions lie with Christianity. This can be interpreted as the prioritization of individual uniqueness in terms of self-construal.

Leanne’s religious activities are primarily defined by social and collective engagement with the PST Sangha community on days in which Dharma services are held; she does not make reference to the existence of an individual religious practice. It is evident from Leanne’s story that the religious institution for her predominantly represents a space through which to socialize. That is, from Leanne’s perspective, religious ‘achievement’ is defined not in terms of the individual and self-actualization (morally or spiritually), but in terms of the institution and social utility. In this sense, she prioritizes the belief in interdependency over individual action as the basis for ‘achievement.’ The fact that Leanne switched

religious institutions out of respect for her in-laws also reinforces the argument that she puts primacy on relational collectivistic beliefs, in this case that role responsibilities determine behavior, over the individualistic tendency to pursue one's personal preferences. In addition, this behavior is indicative of the prominence of Leanne's relational collectivistic values, specifically the value of maintaining harmony in interpersonal relationships.

Leanne appears to be satisfied to base her understanding of Buddhism solely on the informal and discursive instructions of her mother-in-law, as well as her observations attending the temple over the years; she does not show interest in independently exploring textual resources and other independent sources to complement her understanding or gain a more objective perspective of Buddhism. On the other hand, she exhibits independent thinking in ultimately expressing skepticism of her mother-in-law's empirically unverifiable beliefs and their non-religious origins. Hence, her overall behavior in this respect concurrently reflects the relational collectivistic belief in interdependence between close relational others as the basis for (learning) achievement, as well as the individualistic value of autonomous thinking.

In summary, Leanne is markedly relationally collectivistic in religious orientation in terms of the two attitudinal criteria of beliefs and values (C=2 pts.), but decidedly individualistic in terms of self-representation (I=1 pt.). Leanne's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 points out of 3 points in favour of collectivism.

Causal attribution, knowledge processing, conflict resolution. Similar to fellow KCCO participant Jeesoo, Leanne's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as non-holistic in terms of causal attribution and event movement perception and positively analytical in terms of mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. First, Leanne expresses skepticism of Korean Buddhist notions and practices that are based on the relationship between the self and an interconnected field. Specifically, she disagrees with the notion that the causes of good/bad fortune can be attributed to extrinsic factors such as evil spirits and phone calls from others. Her negation of these notions suggests she is disinclined to

holistically perceive the individual as primarily operating in a field of forces wherein he/she is subject to collective or extrinsic (i.e. evil spirits, others' actions) control. In addition, the fact that Leanne attributes the origins of these supposedly Buddhist beliefs to the incorporation of "superstitious" Korean cultural elements reflects an analytical tendency to organize the world categorically and explain events based on taxonomic and differentiated categories.

Leanne does not subscribe to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations because they cannot and have not been empirically verified (e.g. "you can't prove it"). In contrast to most of the KCO participants, who based their belief in the Buddhist cosmology primarily on concrete personal experiences and their associations, Leanne justifies her skepticism by making reference – albeit indirectly – to an external and dominant principle or rule (i.e. empiricism), and by which failure to abide invalidates the concept. As such, whereas the associative or holistic reasoning of said KCO participants was based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and 'immediate' in character, Leanne's way of justifying beliefs is primarily based on an extrinsic factor, deliberate and 'detachable' in character (i.e. based on an 'external' abstract principle). Leanne's process of justifying belief is therefore analytically oriented.

While Leanne embodies a general acceptance and tolerance of other religions as a Christian attending a Buddhist temple, she is theoretically opposed to the proposition that one could self-identify and adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, citing the clashing nature of their central belief systems. Her reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and aggressive cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since it is based on the dissection, isolation and static separation of religions based on their abstract attributes.

In summary, Leanne is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the two cognitive criteria of causal attribution and belief (or lack thereof) justification and, similar to fellow KCCO participant Jeessoo, decidedly non-holistic in terms of event movement perception (A=2.5 pts, H=0 pts.). On the latter criterion of event movement perception, since Leanne does not explicitly express an analytically-oriented

response and her non-holistic inclination is rather *suggestive* of its converse of an analytical inclination, I have assigned this criterion a total value of 0.5 points to reflect the relatively ‘insufficient’ nature of this question compared to the others in Leanne’s particular case (i.e. A=0.5/0.5 pts.). In terms of conflict resolution, insofar as Leanne embodies acceptance and tolerance of other religions (as a self-identified Christian attending a Buddhist temple), and thus the boundaries she draws between Buddhism and Christianity appear to be somewhat fluid, her reasoning process is holistic (H=0.25 pts); however, similar to KCO participants Sa-in, Soo-an and Bomin, she ultimately rejects the possibility of a *substantive* ‘resolution’ of opposing religions through harmonious integration based on a reasoning process defined by abstraction and categories (i.e. theism vs. atheism), which is analytical in orientation (A=0.75 pts.). Leanne’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3.25 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Relationally collectivistic (2/3) ► Individualistic tendencies (1/3)	Analytical (3.25/3.5) ► Holistic tendency (0.25/3.5)

Bruce

Bruce is a 27 year old male student majoring in human resources at a community college in Toronto. He was born in Korea and immigrated to Canada with his parents at the age of 7 in the early 1990s, during the third wave of Korean immigration to Canada. It was not until high school when he befriended many Korean-speaking 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians that he was able to re-acquire his

previously fluent Korean language abilities, although he did speak it at home while growing up in Canada. While Bruce grew up with an ethnically diverse social circle, he gravitated toward 1.5 generation Koreans in high school, noting that he refers to them as “1.5” because they culturally clashed with the Canada-born second generation Koreans: The former group retained the “respectful” system of bowing to people who were “a little bit older” – even in cases where age gaps were one year – and the latter group “didn’t really understand that culture.” Bruce spends most of his spare time in Koreatown in North York and follows both North American and Korean media programs online. He self-identifies ethnically in different ways depending on the person asking: He will identify as Korean-Canadian when asked by other East Asians and simply as “Korean” when asked by Caucasians, although overall he feels strongly that he is “half and half.”

Religious Background

Bruce grew up attending the Sunday Dharma Services at the local temple in Korea with his parents, and continued to do so at HSW after immigrating to Canada. However, ever since his parents moved to northern Ontario for work-related reasons five years ago while he remained in Toronto for school, Bruce now only attends the religious services at HSW on special days in the Korean cultural calendar, such as Buddha’s Birthday or Lunar New Year’s. Bruce self-identifies as Buddhist because “my parents both are Buddhist and ever since when I was little I’ve been following them to temples in Korea as well as in Canada ... I’ve always identified myself as Buddhist.” Moreover, the temple environment appeals to him because it is “very peaceful” and during the Dharma services “I’m very relaxed and peaceful ... I’m not sure what the teaching [behind the chanting] is exactly, but just the way I feel.” He also likes the fact Buddhists do not “force” their religion onto others. Bruce thinks these factors add to the reasons he likes and identifies as Buddhist and “I don’t say I’m an atheist or anything like that.”

Bruce does not formally practice Buddhism at the moment because “my idea of practicing is actually going to the temple every Sunday, and I haven’t been doing that for a while.” On the other hand,

he is a practicing Buddhist in the sense he is able to embody the practice of meditation he learned when he was younger: His friends have commented about the fact he has a “very patient” and “laidback” personality, but “I don’t really think I get that just ... because of me, I think I get that from my father,” who taught him to meditate when he was younger when faced with any problems. The kind of meditation he learned from him was “just sitting ... relaxing my mind, not thinking about anything in particular.”

Bruce believes in the Buddhist idea of karma and the cycle of reincarnation, which he understands to mean “what comes around goes around” and that a person can be reborn as a person or an animal based on his behavior in a previous life. So if “you lived like a b***h (dog) you will be reincarnated into a dog.” Bruce subscribes to this idea, which he learnt from his parents, temple monks and other older-generation Korean Buddhists growing up, because

society has made it very clear that no one really does good deeds purely on the kindness of their hearts. People will likely to do good deeds because if they believe in karma, they feel that there is a possibility to getting something back in return. The cause and effect or the chain reaction of your cause can seem important. I wouldn't want my action to create a negative reaction on to others, and I hope that my positive action can create a positive action on to others. I guess it's nice to believe that there are these "d[i]vine rules" which governs us as [opposed] to our man made rules of laws and regulations.

Bruce has never held a strong interest in learning about other religions, although this does not necessarily mean he thinks they are “wrong” since “it’s completely up to oneself to choose.” He does, however, “question” religions that hold extreme views and consume one’s life. A few of his Korean Christian friends have tried to convert him to Christianity but “I just tell them “no” ha ha.” Bruce respects their opinion “but [Christianity is] just not for me.” He has been accosted several times by evangelical Koreans in the subways, recalling one particularly emotional experience in which the individual in question said “your parents raised you wrong” after Bruce told him he was Buddhist. On the issue of hyphenated religious identities, while the whole idea of “choosing and picking the best parts of different religions” is “beautiful,” a person who identifies with both Christianity and Buddhism is neither a “full” Buddhist or Christian – “it’s more a hybrid ... not that I think it’d be wrong, but I don’t think it’s necessary.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Bruce's attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. He attributes his Buddhist identity to the influential role of his parents and his upbringing in a Buddhist environment, in particular the "peaceful" temple environment, and does not make reference to the role of his own personal convictions in the self-identification process. Hence, close relationships define his religious self-construal.

Bruce's idea of religious practice is primarily defined by collective engagement with the HSW Sangha community on days in which Dharma services are held; implicitly and conversely, he does not think independent practice beyond the confines and support of the temple constitutes Buddhist practice. The fact that he is inclined to view religious practice in terms of collective engagement rather than individual pursuit reflects the prioritization of the belief that achievement requires interdependency between people over individual agency. Bruce is also content to base most of his understanding of Buddhism on the informal and verbal instructions of his father and temple monks, as well as his lived experiences (personal observations and "feel") while attending the temple over the years; the extent to which he independently explores other sources of information on Buddhism is limited to sporadic Internet searches. In addition, he attributes his high degree of patience to the guidance he received from his father. Bruce's behavior and responses here further serve to illustrate the prominence of his relational collectivistic beliefs – that learning achievement requires interdependency. This example shows that Bruce prioritizes the relational collectivistic value of trusting and heeding the instructional words and advice of close and authoritative others over engagement in independent and objective thinking and research.

In summary, Bruce is markedly relationally collectivistic in religious orientation in terms of the two attitudinal criteria of self-representation and beliefs (C=2 pts.). In terms of values, while his religious

practice is predominantly characterized by interdependence (C=0.75 pts.), he does engage in some independent research of online sources to supplement his knowledge of Buddhism (I=0.25 pts.). Bruce's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2.75 points out of 3 points in favour of collectivism.

Causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning, conflict resolution. Bruce's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of causal attribution and mode of reasoning, and both analytical and, to a lesser degree, holistic in terms of conflict resolution; only his perception of cosmological event movement is holistically inclined. First, Bruce analytically explains the function of karmic reincarnations primarily in terms of individual disposition. For example, an individual's present-day physical form is attributed to a recycling of individual dispositions from past lives. In Bruce's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of these cyclical events (i.e. the individual initiated the setting in motion of these events) and who is ultimately responsible for their outcomes. The self in Bruce's world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control, and the self has operated on the world in such a case.

Bruce subscribes to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations based on the "divine" law of cause and effect. In contrast to most of the KCO participants, who based their belief primarily on concrete personal experiences and their associations, Bruce justifies his belief by explicitly referring to an external, abstract and dominant principle or universal law, without which no morality would exist (e.g. "no one really does good deeds purely on the kindness of their hearts.") As such, whereas the associative or holistic reasoning of the above KCO participants was based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and 'immediate' in character, Bruce's way of justifying beliefs is based primarily on an extrinsic factor, deliberate and 'detachable' in character (i.e. based on an abstract and governing principle). Bruce's justification process is therefore analytically oriented.

Bruce expresses general tolerance for other religions with the exception, however, of those that encourage what he considers to be extreme religious views and participation. He is also opposed to the

proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, citing the needlessly in-limbo and obscure nature of such an identity. His reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and aggressive cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since it is based on the dissection and static separation of religions with clear lines of boundaries.

In summary, Bruce is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the two cognitive criteria of mode of reasoning and causal attribution, and decidedly holistic in terms of event movement perception (A=2 pts., H=1 pt.). In terms of conflict resolution, his level of tolerance vis-a-vis other religions is relatively limited compared to other research participants (i.e. He has never held an interest in them and disagrees with those that encourage extreme views), and thus the boundaries he draws between Buddhism and other religions appear to be marginally fluid and holistic (H=0.10 pts). Furthermore, he ultimately rejects the possibility of a substantive ‘resolution’ of opposing religions through harmonious integration in the form of hyphenated religious identities based on a reasoning process defined by distinct categories (i.e. a Buddhist-Christian identity is needlessly in-limbo), which is analytical in orientation (A=0.90 pts.). Bruce’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.90 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

<Summary Table>

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Relationally collectivistic (2.75/3) ► Individualistic tendency (0.25/3)	Analytic (2.90/4) ► Holistic tendency (1.10/4)

Mark

Mark is a 37 year old male high school teacher of economics in Toronto. He immigrated to Canada with his parents in the late 1970s during the first wave of Korean immigration when he was one and a half years old. Mark experienced racism in the form of “name-calling and stuff like that” in his early school years, where most of his peers were Caucasian. This made him feel socially alienated up until the time he entered high school, where there was a larger Asian student body and during which time he befriended Chinese-Canadians. Despite these negative childhood experiences, he still prominently identifies with Canadian culture because it is “mosaic” in character. At the same time, he identifies strongly with the Korean culture, in particular the culture of ‘respect,’ which is still “entrenched” in him – for example, he has trouble addressing his older siblings by their full name to this day in accordance with Korean culture. Mark believes the hyphenated label of “Korean-Canadian” most accurately characterizes his ethnic self-identity.

Religious Background

Mark grew up in a Buddhist family and “occasionally” attended Bulgwang-Sa Temple (BST) with his parents growing up. While he has no “strong recollection” of his experiences attending the temple as a child, he does fondly recall the temple youth group that consisted of 5-10 members and of which he was a member beginning at the age of 15. The youth group meetings were mostly conducted in English and members were “really close, we went camping ... good memories,” although the meetings stopped after about one year because “we just grew apart.” When he was younger, he did want to attend church for “social purposes” as “it just seemed all the Koreans attended church and I wanted to be a part of it.”

Due to the language barrier that exists with his devout Buddhist mother, who originally taught him how to meditate in some of the private classes that she conducted on meditation for the lay Korean Buddhist community out of the home basement, Mark independently reads English material and listens to

CDs on Buddhist meditation by Jon Kabat-Zinn, a medical doctor based in the U.S. specializing in stress reduction through the prominently Theravadin (Southeast Asian) Buddhist method of mindfulness meditation. While Mark initially associated himself as Buddhist because of his parents and his experiences at the local temple growing up, he began to read many books and resources about mindfulness and meditation as he got older, and it was through these books that he began to appreciate what the Buddha taught and practiced, in particular crediting Kabatt-Zinn's book *Full Catastrophe Living* for helping him to understand and really value meditation as a way to be "more present despite the mind's tendency to think of past or future events." For all of these reasons, Mark considers himself a Buddhist today.

He presently practices sitting meditation every day at home not because he is Buddhist but because "it helps me." While he has long since stopped attending any local Korean Buddhist temple, Mark recently joined a mindfulness meditation center comprised mostly of European Canadians in his neighbourhood. He wanted to join a group because "I think there's a different effect when you meditate in groups versus when you meditate by yourself." Mark, for the most part, believes in the Buddhist cosmology of reincarnation and karma, namely that the reasons behind a person's difficulties are due to "past action" and that karma can be burned through meditation. He believes this because reincarnation provides a "reasonable" explanation for such seemingly gratuitous difficulties or even positive developments such as child prodigies, but adds that his belief is not "100% sure."

While he never considered participating in other religions, Mark is "open" to learning about them as he believes that "most (if not all) of them practice very similar things that are good for society," for example "being good to others, forgiveness" and so on. He has encountered conflicts with "devoted Christians" who told him he would go to hell because he did not fully acknowledge God and Jesus. One such conflict involved his former Korean girlfriend, a devout Christian who had difficulty accepting the idea that he would not attend church and who sincerely believed his parents would go to hell because they were Buddhist. Despite these negative experiences, Mark believes one can be both Buddhist and Christian

at the same time because the most important aspects of Buddhism of meditation and mindfulness are “scientific” and practical methods that can be applied by everyone regardless of their religious background.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Mark’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of values, but both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation and beliefs – although the latter to varying degrees. In partially ascribing his present Buddhist identity to the influential role of his parents, it is evident close relationships play a significant role in Mark’s religious self-construal. However, he also equally ascribes his identity to the fact that meditation has had practical benefits and helped him to be “more present,” which reflects the relative importance he attaches to the individual’s happiness and character in the identification process. In this regard, Mark’s religious self-representation is marked concurrently by elements of collectivism and individualism.

Mark moved beyond the parameters of his inherited ethno-religious tradition in search of religious clarification and fulfillment in the more familiar Westernized forms and interpretations of meditation, and his meditative practice over the years has been primarily characterized by individual activity (e.g. he practices sitting meditation every day at home) rather than group engagement, having stopped attending the local Korean temple in his teens. In addition, in contrast to many KCO members, Mark did not base most of his understanding of Buddhism on the informal verbal instructions of his mother growing up, preferring to augment his perspectives – although this was due in part to linguistic barriers – by independently exploring Western writers, particularly those with a medical sciences approach. Overall, Mark’s behavior reflects the prioritization of the belief in personal agency over interdependency as the basis for achievement; as well as the value of independence over group/interpersonal harmony. On the other hand, the fact that he felt it necessary to join a meditation

group, albeit only recently, due to the self-perceived superior benefits of collective engagement over individual endeavour indicates the strong presence of the belief that achievement also requires some interdependency.

In summary, Mark is saliently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of values (I=1 pts.) and equally both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation (I=0.50 pts., C=0.50 pts.). In terms of beliefs, while his hitherto religious practice has been predominantly characterized by individual agency (I=0.50 pts.), Mark recently joined a meditation group because he believes collective effort to be more effective and beneficial than individual practice (C=0.50 pts.). Mark's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution.

Mark's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of causal attribution; holistic in terms of mode of reasoning and event movement perception; and both analytical and holistic in terms of conflict resolution. First, Mark analytically explains the function of karma and rebirth primarily in terms of individual disposition. For example, the talents of child prodigies or a person's hardships in this life are attributed to the reprocessing or recycling of individual dispositions and actions from prior incarnations. In Mark's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of these cyclical events, i.e. an individual's talents are the product of past self-effort, and consequently as ultimately responsible for his/her present attributes (i.e. prodigious talents). The self in Mark's world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control, and the self has operated on the world in such a case. In contrast to this analytical orientation, however, his explanation of these events shows that he holistically perceives cosmological events as moving in cycles and arising in dependence upon preceding conditions.

Mark subscribes to this Buddhist worldview because it represents a “reasonable” and sensible explanation of otherwise inexplicable events. Similar to most of the KCO participants, his justification process is based predominantly based on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: He perceives congruity between concrete personal experience, i.e. observation of present-day child prodigies, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. Buddhist concept of cyclical karmic existence, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on this supporting concrete experience. As such, Mark’s justification process is relatively ‘immediate’ in character insofar as his frame of reference is intrinsic, directly perceived and the conclusion is reached without going through analytic steps of validation (e.g. he believes in the Buddhist worldview simply because it is a “reasonable” explanation).

While Mark expresses agreement with the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, he justifies this based on an atomistic dissection of religions in terms of categories and abstract attributes – albeit selectively by concentrating on their commonalities – which then provide the basis for religious syncretisation and hyphenated identities. For example, he states that Buddhism, especially in terms of its “most important aspects” such as meditation, mindfulness and awareness, is better represented by the category of science than religion, and this non-religious nature allows Christian adherents to engage in Buddhism without conflict. Hence, while Mark’s position exemplifies the holistic inclination to compromise in the face of a conflicting proposition through an exclusive emphasis on mutually harmonious elements, he prominently uses analytical means to justify these holistic ends.

In summary, Mark is saliently analytical in orientation in terms of the one cognitive criterion of causal attribution (A=1 pt.), markedly holistic in terms of event movement perception and mode of reasoning (H=2 pts.), and equally both analytical and holistic in terms of conflict resolution. (A=0.5 pts., H=0.5 pts.). Mark’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.5 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2/3) ► Relationally collectivistic tendencies (1/3)	Holistic (2.5/4) ► Analytical tendency (1.5/4)

Sungin

Sungin is a 24 year old male graduate student majoring in East Asian studies at a postsecondary institute in Toronto. He was born in Korea and first immigrated to the Philippines with his family when he was 5 years old, where he lived for 9 years and attended an international school before immigrating to Canada with his parents in 2000. His family came to Canada during the third wave of Korean immigration, although his father currently resides in Vietnam as a “wild geese” parent. Sungin’s circle of friends represents a mixed bag of ethno-religiosities consisting of both Korean Christians (both 1.5 and 2nd generation) and non-Koreans, including a Pakistani female Muslim whom he considers one of his closest friends. While he does not know what constitutes a “Canadian,” at times he does not feel comfortable in Canada as he lacks “the ease of certain things” that he noticed in second-generation Korean-Canadians. As a result, Sungin emphasizes that he is not “second gen.” Sungin is weary of labeling people and when asked about his own ethnic self-identity, he somewhat sarcastically responds he would identify on paper as “Korean-Canadian ... sure.” This is because his ethnic background is a complicated and unique one:⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Sungin later added that he is averse to labels because he dislikes “the privileging of nationality or ethnicity as a mode of being.”

I grew up in the Philippines ... then I went to an international school and then juxtapose that with Filipinos and then 60 different nationalities, and then trying to learn another language ... then living in a Korean home, and then moving to Canada after puberty ... so I'm all over the place (laughing).

Religious Background

Sungin grew up in a Roman Catholic family and he continues to attend the local Korean Catholic church of his parents today. However, he also occasionally attends the local Korean Buddhist centers and temples, specifically HSW and PST, which he began doing when he turned 19 out of “my choice.” He does not see a problem with attending two different religious institutions and he prefers to avoid religious identity labels altogether, although if he had to choose, he would identify as “Catholic-Buddhist.” He first became interested in Buddhism after reading “the Monk and the Philosopher” by Jean Francois Boisvert during a difficult period in his life, and found the book quite helpful, and so “I guess in that way I am Buddhist.” He then later began to attend local Korean Buddhist temples because he felt more comfortable there compared to the Catholic church, which he thinks might be related to the fact he grew up with identity issues and the Korean Buddhist center felt “more Korean” with its “different sense of values.” Sungin was also very much attracted to Korean Buddhism from a “metaphysical and philosophical” standpoint and he studies the Korean sutras (scriptures) at the center. He learned a lot about the Buddhist teachings from his experiences living in several Buddhist monasteries in Korea for six months at one point, during which he contemplated entering the monkhood. Sungin, however, did not enjoy the academic and intellectual aspects of university courses on Buddhism because “it didn’t help me with anything in terms of understanding the practice ... which was ... far more important to me.”

Because Sungin was undergoing a time in his life of “questioning” and being open to other religious teachings, he did not approach Buddhism as an “institutional religion” so much as a source of spiritual and practical help. If he were to reduce the essence of Buddhism to “one specific thing,” he would say *maum*, a Korean word that he would translate to mean the “heart, body and brain.” This understanding of the essence of Buddhism allows him to “have no problems with different religions and

whatnot because I don't really see much of a difference in that sense." While the two religions of Buddhism and Christianity are "practically speaking completely different, but in that profound level, in that understanding of just living I guess, there is no real difference." His participation in Buddhism also motivated him to recently take confirmation in the Catholic Church (he was originally only baptized), as the "depth, and understanding and compassion I get from Buddhism translates just as easily and profoundly in Catholicism." He notes taking confirmation was also motivated by the fact he knew it "meant a lot" to his mother and family. Buddhism has changed Sungin "drastically ... if this was a video game, I leveled up ... my maturity, whatever." His family may not particularly like the fact he has taken a strong interest in Buddhism, but he hopes that if he can show to them he has become a better person for his Buddhist experiences, they will be "grateful for it, and thankful for it." Today he practices Buddhism "on and off" by meditating both at home and at the temple, reading "great literature" that are not necessarily religious in nature, and "prostrations" at the temple. As far as ascribing to the Buddhist views of the afterlife is concerned, namely samsara, reincarnation and karma, Sungin says that, in the end, "I don't give a damn" because "I wanna live my life now."

He also finds that discussions about religion with his friends become "problematic" only with his Korean peers, who are usually Protestant Christian. The conflicts usually stems from their belief that "if you don't believe in Jesus, you're going to go to hell ... and if I say Buddhism, then it's worshipping the devil (to them), and if I say Catholic, (they say) then at least you're Christian."

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Sungin's attitudes toward Buddhism can be characterized as primarily individualistic in terms of self-representation and beliefs, and both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of values. In ascribing his Catholic-Buddhist identity primarily to the personal rewards or benefits he has directly experienced from engaging in both religions, Sungin's religious self-construal is ostensibly based on individual happiness and convictions.

Similar to many of his fellow KCCO members, in spite of the potential for family conflict, Sungin looked beyond the parameters of his inherited religious tradition to further his personal development as well as to seek cultural fulfillment, which led him to Korean Buddhism and its practices and culminated in a lengthy temple sojourn in Korea. Furthermore, Sungin primarily characterizes his ‘Buddhist’ practice as activities that are performed individually and independently of groups and institutions, such as meditation, prostrations and reading inspiring literature. His behavior in this regard reflects the prominence of the individualistic belief in personal agency as the basis for achievement, as well as the individualistic value of self-actualization. However, the fact that Sungin partially based his decision to take confirmation in the Catholic Church on the emotionally positive effect this would have on his family also suggests the presence of relational collectivistic values of sensitivity to closely related others’ needs and maintaining interpersonal harmony.

In summary, Sungin is markedly individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the two attitudinal criteria of self-representation and beliefs (I=2 pts.). In terms of values, while his religious practice is prominently characterized by the individualistic quality of self-actualization (I=0.75 pts.), he also exhibited the relational collectivistic quality of valuing interpersonal harmony to an extent (C=0.25 pts.). Sungin’s numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2.75 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

*Conflict resolution.*⁸⁰ As a self-identifying hyphenated Catholic-Buddhist, Sungin embodies the integration of ostensibly and mutually contradictory religious theologies. Sungin justifies his pluralistic religious identity based on the perceived essential unity of the two religions at the affective rather than intellectual level (e.g. at the level of “compassion,” “love”). Far from being a source of conflict, this fluid approach has ultimately and conversely allowed him to further embrace his Catholic roots. Hence,

⁸⁰ Due to Sungin’s strong disinterest in Buddhist doctrine (e.g. “I don’t give a damn”) and in related questions, I was unable to ascertain his cognitive orientation in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution and mode of reasoning. I have therefore attempted an analysis of his cognitive tendencies based on his other responses, namely his reasoning process in terms of religious conflict resolution.

Sungin's behaviour and response exemplify the holistic inclination to compromise in the face of a theoretically conflicting proposition through an emphasis on mutually harmonious elements.

In summary, Sungin is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the one cognitive criterion of conflict resolution (H=1 pt.); his numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 1 point out of 1 point in favour of holism.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2.75/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendency (0.25/3)	Holistic (1/1) ⁸¹

Bradley

Bradley is a 32 year old male strategist for the federal government of Canada based in Ottawa. He was born in Toronto and his parents immigrated in the mid-1970s during the first wave of Korean immigration to Canada. He describes his socio-economic class growing up and presently as “upper class.” While the majority of Bradley's social circle growing up and presently consist of non-Asians and he never really learned to speak the Korean language well, he maintained a sense of connection with his heritage culture through his parents, who taught him the importance of family and education and often took him to visit Korea growing up, which he ascribes to his family's upper class status. In fact, his frequent visits to Korea allowed him to see that Korean culture has been “frozen” at the time of immigration to Canada for Korean families, and Korean parents in Canada are thus more “conservative and traditional” than even

⁸¹ This cognitive characterization, of course, comes with the caveat that it was based on a single criterion rather than a comprehensive set of (three) criteria, and is therefore relatively inconclusive in the case of this research participant.

Koreans in Korea, whose culture has evolved over time. Bradley self-identifies ethnically as “Korean-Canadian,” which he thinks is largely due to his career working in an international context, where people he meets understand he is a Canadian citizen but are also interested to learn about his Korean roots.

Religious Background

While Bradley was raised in a Christian household, his grandparents were devout “Buddhist practitioners” and thus his family culture was “strongly influenced” by Buddhism. He was first introduced to Tibetan Buddhism by a Buddhist friend who invited him to meet a Rinpoche⁸² who, in turn, “deeply inspired me” with his “humility, grace and wisdom.” The Rinpoche is now his main spiritual teacher. He has since traveled to India and studied under his teacher at a Buddhist monastery for one month, which provided a “great context” to his introduction to Buddhism. However, Brayden is “uncomfortable” identifying as Buddhist because he believes he is not “qualified to say what exactly ‘Buddhism’ is and what lord Buddha taught as I am in no position to even say that I understand what Buddhism is.” Rather, he can say with “full confidence” that he is “deeply inspired” by the Buddha’s teachings and is “devoting my highest priority in my life to understanding myself and reaching enlightenment for the benefit of all sentient beings.”

Bradley’s current spiritual practice consists of diverse activities that incorporate elements of Buddhism and other religions: daily meditation, prayer and giving offerings, which includes a mantra recitation, yoga, participation in kirtans and developing healthy habits such as eating healthy foods, bathing, cleaning regularly and getting proper sleep. As mentioned above, he is also devoting the “highest priority” in his life to “understanding myself,” to striving to embody his “bodhicitta”⁸³ fully and living life with a compassionate mind, and reaching enlightenment “for the benefit of all sentient beings.” He owes

⁸² A Tibetan word often translated into English as “venerable teacher.”

⁸³ A Sanskrit word and Buddhist concept often translated into English as “mind wisdom.”

his understanding of Buddhism and its practices to a number of “amazing” Tibetan teachers over the years who explained the Dharma to him, as well as to Buddhist texts suggested by his teachers that have “expanded” his understanding.

Bradley “tries” to subscribe to all of the Buddhist teachings that he can understand and that have come from a “reliable source.” He subscribes to the Buddhist cosmology of “cyclical existence,” that is, karma and reincarnation because “without the law of karma then there is no such thing as cause and effect and then no opposite law of merit.” In this event, “we may as well all become robin hood's and rob from the rich and as long as some of the money goes to the poor or to good causes then we are ok...I'm not so sure.” As well, Bradley’s understanding of Buddhism at a “high level” is

mainly that of the Boddhisattvayana path and the Tantric path, which essentially are based on the view to liberate oneself fully, or to reach enlightenment, for the sole purpose so that one may be of benefit to all sentient beings. This path of liberation is to be founded in the two aspects of wisdom and compassion. Wisdom is required to understand both the relative and the absolute truths while compassion is required to ensure the purpose is based for the benefit of sentient beings and not oneself. A meditation practice is essential to training the mind and developing what are known as the seven transcendent perfections which include: generosity, discipline, diligence, patience, concentration and wisdom.

Bradley believes that all religions have value and are important. He has personally studied Catholicism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Shamanism and Judaism, and he thinks all of these religions have very important teachings that he “completely” agrees with. He appreciates the difference between Buddhism and these other world religions, as Buddhism does not teach about absolute truths but rather relative truths. In this sense, he does not think Buddhism is “really” a religion. Bradley believes that one can “certainly” follow a specific religion and be Buddhist at the same time, since the Buddhist teachings will

likely not be in contradiction with other religions but, on the contrary, of “benefit and complementary” to them. On this latter point, he cites the Buddhist teaching of having compassion for all living beings and the benefits of meditation and mindfulness.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Bradley’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, and both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values. Bradley is reluctant to self-identify as Buddhist because this would compromise his own integrity: Full understanding and internalization of the Buddha’s teachings is his self-imposed prerequisite for identification with Buddhism and, by this criteria, he does not qualify. His negative response conversely reflects the primary importance he attaches to personal conviction and disposition in the construction of a positive religious identity. In this respect, his attitudinal approach vis-a-vis religious self-representation is individualistic in orientation.

Bradley divorced himself from his inherited religious tradition to experiment with a variety of non-Korean and non-Christian meditative practices in search of personal spiritual fulfillment. With respect to the latter, he has invested the highest priority in his life to realizing and embodying the Buddhist ideals. Among his current spiritual practices are a substantial number of activities that are conducted individually and independently of groups and institutions, such as meditation, mantra recitation and maintaining consistently healthy habits. Furthermore, in contrast to the KCO but similar to fellow KCCO members, Bradley complements and expands his understanding of Buddhism that he initially acquired through informal channels by actively researching authoritative and formal Buddhist texts. Bradley’s behavior and responses in this respect reflect an individualistic belief in personal agency as the basis for achievement and individualistic values of independence, pursuing personal preferences and (spiritual) self-actualization. On the other hand, Bradley’s spiritual practices also substantively consist of

activities that require consistent interaction with others, in particular his personal Tibetan gurus, who regularly provide spiritual advice, guidance and inspiration and whom Bradley credits for much of his understanding and knowledge of Buddhism today. This behavior suggests the concurrent presence of relational collectivistic beliefs and values, namely the belief that achievement requires interdependence and the value of trusting and heeding the advice and instructions of close and authoritative others.

In summary, Bradley is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of self-representation (I=1 pt.), and markedly both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values (I=1 pt., C=1 pt.). Bradley's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution.

Bradley's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as holistic in terms of event movement perception; analytical in terms of causal attribution and mode of reasoning; and both holistic and analytical in terms of conflict resolution. First, Bradley analytically explains the function of karmic reincarnations primarily in terms of the individual and governing rules. For example, in arguing that even Robin Hood-like altruistic actions for the benefit of the collective poor are subject to karmic retribution, his interpretation places emphasis on the individual as the 'doer' of these cyclical events (i.e. the individual sets in motion the cycle of karmic retribution) and who is ultimately responsible for his/her outcomes that have been administered by universal principles. The self in Bradley's cosmological world is therefore a relatively free and agentic entity subject only to transcendent universal laws, and the self has operated on the world in such a case. In addition, Bradley's explanation of "high level" Buddhist concepts reflects a marked awareness of categories (e.g. "two aspects of wisdom and compassion," "seven transcendent perfections," relative vs. absolute truth) and rules (e.g. "for the sole purpose of..." "Wisdom

is required to...,” “meditation practice is essential to...”),⁸⁴ which further illustrates the prominence of analytical cognitive tendencies, that is, the inclination to organize the world categorically and explain events based on deconstructed and discrete categories.

Bradley subscribes to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations based on the formal logic that without the cycle of karma and reincarnation, there is no “cause and effect and then no opposite law of merit.” Bradley justifies his belief by explicitly referring to an external, abstract and dominant principle or universal law, without which no moral authority would exist (e.g. “we may as well all become robin hood’s and rob from the rich ...”) As such, whereas the holistic associative reasoning process of the above KCO participants was based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and ‘immediate’ in character, Bruce’s way of justifying beliefs is based primarily on an extrinsic factor, deliberate and ‘detachable’ in character (i.e. based on an abstract and governing principle). Bruce’s justification process is therefore analytically oriented.

As a practitioner and believer of the teachings of multiple religions, Bradley embodies the integration of ostensibly and mutually contradictory religious theologies. Consistent with this holistic behavior, he expresses agreement with the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, which reflects a “both/and” holistic approach to religious conflict resolution. However, his justification is predominantly based on abstract categories and attributes: Bradley perceives Buddhism to be better represented by the category of philosophy than religion, and its universal as well as relativistic teachings allow it to complement other religions without conflict. Similar to fellow KCCO member Mark, Bradley makes prominent use of analytical means to justify holistic ends.

In summary, Bradley is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the one cognitive criterion of (cosmological) event movement perception (H=1 pt.), decidedly analytical in terms of causal attribution

⁸⁴ The insertion of this rather lengthy quote was made to illustrate Bradley’s inclination to conceptualize based on categories and rules.

and mode of reasoning (A=2 pts.), and equally both analytical and holistic in terms of conflict resolution (A=0.5 pts., H=0.5 pts.). Bradley's numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.5 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognitive style.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendency (1/3)	Analytical (2.5/4) ► Holistic tendencies (1.5/4)

(2) KCCO Summary Analysis

The following is a summary table of the religious orientations of KCCO participants in terms of the following six categories: Gender, age, generation (1.5 vs. 2nd generation), institutional association or affiliation, and attitudinal (Individualism vs. Collectivism) and cognitive religious orientations (Analytical vs. Holism). For the category of Institutional Affiliation, I have broadly classified research participants into the following two affiliations: "Ethnic," or participants affiliated with the Korean-language congregation at the local Korean Buddhist temple/center, and "Western/Independent," or those affiliated with the English-language group at a local Western-oriented Buddhist temple/center and/or those who independently follow the English-language teachings of a particular North American teacher/source.

i) Table: KCCO Religious Orientations

Name	Gender	Age	Generation	Institutional/ Group Affiliation	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Jenna	F	32	1.5	Ethnic Korean	I = 0.75 C = 2.25	A = 0 H = 4
Leanne	F	35	1.5	Ethnic Korean	I = 1 C = 2	A = 3.25 H = 0.25
Amy	F	39	2 nd	Independent	I = 2 C = 1	A = 1.25 H = 2.75
Hailey	F	34	2 nd	Western	I = 3 C = 0	A = 0 H = 4
Jeesoo	F	21	1.5	Ethnic Korean/ Western	I = 2.25 C = 0.75	A = 2.75 H = 0.25
Bruce	M	27	1.5	Ethnic Korean	I = 0.25 C = 2.75	A = 2.90 H = 1.10
Mark	M	37	2nd	Western/ Independent	I = 2 C = 1	A = 1.5 H = 2.5
Sungin	M	24	1.5	Ethnic Korean	I = 2.75 C = 0.25	A = 0 H = 1
Bradley	M	32	2nd	Western	I = 2 C = 1	A = 2.5 H = 1.5
Total =9	F=5 M=4	Mean Age = 31	1.5 Gen=5 2nd Gen=4	Ethnic=4 Western/ Independent=5	Individualism = 59% (16/27) R. Collectivism = 41% (11/27)	Holism = 54% (17.35/31.5) Analytical = 45% (14.15/31.5)

*I=Individualism; C=Relational Collectivism; A=Analytic, H=Holism

Based on the above KCCO table and individual case studies, five notable patterns emerged:

(1) The KCCO group consisted of a mixture of Canada-born or predominantly Canada-raised second generation (3/8) and Korea-born 1.5 generation (5/8) Korean-Canadians. The three second-generation KCCO participants (Amy, Hailey and Mark) completed their formal education entirely in Canada and were raised in Toronto beginning from early childhood in the 1970s and 1980s, at a time when the size

and scope of ethnic Korean enclaves and support networks in the metropolitan Canadian cities and the availability of advanced technology through which to engage in transnational activities were significantly less than that of the post-1990s and -new millennium Korean immigrant communities and time periods, respectively. In contrast, all five of the 1.5-generation KCCO participants (Jenna, Leanne, Jeessoo, Bruce, and Sungin) lived and completed some of their early formal education in Korea before immigrating to Canada beginning in the late 1980s, at a time when the aforementioned socio-cultural and technological amenities and conveniences were relatively greater. These socio-historical contextual differences were reflected in their background stories: There was a higher frequency of references made to lived experiences in Korea, co-ethnic friendships and online transnational activities by the 1.5-generation group than the second-generation group, who referred mostly to the influential role of the nuclear family, in their justification of a partial Korean ethnic identity. This serves to accentuate the differences in the scale of socio-cultural frames of reference between Korean-Canadians who were raised during the first two waves of Korean immigration (1970s and early 1980s) and those raised during the third wave (post-1990s).

(2) If we juxtapose the overall frequency rate in terms of individualistic/relational collectivistic (I-C) and analytical/holistic (A-H) responses of the KCCO group with the KCO group, we have the following two sets of data:

i)< I-C Responses: Rate of Frequency (%) >

KCCO	KCO
Individualism = 59%	Individualism = 33%
Collectivism = 41%	Collectivism = 67%

ii) < A-H Responses: Rate of Frequency (%) >

KCCO	KCO
Analytic = 45%	Analytic = 20%
Holism = 54%	Holism = 80%

With mean age, socio-economic class, and gender distribution remaining relatively comparable between members of the two groups (i.e. two years separated their mean age [29 vs. 31], the vast majority of KCCO and KCO participants characterized their past and/or present social class as middle class, and the female-to-male ratio was 5:4 respectively for the KCCO group compared to 3:4 for the KCO group), the rate of frequency of individualistic responses among KCCO participants (59%) was nearly double that of KCO members (33%), and conversely the frequency rate of relational collectivistic responses among KCO participants (67%) was substantially higher than that of KCCO members (41%). Furthermore, the rate of frequency of analytical responses among KCCO participants (45%) was more than double that of KCO participants (20%), and conversely the frequency rate of holistic responses among KCO members (80%) was significantly higher than that of KCCO members (54%). Overall, KCCO participants were significantly more individualistic and analytical in religious orientation than KCO participants, who conversely were significantly more relationally collectivistic and holistic in religious orientation than KCCO group members. The discrepancy in percentage points between individualistic versus relational collectivistic attitudes (18 points) and analytical versus holistic cognition (9 points) within the KCCO group was also dramatically smaller than the discrepancies in percentage points between I-C (34 points) and A-H (60 points) within the KCO group. In view of the fact members of the KCCO group self-identified with Korean and Canadian culture in relatively equal parts, this relatively smaller discrepancy is again consistent with the I-C cross-cultural theoretical framework, which conceptualizes that those who

are strongly influenced by both East Asian and Western cultures are inclined to relate to and perceive the world around them in heterogeneous ways that are ‘intermediate’ between individualistic and relational collectivistic attitudes and analytical and holistic cognitive processes.

In addition, the following two tables show the attitudinal and cognitive orientations of KCCO participants in terms of those who were presently affiliated with the ‘ethnic’ and Korean-language congregation of a Korean Buddhist temple/center versus those affiliated with English-language Western-oriented groups and/or teachers/resources:

i) < KCCO Religious Orientation by Affiliation: Ethnic Korean Buddhist Organization >

Name	Gender	Age	Generation	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Jenna	F	32	1.5	I = 0.75 C = 2.25	A = 0 H = 4
Leanne	F	35	1.5	I = 1 C = 2	A = 3.25 H = 0.25
Bruce	M	27	1.5	I = 0.25 C = 2.75	A = 2.90 H = 1.10
Sungin	M	24	1.5	I = 2.75 C = 0.25	A = 0 H = 1
Total =4	F=2 M=2	Mean Age = 30	1.5 Gen=4 2nd Gen=0	Individualism = 40% (4.75/12) R. Collectivism = 60% (7.25/12)	Analytical = 49% (6.15/12.5) Holism = 51% (6.35/12.5)

ii) < KCCO Religious Orientation by Affiliation: Western Buddhist Organization>

Name	Gender	Age	Generation	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Amy	F	39	2 nd	I = 2 C = 1	A = 1.25 H = 2.75
Hailey	F	34	2 nd	I = 3 C = 0	A = 0 H = 4
Jeesoo	F	21	1.5	I = 2.25 C = 0.75	A = 2.75 H = 0.25
Mark	M	37	2nd	I = 2 C = 1	A = 1.5 H = 2.5
Bradley	M	32	2nd	I = 2 C = 1	A = 2.5 H = 1.5
Total =5	F=3 M=2	Mean Age = 33	1.5 Gen=1 2nd Gen=4	Individualism = 75% (11.25/15) R. Collectivism = 25% (3.75/15)	Analytical = 42% (8/19) Holism = 58% (11/19)

First, the two tables show that all four of the KCCO participants affiliated with an ethnic Korean Buddhist group were 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians, and 4 out of the 5 participants affiliated with a Western Buddhist group/practice were second generation Korean-Canadians, which can be largely ascribed to participants' Korean vs. English language proficiency. Second, KCCO participants affiliated with an ethnic Korean Buddhist group exhibited higher levels of relational collectivistic (60%) than individualistic (40%) religious attitudes but an almost equally holistic (49%) and analytical (51%) cognitive approach to religion. KCCO participants affiliated with a Western Buddhist group/teacher/practice showed significantly higher levels of individualistic (75%) than relational collectivistic (25%) religious attitudes and somewhat higher levels of a holistic (58%) than analytical (42%) cognitive approach to religion. It appears, then, that the ethnic Korean Buddhist tradition/congregation promotes a more relational collectivistic attitudinal approach to religious practice while, conversely, the Western-oriented groups and practices promote a more individualistic one.

Members of the two KCCO subgroups, however, exhibited relatively similar tendencies in terms of cognitive religious behaviour. In spite of these differences and similarities, the fact that we find substantive degrees of individualism and analytical inclinations (40% and 49%, respectively) among KCCO participants affiliated with an ethnic Korean Buddhist group and a substantive degree of holism among participants associated with a Western Buddhist group – psychological orientations that are not traditionally associated with the ostensible cultural orientation of the Buddhist traditions in question – is suggestive of the relatively adaptable and flexible character of both ethnic and Western Buddhism in Canada, in which participants are seemingly permitted to infuse or negotiate their individual cultural orientations into their religious behaviour.

(3) It should be noted that the substantially higher percentage of individualistic responses relative to relational collectivistic ones (a discrepancy of almost 20 percentage points) among KCCO participants may be partially attributable to the fact that two of the six participants who exhibited stronger individualistic orientations than relational collectivistic ones – namely Sungin and Bradley – were Christian ‘converts’ who did not have access to the same broad frame of reference (i.e. the luxury of a relatively long Buddhist pedigree and established interpersonal relationships within the community) as their inherited Buddhist KCCO counterparts on which to base a more relational collectivistic approach.

(4) Three KCCO members – namely Leanne, Hailey and Bradley – expressed reluctance to self-identify as Buddhist despite the fact they were currently engaging in Buddhist practice and/or were influenced by Buddhism in terms of their worldviews. These three participants attributed their reluctance to the fact a Buddhist affiliation would represent a transgression of personal convictions in various ways. In other words, their reluctance to self-identify as Buddhist was the product of individualistic attitudes. In contrast, all of the participants from both the KCCO and KCO groups who self-identified as Buddhist based their religious self-construals, in whole or in part, on relational collectivistic factors. This suggests that

individualistic self-representations are relatively antagonistic and relational collectivistic self-representations more conducive to a positive Buddhist identity.

(5) If we classify by gender the total (frequency rate) scores of KCCO participants in terms of their religious orientations, we are given the following table:

i) KCCO Religious Orientations by Gender

Gender.	No.	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Females	5	Individualism = 60% (9/15) R. Collectivism = 40% (6/15)	Analytic = 39% (7.25/18.5) Holism = 61% (11.25/18.5)
Males	4	Individualism = 58% (7/12) R. Collectivism = 42% (5/12)	Analytic = 53% (6.9/13) Holism = 47% (6.1/13)

As we can see from the above table, while female and male KCCO participants were relatively comparable in terms of individualistic and relational collectivistic religious attitudes, the male participants exhibited a stronger analytic inclination in terms of cognitive religious orientation than female participants (53% vs. 39%); and, conversely, female participants showed a stronger holistic cognitive inclination than male participants (61% vs. 47%). This is in contrast to the gender differences in the KCO group, in which differences were found between the genders in terms of individualism-relational collectivism but there were no significant differences in their cognitive religious orientations.

(6) In comparison to the KCO group, the ways in which KCCO participants approached and ‘did’ religion were more often characterized by *abstraction* and *intellectualization*, as opposed to the trust-based propensity of most KCO members.⁸⁵ For example, many self-identified (or did not self-identify) as Buddhist based primarily on an agreement (or disagreement) with abstract Buddhist principles and teachings, in contrast to many KCO participants who based their religious identities on trust-based

⁸⁵ Of course, there was also a fair share of KCCO participants who fell into the latter ‘trust-based’ category.

interpersonal relationships forged within the Buddhist community; many KCCO participants referred to the formalized and abstract teachings of authoritative texts on Buddhism for religious advice, motivation and knowledge, as opposed to most KCO participants who referred to the informal, direct and verbal advice of close relational others and authoritative Buddhist figures; and many KCCO members referred to abstract rules, principles and laws in interpreting and justifying belief (skepticism) in the Buddhist worldview, as opposed to the vast majority of KCO members who referred to personal, lived and concrete experiences.

3. Canadian Cultural Orientation (CCO)

(1) CCO Individual Case Studies

Lisa

Lisa is a 21 year old female university student in Ottawa. She was born in Korea and immigrated to Canada with her parents when she was 5 years old in 1994, during the third wave of Korean immigration. She characterizes her current level of Korean language proficiency as “very basic” because, while she initially spoke Korean at home to her parents, it later came to a point where she only responded in English. Most of Lisa’s close friends, including her boyfriend, are “Caucasians” who share an interest in the arts and culture, and who are also open-minded to spirituality. Lisa self-identifies ethnically as Korean-Canadian but “more Canadian.” This is because she identifies more with being socially liberal and feminist than any specific ethnicity, and Canada is more “conducive” to embodying these identities than Korea.

Religious Background

Lisa's parents are missionaries who came to Canada to found a chapter for a worldwide Christian Evangelical organization called the University Bible Fellowship (UBF). She grew up in an Evangelical Protestant household in which the "life goal" of her parents was to convert students to the UBF. While her grandmother is Buddhist, her parents became Christian because they were highly influenced by missionaries when they attended university in Korea. The life of a UBF member, which she once was, requires discipline since one has to commit one's whole life to it: it is "bible study intensive" and one's free time and social ties are mostly with other UBF members. While Lisa tried hard to be what her parents expected of her religiously, she came to widen her religious perspective when she joined a Christian fellowship in high school, where she met Christians from other denominations and practices, although she initially felt their interpretations of Christianity were "wrong." She thought if other forms of Christianity were as valid as her own, then perhaps other religions were also just as valid. This is because religion is "so personalized, that's what I found out, like faith and what, how people perceive their religion is very personal." This was vastly different from her religious experiences with the rigid and ordered teachings of the UBF, where she learned to believe that everyone believes exactly the same kind of teachings. Lisa felt like she was living in a bubble all this time, and "when that bubble is popped ... it was both interesting and also very devastating."

By the end of high school, she began exploring spirituality outside of Christianity. As an English literature major, Lisa took an interest in the writings of Jack Kerouac, a well-known Zen Buddhist practitioner. She transferred her Christian epistemological understanding that "text will give you answers to life" to her area of studies, and she saw "answers in literature." She then went to the library and read "all sorts of books" by other Buddhist writers, in particular those penned by Zen masters such as the Vietnamese Buddhist Thich Nhat Hanh. She also began attending monthly workshops on meditation for beginners at a local Western-oriented Buddhist center that was affiliated with the Japanese Zen tradition. Her experiences with Zen meditation made her think that Buddhism was more of a practical "method" than a religion, since there is no dogma that is preached. This was one aspect of Zen that appealed to her

and why, in her opinion, Zen has become popularized in the West. Lisa later learned through her undergraduate studies on the deconstruction of text, however, that answers are not to be found in text because

you can't really trust anything ... we always need to tell ourselves stories in order to gain a sense of order in the world ... related to stability, maintaining stability.

She had to learn to deal with the fact there was no stability and solidity in her life anymore, and Zen helped her to deal with the fact that the stories we tell ourselves is “not something we want to chase after.” Lisa thinks that the point of Zen is therefore to “empty ourselves” of these stories and to just be aware of reality. She does find Zen practice challenging, however, because she has always been taught to think in a linear fashion, while Zen has taught her “whole awareness, of the present ... of just what’s going on internally and outside ... in my field of vision,” which has brought a sense of clarity.

Lisa does not currently attend the temple because it reminds her too much of going to Sunday service, which she dislikes because she needs to be able to deal with a “lack of stability” in her life and, thus, to practice individually. Linda is still trying to “flush out” many years of “that kind of internalization.” Her parents are now beginning to be more accepting of the fact she does not accept Christianity, although they are still unaware she has taken an interest in Buddhism.

Lisa is uncertain whether she would consider attending an ethnic Korean Buddhist temple in the future because “I don’t want there to be anything ethnic about a practice” and because it may remind her of the UBF and the fact they integrated Korean values into the practice. Lisa dislikes the “rigidness” of Korean values, which she witnessed first-hand one summer in Korea while observing a classroom: The schools do not encourage creativity and the best students are those who have the best ability to “memorize material,” which also reminds her of the militant “army-like structure” and attitude in the UBF. She is uninterested in the socializing aspect of religious institutions, and thinks this “serious attitude” toward religious practice may have been influenced by her parents.

Lisa would not identify as Buddhist or any other religion at this point (although she is also not atheist), as she does not feel religion influences or informs her worldview in any way. She does not concern herself with the Buddhist cosmological perspective of the afterlife or the metaphysical, such as karma and reincarnation, because there are more pressing matters for her in this world – “I’m just trying to get a hold, a grasp of who I am first ... my identity right now.” Lisa also feels that Buddhism represented a return to her “roots” in the sense it allowed her to separate herself from what she perceives to be a “value” and a religion (i.e. Christianity) that was brought upon by white imperialism.

In terms of multiple hyphenated religious identities, Lisa does not think a person can be an adherent of both Buddhism and Christianity at the same time in terms of “orthodoxy.” A synchronous balance of multiple religiosities in one individual is possible, however, if the person highlights the commonalities between the two religions and/or by “picking and choosing” their personally beneficial elements, in which case one may have to “discard” their conflicting views such as on the afterlife.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Lisa’s religious attitudinal orientation can be characterized as prominently individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. Despite a substantial individual Buddhist practice from which she has experienced practical benefits, Lisa did not self-identify as Buddhist (or any religion at the present time) because a religious affiliation would contradict her individual disposition: Religions did not inform her worldview in any way and undermined her efforts to internalize the reality of the instability of life. Her negative response reflects the primary importance she attaches to her ‘core essence’ in the construction of a positive religious identity. In this respect, her attitudinal approach vis-a-vis religious self-representation is individualistic in orientation.

In spite of the potential for family conflict, Lisa divorced herself from her inherited ethno-religious tradition in search of personal spiritual fulfillment elsewhere, particularly in non-Korean traditions to avoid reminders of her past associations. Her current Buddhist practice mainly involves

meditation that is performed individually and independently of any collective support, including private instructions from her teacher at the local Zen center, which she no longer attends on a regular basis. In addition, similar to many KCCO members, Lisa based her understanding of Buddhism on diverse sources of information, including various textual sources for which she actively conducted research and on past meditation workshops; in contrast to the KCO group, she did not make reference to the contributions of her teachers or others at the Zen center she once attended in this respect. Overall, Lisa's responses and behaviour reflect the prioritization of the individualistic belief in personal agency and responsibility over interdependency as the basis for achievement; and individualistic values of independence and pursuing personal preferences over maintaining interpersonal harmony and relations or trusting and heeding the advice of close and authoritative others, respectively.

In summary, Lisa is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); her numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. Lisa's religious cognitive orientation can be characterized as prominently holistic in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution and mode of reasoning, and both analytical and –albeit to a lesser extent – holistic in terms of conflict resolution. Lisa was drawn to Buddhist meditation because it gave her the tools to move beyond conventional linear thought patterns and develop “whole awareness” of phenomena in her “field of vision,” which helped her to focus on the present. Implicit in this emphasis on “whole” perception is the strong likelihood that she would be consequently inclined to explain events holistically in terms of the relationship between a focal object (the self) and its context. In addition, implicit in Linda's dissatisfaction with linear modes of thinking, rigid systems, “sense of order” in the world and her belief that the “stability of life” represents an illusion (e.g. She is trying to “empty” herself of this sense of

order; “we ... tell ourselves stories in order to gain a sense of order in the world”) is the holistic perception of events or phenomena as moving in cycles between extremes and in the direction of change.

This belief in the instability of life stemmed from a devastating experience in which the foundation of her beliefs was abruptly destroyed. Lisa’s justification for this ‘Buddhist-friendly’ worldview is ostensibly based on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: She perceives congruity between a concrete personal experience, i.e. initial shock in learning about the reality of intra-Christian diversity, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. instability of life, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on this supporting concrete experience. As such, Lisa’s justification process is relatively ‘immediate’ in character insofar as her frame of reference is intrinsic, directly perceived and her conclusion is derived without going through analytic steps of validation (i.e. she believes in this Buddhist worldview essentially based on her experiences).

Insofar as Lisa reasoned that dual adherence to *orthodox* Buddhism and Christianity was not possible, she exhibits the analytical tendency to dissect and differentiate religions based on abstract attributes. At the same time, however, Lisa also reasons that dual adherence to theologically contradictory religions is possible based on the selective filtering of personally beneficial elements (e.g. “picking and choosing what is beneficial for you”), which then provide the basis for religious syncretisation and hyphenated identities. Hence, Lisa’s latter reasoning exemplifies the holistic inclination to compromise in the face of a conflicting proposition – in this case, through exclusive concentration on mutually and personally beneficial elements.

In summary, Lisa is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the three cognitive criteria of causal attribution, event movement perception and mode of reasoning (H=3 pts.), and equally both holistic and analytical in terms of conflict resolution (H=0.5 pts., A=0.5 pts.). Lisa’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3.5 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Holistic (3.5/4) ► Analytic tendency (0.5/4)

Yemin

Yemin is a 39 year old female lawyer, entrepreneur and yoga instructor based in Toronto. She was born in Canada and her parents immigrated in the early 1970s during the first wave of Korean immigration. Yemin characterizes her Korean language skills as “very patchy” as she did not speak it very much at home growing up. While she identified ethnically as equal parts Korean and Canadian earlier in her life when her sense of identity was “less certain” and she struggled with this issue, she feels “80% Canadian” at this point in her life. This is because Yemin is more comfortable speaking the English language and identifies more with the North American lifestyle. Moreover, when she travels to Korea, she realizes she is “other.” Yemin does note, however, that she cherishes the “other 20%” (i.e. Korean aspect) of her identity and has become “fascinated” with Korean culture, especially Korean Shamanism, as an adult.

Religious Background

Yemin was raised (Anglican) Christian but turned away from the church in her teens because she perceived the Korean church to be a “sexist, racist, classist and a homophobic institution.” She was brought up in the United Church, which was a “very open, spacious kind of approach to spirituality.” When Yemin was an articling student at a law firm in the late 90s, “I had a spiritual crisis, and a career

crisis, and a health crisis, all at the same time ... because that kind of environment is a pressure cooker.” The experience forced her to ask herself “do I really want what I thought I want from my life?” and to start looking “inwardly, whereas until that point I had been looking outwardly ... seeking grades, seeking parental approval.”

At that point she found yoga, which quickly evolved into a spiritual practice and which she has now made into a career as a yoga teacher. She ran the yoga studio she later opened like a “Dharma Center ... we invited prominent spiritual teachers from many traditions to come in and speak.” It was a spiritually inclusive environment that had “a kind of universal altar ... there’s pictures of Indian gurus on the altar, there’s also pictures of Buddhist lamas and whatnot.” The style of yoga itself that she practices “puts onto the mat meditation ... Dharma Talk, chanting, everything ... so we shoehorn into a 90-minute class absolutely everything that we think is essential to getting enlightened.” The main texts that Yemin uses for the Dharma Talks and chanting aspects of her yoga practice are classical Hindu texts, but she has also been influenced “a great deal” by Buddhist teachers, mainly those from the Tibetan tradition. In fact, YeMin once studied “more deeply” under a Western Buddhist teacher from the Tibetan tradition who “Westernized” the teachings to make it more accessible to a mainstream audience.

Yemin eventually took the Buddhist Refuge Vows in the Tibetan lineage. She identifies religiously as “Christian-Hindu-Buddhist” as well as a “secular humanist” and prefers a plural religious identity because “I’m more interested in gleaning the spiritual truths that underlie all religions.” In fact, on official surveys such as the Canada Census, she would write “Yemin-ism” as her religious identification because religion is an “extremely personal journey.” Her religion overall is a “patchwork quilt” that further includes elements of Shaivism and Amazonian Shamanism. She does not think she is religious per se, but “more spiritually inclined” because religions seem overly structured and dogmatic to her. She thinks one of the reasons she has not taken an interest in Korean Buddhism is because “there’s

still some value in getting fresh perspective” in other ethnic traditions and “there’s value in the looking, (and) having it so close to home ... you don’t see it.”

Yemin’s understanding of the Buddhist teachings have come from both reading many books, especially in the area of Buddhism and psychology, and from her past Buddhist teachers. She subscribes to the teachings about karma, emptiness and reincarnation, which inform most of her worldview, because they “most definitely” help her to reconcile or understand personal or global tragedies, such as the most recent earthquake in Japan. She does hold a Christian worldview in the sense she will “appeal to external deity, a personified god or goddess from time to time, understanding that I’m really just invoking that part of myself ... and in my scarest moments I’ll probably default to the ones that are oldest for me, so Jesus would come up.” In this way, Yemin believes her Buddhist teachers have given her a new perspective and appreciation of her Christian roots, as she now understands external deity as personifications of aspects of the self. She also felt the Buddhist Vows were “broad enough to encompass my family lineage [of Christianity]” and taking the vows “didn’t feel like I was breaking with anything, I felt like I was just adding on, adding on.”

Yemin thinks she “completely lacks” the ability to defer “momentary happiness” for the greater good of family (children etc.), which she thinks defines the people of her parents’ generation of Korean immigrants, because for her “there’s really no tomorrow, it’s all just today, today, today.” What happens in the afterlife is not so “relevant” for YeMin and “living enlightened [in this life] is all there is really.” She knows that she is “solely responsible for my own happiness, it’s no one else’s business but my own, if I suffer, I am 100% responsible for my suffering and if I’m happy, I’m 100% responsible for my happiness.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Yemin's religious attitudinal orientation can be characterized as primarily individualistic in terms of self-representation, and both individualistic and, albeit to a lesser degree, relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values. First, Yemin identifies as Christian-Buddhist-Hindu because she believes the ideas and practices of each of these religions uniquely contribute to the satisfying of her spiritual needs; she does not make any reference to the role of close relationships with respect to her religious identity. Her religious self-identity, then, is primarily defined by personal disposition and individual uniqueness and her religious self-representation is thus individualistic in nature.

Yemin made the choice to actively search beyond the confines of her inherited religious tradition to experiment with a variety of non-Korean practices in seeking personal spiritual fulfillment. She explicitly expresses a belief in full personal agency and individual responsibility, e.g. "I'm 100% responsible for my suffering ... happiness," which is manifested in many of her eclectic religious practices that are conducted individually and independently of groups and institutions, such as her yoga, meditation and chanting practices, as well as in her independent research into Buddhist texts which form the basis of much of her knowledge of Buddhism today. Yemin's behavior and responses thus reflect the prioritization of the individualistic belief that achievement requires personal responsibility over interdependence. The fact that living a spiritually "enlightened" existence represents the top priority in her life at the present time and, as a result, she would be unable to postpone her spiritual goals for the benefit of the collective (i.e. starting her own family), much to the chagrin of her parents, attests to the prioritization of the individualistic value of self-actualization and self-interests over maintaining interpersonal harmony.

On the other hand, Yemin's spiritual practices also substantively consisted and continue to consist of activities that require consistent interaction with and dependence upon others, in particular past private

and present spiritual teachers who influenced her understanding, knowledge and practice of Buddhism. Her behavior in this respect suggests that, to some extent, Yemin attaches importance to the relational collectivistic belief in interdependence as the basis of achievement and the value of trusting and heeding the advice of close and authoritative others.

In summary, Yemin is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of self-representation ($I=1$ pt.); in terms of beliefs and values, while her religious practice is predominantly characterized by the individualistic qualities of personal agency and self-actualization ($I=0.75 \times 2=1.5$ pts.), she also perceptibly exhibited to some degree the relational collectivistic qualities of belief in the importance of collective achievement and valuing of others' spiritual advice ($C=0.25 \times 2=0.5$ pts.). Yemin's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2.5 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, and conflict resolution.

Yemin's cognitive approach to Buddhism is prominently holistic in orientation in terms of event movement perception and conflict resolution, but analytic in terms of causal attribution and reasoning processes. Yemin characterizes the notion of karmic reincarnations as the endless recycling of "life-forces" that reap what they sow in future rebirths. For example, a life-force may move from incarnations of happiness to misery back to happiness depending on individual karmic action. She thus perceives events as holistically moving in cycles between extremes and often in reversal in the direction of change (i.e. happiness to misery or vice-versa) – as opposed to in the linear direction of advancement.

However, Yemin analytically explains this notion primarily in terms of individual disposition and universal principles. For example, in believing that her actions have consequences of happiness or misery and the "chain of causation" is exclusively responsible for her experiential states, emphasis is placed on the individual as the 'doer' or principal cause of these cyclical events (i.e. the individual sets in motion

the cycle of karmic retribution) and thus as ultimately responsible for her/his outcomes (which she characterizes as “wonderfully empowering”), the nature of which are governed by universal principles. The self in Yemin’s cosmological world is therefore a relatively free and agentic entity subject only to transcendent universal laws, and the self has operated on the world in such a case.

Yemin subscribes to the cosmology of karma and rebirth based on its consistency with the doctrine of “chain of causation” and the natural biological cycle, in which “things are born, they live and they die.” In this respect, Yemin justifies her belief by explicitly referring to an external, abstract and authoritative principle. Whereas the holistic associative reasoning process of the above KCO participants was based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and ‘immediate’ in character, Yemin’s reasoning in justifying belief is based primarily on an extrinsic factor, deliberate and ‘detachable’ in character (i.e. based on an abstract and governing principle). Yemin’s mode of reasoning process is therefore analytically oriented.

As a self-identifying tri-hyphenated Christian-Hindu-Buddhist, Yemin embodies the holistic integration of seemingly contradictory religious theologies. Similar to fellow CCO participant Lisa, Yemin justifies her pluralistic religious identity based on the fact she is more interested in gleaning the spiritual truths that underlie all religions in her justification (i.e. fundamental commonalities), which then provides the basis for religious syncretization. In addition, similar to KCCO participant Sungin, far from being a source of conflict, this fluid approach has ultimately and conversely allowed her to further embrace her Christian roots. Hence, Yemin’s reasoning exemplifies the holistic inclination to compromise in the face of a conflicting proposition through exclusive concentration on mutually harmonious elements.

In summary, Yemin is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the two cognitive criteria of (cosmological) event movement perception and conflict resolution (H=2 pts.), but decidedly analytical in terms of causal attribution and mode of reasoning (A=2 pts.). Bradley’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2 points out of 4 points for each of holistic and analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2.5/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendency (0.5/3)	Analytical-Holistic (2/4)

Alissa

Alissa is a 33 year old female physician who recently began a psychiatry practice in Toronto. She was born in Toronto and her parents immigrated in 1973 during the first wave of Korean immigration to Canada. Alissa grew up in a multi-generational home that included her monolingual Korean grandmother, which helped her to “improve” her Korean language abilities and to develop a sense of her heritage culture. However, her close friends growing up were mostly non-Koreans and she never joined an organized ethnic Korean community or group because she never felt the need for it. Alissa has and continues to feel a sense of belonging to mainstream Canadian society because of her work, which allows her to feel she is a contributing member of society, and the fact she lives in a multicultural city like Toronto, which makes it “easier to find acceptance.” While she ethnically self-identifies as “Korean-Canadian,” Alissa identifies now “more as a Canadian” because, over time, not only does her attachment to her heritage culture diminish, but her parents also “seem to be holding onto traditional Korean practices less and less.”

Religious Background

Alissa was raised in a Catholic household where she attended church weekly, although she stopped practicing religion in any organized way upon reaching young adulthood. However, she self-

identifies as Christian because of the strength of the influence of her Christian upbringing, as well as the fact she still turns to religious “practices” when she finds herself “in crisis” and feels she has “no other alternatives for support.” Overall, however, she does not consider herself religious as she is more inclined to accept practices and beliefs that are based on “empirical evidence.” Alissa first became interested in the Theravadin (Southeast Asian) Buddhist practice of *Vipassana*, or mindfulness meditation, because of her psychotherapeutic work, where this particular meditation technique was empirically shown to “treat” disorders such as anxiety and depression. She often recommends the practice of mindfulness in conjunction with medication to her patients in order to “optimize the treatment outcomes.” What originally started out as a professional interest turned into a personal one, as Arrina now uses elements of mindfulness meditation in times of “high anxiety”:

It helps me to be present in the moment, rather than allowing my mind to race with catastrophic thoughts about the future. It also allows me to enjoy and truly live through experiences rather than going through the motions of living.

Alissa is familiar with “some of the more popular tenets” of Buddhism such as karma and rebirth, although “not in any great details.” She does not “necessarily” believe in karma or reincarnation because there is no empirical basis for them. Most of the Buddhist readings she conducted for her work were books by contemporary psychologists, in particular Jon Kabat-Zinn, who pioneered the integration of Buddhist mindfulness meditation techniques with psychotherapy, and Marsha Linehan. While her worldviews are consistent with some of the teachings of Christianity and Buddhism, Alissa does not believe her views were “consciously” influenced by these religions. However, she would like to raise her future family with principles that are common to both Buddhism and Christianity, although she does not necessarily feel organized religion is needed in order to achieve this. Alissa is open to other religions and sees similarities between them, noting that she believes both Christianity and Buddhism basically aim to teach people to live “harmoniously.” However, she does not believe that an individual can be both Buddhist and Christian at the same time: “I think that an individual is either Christian or Buddhist, but not

both. One may be open to the principles of the other religion insofar as it does not contradict with their own religious beliefs, but identify with a single, predominant religion.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Alissa’s attitudes toward religions can be characterized as primarily relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, but individualistic in terms of beliefs and values. Although Buddhist practice plays a relatively significant role in her everyday life, i.e. she applies mindfulness meditation in times of personal anxiety and teaches it to others in her psychiatric practice, Alissa self-identifies as Christian due to the strength of the influence of her family upbringing, which manifests in times of personal crises in which she will revert to faith-based Catholic religious practices despite a normative preference for empirical evidence-based methods. She therefore prioritizes close relationships over normative dispositions in her religious self-representation, which is relationally collectivistic in orientation.

Relative to the majority of the Christian ‘converts’ in this study, Alissa seemingly did not experience substantial parental pressures to maintain adherence to the family religion. In this sense, her engagement in Buddhist practice does not necessarily reflect the prioritization of individualistic beliefs and values of personal agency and/or pursuing personal preferences over maintaining relational harmony. In addition, the fact that her interest and practice of mindfulness meditation is exclusively utilitarian in nature would likely mitigate any potential family conflict. However, insofar as Alissa’s personal practice of Buddhism is performed individually and independently of a support network of similar practitioners,⁸⁶ consists of the self-application of knowledge and theory to real-life situations, and is based on independent and objective research, she prioritizes the individualistic belief in personal responsibility and agency over interdependency as the basis for achievement; as well as the prioritization of the individualistic value of self-actualization over collective harmony.

⁸⁶ For example, groups comprised of non-Buddhist meditators and/or teachers, of which many exist in Toronto and which KCCO participant Mark recently joined. A list of such groups, for example, can be found at www.torontobodymind.ca.

In summary, Alissa is prominently relationally collectivistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of self-representation (C=1 pt.), but markedly individualistic in terms of beliefs and values (I=2 pts.). Alissa's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

*Event movement perception, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution.*⁸⁷ Alissa's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as non-holistic in terms of event movement perception, positively analytical in terms of justification of belief (or lack thereof), and both analytical and, albeit to a lesser degree, holistic in terms of conflict resolution. Similar to KCCO members Jeesoo and Leanne, Alissa does not subscribe to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations because the idea is inconsistent with her empiricist ways of relating to the world. In contrast to most of the 'Koreanized' participants who based their belief in the Buddhist cosmology primarily on concrete personal experiences and their associations, Alissa justifies her skepticism by making an explicit reference to an external, abstract and guiding rule or principle (i.e. rule of empiricism) and concepts that fail to meet the criteria of this principle are deemed invalid. As such, whereas the associative or holistic reasoning of said KCO participants was based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and 'immediate' in character, Alissa's way of justifying beliefs is primarily based on an extrinsic factor, deliberate and 'detachable' in character (i.e. based on an 'external' abstract principle). Alissa's process of justifying belief is therefore analytically oriented.

While Alissa expresses and embodies (as a Christian practicing Buddhist meditation) an open attitude toward other non-Christian religions and perceives a common fundamental purpose between them, she disagrees with the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, citing their contradictory doctrinal contents. Her

⁸⁷ I was unable to analyze Alissa's cognitive character in terms of causal attribution since she rejected a belief in the Buddhist worldview of karmic reincarnations and, in contrast to KCCO members Leanne and Jeesoo, there was a lack of data in other areas from which to formulate any kind of coherent argument.

reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior in terms of religious conflict resolution – and hence analytical in orientation – since it is based on the atomistic dissection, isolation and static separation of religions based on their abstract attributes.

In summary, Alissa is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the one cognitive criterion of belief (or lack thereof) justification (A=1 pt.) and decidedly non-holistic in terms of event movement perception. On this latter criterion, since Alissa does not *explicitly* express an analytically-oriented response to the question concerning cosmological event movement perception and her non-holistic inclination is rather suggestive of an analytical inclination, I have assigned this criterion a total value of 0.5 points to reflect the relatively ‘insufficient’ nature of this question compared to the others in Alissa’s particular case (i.e. A=0.5/0.5 pts.). In terms of conflict resolution, insofar as Alissa perceives a fundamental common bond between religions, and thus the boundaries she draws between Buddhism and Christianity appear to be fluid, her reasoning process is holistic (H=0.25 pts); however, similar to some of the KCCO members, in particular Jeessoo, she ultimately rejects the possibility of a substantive ‘resolution’ of opposing religions through harmonious integration in the form of hyphenated religious identities based on a reasoning process defined by abstraction (i.e. differences in belief systems between the two religions), which is analytical in orientation (A=0.75 pts.). Alissa’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.25 points out of 3 possible points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendency (1/3)	Analytical (2.25/2.5) ► Holistic tendency (0.25/2.5)

Donald

Donald is a 32 year old male ESL teacher based in Toronto. He was born and raised in Toronto and his parents immigrated to Canada during the first wave of Korean immigration in the 1970s. Most members of his close social circle growing up and presently are Canada-born “second-generation Koreans,” a group he believes represents a sub-culture onto itself and to whom he can most relate. Donald does not engage in many Korean cultural or transnational activities, mostly only watching Korean movies online when he has time. He does speak some Korean, although his level of proficiency is “okay” since he spoke some Korean to his parents and relatives growing up. While he understands the identity struggle among Korean-Canadians and realizes that he will never be fully Korean or Canadian, Donald would not self-identify as “Korean-Canadian” because he dislikes the in-limbo connotation of hyphenated labels – he thinks people should “just pick a side.” Instead, Donald self-identifies as singularly “Canadian” because this identity label can encompass the different cultures, including Korean.

Religious Background

Donald grew up in a Protestant Christian household, although he characterizes his family’s religious attitudes as liberal “for Koreans.” He was highly religious and an active member of the Korean Presbyterian church when he was younger, participating in bible study groups and attending worship services every Sunday. However, even after many years of attending the church, “nagging” spiritual questions remained for which the church was not able to provide answers – “I’ve always liked to think about things, and analyze things, and go deep.” The nagging questions led to a long and slow detachment from Christianity over several years. He one day picked up a Tibetan Buddhist book out of curiosity at the local Chapters and, after reading it, he realized that Buddhism “makes sense” and he no longer had the nagging doubts that he had with Christianity, which he notes in a sarcastic tone taught that “you have to accept this on faith, you have to believe in God.” He also describes Korean Christianity as very conservative as many believe “you’re gonna go to hell if you don’t come to church.” Donald was drawn

to Buddhism because it did not dwell over the existence of god but rather encouraged its practitioners to “find yourself.” He later began regularly attending the Zen Buddhist Temple (ZBT), a Korean Buddhist institution that offered a program for Western or non-Asian Buddhist practitioners independent of the ethnic Korean adherent group (i.e. ‘parallel congregation’). He prefers the Western-oriented Buddhist congregations over ethnic Korean ones because of the language and cultural barriers: He noticed a division of roles between the monks and laity in the Korean temple, where the former strive for awakening and enlightenment and the latter “just go to temple and chant, and if someone is sick or if I’m opening a business, I’m going to do some prostrations.” Donald understands that he has a Western bias in this regard, where

We (Western practitioners) want the practice ... we don’t want the dry (stuff) ... that’s what church is for, just going on Sundays and going through the routine. People who discover Buddhism as a second religion or ... that sort of thing, people like me, we want the awakening, we want the meditation. I also want the chanting and the ritual and those things too, but not just that.

The only doubts he had about the Buddhist teachings concerned the cosmology of karma, reincarnation and rebirth, because “people being reborn as a cat or a fish” was very “alien” to what he had known and, as a person who is more secular and rational, this did not resonate with him. In the end, however, this did not matter because the books he read on Buddhism never said one had to accept the idea of reincarnation if one wanted to follow the practice, and he was also never asked to believe it by his teacher. Donald is still “in the closet” about his Buddhist interests because he knows his parents would not be happy. He recalled that his parents “were none too pleased” when they returned home once to find incense wafting in the air, a Buddhist practice he is especially fond of. He has attended the temple on and off for several years but recently decided to make a serious commitment to Buddhist practice and plans to formally take the Buddhist precepts very soon. Donald, however, is “hesitant” to identify as Buddhist and he would feel more comfortable with the designation of atheist. This is mostly because he is unable to accept the “religious” aspects of Buddhism, namely the aforementioned teachings on karma and reincarnation. In addition, he believes that “it’s a kind of Zen thing not to advertise ... it’s a kind of Buddhist thing not to be too vocal” about one’s Buddhist identity. Donald is tolerant of all faiths and he

does not think Christianity and the Christian teachings are necessarily wrong – “I have nothing against Christianity, I understand it’s a matter of faith, it’s just not a faith for me.”

(2) Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Donald’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as prominently individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values: Despite a substantial Buddhist practice and frequent attendance at the local temple, Donald remains reluctant to self-identify as Buddhist primarily because this would contradict personal standards: Full acceptance of the Buddha’s teachings is a prerequisite for a positive Buddhist identity and, by this criteria, he does not qualify. His negative response reflects the primary importance he attaches to individual disposition in the construction of a positive religious identity. In this respect, his attitudinal approach vis-a-vis religious self-representation is individualistic in orientation.

In spite of the potential for family conflict, Donald divorced himself from his inherited religious tradition and sought spiritual fulfillment in Buddhism. His spiritual practice also mainly involves meditation that is performed individually and independently of the group meditation sessions that were conducted at the temple. On this latter point, one of the main reasons Donald distanced himself from the local Korean Buddhist temples that primarily served the ethnic Korean community was due to their lack of emphasis on laity meditation. In addition, similar to many KCCO members, Donald based his understanding of Buddhism on various sources that he proactively and independently researched in popular bookstores; notably, he did not make reference to the contributions of his teachers or others at the temple in terms of source of Buddhist knowledge. Donald’s behavior and responses in this respect reflect the prioritization of the individualistic belief in personal agency over interdependency as the basis for achievement; and individualistic values of independence and pursuing personal preferences over maintaining interpersonal harmony (with family members, for example).

In summary, Donald is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); his numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning. Donald's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as non-holistic in terms of (cosmological) event movement perception, and positively analytical in terms of causal attribution and justification of belief, or lack thereof. Donald implicitly explains the primary function of religion and religious activity in terms of individual benefit. For example, he expresses disagreement with traditional Korean Buddhist notions and practices that differentiate the religious roles between monastics and the laity, in which members of the former group primarily seek spiritual enlightenment while the latter primarily seek to secure family prosperity,⁸⁸ citing the fact that "we [Western laity] want the [spiritual] awakening." In Donald's interpretation, the primary cause or purpose of the 'event' of religion or religious activity is attributed to religious self-actualization rather than collective benefit. The self in Donald's religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity who is subject to personal control, and the self has operated on the world in such a case.

Similar to Jeessoo and Leanne from the KCCO group and fellow CCO member Alissa, Donald does not subscribe to the Buddhist cosmology of karmic reincarnations because they do not resonate with his secular rational ways of relating to the world. In contrast to most of the KCO participants, who based their belief in the Buddhist cosmology primarily on concrete personal experiences and their associations, Donald justifies his skepticism by making an explicit reference to an external, abstract and guiding rule or principle (principle of secular rationalism), and concepts that fail to meet the criteria of this principle are deemed invalid. As such, whereas the associative or holistic reasoning of said KCO participants was based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and 'immediate' in character, Donald's way of justifying beliefs is primarily based on an extrinsic factor, deliberate and 'detachable' in character (i.e. based on an 'external' abstract principle). Donald's process of justifying belief is therefore analytically oriented. In

⁸⁸ Donald derogatorily refers to such activities oriented to the collective as "going through the routine."

addition, the fact that Donald refers to the guidelines and tacit rules expressed in Buddhist texts when justifying both his Buddhist practice (i.e. the books he has read never stated that one must subscribe to Buddhist cosmology to engage in Buddhist practice) and non-Buddhist identity (i.e. “it’s kind of a Zen thing not to advertise”) further indicates an affinity for a rules-based and structured approach to religious understanding.⁸⁹

In summary, Donald is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the two cognitive criteria of causal attribution and justification of belief (or lack thereof) (A=2 pts.), and non-holistic in terms of cosmological event movement perception. In terms of this latter criterion, since Donald does not *explicitly* express an analytically-oriented response to the question concerning event movement perception and his non-holistic inclination is rather suggestive of an analytical inclination, I have assigned this criterion a total value of 0.5 points to reflect the relatively ‘insufficient’ nature of this question compared to the others in Donald’s particular case (i.e. A=0.5/0.5 pts.) Donald’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.5 points out of 2.5 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Analytical (2.5/2.5)

⁸⁹ I was ultimately unable, unfortunately, to follow up with Donald and ascertain his thoughts on a dual Buddhist-Christian religious identity due to health complications on his part. Based on his earlier response in which he expressed opposition to a hyphenated Korean-Canadian ethnic identity, however, it is likely that Donald would have also opposed the former.

3.2 CCO Summary Analysis

The following is a summary table of the religious orientations of CCO participants in terms of the following six categories: Gender, age, generation (1.5 vs. 2nd generation), institutional association or affiliation, and attitudinal (Individualism vs. Collectivism) and cognitive religious orientations (Analytical vs. Holism). For the category of Institutional Affiliation, I have broadly classified research participants into the following two affiliations: “Ethnic,” or participants affiliated with the Korean-language congregation at the local Korean Buddhist temple/center, and “Western/Independent,” or those affiliated with the English-language group at a local Western-oriented Buddhist temple/center and/or independently follow the English-language teachings of a particular North American teacher/source.

i) < Summary Table of CCO Participants >

Name	Gender	Age	Generation	Institutional Affiliation	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Lisa	F	21	2nd	Western/Independent	I = 3 C = 0	A = 0.5 H = 3.5
Yemin	F	39	2nd	Western/Independent	I = 2.5 C = 0.5	A = 2 H = 2
Alissa	F	33	2nd	Western/Independent	I = 2 C = 1	A = 2.25 H = 0.25
Donald	M	32	2nd	Western/Independent	I = 3 C = 0	A = 2.5 H = 0
Total = 5	F=3 M=1	Avg. Age = 31	2nd Gen=4 1.5 Gen=0	Ethnic=0 Western/Independent=4	Individualism = 88% (10.5/12) R. Collectivism = 12% (1.5/12)	Analytical = 56% (7.25/13) Holism = 44% (5.75/13)

*I=Individualism; C=R. Collectivism; A=Analytical, H=Holism

Based on both the above CCO table/individual case studies as well as on a comparison between CCO and KCO/KCCO participants, seven salient patterns emerged:

(1) All four of the CCO participants were second-generation Korean-Canadians who were either born in Canada or immigrated in early childhood before receiving any formal education in Korea. With the exception of Lisa, three of the four grew up in Canada beginning in the 1970s, at a time when the size and scope of ethnic Korean enclaves and support networks in the metropolitan Canadian cities and the availability of advanced technology through which to engage in transnational activity were significantly less than that of the post-1990s and -new millennium Korean communities and time periods, respectively. It should be noted that, although she immigrated to Canada during the latter time period, Lisa was raised predominantly in Ottawa whose ethnic Korean population is significantly less than Toronto.⁹⁰ This socio-historical context of immigration was reflected in the “more Canadian” ethnic self-identification and background stories of CCO members, all of whom lacked the opportunities growing up to substantively socialize in Korean cultural zones, regularly communicate with their peers in the Korean language, or frequently engage in online transnational activities involving Korean culture, people and news.

(2) All four CCO participants were of Christian background: Three from Protestant Christian backgrounds (i.e. Lisa, Yemin and Donald) and one from a Roman Catholic background (i.e. Alissa). All three of the KCCO participants who were also Christian ‘converts’ (i.e. Leanne, Sungin and Bradley) came from Roman Catholic backgrounds, which means out of the seven total Christian ‘converts’ in this study, the majority (4/7) were inherited Catholics. In view of the fact the Korean Protestant population represented 50.7 percent and the Korean Catholic community 24.5 percent (or half that of the Protestants) of the total ethnic Korean population in Canada in 2001 (Park 2012: 27), the larger number of Catholics than Protestants in this study seems disproportionate to their overall populations. This may be suggestive of the relatively fluid approach and attitudes of the Korean Roman Catholic church vis-à-vis other religions compared to the Korean Protestant church in Canada, although more research is needed in this area to provide conclusive evidence.

⁹⁰ In 2006, a total of 2,280 ethnic Koreans lived in the Ottawa-Gatineau area, compared to 55,270 in the Toronto area (Statistics Canada 2008).

Moreover, if we compare the total scores in terms of religious orientation of inherited Korean Buddhists, Roman Catholics and Protestants from all three subgroups of KCO, KCCO and CCO, we have the following table:

i) <Table of Religious Orientations by Religious Background >

Religious Background	No. of participants	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Buddhist	11	Individualism = 41% (13.5/33) Collectivism = 49% (19.5/33)	Analytical = 31% (13.40/43) Holism = 69% (29.60/43)
Roman Catholic	4	Individualism = 65% (7.75/12) Collectivism = 35% (4.25/12)	Analytical = 73% (8/11) Holism = 27% (3/11)
Protestant (Evangelical)	3	Individualism = 94% (8.5/9) Collectivism = 6% (0.5/9)	Analytical = 77% (5/6.5) Holism = 23% (1.5/6.5)

The inherited Korean Buddhists in this study exhibited higher degrees of relational collectivistic orientations (49%) compared to the Catholic ‘converts’ (35%), who in turn exhibited higher degrees of collectivism than the Protestant converts (6%). Likewise, Korean Buddhist participants showed significantly higher degrees of holistic inclinations (69%) compared to the Catholic-background participants (27%), who in turn exhibited slightly higher degrees of holistic tendencies than the Protestant-background participants (23%). Compared to their Protestant Christian counterparts, then,

Korean Roman Catholic participants exhibited religious behaviour that was closer to that of inherited Korean Buddhist participants, albeit marginally so in the case of cognitive orientation. Furthermore, based on the I-C cross-cultural theoretical model, inherited Korean Buddhists exhibited religious behaviour that was the most characteristic of traditional Korean ways of thinking and behaving, followed by the inherited Catholics and inherited Protestant Christians. These I-C differences between Korean Catholics and Protestants are consistent with previous literature that, as discussed in Chapter Three, has indicated Catholicism is a traditionally collectivistic religion compared to Protestantism, which is highly individualistic in orientation (e.g. Cohen and Hill 2007). Due to the relative small number of inherited Christians (Catholics and Protestants) vis-a-vis inherited Buddhists in this study, however, further research is needed to provide conclusive evidence that Buddhism, indeed, is more relationally collectivistic and holistic in religious orientation relative to Christianity.

(3) If we classify the total (frequency rate) scores in religious orientation of all participants in the three subgroups (KCO, KCCO and CCO) in terms of those who were presently affiliated with the Korean-language Dharma services and groups of their respective Buddhist temples/centers, versus those who were associated with an English-language Buddhist group/center/personality (i.e. classification based on the “Two Buddhisms” of ‘ethnic’ Buddhism versus ‘Western’ Buddhism – see Chapter Two, subsection “Two Buddhisms”), we are given the following table:

i) < Total Religious Orientations by “Two Buddhisms” Affiliation >

Buddhist Affiliation	No.	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Ethnic (Korean) Buddhism	11	Individualism = 36% (12/33) Collectivism = 64% (21.25/33)	Analytic = 30% (11.15/37.5) Holism = 70% (26.35/37.5)
Western Buddhism	9	Individualism = 81% (21.75/27) Collectivism = 19% (5.25/27)	Analytic = 48% (15.25/32) Holism = 52% (16.75/32)

Research participants who were affiliated with an ‘ethnic’ Korean Buddhist group exhibited a significantly higher degree of relational collectivistic attitudes than those associated with a Western Buddhist group (64% vs. 19%, respectively), who conversely exhibited a significantly higher degree of individualistic attitudes than the former group (81% vs. 36%, respectively). Similarly, ‘ethnic’ Korean Buddhist participants were substantively more inclined to think holistically than ‘Western’ Korean Buddhist participants (70% vs. 52%, respectively), who conversely were more inclined to think analytically than the former group (48% vs. 30%, respectively), although these latter discrepancies in percentage points were significantly less than those in terms of attitudinal orientation. If we juxtapose my research data with the cross-cultural conceptualizations of the I-C theoretical model, it appears that the religious practices associated with the ethnic Korean Buddhist tradition in Canada are more resonant with traditional East Asian attitudes and ways of thinking compared to those of the Western-oriented Buddhist groups.⁹¹

(3) If we classify by gender the total (frequency rate) scores in terms of religious orientation of all three subgroups (KCO, KCCO and CCO), we are given the following table:

i) Total Religious Orientations by Gender

Gender.	No.	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Females	11	Individualism = 54% (17.75/33) Collectivism = 46% (15.25/33)	Analytical = 34% (13.75/41) Holism = 66% (27.25/41)
Males	9	Individualism = 58% (15.75/27) Collectivism = 42% (11.25/27)	Analytical = 41% (11.65/28.5) Holism = 56% (15.85/28.5)

⁹¹ CCO Buddhist Lisa, however, did make an interesting comment with regards to this latter point, which I believe might prove to be an interesting future research topic: As someone who was predominantly associated with the Buddhist practices of a Western Buddhist center, she nevertheless felt that participation in the religious practices of Buddhism in itself (i.e. regardless of whether they were ‘ethnic’/‘non-ethnic’ in character) represented a reinforcement of Korean ethnicity for her – a “return to my roots.” Future studies on contemporary Buddhism in North America could possibly focus on the issue of ethnicity reinforcement among the younger generation of Asian Buddhists who are predominantly associated with and engaged in Western-oriented groups and practices.

Male Buddhist participants overall exhibited a stronger individualistic and analytical inclination (58% and 41% frequency rate, respectively) in their religious attitudes and cognitive approach than female Buddhist participants (54% and 34%, respectively), and conversely female participants generally showed a greater relational collectivistic and holistic orientation (46% and 66%, respectively) than male participants (42% and 56%, respectively). As alluded to in the KCO summary analysis, these gender-based differences in the area of attitudinal orientations are resonant with previous social psychological case studies that have linked relational collectivistic traits to femininity and individualistic characteristics to masculinity (Gilligan, 1982; Kashima et al., 1995), in particular in terms of self-representation, in which women were “presenting themselves as more emotionally related to others than men” (Green et al. 2005, 323). To this latter point, the religious self-representations of 73 percent, or 8 out of the total 11, female Buddhist participants in this study were exclusively or in part defined by their close relationships (i.e. family relationships, relationships within the Buddhist community), versus 33 percent, or 3 out of the total 9, male Buddhist participants. This represents a significant gap when compared to the overall differences in both I-C (Individualism-Collectivism) and A-H (Analytical-Holism) percentage points between female and male Buddhist practitioners in this study, which were 10% or less in all cases. In addition, the gender gap in I-C orientations within the KCO group (i.e. participants who identified more closely with Korean than Canadian culture), in which female KCO participants scored 34 percent higher than their male counterparts, is also significant relative to these overall trends. In view of the fact the I-C gender differences were much less among KCCO and CCO participants (i.e. those who identified substantively or more closely with Canadian culture), this gender gap within the KCO group may reflect the influences of Korean culture and/or the Korean Buddhist tradition – to this latter point, all 7 KCO participants were currently affiliated with the ‘ethnic’ Korean Buddhist tradition (i.e. Korean-language Dharma services) compared to less than half of the KCCO participants (4 of 9) and none of the CCO participants.

(4) In contrast to the KCO/KCCO participants, the attitudinal and cognitive religious orientations of CCO members were predominantly individualistic (88% frequency rate) and analytical (56%), respectively. In terms of independent variables, the mean age, socio-economic class and gender distribution were comparable between the two groups: The mean age of CCO participants (31 years old) was identical to the KCCO and close to KCO participants (29 years old) and all four of the CCO members characterized their past and present social class as middle. In light of the fact CCO participants identified more closely with Canadian than Korean culture, this pattern is consistent with the I-C cross-cultural theoretical framework, which conceptualizes that those who are strongly influenced by Western cultures are inclined to relate to the world around them primarily in individualistic and analytical ways, especially when compared to those who are influenced by East Asian cultures. However, it should be noted that the uniformity in individualistic attitudinal orientations among these participants may be partially attributable to the fact all four members were Christian ‘converts,’ and thus did not have access to the same broad frame of reference (i.e. the luxury of a relatively long Buddhist pedigree and established interpersonal relationships within the community) as their inherited Buddhist counterparts from the Korean Buddhist tradition on which to base a more relational collectivistic approach.

(5) If we juxtapose the total scores in terms of religious orientation of 1.5-generation and second-generation Korean Buddhist practitioners, we have the following table:

i) < Religious Orientations by Generation: 1.5 vs. 2nd >

Generation	No. of participants	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
1.5	11	Individualism = 38% (12.5/33) Collectivism = 63% (20.75/33)	Analytical = 37% (13.65/36.5) Holism = 63% (22.85/36.5)
2nd	9	Individualism = 73% (19.75/27) Collectivism = 27% (7.25/27)	Analytical = 39% (12.75/33) Holism = 61% (20.25/33)

While the difference in percentage points between 1.5-generation and 2nd-generation Korean Buddhist practitioners in this study in terms of individualism (38% vs. 73%, respectively) and relational collectivism (63% vs. 27%, respectively) was significant, the cognitive orientations of these two subgroups were both strongly in favour of holism and very similar. The former differences in attitudinal religious orientations is resonant with the literature on 1.5- and second-generation Koreans in North America (e.g. Baker 2008; J.S. Park 2004), which has shown that substantive differences exist between members of these two generational groups in terms of retention of traditional Korean cultural values. On the other hand, the above table seems to suggest that generational differences become significantly less salient when it comes to cognitive orientations.

(5) The majority, or three out of the four CCO participants (namely Lisa, Alissa and Donald), expressed reluctance to self-identify as Buddhist despite the fact they were engaged in Buddhist practice. If we amalgamate the above three KCCO individuals who were likewise hesitant to positively self-identify as Buddhist with these three CCO individuals into a separate subgroup, and insert columns for religious background, religious self-representation and Buddhist affiliation, we are given the following table of participants with ‘negative’ Buddhist identities:

i) < Table of Negative Buddhist Identities >

Name	Religious Background	Religious Self-Representation	Buddhist Affiliation
Leanne	Christian	Relationally collectivistic & Individualistic	Negative (Christian positive)
Hailey	Buddhist	Individualistic	Negative
Lisa	Christian	Individualistic	Negative
Alissa	Christian	Individualistic	Negative (Christian positive)
Donald	Christian	Individualistic	Negative
Bradley	Christian	Individualistic	Negative
Total = 6	Christians = 5 Buddhists = 1		

The table shows an inverse correlation between the two variables of Christian religious background and positive Buddhist identity. The reasons for this are evident in the cases of Leanne and Alissa (“Christian positive”), who retained their Christian religious identity at the expense of a potentially Buddhist one; this is not the case, however, for the other three inherited Christians (Donald, Lisa, Bradley), who were disinclined to identify with both Christianity and Buddhism. In terms of the latter three individuals, their reluctance to positively affiliate with Buddhism may have been due to the perception that a positive self-identification would represent an absolute and extreme renunciation of an inherited and family religion that, perhaps, maintains vestigial relevance in their lives.

On the other hand, the table also shows an inverse correlation between the variables of individualistic religious self-representations and positive Buddhist affiliation. That is, minus the two “Christian positive” individuals, the remaining four individuals ultimately ascribed their negative Buddhist affiliation to inconsistencies with their personal dispositions in various ways. This is consistent with the KCO/KCCO group pattern of negative Buddhist affiliation that seemed to suggest individualistic self-representations are relatively antagonistic to a positive Buddhist identity, and conversely relational collectivistic religious self-construals are relatively conducive to a positive Buddhist affiliation. This is perhaps because relational collectivistic self-representations are relatively ‘automatic’ in the sense they are primarily based on the outcomes (i.e. self-identities) of close interpersonal relationships, while individualistic self-representations are subject to relatively conscious and objective deliberation, which can breed a substantively more critical and skeptical approach.

Furthermore, the fact that all seven KCO participants self-identified as Buddhist while the majority (4/6) of those who expressed a ‘negative’ Buddhist identity identified more closely with Canadian than Korean culture suggests a direct correlation between a strong Korean cultural orientation and positive Buddhist identity; and an inverse correlation between a strong Canadian cultural orientation and positive Buddhist identity. As literature elsewhere has pointed out, the former pattern may be attributable to a strong association between a Buddhist religious identity and Korean cultural identity

among native Koreans due to the religion's historical ties with the culture (Suh, 2004: 101); and the latter is likely due to the fact these 'Canadianized' or 'Westernized' Korean Buddhists and practitioners gravitated toward the interpretations, forms and groups of Buddhism that cater to mainstream Canadians, which, as explained in Chapter Two, deemphasize the religious aspects of Buddhism by focusing almost exclusively on the scientifically-based utilitarian benefits of meditation.⁹² This de-emphasis provides the conditions for these acquired 'Buddhists' to engage in Buddhist practice without feeling they have to self-identify as Buddhist, officially convert to Buddhism, or renounce their inherited religion. In fact, two inherited Christians in my study – namely Sungin and Yemin – alluded to the 'reverse' effect in which their Buddhist practices motivated them to further embrace their Christian roots, cases which are not unique to the Korean religious community (see Chapter One: Introduction).

Finally, two out of the eleven inherited or ascribed Buddhists in this study – Hailey and Amy – were Canada-born second-generation Korean Buddhists who either did not self-identify as Buddhist (Hailey) or normally would not self-identify as Buddhist but were temporarily willing to do so due to extraordinary circumstances (Amy). Amy alluded to the personally disagreeable nature of the Korean Buddhist requirement of "faith" and Hailey to a combination of the influences of Western colonialism on present-day Korean Buddhism and the tradition's relational collectivistic and somewhat superstitious approach. In any case, both self-construal responses were framed in individualistic terms. With reference to the previously-discussed drastic decline in population of Canada-born second-generation Koreans who were retaining their inherited religious affiliation based on official statistics (Beyer 2006), these two cases suggest that the individualistic inclinations of the relatively 'Westernized' second generation may be contributing factors in this decline. Furthermore, the fact that 5, or 25 percent, of the 20 research participants in this study who did not self-identify as Buddhist despite engaging in Buddhist practice were

⁹² It should be noted here that four out of the seven participants in this study who were Christian 'converts' retained their inherited Christian identity, either in combination with a Buddhist one or singularly. In this respect, they exhibited religious behaviour that would be characterized as "lived religion": Contrary to the officially prescribed practices and belief systems of a certain religion (in this case, Christianity), many individuals transcend these boundaries by fluidly incorporating a kaleidoscope of other religious practices and beliefs into their own syncretic and self-coherent version.

Canada-born second-generation Korean-Canadians may also be indicative of an important trend: Official statistics preclude the potentially significant population of second-generation Koreans who practice the religion and are influenced by it but are not reflected in these statistics.

(7) In comparison to the KCO/KCCO groups as a whole, the ways in which CCO participants approached and ‘did’ Buddhism was highly characterized by abstraction and intellectualization, as opposed to the trust-based approach of most KCO and some KCCO individuals.⁹³ For example, all four CCO participants unanimously either self-identified (or did not self-identify) as Buddhist based primarily on an agreement (or disagreement) with abstract Buddhist principles and/or the concept of institutional religion in general, in contrast to most and a number of KCO and KCCO participants, respectively, who based their religious identities on trust-based interpersonal relationships forged within the Buddhist community; most CCO members referred primarily to the formalized and abstract teachings of authoritative texts on Buddhism for religious advice, motivation and knowledge, as opposed to referring to the informal verbal advice of authoritative Buddhist figures or close relational others in the Buddhist community, which was the case for most and a number of KCO and KCCO participants, respectively; and most referred to abstract rules, principles and laws in justifying belief (or skepticism) in the Buddhist worldview, in contrast to most and a number of KCO and KCCO participants, respectively, who referred to personal, lived and concrete experiences in such cases.⁹⁴

4. Concluding Remarks

The attitudinal and cognitive behaviour of Korean-Canadian Buddhist participants in this study was generally consistent with the cross-cultural psychological theoretical framework as discussed in

⁹³ This argument comes with the caveat that such a comparison may be somewhat unfair on the basis of sheer participant numbers.

⁹⁴ This individualistic-analytic religious orientation is evocative of the academic approach of postsecondary education, in which university students primarily engage in independent research and submit argumentations and justifications based on abstract and authoritative categories, theories, and rules.

Chapter Three. That is, participants who identified closely with Korean culture predominantly exhibited attitudes and perceptions closely associated with Korean/East Asian culture in their religious behaviour; those who identified equally with both the Korean and Canadian cultures exhibited a balanced blend of attitudes and cognitive behaviour associated with both Korean and Western (European) cultures when ‘doing’ religion; and participants who identified more closely with Canadian than Korean culture exhibited attitudes and cognitive behaviour characteristic of Western cultures in their approach to religion. The data served to highlight the fact that the term “younger-generation Korean Buddhist” is a multi-layered construct within the Canadian milieu wherein inter-generational and sociocultural factors come to play significant and defining roles in their religious orientations.

In addition, those who identified more closely with Korean culture were each affiliated with an ethnic Korean Buddhist temple/center and its Korean-language Buddhist services, while those who identified more closely with Canadian culture were each affiliated with Western Buddhist groups and centers. In view of this divergent pattern, it appears that participants in this study generally gravitated to Buddhist groups/centers/teachers whose cultural orientations reflected their own individual prioritized cultural orientations, and the ethnic Korean Buddhist tradition seems to have reinforced East Asian/Korean psychological ways of relating to the world while the Western-oriented Buddhist groups seem to have reinforced traditional Western ways of thinking and behaving among its members.

At the same time, however, the ethnic Korean and Western Buddhist traditions have also demonstrated themselves to be relatively flexible and ‘accommodating’ belief systems wherein practitioners are permitted to express and infuse their bicultural (i.e. “Eastern/Korean” and “Western/Canadian”) psychological orientations: Research participants who identified ethnically with both Korean and Canadian culture in equal parts and who were affiliated/associated with ethnic Korean Buddhist congregations exhibited highly balanced degrees of individualism-collectivism (I-C) and analytical-holism, and those associated with Western Buddhist groups and practices exhibited relatively balanced degrees of analytical and holistic cognitive orientations.

CHAPTER FIVE

KOREAN-CANADIAN CHRISTIAN PRACTITIONERS:

INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES

The cultural and religious orientations of ten practicing Christians (Protestants and Catholics) of Korean descent living in or from Toronto (with a minority living in or from Ottawa) were individually analyzed and measured in terms of the I-C and A-H cross-cultural theoretical framework. This study sample was well balanced in terms of female to male participant ratio (5 females versus 5 males) and 1.5-generation Korean-Canadian to second-generation Korean-Canadian participant ratio (5 versus 5), but skewed in terms of inherited Christian (9) to acquired or convert Christian (1) participant ratio. The age range was between 21 and 37 years old and mean age was 29, which was similar to that of the Korean Buddhist participants (30). All ten participants characterized their socio-economic class growing up and presently as middle class.

The same method of analysis used for the Korean Buddhist group was applied to this group of Korean Christian participants. It should be noted that Korean Christian participants' ethnic self-identifications were also ostensibly corroborated by their overall socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In addition, participants' responses to questions such as "Do you self-identify as Christian and why/why not?" (self-representation) and "How do you primarily practice Christianity and why?" (beliefs, values) formed the primary data from which I drew my conclusions in terms of the I-C binary; and responses to questions such as "Do you subscribe to the Christian worldview and teachings and why?" (causal attribution, event movement perception, mode of reasoning) and "What do you think of other religions? Can one be both Christian and an adherent of another religion such as Buddhism at the same time?" (conflict resolution) formed the primary data from which I drew my conclusions in terms of the A-H binary.

Based on the I-C and A-H cross-cultural blueprint, one might hypothesize that KCO Christian participants will engage in Christian practice and understand and interpret its belief system in primarily relational collectivistic and holistic terms; CCO participants in primarily individualistic and analytic terms; and KCCO participants in a relatively balanced blend of these attitudinal and cognitive orientations. Again, the question that I seek to address in this chapter is: What is the role of religion in this respect? Will Christianity moderate or mediate the individual's cultural construction of religious behaviour and meaning?

1. Korean Cultural Orientation (KCO)

(1) KCO Individual Case Studies

Noyun

Noyun is currently a 30-year-old female graduate student at a university in Toronto. She was born in Korea and came to Canada alone as a foreign student when she was 19 years old in 2002, during the third wave of Korean immigration. She completed her elementary and secondary school education in Korea before first coming to Ottawa to complete her bachelor's degree. Noyun identifies ethnically as "80 to 90 per cent Korean" because she is much more comfortable "mingling" and spending time with other Koreans than Canadians. Hence, all of her close friends are 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians and Korean foreign students, with whom she mostly communicates in the Korean language, as well as some who are Chinese and Japanese foreign students. Noyun is also much more comfortable speaking, reading and writing in Korean than English, and she mostly watches and follows Korean news and popular TV shows

and movies online. However, she will sometimes watch North American stand-up comedy programs, although she finds it difficult to understand and “funny” that she laughs when the audience does not and vice-versa. Noyun describes her family background as “traditional Confucian”: Her family engaged in ancestral memorials and she was taught “Confucian etiquette” such as a “deep” respect for parents and elders and the use of “polite” language (i.e. honourifics) while growing up.

Religious Background

Noyun, whose family did not practice a religion while growing up, began attending her local Christian church when she was in junior high school but stopped soon after because her parents forbade her to continue. She took an interest again in Christianity after coming to Canada, where she began attending the local ethnic Korean church. She presently self-identifies as “Evangelical Christian” because she “firmly” believes in Jesus Christ and that she received salvation when he “died for our sins.” While Noyun considers forming relationships with fellow Christians to be an aspect of her religious practice, the most important aspect to her is “reading [the] Bible” and conducting “prayers” on her own, the latter of which she does every morning and afternoon for five minutes, engaging in “conversations with God” in a “kind of personal relationship.”

Noyun believes in the Christian teachings because the Bible has “lasted” for thousands of years and “many people” believed and continue to believe in the teachings. Although she respects other religions and thinks their teachings are “similar” to Christianity in many ways, she also believes their “method” and “prophets” are wrong and feels the need to guide non-believers in the right direction as “Jesus will return to the world only when the true gospel is spread to all people.” In this way, Noyun thinks one cannot be both Christian and a believer of another religion, such as Buddhism, at the same time because of the inherent conflicting doctrinal and theistic elements between them. She also thinks people with dual religious allegiances are not “really religious” because they are picking and choosing elements

from religions that are of “benefit to themselves” and doing this “for knowledge sake” – thus they lack the important aspect of faith.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Noyun’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. In contrast to the majority of KCO Buddhists, Noyun does not ascribe her religious identity to any contextual or environmental factors, such as close relationships with authoritative figures in the church or the overall church atmosphere; she bases her self-identification with Christianity primarily on the internalization and “firm” acceptance of Christian beliefs. She thus prioritizes personal convictions when constructing her religious identity. Noyun’s religious practices also consist *primarily* of individual activities that are conducted independently of groups and religious institutions, namely individual prayers and bible reading, with the purpose of maintaining a “firm belief” in Jesus Christ and God in order to attain salvation. Her behavior in this respect reflects individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in personal agency or self-effort as the basis for achievement (i.e. salvation) and the values of independence and (religious) self-actualization.

In summary, Noyun is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); her numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event Movement Perception, Causal Attribution, Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution. Noyun’s religious cognitive orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, and conflict resolution, but holistic in terms of mode of reasoning. Similar to the majority of the other Christian participants, Noyun subscribes to the Christian eschatological idea that people follow a particular path of either ascension or descent dependent upon the level of faith in core

Christian beliefs. She thus perceives individuals in the world as cosmologically moving in the linear direction of (positive/negative) advancement wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state.

Noyun also explains the Christian worldview primarily in terms of individual responsibility and rules. For example, salvation is attributed to the development and maintenance of a firm belief in Jesus Christ in daily life. In Noyun's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of this event who is ultimately responsible for his/her eschatological fate. The self in Noyun's religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control – although ultimately subject to an eschatological law – and the self has operated on the world in such a case. Her causal explanation of the Christian worldview is analytically framed in terms of a salient object and its properties (i.e. the individual and his/her abilities in attaining salvation), as well as in terms of abstract rules (i.e. Christian eschatological law).

In contrast to her analytical inclinations vis-a-vis cosmological event movement perception and causal attribution, however, Noyun subscribes to the Christian worldview and teachings based on the religion's historical pedigree and strong worldwide population. In this respect, she justifies her belief based on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: She perceives congruity between an observed and concrete pattern, i.e. Christianity's worldwide popularity and longstanding tradition, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. legitimacy of Christian teachings, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on this supporting concrete pattern. Whereas an analytically-inclined justification might refer to a 'detachable' abstract and universal principle or rule (i.e. abstract rules-based justification of belief), Noyun defers to similarity judgments as the basis for her belief, and such judgments are relatively 'immediate' in character insofar as one's reasoning process is based on concrete evidence and her reasoning process relatively avoids substantive abstraction and her reasoning process relatively avoids substantive abstraction and analytical deliberation.

While Noyun expresses a degree of tolerance (i.e. “I respect”) toward other religions, she believes they are “wrong” in their cosmological interpretations and adherents of other religions require religious rehabilitation. She also opposes the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Christianity and Buddhism at the same time, citing her belief that the practical teachings and prophets of other religions are “wrong.” Her reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since she dissects and statically differentiates religions based on their abstract (theological) attributes.

In summary, Noyun is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the two cognitive criteria of event movement perception and causal attribution, but decidedly holistic in terms of mode of reasoning (A=2 pts., H=1 pt.). In terms of conflict resolution, similar to KCCO Buddhist member Bruce, her level of tolerance vis-a-vis other religions is relatively limited compared to the majority of the Buddhist research participants (i.e. She disagrees with the teachings of other religions; followers of these religions require religious rehabilitation), and thus the boundaries she draws between Christianity and other religions appear to be marginally fluid and holistic (H=0.10 pts). She also rejects the possibility of a substantive resolution of conflicting religions through harmonious integration in the form of hyphenated religious identities based on a reasoning process defined by abstraction (e.g. Christian teachings are irreconcilably different than Buddhist teachings), which is analytical in orientation (A=0.90 pts.). Noyun’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.90 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Analytic (2.9/4) ► Holistic tendencies (1.10/4)

Wooje

Wooje is a 31-year-old male researcher based in Ottawa. He was born in Korea and immigrated to Canada with his family when he was 14 years old in 1994, during the third wave of Korean immigration. He received his elementary and some of his secondary school education in Korea before completing the rest of his high school education and bachelor's and master's degree in Waterloo. While Wooje generally self-identifies ethnically as Korean-Canadian, he feels "more Korean," describing his identity in percentage terms as "65% Korean, 35% Canadian." He feels he is partially "Canadian" in the sense he is "more laidback and not competitive" compared to native Koreans, but closely identifies with the Korean culture because his close friends are mostly 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians, and he is generally more comfortable meeting Koreans than Caucasians as well as speaking and reading in the Korean than the English language. He also mostly watches and follows Korean media programs online, such as dramas, news on current events and movies, again describing his consumption ratio between Korean and North American media programs as "65% Korean, 35% North American." Wooje describes the family culture in which he grew up as "typically" Korean in the sense he was taught the importance of respecting elders and use of "respectful" language.

Religious Background

Wooje, who grew up in a Christian family, self-identifies religiously as "Methodist Christian" because, in the beginning, he had "no choice" since his family was Christian and he accepted Christ as his savior "without too much thought." However, as he grew older and matured, he conducted his own research and read the Bible on his own and "got to know more" about the Christian teachings, adding this solidified his faith and is the most "important factor" in why he presently identifies as Christian. While Wooje's religious practice consists of a variety of activities such as attending church regularly and having "communion with others," the most important aspect of his Christian practice is "just praying in my

heart” in daily life whether “walking, standing, sitting” and pursuing a “personal relationship” with God in order to achieve salvation in the end.

He believes in the Christian teachings “100%” because he has always “assumed God was [the] basis” of life and has never questioned this. Later in life, the more he studied and understood Christian theology, the “lesser the uncertainty ... but more hard facts.” Wooje has “some” interest in other religions, although in describing how some other religions are illegitimate or wrong, he states that Buddhism is “not a substitute” for religion since there is no belief in a God, “Voodoo” is “mixed with culture,” and the Koran is “full of contradictions” compared to the Bible. He thinks that a person cannot simultaneously be both Christian and a believer of Buddhism (among others) for the same reasons he does not accept these other ‘religions’ as legitimate religious entities. Wooje adds that the only possible “combination” could be “Christian-Catholic,” although he himself would not maintain any form of a hyphenated religious identity. As an aside, he says he has “never” seen his Korean Buddhist friends reading Buddhist texts and that they lacked “knowledge” about their own religion, which is in contrast to Christians who study the Bible, which is “half historical evidence and [about] prophecies being fulfilled.”

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Wooje’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as both individualistic and, to a lesser degree, relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, but prominently individualistic in terms of beliefs and values. Wooje initially ascribes his Christian identity to the strength of the influence of his parents and his upbringing and, to this extent, close relationships shape his religious self-representation. However, his Christian identity is *primarily* based on an understanding of and belief in the religious teachings that has deepened over time and effort. He thus prioritizes personal conviction over possible interpersonal relational factors when explaining his religious identity.

Wooje’s religious practices also consist primarily of individual activities that are conducted independently of groups and religious institutions, namely the application and incorporation of prayer into

his everyday actions, with the purpose of developing a “personal relationship” with God in order to attain salvation. His behavior in this respect reflects individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in personal agency or self-effort as the basis for achievement (i.e. salvation) and the values of independence and (religious) self-actualization. Moreover, the fact that Wooje independently engaged in substantive research of Christian literature to increase his understanding of his inherited religion further illustrates the primacy he places on personal agency and individual responsibility in terms of religion.

In summary, Wooje is saliently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the two attitudinal criteria of beliefs and values (I=2 pts.). In terms of self-representation, while he alludes to the influential role that family relationships have played in self-identifying as Christian, which is relationally collectivistic in attitude, he makes explicit mention of the primacy of his personal convictions in this regard, which in turn is individualistic in orientation (I=0.75 pts., C=0.25 pts.). Wooje’s numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2.75 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event Movement Perception, Causal Attribution, Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution.

Wooje’s cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. Wooje subscribes to the Christian eschatological idea that people follow a particular path of either salvation (i.e. ascension) or descent dependent upon their level of commitment and faith in terms of developing a “personal relationship” with God. He thus perceives individuals in the world as cosmologically moving in a particular and linear direction of (positive/negative) advancement wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state. Wooje also explains the Christian worldview primarily in terms of individual responsibility and rules. For example, salvation is attributed to the individual’s ability to develop a personal relationship with God in their daily lives. In this interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the ‘doer’ of this event who is ultimately responsible for his/her eschatological fate. The self in Wooje’s religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control – although ultimately subject to an eschatological law – and the self has operated on the world in such a case. His

causal explanation of the Christian worldview is analytically framed in terms of a salient object and its properties (i.e. the individual and his/her abilities in attaining salvation), as well as in terms of abstract rules (i.e. Christian eschatological doctrine) governing individual behaviour.

Wooje subscribes to the Christian worldview and teachings based on the “hard facts” of Christian theological literature: For example, he cites the empirically-verified historical nature of the Bible and the accuracy of its prophecies. In this respect, he justifies his belief by making reference to external, abstract, ‘detached’ and authoritative principles (i.e. theological teachings) and, as such, his justification process is predominantly analytical in orientation.

While Wooje maintains he holds “some” interest in other religions, he believes they either do not represent ‘true’ religions according to his definition of the category or are simply “wrong” in their religious views. He also expresses opposition to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Christianity and Buddhism (as well as Voodooism) at the same time, citing the fact that the latter cannot be categorized as religion: Buddhism and Voodooism are atheistic in principle and partially cultural in origin, respectively. His reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since it is based on an atomistic dissection of religions in terms of categories and abstract attributes.

In summary, Wooje is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of all four cognitive criteria of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution (A=4 pts.). Wooje’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 4 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2.75/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendency (0.25/3)	Analytical (4/4)

Jinsoo

Jinsoo is a 37-year-old PhD student in Ottawa who was born in Korea and first came to Canada alone as an international student when he was 26 years old in 2002, during the third wave of Korean immigration. He changed his status in Canada to “immigrant” in 2007. Jinsoo identifies ethnically as “70% Korean and 30% Canadian” because most of his life has been spent in Korea. His close friends, however, are mostly recently-immigrated non-Korean Canadians of diverse ethnic backgrounds, including Asian, Middle Eastern, Caucasian and Black. In his spare time, he likes to watch a balanced diet of American sitcoms, dramas, and news and Korean media programs, the latter of which he follows on the Internet. Jinsoo is also significantly more comfortable reading, writing and speaking in Korean than English, lamenting the fact his English is “still not good enough” after all these years. He describes the family culture in which he grew up as “normal Korean” in the sense he was taught the importance of familial harmony and loyalty and “always being careful” not to offend others.

Religious Background

Jinsoo grew up in a Christian family in Korea and he alternatively attends both a local Canadian Pentecostal and Korean Protestant church. He self-identifies as “Evangelical Christian” because he believes “firmly” in the existence of God as defined in the Bible, believes that Jesus was “sent down to save us,” and that people can be forgiven and saved from sin and in the afterlife only through believing in

Jesus. To this end, Jinsoo engages in religious practice that consists of “sincerely” praying several times per day, reading verses in the bible and engaging daily in brief meditation sessions, all of which he performs by himself when he has the time. Although he also considers weekly church attendance as one aspect of his religious practice, Jinsoo considers this “less important” than his daily religious activities, especially since he is somewhat skeptical of the ‘legitimacy’ of church sermons. Furthermore, he has been unable to attend the church in recent months due to personal health issues.

Jinsoo subscribes to the Christian teachings because he believes the Bible “word [for] word,” although he is sometimes skeptical of the interpretations of the Bible by Christian pastors and teachers since “human is not perfect.” He also adds that, based on his experiences, prayers are eventually answered, although sometimes “it takes long long days and years.” While Jinsoo respects other religions and sees their “good points,” he firmly believes that those who believe in a religion other than Christianity will go to hell because “that is what it says in the Bible.” As well, one cannot be both Christian and a follower of another religion simultaneously in his mind because the Bible states a person who believes in two different religions at the same time is a “false believer.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Jinsoo’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. In ascribing his Christian identity to the strength of his belief in core Christian doctrine, Jinsoo’s religious self-construal is primarily defined by personal conviction, which is individualistic in orientation. His religious practice also consists primarily of individual activities that are conducted independently of groups and religious institutions, namely prayers, bible reading and meditation, the purposes of which are to cultivate belief in God in order to attain salvation. His behavior in this respect reflects individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in personal agency or self-effort as the basis for achievement (i.e. salvation) and the values of independence and (religious) self-actualization.

In summary, Jinsoo is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); his numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event Movement Perception, Causal Attribution, Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution.

Jinsoo's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception and causal attribution, and both analytical and, to a lesser extent, holistic in terms of mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. Jinsoo subscribes to the Christian eschatological teaching that people follow a particular path of either salvation (i.e. ascension) or descent dependent upon the strength of the individual's belief and faith in God and Jesus Christ. He thus perceives individuals in the world as cosmologically moving in a particular and linear direction of (positive/negative) advancement wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state.

Jinsoo also explains the 'event' of Christian deliverance primarily in terms of individual responsibility and rules. For example, salvation is attributed to the degree to which the individual strives to strengthen and solidify belief in the Christian teachings in this lifetime. In this interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of this event who is ultimately responsible for his/her eschatological fate. The self in Jinsoo's religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control – although ultimately subject to an eschatological law – and the self has operated on the world in such a case. His causal explanation of the Christian worldview is analytically framed in terms of a salient object and its properties (i.e. the individual and his/her abilities in attaining salvation), as well as in terms of abstract rules (i.e. Christian eschatological doctrine) governing the behavior of this salient object.

Jinsoo subscribes to the Christian worldview and teachings because he believes in the written word of the Bible (i.e. "word by word"). In this respect, he justifies his belief by reference to external, abstract, 'detached' and authoritative principles (i.e. words of the Bible) and, as such, his justification process is predominantly analytical in orientation. On the other hand, Jinsoo additionally justifies his

belief in the Christian teachings based on his direct experiences in terms of ‘answered’ prayers, which is reflective of the holistic reasoning methodology of associative or relationship thinking: He perceives congruity between concrete personal experiences, i.e. answering of prayers, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. legitimacy of Christian theology, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on this supporting concrete experience.

While Jinsoo expresses a certain degree of tolerance of and openness toward other religions (i.e. he respects them and sees their “good points”), he firmly believes adherents of non-Christian religions will ultimately meet an undesirable fate in the afterlife. He is also opposed to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Christianity and Buddhism at the same time. This is because believers of multiple religions are “false” Christians and such non-Christian believers ultimately do not receive salvation. His reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since he statically differentiates religions based on the abstract principles and rules of authoritative texts (i.e. principles pertaining to non-believers as stated in the Bible).

In summary, Jinsoo is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the two cognitive criteria of event movement perception and causal attribution ($A=2$ pts.). In terms of mode of reasoning, while his initial and perceptibly main justification for believing in the Christian teachings is analytical in orientation (i.e. justification based on the principles of an authoritative text), Jinsoo briefly alludes to his concrete experiences as a secondary contributing factor to his religious beliefs, which is characteristic of the holistic reasoning process of associative or relationship thinking ($A=0.75$ pts., $H=0.25$ pts.). In terms of conflict resolution, similar to fellow KCO Christian participant Noyun, Jinsoo’s level of tolerance vis-a-vis other religions is relatively limited compared to most of the Buddhist research participants (i.e. He expresses respect for other religions but strongly believes followers of these religions will meet an unfortunate fate in the afterlife), and thus the boundaries he draws between Christianity and other religions appear to be marginally fluid and holistic ($H=0.10$ pts.). Jinsoo also rejects the possibility of a

substantive resolution of conflicting religions through harmonious integration in the form of hyphenated religious identities based on a reasoning process defined by abstract rules (e.g. ‘rules’ of the Christian Bible), which is analytical in orientation (A=0.90 pts.). Jinsoo’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3.65 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Analytic (3.65/4) ► Holistic tendency (0.35/4)

Dawon

Dawon is currently a 29-year-old graduate student at a university in Toronto. He recently moved to Toronto from Ottawa where he worked as a civil servant in the federal government. Dawon was born in Korea and immigrated to Canada with his parents at the age of 10 in 1993, during the third wave of Korean immigration. He received most of his elementary school education in Korea before immigrating to Canada, where he is now completing a master’s degree. Dawon identifies ethnically as “Korean-Canadian” but “more Korean” because he is ethnically Korean and “very proud” of it, as well as because he understands and connects with Koreans better than with “Canadian people.” At the same time, however, he feels he is partially Canadian in the sense the way he acts and thinks is more “Western-style” since he mostly grew up in Canada. Dawon’s close social circle is comprised of mostly Koreans, in particular Korean-Canadians who immigrated at around the same age as he did because he shares with them similar experiences as well as many “common values and/or thoughts.” Dawon is equally comfortable speaking both Korean and English, having maintained proficiency in the former by speaking Korean at home with his parents growing up and to his Korean-speaking friends. Dawon also prefers to

watch Korean over North American media programs online as he finds he can better “relate” to the former.

Religious Background

Dawon was raised in a Christian family and attended the local Korean church growing up. Dawon self-identifies as Christian “just because” – he is very proud to be Christian and “it is what I am.” While he currently regularly attends a local Presbyterian Korean church, oftentimes on multiple days per week, Dawon characterizes his core religious practice as consisting of the daily cultivation of a “close” relationship with God and to simply live the life of a Christian, with the “goal” of receiving salvation in the end. He claims that his active participation at the local ethnic church is mainly to prepare for overseas “missions” and is therefore not an essential aspect of his religious practice as far as individual salvation is concerned. He adds:

I live for Christ. I live for God. It is everything in my life. Everything I do in my life is based on Christian beliefs and to make God happy.

Although he is somewhat interested in the religious beliefs of others, he has “never” had a sincere interest in other religions because he believes “there is only one God.” Consequently, Dawon thinks a person cannot be Christian and a follower or believer of another religion at the same time because this would violate Christian monotheistic beliefs.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Dawon’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. Although he grew up in a Christian family and continues to regularly attend the local church, Dawon ascribes his Christian identity not to any close relationships within the religious context but to the atomistic and irreducible factor of “it is what I am.” He thus prioritizes individual core essence over close relationships in his religious self-representation. Dawon’s religious practices also consist primarily of individual activities

that are conducted independently of groups and religious institutions, namely the application and incorporation of Christian beliefs into everyday life and bible reading, with the purpose of growing closer to God and, ultimately, to attain salvation. His participation in the collective activities of the church appears to play a relatively insignificant role in terms of personal religious achievement. Dawon's behavior in this respect reflects individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in personal agency or self-effort as the basis for achievement (i.e. salvation) and the values of independence and (religious) self-actualization.

In summary, Dawon is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); his numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event Movement Perception, Causal Attribution, Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution.

Dawon's religious cognitive orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. Dawon subscribes to the Christian eschatological idea that people follow a particular path of either ascension or descent dependent upon the level of commitment and faith in Christian doctrine that must be manifested through action. He thus perceives individuals in the world as cosmologically moving in the linear direction of (positive/negative) advancement wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state.

Similar to most of the hitherto Korean Christian participants, Dawon also explains the Christian worldview primarily in terms of individual responsibility and rules. For example, salvation is attributed to the degree to which the individual dedicates their life to God in their daily actions. In Dawon's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of this event who is ultimately responsible for his/her eschatological fate. The self in Dawon's religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control – although ultimately subject to an eschatological law – and the self has

operated on the world in such a case. His causal explanation of the Christian worldview is analytically framed in terms of a salient object and its properties (i.e. the individual and his/her abilities in attaining salvation), as well as in terms of abstract rules (i.e. Christian doctrine of deliverance).

Dawon subscribes to the Christian worldview and teachings because “that is God’s will.” In this respect, he justifies his belief by explicitly referring to an external, abstract, ‘detached’ and authoritative principle (i.e. God’s words and will) and, as such, his justification process is analytical in orientation. Consistent with his relatively exclusivist approach to other religions (i.e. he has never entertained a sincere interest in other religions), Dawon expresses opposition to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Christianity and Buddhism at the same time, citing the fact this behavior would contradict the monotheistic Christian teachings. His reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since he dissects and statically differentiates religions based on their abstract (theological) attributes.

In summary, Dawon is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of all four cognitive criteria of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution (A=4 pts.). Dawon’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 4 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Analytical (4/4)

(2) KCO Summary Analysis

The following is a summary table of the religious orientations of KCO Christian participants in terms of the following six categories: Gender, age, generation (1.5 vs. 2nd generation), institutional association or affiliation, and attitudinal (Individualism vs. Collectivism) and cognitive religious orientations (Analytical vs. Holism). For the latter two categories of attitudinal and cognitive religious orientation, I have numerically represented their responses in terms of their rate of frequency of Individualistic-Relationally Collectivistic and Analytical-Holistic responses to each of the assigned criteria. For the category of Institutional Affiliation, I have broadly classified research participants into the following three affiliations: “Korean Protestant/Catholic,” or participants mostly affiliated with the Korean-language congregation at their local Korean church; “English Protestant/Catholic,” or those affiliated mostly with the English-language congregation at their local Korean/mainstream Canadian church; and “Korean-English Protestant/Catholic,” or those affiliated with both the Korean- and English-language congregations at their local Korean/mainstream Canadian church.

i) < Summary Table of KCO Christian Participants >

Name	Gender	Age	Generation	Institutional Affiliation	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Noyun	F	30	1.5	Ethnic Korean Protestant Congregation	I = 3 C = 0	A = 2.9 H = 1.1
Wooje	M	31	1.5	Ethnic Korean Protestant Congregation	I = 2.75 C = 0.25	A = 4 H = 0
Jinsoo	M	37	1.5	Ethnic Korean Protestant Congregation	I = 3 C = 0	A = 3.65 H = 0.35
Dawon	M	29	1.5	Ethnic Korean Protestant/ English-language Congregation	I = 3 C = 0	A = 4 H = 0
Totals =4	F=1 M=3	Mean age = 32	1.5 Gen=4 2nd Gen=0	Korean Protestant=3 Korean-English Protestant=1	Individualism= 98% (11.75/12) R. Collectivism= 2% (0.25/12)	Analytical = 91% (14.55/16) Holism = 9% (1.45/16)

*I=Individualism; C=Relational Collectivism; A=Analytic, H=Holism

Based on the above table as well as the individual case studies, five salient patterns emerged among members of the Christian KCO group:

(1) Each of the KCO participants (4 out of a possible 4) were so-called 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians who completed some of their elementary school education in Korea before immigrating to Canada. They also immigrated during the post-1990s and -new millennium period, at a time when the size and scope of ethnic Korean enclaves and support networks in the metropolitan Canadian cities, the availability of various forms of technology through which to engage in transnational activity, and economic wealth of Korean immigrants were greater than that of the post-1960s and -70s Korean communities, people and time period. These lived and formal educational experiences in Korea and the socio-historical context within which they immigrated were reflected in the background stories of the KCO members, most of whom made direct or indirect references to parental support, lived experiences in Korea, co-ethnic friendships and Korean-language communication or frequent consumption of online Korean media programs in their justification of a singularly Korean or “more Korean” ethnic identity. Again, this serves to further suggest the significant roles that early childhood experiences, heritage language proficiency, social circle as well as transnational activity play in helping recent immigrants to maintain one’s cultural heritage and identity.

(2) With the independent variables of age bracket and socio-economic class remaining relatively constant, i.e. only one participant, Dawon (29), did not fall within the 30-something age bracket and all four participants characterized their social class growing up and presently as “middle class,” the primary attitudes and cognitive processes of members of this group when ‘doing’ Christianity were consistently and predominantly individualistic and analytical, respectively. In percentage terms, the rate of frequency of individualistic attitudinal responses among Christian KCO group members was 98%, compared to 2% for individualistic responses; and the rate of frequency of analytical cognitive responses was 91% compared to 9% for holistically-oriented responses. Inasmuch as members of this group identified more closely with Korean than Canadian culture, this pattern is inconsistent with the I-C cross-cultural

theoretical construct, which conceptualizes that people who are strongly influenced by East Asian cultures are inclined to relate to the world around them primarily in relational collectivistic and holistic ways, in contrast to the prominent individualistic and analytical orientations of people highly influenced by Western (European) cultures. On the contrary, KCO participants' religious behaviour reflected a positive correlation between a high Korean cultural orientation and individualistic-analytical inclinations. In addition, in view of the fact all four Christian KCO participants were affiliated with Korean-language congregations (or both the Korean- and English-language congregations in Dawon's case) of their local ethnic Protestant church, it appears the religious practices of the ethnic Korean Protestant tradition are more resonant with the traditional attitudes and cognitive inclinations associated with Western cultures than Korean culture.

If we compare the religious orientations of the Christian KCO group to the Buddhist KCO group, we have the following table:

i) KCO Religious Orientations by Religion: Buddhism vs. Christianity >

Religion	No. of participants	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Buddhism	7	Individualism= 33% (7/21) Collectivism = 67% (14/21)	Analytical = 20% (5/25) Holism = 80% (20/25)
(Protestant) Christianity	4	Individualism= 98% (11.75/12) Collectivism= 2% (0.25/12)	Analytical = 91% (14.55/16) Holism = 9% (1.45/16)

The table shows a dramatic polarization in religious orientations between KCO Christians and KCO Buddhists: KCO Christians exhibited far greater degrees of individualistic religious attitudes and analytical cognitive tendencies in their approach to religion than KCO Buddhists: Their numerical

discrepancies were 65 and 71 percentage points, respectively. Conversely, KCO Buddhists exhibited far greater degrees of relational collectivistic religious attitudes and holistic cognitive tendencies in their approach to religion than KCO Christians (with the same percentage-point discrepancies as above). Given that the 7 KCO Buddhist participants in this research were each affiliated with the ethnic Korean congregation at their local temple/center, it appears that the religious practices of the ethnic Korean Buddhist tradition is more resonant with traditional attitudes and cognitive orientations ascribed to Korean culture than the ethnic Korean Protestant church in Canada.

(3) If we classify the religious orientations of KCO Christians by gender, we have the following table:

i) < KCO Christian Religious Orientations: By Gender >

Gender.	No. of participants	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Females	1	Individualism = 100% (3/3) Collectivism = 0% (0/3)	Analytical = 73% (2.9/4) Holism = 27% (1.1/4)
Males	3	Individualism = 97% (8.75/9) Collectivism = 3% (0.25/9)	Analytical = 97% (11.65/12) Holism = 3% (0.35/12)

The frequency of individualistic attitudinal responses among male KCO participants (97%) was similar to the one female KCO Christian representative (100%) in this sample; and male KCO Christians scored a higher rate of frequency in terms of analytical cognitive behaviour than the female KCO participant (97% vs. 73%, respectively). The former finding contrasts with the results of the KCO Buddhist group, in which female participants provided relational collectivistic responses to questions concerning attitudinal religious orientation much more often than male participants. However, due to the small sample size of the KCO Christian group, further research and larger sample sizes are needed in order to conduct fruitful cross-comparisons with KCO Buddhists and provide conclusive evidence of particular gender-based patterns among members of this particular Christian subgroup.

(3) The religious orientations of KCO Christians were predominantly characterized by abstraction and intellectualization, which starkly contrasted with the orientations of their KCO Buddhist counterparts, which were largely characterized by trust and concretization. For example, the majority of Christian KCO members self-identified as Christian based primarily on an agreement with Christian principles and teachings, in contrast to their KCO Buddhist counterparts who based their religious identities primarily on trust-based interpersonal relationships forged within their respective religious community; Christian KCO Christians privileged the formalized and abstract teachings of authoritative Christian texts such as the Bible for their religious advice, motivation and knowledge, in contrast to the tendencies of KCO Buddhists who privileged the informal and direct verbal advice of authoritative figures (relational authority) or close relational others in the Buddhist community; and all four KCO Christian participants recruited abstract rules, principles and laws in their interpretations and justification of belief in the Christian worldview, as opposed to the methods of KCO Buddhists who predominantly recruited personal, lived and concrete experiences.

2. Korean-Canadian Cultural Orientation (KCCO)

(1) KCCO Individual Case Studies

Janet

Janet is a 21-year-old female undergraduate student in Ottawa who was born in Korea and immigrated to Canada with her parents in 1993 when she was 2 years old. She self-identifies ethnically as “Korean-Canadian” because she does not feel she fits in “with one or the other” but rather a “blend of the two.” While she has lived in Canada for most of her life and she is “much more familiar” with Canadian culture, she was raised by Korean parents who passed on to her “their own values and customs specific to

Korea (ex. the concept of respect and bowing to adults)” and is “proud” of her Korean roots. Although Janet is more fluent in the English than Korean language, she did learn to speak some Korean and is familiar with the “respectful [form of Korean] language and behaviours.” Her friends are ethnically diverse in background, consisting of Koreans (mostly second generation), Indian, Caucasian and Chinese. While she does follow Korean media programs “from time to time,” she mostly consumes North American media programs.

Religious Background

Janet grew up in a Catholic family and self-identifies as Catholic mostly due to the influence of her father, whose side of the family had a relatively long tradition of Christian believers. In addition, she identifies with Catholicism because she often attended church with her family growing up and exclusively attended a Catholic educational institution up to high school. In this way, she believes “being Catholic” is something “ingrained” in her and yet does not “consciously” form an important part of her general identity. In reference to the latter, she admits she is not a good practicing Christian as her knowledge of the Bible and its teachings are at a basic level, which she partially attributes to the linguistic barriers she experienced at her Korean church growing up – “I couldn’t understand what the Korean priest was saying.” Regardless of her self-professed lack of knowledge, Janet still engages in religious practice in her own way through individual prayers, usually in times of stress or gratitude. In addition, she strives to adhere to the core principles of Christianity, such as the Golden Rule, in her everyday actions because they represent “good morals” and are “inspiring/fulfill spiritual needs.”

While Janet has not given much thought to Christian eschatology, she subscribes “deep down” to the idea that a heaven and hell exist in the afterlife and that, for example, her grandmother’s soul is “still watching over me and things like that.” She believes in this because

it gives me a sense of connectedness and unity with the world; and without the afterlife, there would be no point/meaning to working hard in this life. I also don't want to think that when I die, I just become nothing—memory and consciousness are precious things to retain.

Janet respects all religions because she feels they have “good intentions.” She thinks it is even possible for a person to be a Christian while performing certain rituals of another religion, such as Buddhism, because these rituals usually share a positive purpose with Christianity and are “just expressed in different ways,” citing meditation and prayer as an example. However, there are limits: She does not think it is possible to identify as both Christian and another religion at the same time because following a polytheistic and/or atheistic religion, for example, would “contradict” the first of the Ten Commandments (i.e. “Thou shalt have no other gods”).

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Janet’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as relationally collectivistic in terms of self-representation, but ostensibly individualistic in terms of beliefs and values. Janet ascribes her Catholic identity to the strength of the influence of her father and her upbringing in both the church and school. Her religious self-construal is thus primarily defined by close relationships – both within the family and the larger Catholic community.

Janet’s current religious practice consists exclusively of prayers, which she performs on an individual basis and independently of organized groups and religious institutions, and primarily for the purpose of surmounting personal difficulties or as an expression of gratitude. Her behavior in this respect reflects individualistic beliefs and values, namely belief in self-effort or personal agency as the basis for achievement (e.g. overcoming stress) and the value of independence (e.g. conducts prayers primarily on her own).

In summary, Janet is prominently relationally collectivistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of self-representation, but markedly individualistic in terms of beliefs and values (I=2 pts., C=1 pt.). Her numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning, conflict resolution. Janet's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception, holistic in terms of causal attribution and mode of reasoning, and both analytical and, to a somewhat lesser extent, holistic in terms of conflict resolution. First, similar to the other Korean Christian research participants, Janet subscribes to the Christian eschatological idea that an individual's soul follows a particular path of either ascension or descent. She thus perceives individuals in the world as cosmologically moving in the linear and particular direction of (positive/negative) advancement wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state. This is characteristic of an analytical perception in terms of movement of events.

In contrast to the other Christian participants, however, Janet's religious practice is not primarily designed to achieve individual salvation; rather, its utility lies in the practical purposes it serves such as alleviating stress. She also explains the 'event' of Christian deliverance primarily in terms of collective interaction (i.e. relationship between an object and the field). For example, the Christian heaven is perceived to represent a space where close relational others (i.e. her grandmother) abide in parental guidance, and her belief in salvation is attributed to the sense of unity with closely related others and the world that this ideal provides. In Janet's holistic interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the recipient of *meaning* deriving from a sense of connection with others and she therefore perceives the self as a relatively passive entity subject to collective control, wherein the world or "surrounding field of forces" is operating on the self.

As mentioned, Janet subscribes to this Christian worldview because it offers her life meaning and a sense of connectedness and unity with the world. Her justification here is essentially based on the

holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: She perceives a coherent link between the concrete activities and aspects of life, i.e. working hard in this life/personal memory and consciousness, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. Christian salvation in the afterlife, and infers that the latter is valid based primarily on this supporting concrete experience. In this respect, Janet's way of perceiving and reasoning is relatively 'immediate' in character insofar as her frame of reference is intrinsic (based on personal feelings and experiences), and her reasoning process relatively avoids substantive abstraction and analytical deliberation.

Insofar as Janet reasons that dual *participation* in theologically clashing religions such as Christianity and Buddhism at the same time is possible in finite cases (namely, engaging in Buddhist meditation as a Christian adherent), she exhibits the holistic cognitive tendency to compromise in the face of a conflicting proposition – in this case, through exclusive concentration on mutually similar elements (i.e. Buddhist meditation is akin to Christian prayers). On the other hand, Janet is opposed to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Christianity and Buddhism at the same time, citing the fact this behavior would be in contradiction of one of the Ten Commandments (i.e. "Thou shalt have no other gods"). Her reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and 'aggressive' cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since she differentiates religions based on an abstract governing principle.

In summary, Janet is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the one cognitive criterion of event movement perception, but decidedly holistic in terms of causal attribution and mode of reasoning (A=1 pt., H=2 pts.). In terms of conflict resolution, insofar as Janet perceives simultaneous *participation* in multiple and contrasting religions to be possible – and thus the boundaries she draws between Christianity and other religions appear to be quite fluid – her reasoning process is significantly holistic (H=0.35 pts); however, Janet ultimately rejects the possibility of a substantive 'resolution' of opposing religions through harmonious integration in the form of hyphenated religious identities based on a reasoning process defined by abstract rules (i.e. Ten Commandments), which is analytical in orientation

(A=0.65 pts.). Janet's numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2.35 points out of 4 points in favour of holism.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendency (1/3)	Holistic (2.35/4) ► Analytic tendencies (1.65/4)

Robert

Robert is a 29-year-old male employee in the Ontario provincial government who was born in Korea and immigrated to Canada with his parents when he was 8 years old in the “early 90s,” during the second wave of Korean immigration. He received most of his formal education in the Toronto area, where he finished up to his B.A. degree. Robert “definitely” identifies ethnically as Korean-Canadian – “not just Korean or Canadian.” He identifies with Korean culture because of his physical appearance and the fact it represents his heritage and family, and his social and cultural perspectives have been shaped by “being Korean.” At the same time, he “strongly” identifies as Canadian because he was socialized into Canadian culture and believes that he is “typically” Western in his “attitude, values and beliefs (e.g. individualism, liberal social values etc.).” He largely credits his parents for his bicultural attitudes, saying they enforced some traditional elements of Korean culture, in particular the “respect for elders and hierarch (sp) of the family unit,” at the same time they let him develop a sense of individualism and “other values more customary to liberal western cultures.” While most of his friends growing up were Korean or of Asian background, most members of his close social circle are now non-Korean with the exception of his best

friend, who is a Canada-born second generation Korean. Robert, who almost exclusively consumes North American media programs, can speak Korean at the “beginner/intermediate level” but he is significantly more comfortable communicating in the English language.

Religious Background

Robert, who grew up in a Christian family, self-identifies as a Protestant Christian because it is a “fundamental and inalienable part” of his identity and because he firmly believes in the teachings of the Bible and doctrines of the Christian faith. While Bob considers religious activities such as attending church and Bible study important aspects of Christian practice, his present practice focuses mostly on an “internal sense of faith” in Christianity, affirmed through a stronger understanding of God on an “intellectual level” and the development of a “personal relationship with God.” To this end, he likes to read and study books on Christian apologetics and theology.

Robert also subscribes to the fundamental tenets of Christianity because the experience of human life cannot be explained purely by science and theism is the “most rationally plausible way” of making sense of life on this earth. Moreover,

Christianity teaches that we are sinful and salvation comes from the grace of God. Human nature is fundamentally flawed and the result is that we live in a fallen world where pain and suffering are omnipresent. Nothing we can do is able to rescue us from this reality and the Biblical teaching that salvation is a gift from God rings very true to me.

While Robert has an interest in other religions, it is “purely intellectual” and he is not looking to change his beliefs as he firmly believes in the truth of the Christian faith. In fact, his motivation in learning about other religions would be to help “solidify” his Christian faith. He also thinks one cannot be both Christian and a follower of another religion, such as Buddhism, since the Christian teachings make it explicit that “God is the only God and you cannot have your faith divided,” as well as because there are certain “non-negotiables” in the Christian doctrine that are fundamental to the faith and a monotheistic belief is “one of those non-negotiables.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Robert's attitudinal approach to Buddhism can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. Robert ascribes his Christian identity to the fact that the religion's values and doctrines have become part and parcel to his fundamental makeup (e.g. "fundamental and inalienable part" of his identity) and they are consistent with his personal convictions. His religious self-representation is thus primarily based on the criterion of personal disposition or core essence.

The primary component of Robert's current religious practice consists of an individual activity that is conducted independently of groups and religious institutions, namely studying Christian theological literature, with the purpose of deepening both his intellectual and emotional understanding of Christian doctrine and his "personal relationship" with God. His behavior in this respect reflects individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in personal agency or self-effort as the basis for achievement (i.e. attaining a "personal relationship" with God) and the values of independence and (religious) self-actualization.

In summary, Robert is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); his numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event Movement Perception, Causal Attribution, Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution. Robert's cognitive approach to religion can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. He subscribes to the Christian eschatological idea of sin and that people follow a particular path of either ascension or descent dependent upon the "grace of God." He thus perceives individuals in the world as cosmologically moving in the linear and particular direction of (positive/negative) advancement wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state.

Similar to most of the other KCO and KCCO Christian participants, Robert also explains the Christian worldview primarily in terms of individual responsibility and rules. For example, salvation is attributed to the individual's ability to develop a personal relationship with God that would result in his "grace." In Robert's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of this event who is ultimately responsible for his/her eschatological fate. The self in Robert's religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control – although ultimately subject to an eschatological law – and the self has operated on the world in such a case. His causal explanation of the Christian worldview is analytically framed in terms of a salient object and its properties (i.e. the individual and his/her abilities in attaining salvation), as well as in terms of abstract rules (i.e. Christian eschatological doctrine) governing individual behaviour.

Robert subscribes to the Christian worldview and teachings based on the perceived superior rationality of Biblical teachings, i.e. human nature is fundamentally flawed and sinful – therefore humans live in a fallen reality – salvation can only come in the form of a gift from God. In other words, Robert justifies his belief by explicitly referring to external, 'detached' and abstract principles (i.e. rationality, Biblical teachings) and, as such, his justification process is analytical in orientation.

Robert's interest in other non-Christian religions is decidedly superficial: he is interested in other religions on a "purely intellectual" level and solely for the purpose of "solidifying" his Christian faith. He also expresses opposition to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Christianity and Buddhism at the same time, citing the fact such behavior would contradict the fundamental monotheistic teachings of Christianity. His reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and 'aggressive' cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since he statically differentiates religions based on an abstract governing principle.

In summary, Robert is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of all four cognitive criteria of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution (A=4 pts.).

Robert's numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 4 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Analytical (4/4)

Meera

Meera is a 32-year-old female occupational therapist who was born in Toronto, where her parents emigrated from Korea in the early 1970s, during the first wave of Korean immigration. She recently completed her master's degree in London, Ontario. Meera "definitely" identifies ethnically as Korean-Canadian because she was highly influenced by both cultures. Having grown up in Canada, she thought she would naturally have North American values but "somehow" Korean values and ways of thinking have become a large part of her, which she attributes to being raised in a Korean family where traditional cultural customs and practices were maintained. She recalls the time she realized the Korean origins of her values and "why I thought the way that I did" after watching Korean media programs such as music videos, TV shows and movies. However, her Korean language proficiency is "low" and she was able to follow these Korean entertainment programs due to the English subtitling. Most of Meera's close circle of friends consists of East Asians, namely Canada-born second generation and 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians as well as Chinese, as she finds she can better "relate" to them.

Religious Background

While Meera was raised in a Catholic home and attended the local Korean church regularly when she was younger, she presently does not attend church because she thinks religion made her a “weaker person” and taught her to be “nice” when “this is not a nice world and you can’t survive like that.” She adds:

I realized how stifling and suffocating religion can be. I felt like a tainted person because the rules were so strict ... following the Christian teachings made me feel that I was living in a dream world. It made me lost, and I want to live in reality.

As a result, Meera no longer subscribes to the Christian worldview of salvation in the afterlife and does not formally affiliate herself with Catholicism or with religions in general. However, Catholicism is the religion she most closely identifies with because “it was how I was brought up” and she continues to practice the religion as she adopts the Christian teachings as a moral guideline or system rather than for deeper “spiritual purposes,” which was the primary purpose that religion served for her before she became disillusioned. Her current religious practice also includes occasionally reading Buddhism-inspired quotes for “spiritual uplifting/strength.”

Meera thinks all religions are very similar and that it would be “good” for a person to be both Christian and a follower of another religion at the same time because

it’s annoying when people feel to (sp) strongly about just one thing. We were given a brain to think with! The fun of being human is to explore, not settle.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Meera’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. Meera no longer self-identifies religiously as Catholic based on an inconsistency between her personal convictions and the Christian teachings. Her disavowal of her inherited religious identity reflects the prioritization of individual disposition over close (family) relationships in terms of religious self-identity. In this respect,

her attitudinal approach vis-a-vis religious self-representation is individualistic in orientation. Along with this disavowal, Meera also rejected organized religion after becoming disillusioned with what she perceived was its naive objectives and appropriated only those aspects of both Christian (i.e. moral code) and, and to a lesser extent, non-Christian teachings (i.e. Buddhist quotes) that were practical and beneficial to her own life, in a kind of individualization or ‘Sheilaization’ of religion. Her behavior in this respect reflects the prioritization of personal agency (i.e. taking the initiative to individualize religion) over interdependency as the basis for achievement (e.g. the achievement of a moral lifestyle and development of spiritual strength), and independence over interpersonal relations (i.e. she engages in religious practice on her own terms and no longer attends the church).

In summary, Meera is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); her numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

*Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution.*⁹⁵ Meera’s cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as holistic in terms of mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. Meera does not subscribe to the Christian worldview and eschatology based on her personal experiences, which revealed a broad discrepancy between reality and the “dream world” of Christianity. In this respect, her justification (for disbelieving) is based on the holistic methodology of associative or relationship thinking: Meera perceives incongruity between personal concrete experience, i.e. harsh realities of the world, and a conceptual proposition, i.e. Christian doctrine, and infers that the latter is invalid based on the lack of supporting concrete experience. Whereas the justification thought process of most of her fellow Korean Christian participants was based on extrinsic factors, deliberate and ‘detachable’ in character (i.e. based on an ‘external’ abstract rule/principle), Meera’s justification process is relatively ‘immediate’ in character insofar as her frame of reference is intrinsic, directly perceived and her reasoning process

⁹⁵ I was unable to include here Meera’s cognitive orientation in terms of event movement perception and causal attribution within a religious context due to her disillusionment with institutional religion, exclusive interest in the practical benefits of religion, and general disinterest in religious cosmological worldviews.

relatively avoids substantive abstraction and analytical deliberation (i.e. she does not subscribe to the Christian worldview simply because it does not reflect her lived experiences).

Insofar as Meera occasionally turns to other religions, namely Buddhism, for spiritual strength, she embodies the integration of ostensibly and mutually contradictory religious theologies. Consistent with this “both/and” holistic tendency, Meera expresses agreement with the conceptual proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Buddhism and Christianity at the same time, citing her aversion for – as it were – the analytical ideal of static categorization (“settlement”) and endorsement of fluid cognitive orientations (“exploration”).

In summary, Meera is markedly holistic in orientation in terms of the two cognitive criteria of, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution (H=2 pts.); her numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 2 points out of 2 points in favour of holism.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Holistic (2/2)

Abby

Abby is a 26-year-old female Ph.D. student who was born in Korea and immigrated to Canada with her parents when she was 16 in 2002, during the third wave of Korean immigration. Her father, however, is a “wild goose” who eventually returned to Korea in order to financially support the family in Canada. Abby completed 11 years of formal education in Korea before completing the rest of her secondary, postsecondary and postgraduate education in Winnipeg and Ottawa. She self-identifies

ethnically as Korean-Canadian as she can relate to the “issues and cultures” of both communities, and sometimes still feels “Korean among Canadians, and Canadian among Koreans.” She identifies partially as Korean because she was raised in a culturally Korean family wherein she was taught the cultural value of respect for elders and hierarchy, and partially identifies as Canadian. However, language is not a barrier when she meets these recent Korean immigrants since her level of Korean proficiency is “VERY good” and she is ultimately equally comfortable speaking and reading both in Korean and English. Abby’s close circle of friends predominantly consists of Caucasians and some international Chinese students.

Religious Background

Abby was raised in a devout Christian family where “family services” were conducted every evening growing up, during which time her family would read the Bible and pray together, although the family services are now limited to special occasions such as Thanksgiving and Easter. She adds that while Korean Christians generally tend to be very conservative, her parents are “somewhat open-minded.” Abby self-identifies as Protestant Christian because she believes in “God and Jesus Christ as my savior.”

Whereas her religious practice growing up included regular church attendance, she now attends the church about once per month. Her current religious practice primarily consists of reading the Bible, meditating and praying on her own, the main purposes of which are to connect with God – “To get to know more about God himself and also about what he wants me to do.”

Abby subscribes to the Christian teachings because “it is the way God wants us to live,” although she notes she sometimes disagrees with certain lessons in the Old Testament or the interpretations of Korean preachers. Abby explains the Christian idea of salvation in terms of the three different holy figures of God (Father), Jesus (Son) and the Holy Spirit, although they are essentially “one”:

I see Jesus Christ as a saviour that connects me to God (of course this includes salvation from hell) -- but we believe that without Jesus Christ, we can't really get connected to the Father (God).

While Abby does respect other religions and sees certain similarities between them and Christianity, she does not believe that the “fundamental beliefs” of other religions are “right,” and so a person cannot be both Christian and a follower of another religion at the same time. She recalls her ex-roommate who engaged in various religious practices at the same time in order to seek “truths” and, while Abby “tried hard” to understand and respect her, in the end she thought her friend was a “little crazy.”

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Abby’s attitudinal religious orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. She ascribes her Christian identity to her agreement with – as well as internalization of – the fundamental Christian belief that “God and Jesus Christ” represent her “saviours.” Her religious self-representation is thus primarily based on personal convictions or individual disposition. Abby’s current religious practices primarily consist of individual activities that are conducted independently of groups and religious institutions, such as reading the bible, meditating and praying on her own, with the purpose of deepening both her intellectual and emotional connection to Christian teachings and a “connection” with God. Her church attendance and involvement with her religious community is limited. Abby’s behavior in this respect reflects individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in personal agency or self-effort as the basis for achievement (i.e. attaining a personal connection with God) and the values of independence and (religious) self-actualization.

In summary, Abby is prominently individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); her numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event Movement Perception, Causal Attribution, Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution. Abby’s cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution and mode of reasoning, and both analytical and – albeit to a lesser degree – holistic in

terms of conflict resolution. Abby subscribes to the Christian eschatological belief that people follow a particular path of either deliverance to heaven or descent to hell dependent upon the extent to which the individual lives his/her life in accordance with Christian principles. She thus perceives individuals in the world as cosmologically moving in the linear direction of (positive/negative) advancement wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state.

Similar to most of the Korean Christian research participants, Abby explains the Christian worldview primarily in terms of individual responsibility, categories and rules. For example, salvation is attributed to the individual's efforts in developing a personal connection with God, and this connection is further dissected and differentiated into three categories (i.e. Father, Son, Holy Spirit). In Abby's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of this event who is ultimately responsible for his/her eschatological fate. The self in Abby's religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control – although ultimately subject to an eschatological law – and the self has operated on the world in such a case. Her causal explanation of the Christian worldview is analytically framed in terms of a salient object and its properties (i.e. the self and his/her ability to embody proper qualities vis-a-vis salvation), as well as in terms of abstract categories and rules governing individual behavior (i.e. rules delineated by God on how to live).

Abby subscribes to the Christian worldview and teachings because "it is the way God wants us to live." In this respect, she justifies her belief by explicitly referring to external, abstract, 'detached' and authoritative rules/principles (i.e. God's words and will) and, as such, her justification process is analytical in orientation.

While she expresses a degree of tolerance (i.e. "I respect") toward other religions and acknowledges commonalities between them and her own religion, Abby is opposed to the proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions such as Christianity and Buddhism at the same time, citing her belief that the fundamental belief systems of other religions are false. Her reasoning

process here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since she dissects and statically differentiates religions based on their abstract attributes (i.e. their belief systems).

In summary, Abby is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the three cognitive criteria of, event movement perception, causal attribution and mode of reasoning (A=3 pts.). In terms of conflict resolution, insofar as Abby respects other religions and perceives certain commonalities to exist between them and Christianity – and thus the boundaries she draws between Christianity and other religions appear to be somewhat fluid – her reasoning process is holistic (H=0.25 pts); however, she ultimately rejects the possibility of a substantive ‘resolution’ of opposing religions through harmonious integration in the form of hyphenated religious identities based on a reasoning process defined by abstraction (i.e. based on a comparison of their belief systems), which is analytical in orientation (A=0.75 pts.). Abby’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3.75 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Analytic (3.75/4) ► Holistic tendency (0.25/4)

Jang-Hyun

Jang-Hyun is a 26-year-old artistic director based in Ottawa. He was born in Korea but immigrated to Canada with his parents when he was approximately 8 months old in 1985, during the second wave of Korean immigration. He completed his formal education in Canada up to a diploma of

piano performance. Jang-Hyun generally self-identifies ethnically as Korean-Canadian, albeit with some reservations because he has “no idea what that means.” Rather, he feels he is “simply Korean” in certain cases and “simply Canadian” in others. He defines his ethnic identity by saying that he is “proud” to live in a country where, in most cases, he is “not judged or prosecuted” because he is from Korea. Most of Jang-Hyun’s close circle of friends is comprised of ethnic Koreans from his church’s congregation and he is bilingually fluent in English and Korean.

Religious Background

Jang-Hyun was raised in a Protestant Christian family and regularly attended his local Korean church growing up, although he notes his parents did not particularly “appreciate” some of the social aspects of joining a congregation. He self-identifies as “Korean Christian” and subscribes to the Christian teachings because “I profess that Lord Jesus Christ is my savior” and because he believes that “God, the Lord, and the Spirit are within me wherever I go and whatever I do.”

Christianity plays a “significant” role in Jang-Hyun’s life and he characterizes his religious practice as consisting of the daily cultivation of the belief that the ‘Trinity’ is within him at all times, reading the Bible on a daily basis, as well as being an active church volunteer. These activities represent vehicles and opportunities through which to ultimately achieve salvation in the afterlife.

Jang-Hyun is “somewhat” interested in other religions but tries “not to have an interest.” Rather, he is more interested in learning about certain minority sects within Christianity, although not because he wants to believe in them but because he is interested in what motivates certain individuals to believe in these sects. He also believes that a person cannot sincerely be both Christian and a follower of another religion at the same time because this would contradict the monotheistic teachings of Christianity.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Jang-Hyun's religious attitudinal orientation can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, beliefs and values. Like Abby, he ascribes his Christian identity to his personal conviction that the "Lord Jesus Christ" represents his "saviour"; he does not make reference to the role of his family in this regard. His religious self-representation therefore reflects the individualistic inclination to prioritize personal disposition over close interpersonal relationships. Jang-Hyun's current religious practices primarily consist of individual activities that are conducted independently of groups and religious institutions, namely the application and incorporation of Christian beliefs into everyday life as well as bible reading, with the purpose of developing a deeper intellectual and emotional relationship with God on the path to salvation. His behavior in this respect reflects the predominance of individualistic beliefs and values, namely a belief in personal agency or self-effort as the basis for achievement (i.e. attaining a personal relationship with God) and the values of independence and (religious) self-actualization.⁹⁶

In summary, Jang-Hyun is markedly individualistic in religious orientation in terms of all three attitudinal criteria of self-representation, beliefs and values (I=3 pts.); his numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 3 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event Movement Perception, Causal Attribution, Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution. Jang-Hyun's religious cognitive orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. Similar to the majority of the hitherto Korean Christian participants, Jang-Hyun subscribes to the Christian eschatological idea that people follow a particular path of either ascension or descent dependent upon the level of commitment

⁹⁶ Over the course of my doctoral studies, I also participated in a large academic research project in 2009 that, among other ethnocultural groups, conducted a focus group session with 11 Korean Christian young adults based in Vancouver, as well as individual follow-up interviews with four of the participants from the focus group. Due to the different research methodology and interview questions that were administered in the Vancouver project, I was unfortunately unable to conduct a significant comparative analysis between the Korean Christian participants in this doctoral study and those in the Vancouver group. Nonetheless, one particular pattern that emerged among both groups was the consistent emphasis on the individualistic religious practice of cultivating a personal "relationship" with God through such activities as daily devotions and prayers.

and faith in Christian doctrine. He thus perceives individuals in the world as moving in the linear and particular direction of (positive/negative) advancement wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state.

Jang-Hyun also describes his Christian worldview primarily in terms of individual responsibility and rules. For example, salvation is attributed to the self-effort and striving of the individual to develop a personal belief in the daily presence of the 'Trinity.' In Jang-Hyun's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of this event who is ultimately responsible for his/her eschatological fate. The self in Jang-Hyun's religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control – although ultimately subject to an eschatological law – and the self has operated on the world in such a case. His causal explanation of the Christian worldview is analytically framed in terms of a salient object and its properties (i.e. the individual and his/her abilities in terms of receiving salvation), as well as in terms of abstract rules (i.e. Christian doctrine).

Jang-Hyun indicates that he identifies with and subscribes to the Christian worldview and teachings based on the authority of the Biblical teachings. In this respect, he justifies his belief by explicitly referring to external, abstract, 'detached' and authoritative principles (i.e. God's words) and, as such, his justification process is analytical in orientation.

Consistent with his relatively exclusivist approach to other religions (i.e. he "tries" not to have an interest in other religions and is exclusively interested in other Christian denominations rather than altogether non-Christian religions), Jang-Hyun expresses opposition to the theoretical proposition that one could adhere to theologically conflicting religions at the same time due to the monotheistic nature of Christianity. His reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and 'aggressive' cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since he dissects and statically differentiates religions based on their abstract (theological) attributes.

In summary, Jang-Hyun is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of all four cognitive criteria of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution (A=4 pts.); his numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 4 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (3/3)	Analytical (4/4)

3. Canadian Cultural Orientation (CCO)

(1) CCO Individual Case Studies

Cathy

Cathy is a 28-year-old female Ph.D. student who was born in Toronto and her parents immigrated to Canada in the 1970s during the first wave of Korean immigration. Cathy identifies ethnically as “Canadian-Korean,” adding she identifies mostly with Western culture and thus as Canadian “first.” However, her values and worldview are “indelibly” marked by Korean cultural perspectives due to her strong roots and familial ties in the Korean community. Cathy says her family culture growing up was a “veritable” mix of Canadian and Korean cultures, as her parents themselves were 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians who immigrated to Canada in their teens and are thus more “Canadianized” than most 1st generation Korean-Canadians. As a result, she sees eye-to-eye with her parents on many issues and the intergenerational gap is not significant. Cathy is presently not very comfortable speaking Korean because she spoke to her parents mostly in English (while her parents replied in Korean) growing up. She

identifies most closely with Canada-born second-generation Asian Canadians, who comprise the majority of her close social circle, although she notes her close friends at her place of work are Caucasian.

Religious Background

Cathy, who was raised in a Protestant Christian family, self-identifies as Christian because the faith into which she was baptized by her parents is now “real” to her due to “deeply personal” experiences that began in high school, adding that both her knowledge of Christian doctrine and “emotional connection” with her faith has only grown since. Her current religious practice consists of a variety of activities, although the most important to her are praying and reading the Bible and scriptures, both individually and in small groups, on a regular basis and attending church weekly and engaging with and serving the larger community. In addition, Cathy occasionally attends classes and seminars/conferences on Christian theology and serves as a leader at her church in various ministries.

Cathy subscribes to the Christian teachings because she has “experienced and lived out their truths” as well as witnessed them embodied fruitfully and “powerfully” in other Christians. She believes that the experiential aspect of Christian practice is equally important as an intellectual understanding of Christian doctrine – “I believe that [Christian doctrines] have implications that must be lived out with commitment and faith.” This level of commitment and faith ultimately determines whether the individual attains Christian salvation. Her belief in the eschatological teachings of Christianity is similarly the product of personal spiritual experiences that ostensibly “defy natural explanation” and therefore seem to “imply that heaven and hell exist,” adding that the existence of salvation and the afterlife binary of a heaven and hell is ultimately a matter of faith to her – “since the Scriptures tell me they exist, I decide to believe it.”

Cathy thinks that one cannot be both Christian and a follower of another faith because Christians believe that other religions cannot save “me.” Consequently, while she has an “intellectual curiosity” about other religions, she has never “experimented” with them.

Religious Orientation

Self-representations, beliefs and values. Cathy's attitudinal approach to Christianity can be characterized as individualistic in terms of self-representation, and both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values. Cathy ascribes her Christian identity to the fact that the religion's doctrines are consistent with her deeply personal and "emotional" spiritual experiences; in contrast to the majority of the relational collectivistic Buddhist research participants, she does not make reference to the role of her family in this regard. Her religious self-construal thus prioritizes personal conviction and disposition over close relationships, which is individualistic in orientation.

Among the various components of Cathy's religious practice are activities that are conducted individually and independently of groups and institutions, such as praying, reading the bible and attending seminars/conferences in order to deepen and embody her understanding of Christian doctrine. Her behavior reflects prominent individualistic beliefs and values, namely belief in personal agency as the basis for achievement and the value of (religious) self-actualization. On the other hand, Cathy's religious practices also substantively consist of activities that require consistent interaction with others, in particular fellow churchgoers with whom she conducts group prayers and bible readings, as well as to whom she provides leadership and support. This behavior suggests the concurrent presence of the relational collectivistic belief that religious achievement also requires interdependency and the relational collectivistic value of responsiveness to the needs of others, especially in-group members, respectively.

In summary, Cathy is markedly individualistic in religious orientation in terms of the one attitudinal criterion of self-representation ($I=1$ pt.), and ostensibly both individualistic and relationally collectivistic in terms of beliefs and values ($I=0.5 \times 2=1$ pt., $C=0.5 \times 2=1$ pt.). Cathy's numerical score on the I-C scale is therefore 2 points out of 3 points in favour of individualism.

Event Movement Perception, Causal Attribution, Mode of reasoning, Conflict Resolution. Cathy's cognitive religious orientation can be characterized as analytical in terms of event movement perception, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. First, Cathy subscribes to the Christian eschatological idea that an individual's soul follows a particular path of either ascension or descent dependent upon the individual's level of Christian commitment and faith. She thus perceives individuals in the world as cosmologically moving in the linear direction of advancement – whether positive or negative – wherein the ultimate destination represents a permanent state (i.e. heaven/hell).

Cathy explains the Christian worldview primarily in terms of individual responsibility and rules. For example, salvation is attributed to the Christian individual's level of commitment, faith and embodiment (i.e. "live out") of Christian doctrine. In Cathy's interpretation, the emphasis is on the individual as the 'doer' of this event who must take responsibility for the eschatological consequences of his/her actions. The self in Cathy's religious world is therefore a relatively agentic entity subject to personal control – although ultimately subject to an eschatological law – and the self has operated on the world in such a case. Her causal explanation of the Christian worldview is analytically framed in terms of a salient object and its properties (i.e. the individual and his/her abilities in terms of receiving salvation), as well as in terms of abstract rules (i.e. Christian eschatological doctrine) governing individual behaviour.

Cathy subscribes to this Christian worldview based on both deeply personal experiences "that defy natural explanation" as well as on the inerrancy and authority of the Bible (e.g. "Since the scriptures tell me they exist, I decide to believe it.") Insofar as the former response is based on intrinsic factors, directly perceived and 'immediate' in character, as well as reasoned without evident conscious and analytical deliberation, her justification of belief is based on intuition and thus holistic in orientation. On the other hand, in the latter statement, Cathy additionally justifies her belief by explicitly referring to external, 'detached' and abstract principles, i.e. principles found in the Christian scriptures, and as such, her justification process is concurrently analytically oriented.

Consistent with her relatively superficial interest in other religions (i.e. she is curious about other religions on an exclusively “intellectual” basis and she has never considered “experimenting” with any of them),⁹⁷ Cathy expresses opposition to the proposition that one could adhere to Christianity and another religion at the same time, citing the fact these other religions cannot offer salvation. Her reasoning here is reflective of decontextualized and ‘aggressive’ cognitive behavior – and hence is analytical in orientation – since she dissects and statically differentiates religions based on their abstract (doctrinal) attributes.

In summary, Cathy is markedly analytical in orientation in terms of the three cognitive criteria of, event movement perception, causal attribution and conflict resolution (A=3 pts.), but equally both analytical and holistic in terms of mode of reasoning (A=0.5 pts., H=0.5 pts.). Cathy’s numerical score on the A-H scale is therefore 3.5 points out of 4 points in favour of analytical cognition.

< Summary Table >

Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Individualistic (2/3) ► Relational collectivistic tendency (1/3)	Analytical (3.5/4) ► Holistic tendency (0.5/4)

⁹⁷ The other prominent similarity to emerge between the aforementioned Vancouver-based Korean Christians and those in this doctoral research was that the vast majority of participants from both groups expressed very little interest in or had never experimented with other religions.

(2) KCCO/CCO Summary Analysis⁹⁸

The following is a summary table of the religious orientations of KCCO/CCO Christian participants in terms of the following six categories: Gender, age, generation (1.5 vs. 2nd generation), institutional association or affiliation, and attitudinal (Individualism vs. Collectivism) and cognitive religious orientations (Analytical vs. Holism). For the category of Institutional Affiliation, I have broadly classified research participants into the following three affiliations: “Korean Protestant/Catholic,” or participants mostly affiliated with the Korean-language congregation at their local Korean church; “English Protestant/Catholic,” or those affiliated mostly with the English-language congregation at their local Korean/mainstream Canadian church; and “Korean-English Protestant/Catholic,” or those affiliated with both the Korean- and English-language congregations at their local Korean/mainstream Canadian church.

i) < Summary Table of KCCO Christian Participants >

Name	Gender	Age	Generation	Institutional Affiliation	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Abby	F	26	1.5	English-language Protestant Congregation	I = 3 C = 0	A = 3.75 H = 0.25
Janet	F	21	2nd	Ethnic Korean Catholic Congregation	I = 2 C = 1	A = 2.35 H = 1.65
Meera	F	32	2nd	English-language Catholic Congregation	I = 3 C = 0	A = 0 H = 2
Robert	M	32	1.5	English-language Protestant Congregation	I = 3 C = 0	A = 4 H = 0
Jang-Hyun	M	26	2nd	Ethnic Korean/English-language Protestant Congregation	I = 3 C = 0	A = 4 H = 0

⁹⁸ I have lumped together the lone CCO Christian participant, Cathy, with the KCCO Christian participants under the subgroup heading “KCCO/CCO” due to the fact any intra-Christian group comparative analyses involving a separate CCO group would be highly inconclusive based on the one participant. Cathy was included with the KCCO group rather than the KCO group because her cultural background was ostensibly closer in orientation to that of the former group. However, any herein comparative analyses that are explicitly noted as being between the KCCO and KCO Christian subgroups exclude Cathy’s results from the former group.

Cathy*	F	28	2nd	English-language Protestant Congregation	I = 2 C = 1	A = 3.5 H = 0.5
Totals =6	F=4 M=2	Mean Age= 28	1.5 Gen=2 2nd Gen=4	English Protestant=4 Korean/English Catholic=2	Individualism =89% (16/18) R. Collectivism= 11% (2/18)	Analytical= 80% (17.6/22) Holism= 20% (4.4/22)

* Canadian Cultural Orientation

*I=Individualism, C=Relational Collectivism, A=Analytic, H=Holism

Based on both the above KCCO/CCO table and individual case studies, and on a comparison between the KCCO/CCO Christians, KCO Christians and the Korean Buddhist participants as a whole, four salient patterns emerged:

(1) The KCCO/CCO Christian group consisted of a mixture of Canada-born or predominantly Canada-raised second-generation (4 out of 6) and Korea-born 1.5-generation (2/6) Korean-Canadians. The four second-generation participants (Janet, Meera, Jang-Hyun and Cathy) completed their formal education exclusively in Canada and grew up in Toronto/Ottawa mostly beginning in the post-1990s period (third wave of Korean immigration to Canada), at a time when the size and scope of ethnic Korean enclaves and support networks in the metropolitan Canadian cities, availability of advanced technology through which to engage in transnational activities, and economic wealth of Korean immigrants were greater than in the earlier immigration periods. Similarly, both of the 1.5-generation participants in this group (Abby and Robert) lived and completed some or most of their early formal education in Korea before immigrating to and growing up in Canada in the post-1990s period. These lived and formal educational experiences in Korea and the socio-historical context within which they immigrated were relatively reflected in the background stories of KCCO/CCO Christian members. However, the intensity of the degree to which this group of participants as a whole emphasized the influential role of the nuclear family in their justification of a partial Korean ethnic identity appeared to be greater than that of the KCO Christian group, while other factors such as online transnational activities and Korean language proficiency were comparatively downplayed. In view of the similar socio-historical contexts in which most KCCO/CCO Christians were

raised, this is conversely suggestive of the greater degree to which the KCCO/CCO group of individuals has culturally and linguistically assimilated into Canadian society and culture compared to KCO Christians, since it would explain their primary reliance on the nuclear family (i.e. parents) for their sense of Korean identity.

(2) If we isolate the KCCO Christians (i.e. minus CCO member Cathy) and juxtapose their overall frequency rate in terms of individualistic/relational collectivistic (I-C) and analytical/holistic (A-H) responses with those of the KCO Christians, we have the following table:

i) < I-C/A-H Rate of Frequency (%): KCCO vs. KCO Christians >

Ethnocultural Orientation	No. of participants	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
KCCO	5	Individualism= 93% (14/15) Collectivism= 7% (1/15)	Analytical= 78% (14.1/18) Holistic= 22% (3.9/18)
KCO	4	Individualism= 98% (11.75/12) Collectivism= 2% (0.25/12)	Analytic = 91% (14.55/16) Holism = 9% (1.45/16)

In terms of independent variables, the mean age and socio-economic class were comparable between the two groups: Four years separated the mean age between KCCO/CCO (28 years old) and KCO (32 years old) Christians and all of the participants (total of 10) characterized their past and present social class as middle. The only significant variable discrepancy between the two groups lay in their respective gender ratios: the KCO group female-to-male ratio was 1:3 and the KCCO/CCO group was conversely 4:2. While the small sample size of these two subgroups precludes a substantive statistical and comparative analysis of this gender discrepancy, the (direct and indirect) characterization of Korean culture as relatively “sexist” by two of the female Buddhist participants – namely Lisa and Yemin – in the previous chapter may potentially account for the lower number of female Christian participants (1 out of the 5 in total) who self-identified ethnically as singularly Korean or “more Korean.”

With reference to the above table, the rate of frequency of individualistic and relational collectivistic responses among KCCO Christians (93% and 7%, respectively) was highly similar to that of KCO Christians (98% and 2%, respectively). While the rate of frequency of analytical responses for members of both subgroups was significantly higher than that of their holistic responses, KCO Christians exhibited a greater analytical religious orientation than KCCO Christians by 13 percentage points (91% vs. 78%). However, given that previous social psychological studies (e.g. Cohen and Hill 2007) have indicated that Catholicism is a relatively relational collectivistic religion in comparison to Protestantism, which has a highly individualistic religious orientation, the comparatively lower Individualism-Analytical cognitive scores by the KCCO subgroup may be attributable to the inclusion of two Roman Catholic participants – Janet and Meera – in their group. The KCO Christian subgroup, by comparison, consisted entirely of Protestants. Indeed, if we exclude these two KCCO Catholic participants, the rate of frequency of individualistic and analytical responses by the remaining three KCCO Protestant Christians – Abby, Robert and Jang-Hyun – becomes 100 percent and 98 percent, respectively, which is much closer in score to the KCO Christian subgroup.

Overall, KCCO and KCO Christians, in particular the Protestant participants, were similarly and predominantly individualistic and analytical in religious orientation. In addition, the dramatic discrepancies in percentage points between individualistic versus relational collectivistic (I-C) attitudes and analytical versus holistic (A-H) cognition *within* the KCCO Christian subgroup (86- and 56-point discrepancies, respectively) were as similarly impressive as the same discrepancies found within the KCO Christian subgroup (96 points and 82 points, respectively). By comparison, the discrepancies in percentage points between I-C and A-H orientations within the KCCO Buddhist group were an unremarkable 18 and 9 points, respectively. In view of the fact members of the KCCO Christian subgroup identified with Korean and Canadian culture in relatively equal parts, these large discrepancies were inconsistent with the I-C cross-cultural theoretical framework, which conceptualizes that those who are strongly influenced by both East Asian and Western cultures are inclined to relate to and perceive the

world around them in ways that are balanced and intermediate between individualism and collectivism and analytical and holistic cognitive orientations. However, the religious orientations exhibited by the lone CCO Christian, Cathy (67% frequency rate in favour of individualism; 88% frequency rate in favour of analytical responses), were relatively consistent with this cross-cultural theoretical model, which states that those who are strongly influenced by Western culture are inclined to primarily relate to the world around them in an individualistic and analytical manner.

(3) Similar to KCO participants, the ways in which the vast majority of KCCO/CCO individuals ‘did’ religion were markedly characterized by abstraction and intellectualization. For example, most of them (5 out of a possible 6) self-identified (or did not self-identify in the case of Meera) as Christian based on an agreement (disagreement) with abstract Christian principles and teachings; most (5/6) referred to the formalized and abstract teachings of authoritative Christian texts such as the Bible for religious advice, motivation and knowledge; and most (4/6) referred to abstract rules, principles and laws in justifying belief (or skepticism in the case of Meera) in the Christian worldview.

(4) The following table shows the attitudinal and cognitive orientations of all ten of the Korean Christian participants in this study in terms of four categories: Participants who were presently affiliated with the ethnic, Korean-language congregation of a Korean church; those predominantly affiliated with the English-language congregation of their local ethnic Korean and/or mainstream Canadian church; Protestant Christians who were predominantly affiliated with the English-language congregation of their local ethnic Korean and/or mainstream Canadian church (i.e. minus the two Catholic participants affiliated with their English-language congregations); and those affiliated with both the Korean-language and English-language congregations of their local ethnic Korean and/or mainstream Canadian church.

i) < Religious Orientation by Church Affiliation: Korean vs. English Congregation>

Congregational Affiliation	No. of participants	Generation	Cultural Orientation	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Korean-language	3	1.5 = 3 2 nd = 0	KCO=3	Individualism = 97% (8.75/9) Collectivism = 3% (0.25/9)	Analytical = 88% (10.55/12) Holism = 12% (1.45/12)
English-language	4	1.5 = 1 2 nd = 3	KCCO=3 CCO=1	Individualism = 83% (10/12) Collectivism = 17% (2/12)	Analytical = 70% (9.85/14) Holism = 30% (4.15/14)
English-language (*Protestants only)	2	1.5 = 1 2 nd = 1	KCCO=1 CCO=1	Individualism = 83% (5/6) Collectivism = 17% (1/6)	Analytical = 94% (7.5/8) Holism = 6% (0.5/8)
Korean-English language	3	1.5 = 2 2 nd = 1	KCO=1 KCCO=2	Individualism = 100% (9/9) Collectivism = 0% (0/9)	Analytical = 98% (11.75/12) Holism = 2% (0.25/12)

First, the above table shows that all 3 of the participants affiliated with the Korean-language congregation of their local church were 1.5 generation KCO Christians, while there was a relatively balanced combination of 1.5 and second-generation KCO, KCCO and CCO Christians affiliated with the English-language and/or Korean-language congregations. In this respect, compared to the Korean Buddhist participants, the congregational affiliations of 1.5- and second-generation as well as monocultural (KCO/CCO) and bicultural (KCCO) Christian participants did not seem to be as sharply divided along linguistic lines. This may, in part, be due to the prevalence of Korean- and English-language parallel congregations in the Korean Protestant churches that could facilitate inter-congregational mobility. Such parallel congregations, as discussed in Chapter Two (see subsection “Rise of Western Buddhism”), are very rarely offered in the Korean Buddhist institutions in Canada.

Second, unlike the Korean Buddhist group, Korean Christian participants, especially the group of Korean Protestants, consistently exhibited significantly (and oftentimes dramatically) stronger degrees of individualistic and analytical orientations than relational collectivistic and holistic ones regardless of the

individual's prioritized ethnocultural orientation and congregational affiliation. This seems to suggest that the religious practices associated with both the Korean- and English-language Christian congregations generally compel practitioners to behave and think in ways that are characteristic of Western or North American culture. In comparison, Korean Buddhist participants exhibited religious orientations that mostly conformed to their prioritized and dominant cultural orientations, whether they were affiliated or associated with ethnic Korean Buddhist temples/centers or English-language Western Buddhist groups and practices. As such, the religious practices associated with both the Korean- and English-language Buddhist groups seem to act as vehicles through which practitioners are permitted to religiously express their prioritized cultural orientations.

(5) Nine out of the ten Korean Christian participants in this study self-identified as Christian (90% rate of frequency), compared to 13 out of the 20 (65% frequency rate) Korean Buddhist practitioners. The vast majority of the Korean Christian respondents who positively self-identified as Christian based their religious self-construals, in whole or in part, on individualistic factors. This suggests that individualistic self-representations are conducive, let alone antagonistic, to a positive Christian identity, which markedly contrasted with the Korean Buddhist group in which individualistic attitudes were found to be antagonistic to a positive Buddhist identity. This is likely reflective of the emphasis on exclusive religious membership and “dogmatic authority” (the belief that one's religion has the absolute truth) in Protestant (evangelical) Christianity and, in contrast, the lack of emphasis on exclusive religious membership in the Korean Buddhist tradition, as well as the traditional “*ehi passiko*” or “come see for yourself” liberal approach to proselytizing of Buddhism.

(6) If we classify by gender the total (frequency rate) scores of all Korean Christian participants in terms of their religious orientations, we are given the following table:

i) < Korean Christian Religious Orientations by Gender >

Gender.	No.	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Females	5	Individualism = 87% (13/15) Collectivism = 13% (2/15)	Analytic = 69% (12.5/18) Holism = 31% (5.5/18)
Males	5	Individualism = 98% (14.75/15) Collectivism = 2% (0.25/15)	Analytic = 98% (19.65/20) Holism = 2% (0.35/20)

As we can see from the above table, while both the male and female Korean Christian participants exhibited significantly stronger degrees of individualistic and analytical orientations than relational collectivistic and holistic ones, the male Christians showed higher levels of individualistic and analytical religious orientations than female Christians (98% vs. 87% and 98% vs. 69%, respectively). Both scores, however, were significantly higher than the individualistic and analytical orientations of their male Buddhist counterparts (58% and 41%) and female Buddhist counterparts (54% and 34%). This gender-based trend among the group of Korean Christian participants is also consistent with previous social psychological literature that has linked masculinity with individualism and femininity with collectivism.

(7) Finally, if we cross-compare the total scores in religious orientation of Korean Buddhist participants and Korean Christian participants, we are given the following table:

i) < Cross-Comparison of Religious Orientations: Korean Buddhists vs. Korean Christians >

Practicing Religion	No. of participants	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Buddhism	20	Individualism = 56% (33.5/60) Collectivism = 44% (26.5/60)	Analytical = 38% (26.40/69.5) Holism = 62% (43.1/69.5)

Christianity	10	Individualism= 93% (27.75/30) Collectivism= 7% (2.25/30)	Analytical = 85% (32.15/38) Holism = 15% (5.85/38)
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Table (i) shows that the Korean-Canadian Buddhist participants in this study exhibited significantly higher degrees of relational collectivistic attitudes (44%) and holistic cognitive habits (62%) in their approach to religion than did Korean-Canadian Christian participants (7% and 15% comparatively), who in turn showed much higher levels of individualistic (93%) and analytical orientations (85%) when doing religion than the Buddhists (56% and 38%, comparatively). In addition, the discrepancies in percentage points between I-C as well as between A-H within the Buddhist group were dramatically smaller (I-C and A-H discrepancies of 12% and 24%) than the same two discrepancies within the Christian group (I-C and A-H discrepancies of 86% and 70%, comparatively). As previously discussed, the relatively ‘balanced’ scores of Korean Buddhists seem to indicate that the Korean-Canadian Buddhist participant was relatively able to express ways of thinking and behaving when ‘doing’ religion that were characteristic of and proportionate to the ethnoculture(s) with which they closely identified – whether monocultural (i.e. identify more closely with either Korean culture or Canadian culture) or bicultural (i.e. identify equally with both Korean and Canadian culture) in character. On the other hand, the unilateral polarization in terms of the scores of Korean Christians appear to suggest that Protestant Christianity relatively encourages members to think and behave in ways that are characteristic of Western culture when ‘doing’ religion – regardless of the individual’s prioritized ethnocultural identity.

Along similar lines, if we cross-compare the total scores in religious orientations of the Christian-background Buddhist practitioners with those of the Christian participants, we are given the following table:

ii) < Cross-Comparison of Religious Orientations: Christian-Buddhists vs. Christians >

Religious Affiliation	No. of participants	Attitudinal Orientation	Cognitive Orientation
Christian-Background Buddhist Practitioners	7	Individualism= 77% (16.25/21) Collectivism= 23% (4.75/9)	Analytical = 60% (13/21.5) Holism = 40% (8.5/21.5)
Christians	10	Individualism= 93% (27.75/30) Collectivism= 7% (2.25/30)	Analytical = 85% (32.15/38) Holism = 15% (5.85/38)

Given that the Christian-background Buddhist participants were all raised in Christian homes and only began engaging in Buddhist practice in adulthood, it is reasonable to assume their religious backgrounds would significantly influence the ways in which they approach and ‘do’ other religions. As such, one would expect their religious orientations when ‘doing’ Buddhism to be relatively similar to the Korean Christian participants in this research. However, Table (ii) shows that Korean Buddhist practitioners of Christian background (Protestant and Catholic) exhibited *substantially* higher degrees of relational collectivistic and holistic religious orientations (23% and 40%, respectively) than their counterpart Christian participants (7% and 15%, respectively). If we additionally factor in the variable of cultural orientation, wherein 3 out of the 7 Christian-background Buddhists were members of the KCCO subgroup and 9 out of the 10 Korean Christian participants were members of either the KCO or KCCO subgroups, the higher collectivistic-holistic religious tendencies of the Christian-background Buddhist practitioners appears to be further evidence of the ‘culturally-conforming’ nature of Buddhist practice relative to Christian practices. However, it should be noted that 4 out of the 7 Christian-background Buddhist practitioners (57%) came from Roman Catholic backgrounds and 3 from Protestant ones (43%), compared to 2 Roman Catholics (20%) and 8 Protestants (80%) out of the 10 Christian participants. Given that studies have shown Roman Catholicism to be more relationally collectivistic in religious

orientation than Protestantism, my conclusions may be somewhat distorted and require further research and validation.

In addition, based on the predominance of individualistic-analytical religious orientations among the group of Korean Christian participants (93% and 85%, respectively) and the fact that the 7 Christian-background Buddhist practitioners exhibited significantly higher degrees of individualistic-analytical religious orientations (77% and 60%, respectively) relative to the rest of the Buddhist participants (44% and 28%, respectively), it is evident that vestigial religious elements have contributed to the religious orientations of the Christian-background Buddhists. These elements may additionally account for the fact that the only three Korean Buddhist participants – namely Bradley, Yemin, and Donald – that highlighted the soteriological end goal of Buddhism of enlightenment/awakening in their responses were of Christian background, and their responses were evocative of the *goal-oriented* approach of the vast majority of Korean Christian participants, for whom the ultimate destination of salvation and deliverance played an instrumental role in their religious practice. In contrast, Buddhist soteriology was not a prominent topic of discussion among any of the inherited Korean Buddhist participants, who rather highlighted the utilitarian value of religious practice and, in this respect, their religious approach was relatively *process-oriented*. One point of contrast between the three aforementioned Christian-background Buddhists and the Korean Christian participants, however, was the qualitatively different content of their analytical reasoning styles: While both groups ultimately based their justifications of belief on abstract rules and principles, the latter tended to privilege the *faith-based* principles of the Bible, while the former referred to the relatively *secular-based* rules and principles of modern science.

3. Concluding Remarks

The attitudinal and cognitive behaviour of Korean-Canadian Christian participants in this study was generally inconsistent with the cross-cultural theoretical framework as discussed in Chapter Two:

Whether the Christian participant identified more closely with Korean (Eastern) or Canadian (Western) culture or equally with both cultures – or whether the participant was affiliated with an ethnic Korean-language congregation or an English-language/mainstream Canadian one – the vast majority of Christian participants exhibited individualistic attitudes and analytical thought patterns when ‘doing’ religion. Based on this overall pattern, it can be argued that the Christian tradition, in particular the evangelical brand of Protestant Christianity, represents a belief system into which members are discouraged from infusing individual and culturally habitual ways of relating to the world around them. Instead, those who practice Christianity generally tend to act and think in ways that are characteristic of Western culture. This is in contrast to the Korean Buddhist participants, who generally exhibited patterns of thinking and behaving when doing religion that were consistent with the culture(s) with which they most closely identified, whether they were bicultural (equally “Korean” and “Canadian”) or mostly monocultural (singularly Korean/”more Korean’ or singularly Canadian/”more Canadian”) in nature; the religious practices of Buddhism – both those of the ethnic or non-ethnic Buddhist center/group – thus showed to be a belief system into which members were generally permitted to infuse and express their primary cultural ways of relating to the world around them.

The religious practices of the Christian religion – both those of the ethnic or non-ethnic church – therefore showed to be less resonant with East Asian/Korean culture compared to the religious practices of the Buddhist religion in Canada and, to this extent, Buddhism was able to “preserve” Korean ethnicity.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In **Chapter One** (Introduction), I introduced the reader to the topic of my research, which examined how ethnicity is preserved among the younger generation of Korean Buddhists in Canada on a social-psychological dimension. I subsequently located my research topic within the extant sociological research on immigrant Korean religions in North America.

I then discussed the main conceptual framework of the research. I explained that this study would be delimited to the “cultural” (third) function of ethnicity of promoting ethnic values in light of an emerging and complex social psychological theoretical model that contends that the worldview (values and beliefs) and concomitant cognitive patterns of East Asians (Koreans, Chinese, Japanese) markedly contrast with those of Westerners (Canada, U.S.). This theoretical construct also provided the researcher with the conceptual tools to further “flesh out” and develop the cultural dimension of ethnicity to include, among others, cultural cognitive patterns. Furthermore, I argued that the theoretical model was particularly appropriate and useful for my study of Korean Buddhists because it could accommodate individual practitioners of Buddhism who did not necessarily self-identify as Buddhist or actively participate in the religion at the institutional level.

I next discussed the research methodology of this study, including the scope, methods of participant recruitment and data collection, the qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis, and overall structural flow.

In **Chapter Two**, I presented a historical overview of Korean immigrant religions in North America, with a focus on Korean Buddhism in Canada, in order to locate the younger generation of Korean-Canadian Buddhists (and Korean-Canadian Christians) within the broader socio-religious and historical

context. In terms of overall structure, I divided this chapter into two broad sections: The first section mainly compared and contrasted the relatively less authoritarian and liberal religious nature of Korean Buddhism and Roman Catholicism with the highly authoritarian/evangelical and conservative religious nature of Korean Protestantism; and the second section compared and contrasted the relatively bicultural attitudes and tendencies of so-called 1.5-generation Koreans with the highly ‘Westernized’ attitudes and inclinations of 2nd-generation Koreans, which stemmed from their different socio-historical and cultural backgrounds.

In **Chapter Three**, I introduced the reader to the cross-cultural psychological theoretical framework of Individualism-Relational Collectivism/Analytical-Holism (I-C/A-H) on which the central thesis of this research is based. Specifically, I summarized the primary and relevant components of this theoretical model based on the scholarly writings of social and cultural psychologists such as Marilyn Brewer and Ya-Ru Chen, Richard Nisbett, Hazel Rose Markus, Shinobu Kitayama, and Ara Norenzayan. I provided the definitions of individualism and relational collectivism as well as analytical and holistic cognition based on the writings of these authors: I also provided the reader with the socio-historical evidence on which these social psychologists premised their model, followed by descriptions of some of the specific laboratory experiments they conducted that provided the empirical bases upon which the cross-cultural model was erected and developed. Most of the evidence and laboratory experiments chosen and cited in this chapter were ones that were specific to ethnic Koreans and Korean culture. I concluded this chapter by explaining that this I-C/A-H cross-cultural theoretical model provides the specific tools and an interpretive framework through which to measure the degree to which East Asian/North American culturally-conditioned attitudes and modes of perceiving and reasoning manifest themselves in the religious behaviour of Korean-Canadian Buddhist/Christian young adults. Hence, the degrees to which Korean ethnicity has been reinforced/preserved or undermined in terms of deep psychological patterns can be established using this method.

Chapter Four introduced individual case studies of twenty younger-generation Korean Buddhists based in Toronto and Ottawa. This chapter represented the first step of this study in responding to the primary research question: In what ways does Buddhism in Canada uniquely contribute to the reinforcement and/or undermining of Korean ethnicity at the level of underlying psychological patterns among the next generation of Korean Buddhists in Canada? Participants were categorized into one of three broad ethnocultural subgroups based on their cultural background stories, in particular their ethnic self-identities. These three ethnic categories were 1) Those who identified as exclusively Korean or “more Korean” (Korean Cultural Orientation or KCO), which consisted of seven members; 2) Those who identified as Korean and Canadian in relatively equal parts (Korean-Canadian Cultural Orientation or KCCO), which consisted of nine members; and 3) Those who self-identified as exclusively Canadian or “more Canadian” (Canadian Cultural Orientation or CCO), which consisted of four members. Consistent with the literature on 1.5- and 2nd-generation Korean immigrants in North America, the majority of the 1.5-generation Buddhist participants either exhibited a strong Korean cultural orientation (6 out of 11) or bicultural orientation (5/11) while 2nd-generation participants mostly exhibited either a strong bicultural (4 out of 9) or Canadian cultural orientation (4/9), with one second-generation member identifying more closely with Korean culture (1/9). In addition, as one might expect, the vast majority of 1.5 generation Korean Buddhist participants affiliated or associated themselves with an ‘ethnic’ Korean-language Buddhist temple/center while all of the 2nd-generation participants associated themselves with ‘Western’ English-language Buddhist groups. Hence, participants generally gravitated to Buddhist groups/centers/teachers whose cultural orientations reflected their own individual ones.

The religious orientations of participants from each group were then analyzed and evaluated in terms of the individualism-collectivism (I-C) and analytical-holism (A-H) attitudinal and cognitive binaries, respectively. These, in turn, were based on seven total criteria: three in terms of attitudinal approach to religion – self-representations, beliefs and values – and four in terms of cognitive approach to religion – (cosmological) event movement, causal attribution, mode of reasoning and conflict resolution. As a

heuristic device, quantitative methods were simultaneously employed: 1 point was allotted in favour of one of I-C/A-H, or in more nuanced cases partial marks for both aspects of the binary (e.g. 0.5 points each for individualism and collectivism) based on participants' responses. With exception of a few cases beyond my control, participants were subsequently scored on a 7-point scale.

The results of my qualitative and quantitative analysis showed that, with mean age and social class remaining relatively constant, the attitudes and cognitive processes of members of the KCO group when 'doing' Buddhism were consistently and prominently relationally collectivistic and holistic, respectively; those of the CCO group were consistently and prominently individualistic and analytical; and those of the KCCO group were relatively equally both relationally collectivistic and individualistic attitudinally, and holistic and analytical cognitively. In other words, participants who possessed strong Korean cultural orientations predominantly exhibited attitudes and perceptions closely associated with Korean/East Asian culture in their religious behaviour; participants who possessed strong Canadian orientations exhibited attitudes and cognitive behaviour characteristic of Western/Canadian culture in their approach to religion; and those who possessed strong Korean-Canadian bicultural orientations exhibited a blend of attitudes and cognitive behaviour characteristic of both Korean and Western cultures when 'doing' religion. In this regard, the ethnocultural orientations of the individual were generally reflected in the religious behaviour of the Buddhist participants.

I also explained these differences in religious orientations between the subgroups in more concrete terms. That is, the religious orientations of members of the 'Koreanized' group were characterized by a *trust* in something concrete – specifically, trust placed in the integrity of close relational others or in their own personal and lived experiences. For example, most of them self-identified as Buddhist primarily because their parents and grandparents were Buddhist; they largely deferred to their parents/local Buddhist monks and nuns for religious advice, motivation and knowledge; and they referred mostly to concrete personal experiences in interpreting and justifying their belief in the Buddhist worldview.

In contrast, the religious orientations of ‘Westernized’ Buddhists were markedly characterized by abstraction and intellectualization. For example, such participants were inclined to self-identify/refuse to self-identify as Buddhist based primarily on an agreement/disagreement with abstract Buddhist principles and/or the concept of institutional religion in general, primarily privileged the formalized and abstract teachings of authoritative texts on Buddhism in terms of religious advice, motivation and knowledge, and tended to refer to abstract rules, principles and laws in justifying their belief/skepticism.

Finally, the religious orientations of equally “Koreanized” and “Canadianized” participants were also significantly different from the above two subgroups. The religious behaviour of these prominently bicultural individuals was markedly governed by a heterogeneous mix of personal trust (in something concrete) and abstraction. In this regard, the data also served to highlight the fact that the term “younger-generation Korean Buddhist” is a multi-layered social construct within the Canadian milieu wherein inter-generational and sociocultural factors came to play defining roles in their differing religious orientations.

My conclusion therefore argued that Buddhism served as a culturally ‘accommodating’ religious vehicle through which prioritized individual cultural orientations and their concomitant characteristic ways of relating to the world around them were generally either *reinforced* or *infused*: In terms of the former, those who identified closely with Korean culture gravitated to ethnic Korean-language Dharma services where their approach to Buddhism was characteristically ‘Korean’; and those who identified closely with Canadian culture gravitated to Western English-language groups where their approach to the religion was characteristically ‘Canadian.’ In terms of the latter, an almost equal number of those who identified with both Korean and Canadian cultures gravitated to either an ethnic Korean-language Buddhist center/temple or Western English-language group; however, regardless of the ethno-linguistic nature of the Buddhist group to which they were associated, the majority religiously consistently behaved in ways that represented a balanced blend of both Eastern and Western cultural characteristics. As a result, rather than strictly functioning to promote or preserve the worldview and cognitive patterns

characteristic of a particular culture, Buddhism in Canada served to cater to the individual's particular cultural sensibilities, whether Eastern, Western or both Eastern and Western in orientation.

Three other prominent and noteworthy patterns emerged in this chapter that was related to the gender and religious background of participants. First, the overall frequency of relational collectivistic attitudes and cognitively holistic responses among female participants was decidedly higher than that of their male counterparts; conversely, the frequency of individualistic and analytical responses among male participants was notably higher than that of female participants. These gender-based attitudinal differences were resonant with previous social psychological case studies that linked relational collectivistic traits to femininity and individualistic characteristics to masculinity. However, such attitudinal and cognitive differences were especially pronounced and consistent among Buddhist participants who exhibited a strong Korean cultural orientation and were less salient among those with bicultural and strongly Canadian cultural orientations, indicating that Korean culture in particular encourages this kind of gendered orientation. Second, the fact that almost half of the Buddhist research participants in this study were of Christian or no religious background and all but one of them did not positively self-identify as Buddhist suggests that official Canadian statistics do not always capture the extent of the interest and participation in Buddhism among the population of next-generation Koreans in Canada. Third, inherited Buddhist participants exhibited higher degrees of relational collectivistic and holistic religious orientations compared to the Catholic 'converts,' who in turn exhibited higher degrees than the Protestant converts. In other words, the religious behaviour of both inherited Buddhist and Catholic participants was more consistent with traditional Korean ways of thinking and behaving than inherited Protestant Christians. This also suggests vestigial religious behaviour in view of previous social psychological literature that indicated Catholicism is a traditionally collectivistic and Protestantism an individualistic religion.

My analyses and conclusions did come with the caveat that the overall consistency between the cultural and religious orientations of the Korean Buddhist research participants may have been somewhat distorted by non-cultural factors, in particular the fact that nine out of the twenty Buddhist participants were ‘converts’ who grew up in non-religious (2 out of the 9), Roman Catholic (4/9) or Protestant (3/9) families and who turned to Buddhist practice in adulthood. Hence, the lack of a pre-established religious support network could have steered their attitudinal approach to Buddhism in an individualistic direction.

Chapter Five introduced individual case studies of ten younger-generation Korean Christians based in Toronto and Ottawa. This endeavour represented the second and final step of this study in responding to the primary research question: In what ways does Buddhism uniquely – in other words, relative to Christianity – contribute to the reinforcement and/or undermining of Korean ethnicity at the level of underlying psychological patterns among the next generation of Korean Buddhists in Canada? Korean Christian participants were likewise categorized into one of three broad ethnocultural subgroups based on their cultural background stories, in particular their ethnic self-identities: 1) Those who identified as exclusively Korean or “more Korean” (Korean Cultural Orientation or KCO), which consisted of four members; 2) Those who identified as Korean and Canadian in relatively equal parts (Korean-Canadian Cultural Orientation or KCCO), which consisted of five members; and 3) Those who self-identified as exclusively Canadian or “more Canadian” (Canadian Cultural Orientation or CCO), which consisted of one member. Similar to their Buddhist counterparts, 1.5-generation Christian participants either exhibited a strong Korean cultural orientation (4 out of 6) or bicultural orientation (2/6) while 2nd-generation participants exhibited either a strong bicultural (3 out of 4) or Canadian cultural orientation (1/4). In addition, the vast majority of 1.5-generation Korean Christian participants affiliated themselves with an ethnic Korean-language (evangelical Protestant) congregation and the majority of 2nd generation participants affiliated themselves with the English-language congregations of either an ethnic Korean or mainstream ‘Canadian’ (and usually evangelical Protestant) church. Hence, participants generally gravitated to congregations whose cultural orientations reflected their own individual ones.

The religious orientations of participants from each group were then analyzed and evaluated using the same criteria and methods as applied to the Buddhist group: the seven criteria in terms of individualism-collectivism (I-C) and analytical-holism (A-H) and, as a heuristic device, the quantification of their responses in which, with the exception of one individual, all participants were subsequently scored on a 7-point scale. The results of my qualitative and quantitative analysis showed that, with mean age and social class remaining relatively constant, the attitudes and cognitive processes of members of all three cultural subgroups – KCO, KCCO and CCO – when ‘doing’ Christianity were relatively and uniformly individualistic and analytical, respectively. In other words, participants consistently and predominantly exhibited attitudes and ways of perceiving and reasoning that were closely associated with Western/Canadian culture in their religious behaviour – regardless of whether they exhibited a strong Korean, Canadian or Korean-Canadian orientation and regardless of the ethnic nature/linguistic orientation of the church with which they were affiliated. In this regard, the ethnocultural orientations of the individual and religious institution did not generally influence the religious behaviour of Christian participants.

In more concrete terms, the predominant religious orientations of members of the Korean Christian group were characterized by abstraction and intellectualization. For example, they were inclined to self-identify/refuse to self-identify as Christian based primarily on agreement with Christian principles, privileged the formalized and abstract teachings of authoritative Christian texts such as the Bible in terms of religious advice, motivation and knowledge, and tended to recruit abstract rules, principles and laws in their interpretations and justification of belief in the Christian worldview. Hence, these results were overall inconsistent with the cross-cultural psychological frame of Individualism-Collectivism (I-C) and Analytical-Holism (A-H).

It was concluded, then, that Christianity, in particular evangelical Protestantism, relatively functioned as a culturally ‘moderating’ religious vehicle through which *a priori* individual cultural orientations and their concomitant characteristic worldviews and ways of thinking were generally steered

in the direction of Western characteristics. In this way, immigrant Korean Christianity largely promoted a Canadian/Western way of thinking and behaviour among its members and, in doing so, did not enhance or reinforce the traditional Korean cultural meaning system.

Similar to the group of Korean Buddhists, two other prominent patterns that emerged concerned the gender and religious backgrounds of participants: The overall frequency of attitudinally relational collectivistic and cognitively holistic responses among Christian female participants was decidedly higher than that of their male counterparts; conversely, the frequency of individualistic and analytical responses among male participants was generally higher than that of female participants. These gender-based attitudinal differences were consistent with previous social psychological case studies that linked relationally collectivistic traits to femininity and individualistic characteristics to masculinity. However, it was noted that these results may have been somewhat distorted by the fact two of the five female Christian participants were raised in the collectivistic faith tradition of Roman Catholicism.

In the final analysis, I addressed the primary research question: Does engagement in Buddhist practice and its belief system reinforce and preserve the traditional Korean/East Asian meaning system for the next generation of Korean practitioners of Buddhism in Canada? A cross-analysis of the psychological orientations of Korean Buddhist and Christian participants revealed that Buddhism in Canada (in both its ‘ethnic’ Korean and ‘Western’ forms) preserved traditional Korean cultural worldviews and ways of thinking insofar as it conformed to the degree to which the individual identified closely with Korean culture – that is, preservation was relatively commensurate to the individual’s *a priori* level of ‘Koreanness.’ In this way, it also served to undermine this meaning system in the case of those participants who were highly acculturated and identified more closely with Canadian than Korean culture. In contrast, Christianity (again, both the ethnic Korean and mainstream Canadian church) appeared to consistently undermine the Korean cultural meaning system for its younger Korean congregants insofar as it correlated with members behaving in a predominantly Western ‘way’ – in spite of the individual’s *a priori* cultural orientation.

The major conclusions of my research can thus be summarized as follows:

- The majority of both 1.5-generation Buddhist and Christian participants either exhibited a strong Korean cultural orientation or bicultural (Korean-Canadian) orientation; most 2nd-generation participants exhibited either a strong bicultural or Canadian cultural orientation
- Both Korean Buddhist and Christian participants who exhibited a strong Korean cultural orientation generally gravitated to traditionalist Buddhist groups/centers/teachers and Korean-language Christian congregations; those who exhibited a relative balance of both Korean and Canadian cultural orientations were almost split in terms of affiliation with traditional/modernist Buddhist groups and Korean/English language Christian congregations; and those who exhibited a strong Canadian cultural orientation generally gravitated to modernist Buddhist groups and English-language Christian congregations.
- Korean Buddhist participants who possessed strong Korean cultural orientations predominantly exhibited attitudes and perceptions closely associated with Korean/East Asian culture when ‘doing’ religion; those who possessed strong Canadian orientations exhibited religious attitudes and cognitive behaviour characteristic of Western/Canadian culture; and those who possessed strong Korean-Canadian bicultural orientations exhibited a blend of attitudes and cognitive behaviour characteristic of both Korean and Western cultures in their religious behaviour. These results were consistent with the I-C/A-H theoretical framework.
 - In contrast, Korean Christian (mostly Protestant) participants consistently and predominantly exhibited attitudes and ways of perceiving and reasoning that were closely associated with Western/Canadian culture in their religious behaviour – regardless of whether they exhibited strong Korean, Canadian or Korean-Canadian cultural orientations on a personal level. These results were inconsistent with the I-C/A-H theoretical construct.
- The religious orientations of Korean Buddhists who exhibited a strong Korean cultural orientation were predominantly characterized by a *trust* in something concrete; the religious orientations of those with a prominent Canadian cultural orientation were markedly characterized by *abstraction* and

intellectualization; the religious behaviour of those who showed equal levels of Korean and Canadian cultural orientations was characterized by a heterogeneous mix of personal trust (in something concrete) and abstraction.

- In contrast, the religious orientations of Korean Christians regardless of individual cultural orientation were largely characterized by abstraction and intellectualization.
- The term “younger-generation Korean Buddhist” is a multi-layered construct within the Canadian milieu in terms of religious psychological behaviour.
- Buddhism seemed to serve as a culturally ‘accommodating’ religious vehicle through which Korean Buddhist practitioners were allowed to express and infuse their prioritized individual cultural orientations when ‘doing’ religion.
 - In contrast, immigrant Korean Christianity, in particular evangelical Protestantism, seemed to function as a culturally ‘moderating’ religious vehicle through which Korean Christians, in spite of their individual cultural orientations, were generally steered to think and behave in ways characteristic of Western culture when ‘doing’ religion.
- Rather than strictly functioning to promote or preserve traditional Eastern/Korean cultural worldviews and thought habits, Buddhism in Canada (both ethnic Korean and Western institutions) served to both preserve and undermine this meaning system insofar as it catered to the Buddhist practitioner’s particular *a priori* cultural orientation – whether Eastern/Western/Eastern-Western in orientation.
 - In contrast, immigrant Korean Christianity in Canada (and mainstream Christianity) largely served to undermine the traditional Eastern/Korean cultural meaning system among the younger generation of Koreans by promoting behaviour and ways of thinking characteristic of Western culture.
- Female Korean Buddhist and Christian participants were overall more relationally collectivistic and holistic in their religious orientations than their male counterparts; conversely, male participants were more individualistic and analytical in their religious psychological orientations than female participants.

- These attitudinal and cognitive differences between genders were especially pronounced and consistent among Buddhist participants who exhibited a strong Korean cultural orientation and less salient among those with bicultural and strongly Canadian cultural orientations, suggesting that Korean culture in particular encourages this kind of gendered orientation..
- Almost half of the Buddhist practitioners in this study were ‘converts’ from non-Buddhist backgrounds who, for the most part, did not positively self-identify as Buddhist, indicating that official Canadian statistics sometimes may not fully reflect the level of interest and participation in Buddhism among the population of next-generation Koreans in Canada.
- The religious behaviour of both inherited Korean Buddhist and Catholic-background Buddhist practitioners was more consistent with traditional Korean ways of thinking and behaving than that of inherited Korean Protestant Christians in this study, suggesting the prominence of vestigial religious behaviour in view of previous social psychological literature that showed Catholicism is a traditionally collectivistic and Protestantism an individualistic religion.

There are a number of future research projects that could emerge from this study, which also reflect the limitations of this research. One of the original intentions of this research was to cast a wider geographic net and include a cross-regional analytical dimension by incorporating next-generation Korean Buddhists in Vancouver, home to the second largest population of ethnic Koreans in Canada, into the study. Due to limitations in time and financial resources and issues concerning project manageability, I was unable to realize this aspect of the project. I do hope to continue this area of research and eventually incorporate a cross-regional analytical dimension in a future research project. Furthermore, the geographic dimension could be extended to include a cross-national analysis between the religious orientations of younger-generation Korean Buddhist young adults in Canada and the United States that might highlight the unique cultural contributions of Canadian and American culture in this regard. In terms of ethnicity, a worthwhile and relevant endeavour might be a comparative study between the psychological orientations of younger-generation Korean and non-Korean Buddhists (e.g. Chinese Buddhists) in Canada, which could serve to highlight differences in degrees of acculturation to Western

cultures between members of the two ethno-religious groups. Finally, a natural progression to this study, which focused solely on the third functional characteristic of ethnicity of promoting ethnocultural values, would be to examine the younger generation of Korean Buddhists in Canada in terms of the other two functions of ethnicity (psychological sense of intimate peoplehood with ethnic group and confinement of social circle within same ethnic group). Such an undertaking would likely require different sets of theoretical models and methods in order to conduct a proper analysis.

There is an abundance of sociological literature on Korean immigrant religions that focuses on Korean Christianity, in particular in the United States, and the role it plays in terms of retention of ethnicity for both the first and next generation of Korean Christians. In comparison, while we have acquired a stronger understanding in recent years of the role of Korean Buddhist temples for the first generation of immigrant Korean Buddhists in America (and, albeit to a much lesser extent, Canada), we still have almost no understanding of the religious orientations of the subsequent younger generation of Korean Buddhists – both in Canada and the U.S. Hence, my research on the religious practices and beliefs of Korean Buddhist young adults represents, to my knowledge, the first comprehensive and in-depth study of this particular generational ethno-religious group in North America. My research also differs from most studies on religion, immigration and ethnocultural retention in general by focusing on a hitherto overlooked aspect of culture: the fundamental psychological patterns and processes that underlie and characterize particular cultures. That is, rather than examine whether the concrete symbols, rituals and peoples of certain ethno-religious institutions promote the individual member's subjective sense of "homeland" ethnicity, I focus on whether the abstract belief systems and practices of these groups promote psychological orientations that have been characteristically associated with the "homeland" culture. In this respect, I have shown that retention of ethnicity (at least its cultural dimension) through religious participation can also be measured in relatively objective terms and at the fundamental level of patterned ways of thinking and perceiving.

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APPENDIX I

SUMMARY DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE OF PARTICIPANTS

Table 1. Korean-Canadian Buddhist Practitioners

Name (Pseudonym)	Gender	Age	Date & place of interview	Generation	Cultural Identity	Religious Identity
Sa-In	F	28	April 14, 2012, Toronto	1.5	Korean	Buddhist
Ahn-song	F	26	November 16, 2012 (Questionnaire)	2 nd	More Korean	Buddhist
Soo-an	F	25	April 14, 2012, Toronto	1.5	Korean	Buddhist
Amy	F	39	May 13, 2012, Toronto	2 nd	Korean- Canadian	Buddhist
Jenna	F	32	February 19, 2013 (Questionnaire)	1.5	Korean- Canadian	Buddhist
Jeesoo	F	21	April 26, 2012, Toronto	1.5	Korean- Canadian	Buddhist
Hailey	F	34	May 12, 2012, Toronto	2 nd	Korean- Canadian	No religion
Leanne	F	35	May 3, 2012, Toronto	1.5	Korean- Canadian	Christian
Lisa	F	21	March 21, 2012, Ottawa	2 nd	More Canadian	No religion
Yemin	F	39	April 20, 2012, Toronto	2 nd	More Canadian	Christian- Buddhist- Hindu
Alissa	F	33	August 28, 2012 (Questionnaire)	2 nd	More Canadian	Christian (Catholic)
Jae-ju	M	41	May 3, 2012, Toronto	1.5	More Korean	Buddhist
Jaewon	M	25	April 14, 2012, Toronto	1.5	Korean	Buddhist
Timothy	M	25	April 26, 2012, Toronto	1.5	More Korean	Buddhist
Bomin	M	30	May 16, 2012, Toronto	1.5	Korean	Buddhist
Bruce	M	27	June 29, 2012, Toronto	1.5	Korean- Canadian	Buddhist
Mark	M	37	May 21, 2012, Toronto	2 nd	Korean- Canadian	Buddhist
Sungin	M	24	May 3, 2012, Toronto	1.5	Korean- Canadian	Catholic- Buddhist
Bradley	M	32	October 22, 2102 (Questionnaire)	2 nd	Korean- Canadian	No religion
Donald	M	32	April 9, 2012, Toronto	2 nd	Canadian	Atheist

Table 2. Korean-Canadian Christian Practitioners

Name (Pseudonym)	Gender	Age	Questionnaire Completion Date	Generation	Cultural Identity	Religious Identity
Noyun	F	30	February 12, 2013	1.5	More Korean	Christian (Protestant)
Wooje	M	31	January 5, 2013	1.5	More Korean	Christian (Protestant)
Jinsoo	M	37	January 17, 2013	1.5	More Korean	Christian (Protestant)
Dawon	M	29	February 11, 2013	1.5	More Korean	Christian (Protestant)
Janet	F	21	October 8, 2012	2nd	Korean- Canadian	Christian (Catholic)
Robert	M	32	February 10, 2013	1.5	Korean- Canadian	Christian (Protestant)
Meera	F	32	February 26, 2013	2 nd	Korean- Canadian	No religion
Abby	F	26	March 6, 2013	1.5	Korean- Canadian	Christian (Protestant)
Jang-Hyun	M	26	August 5, 2012	2 nd	Korean- Canadian	Christian (Protestant)
Cathy	F	28	February 19, 2013	2 nd	More Canadian	Christian (Protestant)

APPENDIX II

SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR KOREAN-CANADIAN BUDDHIST PRACTITIONERS

Cultural/Background Questions

1. What is your name, age, occupation?
2. Where were you born and where did you grow up? When did you immigrate to Canada?
3. How would you describe your economic class growing up and presently? Low/middle/high?
4. Do you identify ethnically as Korean, or Canadian, or Korean-Canadian, or other? Why?
5. How would you rate your Korean language skills and English language skills? Are you more comfortable speaking Korean or English? Why?
6. How would you describe the ethnicity of your close group of friends? For example, are they mostly ethnic Koreans, Asians or is it diverse? Why?
7. Do you “keep in touch” with Korea or Korean culture? For example, do you visit Korean-language Internet sites, travel to Korea often, engage in local Korean community events?

Religion Questions

8. Which religion do you identify with? Were you raised in a particular religion?
9. If you identify religiously as Buddhist, why? If you do not, why not?
10. How do you “practice” Buddhism? For example, do you attend a Buddhist temple/center, engage in an independent form of Buddhist practice, and so forth? Which form of practice do you emphasize and why?
11. What is your understanding of Buddhism and its teachings and how did you obtain this understanding?
12. Do you subscribe to the Buddhist worldview, such as its cosmological teachings concerning reincarnation and karma? If so, why? If not, why not?
13. What do you think of other religions? For example, are there any religions that you think are wrong? And do you think a person can be both Buddhist and a follower of another religion (e.g. Christianity) at the same time? If so, why? If not, why not?

APPENDIX III

SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR KOREAN-CANADIAN CHRISTIAN PRACTITIONERS

Cultural/Background Questions

1. What is your name, age, occupation?
2. Where were you born and where did you grow up? When did you immigrate to Canada?
3. How would you describe your economic class growing up and presently? Low/middle/high?
4. Do you identify ethnically as Korean, or Canadian, or Korean-Canadian, or other? Why?
5. How would you rate your Korean language skills and English language skills? Are you more comfortable speaking Korean or English? Why?
6. How would you describe the ethnicity of your close group of friends? For example, are they mostly ethnic Koreans, Asians or is it diverse? Why?
7. Do you “keep in touch” with Korea or Korean culture? For example, do you visit Korean-language Internet sites, travel to Korea often, or engage in local Korean community events?

Religion Questions

8. Which religion do you identify with? Were you raised in a particular religion?
9. If you identify religiously as Christian, why? If you do not, why not?
10. How do you “practice” Christianity? For example, do you attend a Christian church, engage in an independent form of Christian practice, and so forth? Which form of practice do you emphasize and why?
11. What is your understanding of Christianity and its teachings and how did you obtain this understanding?
12. Do you subscribe to the Christian worldview, such as its cosmological teachings concerning salvation and heaven-hell? If so, why? If not, why not?
13. What do you think of other religions? For example, are there any religions that you think are wrong? And do you think a person can be both Christian and a follower of another religion (e.g. Buddhism) at the same time? If so, why? If not, why not?