

Brief History of Korean Diaspora and Educational Issues of Korean Diaspora Churches

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According to the Overseas Koreans Foundation (OKF, 2010) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2010), Korean governmental organizations, approximately seven million Koreans, or about ten percent of the population of the Korean peninsula, live and work outside the peninsula as of 2009. Compared to the six million of 2001 (Choi, I., 2003; OKF, 2010), the number has increased by approximately one million. However, this number has decreased by about 220,000 from 2007. Unlike other ethnic diasporas, there are more than 5,000 Korean diaspora churches throughout the world for these seven million Koreans living abroad. However, several questions are raised about this number: Are they all first-generation Koreans, or do they include the 1.5, second, and third generations? Do they retain a Korean identity or not? What is their relationship with Korea?

The purpose of this article is threefold. First, this study traces the brief historical development of the Korean diaspora. Second, this article seeks to understand the Korean diaspora and its churches from the perspective of the educational system rather than from a missiological perspective. Third, the study searches out the current educational issues among Korean diaspora churches and the role of these churches within the Korean diaspora community.

While many scholars (Abelmann & Lie, 1995; Chai, 1998; Choi, 2003; Cohen, 1997; Kim, H.C., 1977; Lee, 2005; Park, 2005; Ryang, 2009; Safran, 1991) have defined “diaspora” and its terminologies within their respective disciplines (biblical studies, theology, missiology, sociology, among others), the scope of this article does not allow for an in-depth consideration of these various studies of diaspora as a concept and phenomenon. However, the author will rely on the *Encyclopedia of Diaspora* (2005), one of the best collections on regional diasporas, that shows historical studies on each national diaspora, including the Korean diaspora, for basic concepts and definitions.

A Brief History of the Korean Diaspora

Because Korea as a nation is surrounded by three powers—China, Japan, and Russia—Korea has been a battleground for political powers throughout its history. Due in part to this unfortunate background, Koreans had the impetus to scatter throughout the world and became a significant diaspora people. Unlike the Chinese or Japanese diasporas, Koreans built churches wherever they went and became engaged largely in evangelizing their own people and their neighbors. They also built Korean language schools for the diaspora community, both within and outside the church.

In describing diasporas in different countries, Koreans use different terms to refer to diasporas in each country or region: (1) “Dongpo” for Koreans in Japan, (2) “Joshunjok” for Koreans in China, (3) “Komerican or Kyopo” for Koreans in the United States; “Komerican” was used for a while but now “Kyopo” is the preferred term, (4) “Anykkang” for Koreans in Mexico, “Anykkang” came from “Henequen,” (5) “Koryein” for Koreans in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), (6) “Jaewekookmin” or “Kyopo” for Koreans in other countries such as Brazil, German, Australia, New Zealand, and Europe.

As of 2009, there are 6.8 million overseas Koreans, scattered across 151 countries. There are 24 countries with more than 2,000 ethnic Koreans, and 15 countries with more than 10,000. Up to the year 2001, overseas Korean communities were concentrated in 5 countries, each with more than 100,000 ethnic Koreans. These were the United States, China, Japan, the CIS, and Canada, which together accounted for 5.3 million, or 93 percent, of all overseas Koreans. However, from 2005, the top 5 countries became China, the United States, Japan, Australia, and Canada. Interestingly, from 2007, the number of Koreans in China has decreased from 2,762,160 to 2,336,771, which is a decrease of 15.4 percent. Thus, the total number of diaspora Koreans from 2007 to 2009 has decreased slightly from 7,044,716 to 6,822,606, a decrease of about 3.15 percent. See Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1: Expansion of the Korean Diaspora, 1991–2009¹

Year	Number of Overseas Koreans
1991	4,832,414
1995	5,228,573
1999	5,644,229

1. Source: Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade site at <http://www.mofat.go.kr/main/index.jsp> (accessed October 19, 2010).

2001	5,653,809
2005	6,638,338
2007	7,044,716
2009	6,822,606

Periods of Korean Diaspora History

Different scholars (Lee, J. K., 1998; Nam, 2010) differentiate historical periods by region and country. The following historical divisions are generally accepted among scholars.

1. Before the Japanese Annexation (1860–1910)

In 1860, many Koreans moved to Manchuria, China, due to a famine in Korea. On December 22, 1902, 121 Koreans left for Hawaii from Busan harbor and landed in Honolulu, Hawaii, on January 13, 1903. Within 3 years, 7,226 Koreans moved to Hawaii (Kim, H.C., 1977). On April 2, 1905, 1,033 Koreans left from Incheon harbor headed for the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico as labor immigrants, and they landed in Salina Cruz, Mexico (Lee, J. K., 1998; Yonhap News, 2005). On March 11, 1921, 291 people out of this group left for Cuba from Mexico. During this period, Koreans dispersed mainly for economic reasons.

2. During the Japanese Annexation (1910–1945)

During the period of Japanese annexation, groups of Koreans were sent to Japan and Central Asia. The first group moved out of Korea voluntarily to Vladivostok, Russia, for political reasons. They were defectors and refugees who escaped Korea in order to avoid Japanese rule. However, in 1937, they were sent to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kirgizstan by the Russian government, under the suspicion of spying on Russia for Japan. They are the “Koryein” of CIS now (Kim, G. N., 2005). The second group of Koreans was sent to Japan. More than 670,000 Korean men were sent to Hokkaido, Japan, and Karafuto Prefecture (now Sakhalin, a part of Russia) for civilian labor to work in Japanese mines. Young men were sent to the Japanese military for World War II, and young Korean women were sent to the battlefield as “comfort women.” More than 3 million Koreans were sent here and there by the Japan government (Ryang, 2005).

3. *During the Confusion Period (1945–1962)*

The confusion period includes Independence (1945), the Korean War (1950-1953), the 4.19 Revolution in 1962, and the new immigration law (1962). On August 15, 1945, Korea gained independence from Japanese rule. Many Korean chose to move during this tumultuous period. After the Korean War, some prisoners of war (from both South Korea and North Korea) left for other countries (Brazil, India, and other countries) rather than facing repatriation to Korea. Also, many orphans were adopted and went to the United States and European countries including Scandinavia. Many Korean women married American soldiers, about 6,000 Korean students, and thousands of medical doctors left for the United States from 1945 to 1965 (Kim, H.C. 1977).

4. *New Immigration Period (1962–present)*

Since the Korean government passed the new “foreign country immigration law” in February 1962, this period is called the new immigration period. Prior to this period, most immigration was not voluntary. On February 12, 1963, 107 Koreans (17 families) left for Brazil, landing in Santos. This was the starting point of the South America Korean diaspora. In Paraguay, 95 people arrived in April of 1965. On October 14, 1965, 78 Koreans (13 families) landed in Argentina. Immigration to South America was for agricultural reasons, but it was not successful (Nam, 2010). The most preferred country was the United States, and many Koreans settled there and in Canada with the goal of gaining an education for themselves and their children, the so-called “Blue Dream” (Abelmann & Lie, 1995).

Beginning in 1963, 8,395 Korean miners went to Germany over 15 years; and beginning in 1965, 10,371 Korean nurses went to Germany over 13 years (Kim, H.C. 1977). Then, many Koreans left for European countries and settled there. When Australia (1969) and New Zealand (1991) changed their immigration policies, many Koreans began to move to these two countries. As a result, by 1971, 468 Koreans were in Australia and by 1991, 903 Koreans were in New Zealand (Doerr, 2007).

Korean Diaspora Populations by Regions

The question of “how many Koreans are there in the world today?” may be easily answered by the data of the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (<http://mofat.go.kr>). Every year, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade reveals the data of Korean diaspora populations. Table 2, below, shows the Korean diaspora populations by region and

country. Since the concepts and definitions of “diaspora” have changed over the years and are still being studied and debated among scholars and experts (Choi, 2003, p. 9), some scholars (Choi, 2003; Kim, 2005) still raise the issue as to whether it is appropriate “to say that there is a Korean Diaspora just because there are many Koreans living outside the Korean peninsula.” Since today’s notion of diaspora is normally used casually in a way of describing a dispersion of people of a common national origin, based upon that notion there are about 7 million Koreans living outside the Korean peninsula. See Table 2, Korean Diaspora Populations by Regions. However, the population of the two Koreas (South and North) today amounts to about 70 million, according to available Korean government statistics.

Table 2: Korean Diaspora Populations by Region²

Region	Country	2005	2007	2009	&	Increase Rate (%)
Sum Total		6,638,338	7,044,716	6,822,606	100	-3.15
Asia, Oceania	Total	3,590,411	4,040,376	3,710,553	54.39	-8.16
	Japan	901,284	893,740	912,655	13.38	2.12
	China	2,439,395	2,762,160	2,336,771	34.25	-15.4
	Other	249,732	384,476	461,127	6.76	19.94
America	Total	2,392,828	2,341,163	2,342,634	35.65	3.91
	USA	2,087,496	2,016,911	2,102,283	30.81	4.23
	Canada	198,170	216,628	223,322	3.27	3.09
	Other	107,162	107,624	107,029	1.57	-0.55
Europe	Total	640,276	645,252	655,843	9.61	1.64
	CIS	532,697	533,976	537,889	7.88	0.73
	Europe	107,570	111,276	117,954	1.73	6
Mid. East	Total	6,923	9,440	13,999	0.2	48.29
Africa	Total	7,900	8,485	9,577	0.14	12.87

The Korean Diaspora Educational System

Many scholars (including John Westerhoff III) see education as a process of socialization and assimilation. The author sees the issues of education and an educational system as being crucial for the Korean diaspora. In Japan, according to Sonia Ryang (2005), there are two

2. Source: Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade site at <http://www.mofat.go.kr/main/index.jsp> (accessed October 19, 2010).

assimilative patterns among diaspora Koreans who are educated in Japanese schools. As a first pattern, “children hide, are unaware of, or are not concerned with their Korean ethnic heritage and pass socially as Japanese using Japanese names” (p. 977). The second pattern of assimilation is “Korean children who attend Japanese schools, yet use their ethnic names and do not hide their ethnic heritage” (p. 977). Another, entirely different pattern can be seen among Korean children who are educated in Korean schools, that is, mainly Chongryun schools. Chongryun schools were founded for political reasons, cultivating loyalty toward North Korea and its leadership. Such an education system was made possible because Chongryun registered with the Japanese Educational Department.

In the United States, according to the author’s observation and the research of other scholars, Koreans are very faithful and education oriented for their children, and build churches and Korean language schools wherever they go. Kyeyoung Park (2005) indicates, “Korean-Americans have shown high levels of educational attainment. For instance, 5% of Harvard University students are Korean-American despite the fact that only 1 of 260 persons in the USA is Korean-American. One study demonstrates that Korean-Americans’ educational and career choices reflect not only immigrant parents’ goals/attitudes and strategies/investments, but also those of the entire Korean-American community (Kim, 1993, p. 224).” Korean-American parents are very education oriented and they believe that “education is the path to the American dream” (Park, 2005, p. 999). Even many Korean immigrant parents “hold high, and sometimes unrealistic, expectations toward their children’s educational achievement” (Park, 2005, p. 999). Not only Korean parents but also “community organizations, private institutions, and ethnic media further reinforce such educational objectives” (Park, 2005, p. 999).

Korean Diaspora Churches and Education

Among diaspora Koreans, there are several educational systems to promote Korean interests, language and culture for their children: Korean schools, higher-education institutes, language schools, cultural centers, Sunday schools among Korean diaspora churches, Korean Students All Nations (KOSTA), Jesus Awakening Movement for America/All Nations (JAMA), and other NGO or religious organizations. The first four institutions are supported or operated by the Korean government while others are supported or administered by local Korean diaspora churches or local Christian communities.

Throughout the world, there are 5,469 Korean diaspora churches; 2,111 Korean language schools; 30 Korean schools in 15 countries with

10,769 students and 1,112 teachers; 34 Korean higher-education institutes in 14 countries for 6,822,606 diaspora Koreans; 2,111 Korean language schools with 128,046 students, and 14,870 teachers; and 13 Korean cultural centers in 9 countries with 16 staff members. All of these churches, schools, and organizations try to provide educational service for diaspora Koreans and their children in various ways.

Table 3: Korean Diaspora Educational System by Regions

Region	Korean School			Higher Education Institute			Language School			Cultural Center	
	# of Schools	Teachers (from Korea)	Students (class)	# of Institutes	Staff	Korean Diaspora	# of Schools	Teachers	Students	# of Org.	Staff
Asia	22	891 (33)	10,292	14	20	3,710,553	335	2,520	25,562	4	5
N. America	*	*	(447)	7	8	2,325,605	1,059	9,661	58,543	2	3
M. S. America	3	43 (1)	*	3	3	107,029	72	592	4,268	*	*
Europe CIS	1	9 (1)	486 (33)	10	11	655,843	604	1,810	37,996	7	8
Africa M. East	4	16 (4)	90 (8)	*	*	23,576	41	287	1,377	*	*
Total	15 cntry; 30 schl	968 (53)	94 (24)	14 cntry; 34 inst	42	6,822,606	2,111	14,870	128,046	9 cntry; 13 org	16

*Korean School (Teachers), Students, Classes: As of September 2009. Korean Diaspora: Korean Foreign Affairs Office, as of July 2009.

*The Korean Diaspora Educational System
as Generational Differences*

All of these educational institutions have the same goal for the Korean diaspora even though they have different contents and methods to educate the next generation. Korean churches in the United States offer various educational programs such as language courses, SAT classes, summer vacation schools, and tutoring systems – each with their own set of criticisms regarding attitudes and strategies within the communities (Park, 2005, p. 999). Regardless, the churches remain steadfastly active in educational activities. The Confucian traditions that pertain to the elements of duty, respect, and protection pervade the workings of the church in their educational curriculum or activities. Korean diaspora churches place a heavy emphasis in practicing traditions and rituals, preserving hierarchy, and financially supporting different types of educations such as Sunday schools, Korean language schools, JAMA, and even KOSTA. Korean language schools mainly teach Korean language and traditions and integrate these emphases into other programs such as taekwondo and music for 1.5 and second-generation Koreans living abroad. Many Korean children attend Korean language schools dutifully as their parents oblige their children to participate and learn their ethnic heritage.

Already mentioned are several institutions that educate younger Koreans. Among them, KOSTA and JAMA differ from most other Korean organizations. KOSTA reaches out mainly to the Korean international students in their respective host countries, and uses local Christian workers as well as local pastors to train volunteers and staff for their outreach ministry. These activities have in turn become venues through which to educate and minister the Korean diaspora as well. As opposed to KOSTA, JAMA reaches out to 1.5 and second-generation Koreans living abroad. JAMA is more focused on educational programs than on outreach ministries since they train staff and leaders, including high school students as well as college students mainly from the second generation.

With the exceptions of KOSTA and JAMA, Korean churches focus on training and educating 1.5 and second-generation children of immigrants. In the West, most second-generation Koreans are less concerned with hierarchical, formal structures and processes inculcated to them by the Korean church. Instead, they stress Christian ethics and evangelism. Second-generation Koreans think individualistically. Christianity, to them, becomes an achieved characteristic that comes through “accepting Jesus Christ as one’s personal savior.” Ethnic particularism binds first-generation congregation members, who follow the mainline,

ascribed model of recruitment. In contrast, second-generation Koreans choose evangelical Christianity as the basis of their identity, not the Korean culture and language (Park, 2005, p. 309).

These generational differences can be attributed to several factors. First, the types of challenges that one faces vary according to one's stage in life differs. The ministry needs of people in their twenties differ from those in their forties and fifties. Thus, age and circumstances are factors. Second, resources and comfort levels are another set of factors. The options for first-generation Koreans are limited because of their immigrant status and concomitant elements that come with it, such as a lack in skills in English fluency and American social networking. In contrast, members of the second generation can choose from more organizational options. Their comfort zone is not restricted to ethnic organizations. Third, in many cases, the generations have had separate religious education and experiences. More often, churches would have separate worship programs. First-generation Koreans held services in the mother tongue through which other Korean immigrants join and became converted the Christian faith. Their children, conversely, learned in English and participated in a community that appeared more Western than Eastern.

The result was two different Christian educational systems in which the second generation essentially received teachings different from that of their parents, and parents had little direct involvement in what was being taught to their children. Most second-generation children did not grow up worshipping with their parents. The same church did not result in the same experiences but two separate ones. Thus, religious experiences were not common discussion points (Chai, 1998, p. 297).

Current Issues of the Korean Diaspora for Further Research

One version of a popular saying among Koreans is: "When the Chinese go abroad, they open a restaurant. When the Japanese go abroad, they open a factory. When the Koreans go abroad, they start a church" (Chai, 1998, p. 297). Indeed, diaspora Koreans have built many churches throughout the world. The Korean Christian Herald publishes a directory of Korean diaspora churches every year. According to this directory, there are 5,469 Korean diaspora churches in 130 countries as of December 31, 2009 (please note that the author believes that this number is modestly calculated):

*Table 4: Korean Diaspora Churches by Region
(as of December 31, 2009)*

Area	Asia	N. America	M/S America	Oceania	Europe	Africa	Total
countries	19	3	16	4	23	8	130
churches	311	4,479	162	215	291	11	5,469

Diaspora Koreans built their own churches and communities, and created many Korean language schools. Korean second and third generations are now the products, heirs and successors to these institutions. Yet, the transition was not complete or easy. There were many issues which required thoughtful investigation and action. Since these issues are all related, it is meaningful to deal with them collectively: (1) the contemporary definition of diaspora, (2) the confusion of Identity: Korean, or American, Komerican, or Korean-American, (3) the assimilation of diaspora Korea and the role of Korean diaspora churches, (4) the diaspora and multiculturalism, (5) the theological issues among diaspora Koreans, and (6) the future of Korean diaspora churches.

Contemporary Definition of Diaspora

William Safran (1991), thus, posits six criteria about the definitions of the diaspora: (1) history of dispersal; (2) desire for an eventual return to the homeland; (3) ongoing support of the homeland; (4) the existence of myths and memories of the homeland; (5) a collective identity defined by the community's relation to the homeland; and (6) a feeling of alienation from the host country.

Robin Cohen (1997) also mentions nine criteria for a diaspora to come into existence:

1. A diaspora is formed either by dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to foreign regions;
2. Alternatively, from the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions (p. 26);
3. A collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history and achievements;
4. An idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective approbation - seem to apply to all immigrants;
5. The development of a return movement that gains collective approbation;
6. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustaining over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate;

7. A troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
8. A sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement;
9. The possibility of a distinctively creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism is different from the other criteria and deserves comment.

John A. Armstrong (1976) distinguishes between two types of diaspora: the elite (mobilized diaspora) and the exploited (proletarian diaspora) (pp. 394-408).

The author raises the following question: "How many categories can be applied to diaspora Koreans and churches from Cohen's criteria?" The author defines diaspora persons as those who (1) left their homeland and live in a foreign land or were born in foreign countries as second generation, (2) keep their culture, language, or at least have respect or pride their culture and heritage, (3) keep their Korean last names, or Korean heritages, and (4) have identity of dual citizenship or have lost their motherland citizenship. Then, Korean immigrants or the second generation can be identified as diaspora Koreans. Beside these criteria, "desire to return to homeland" can be added for first generation or their descendants, a characteristic that is similar to the Jewish experience demonstrated in the Old Testament.

*Confusion of Identity:
Korean-American (USA) and Koryein(CIS)*

This issue is related with the previous issue of definition. The concept and definition of diaspora has changed over the years and are still being studied and debated by many scholars and experts (Choi, 2003, p. 9). Who are members of the Korean diaspora? Is it ethnically determined or is it determined by citizenship? How many generations does it take for a person to remain a part of the diaspora? Are members of the diaspora "pure Koreans?" How do we need to interpret or handle ethnic Koreans who argue, "I am not Korean; I am American (Canadian, Australian, Chinese, Japanese, etc.)"? What's the difference between a simple immigrant and a member of a diaspora community. This is the reason Choi (2003) raises the question, "Does the Korean diaspora exist?"

In addition, some further considerations must be made if one asks, what is the relationship between a church and a person's identity? Should Korean diaspora churches be Korean identity-formation centers? If so, do they keep the dream of returning to the homeland? Do they

maintain their collective identity, cultural beliefs and practices, or language?

According to Kyeyoung Park's observation (2005), there are different approaches to the identity issue among Korean-American generations in the United States. The identity issue was not important for most first-generation diaspora Koreans because they see themselves as Koreans in America or transnational Koreans in close connection with their homeland. Identity becomes a serious issue for second-generation Koreans, who often run into the contradictory dual identity of being Korean as well as American. Within the Korean-American community, most of the discussion on the identity question has been generated with regard to the 1.5 generation. This term refers to those Koreans who were born in Korea and immigrated to America during childhood or at least during their high school period. It is limited to those who are bilingual and bicultural (p. 1003).

Interestingly, identity issues among all three generations of diaspora Koreans (Koryein) in Russia and Central Asia are different from Korean-Americans. According to Nikolaevich Kim (2005), a German citizen, all three generations of Koryein in Central Asia had almost the same experience regardless of their generations. Their historical experiences have shown one characteristic feature of the Korean diaspora in CIS and Russia:

their special ability to adapt to new ecological, economic, and sociocultural conditions. Koryein adapted several times in Russia and in Central Asia, in all cases achieving considerable success in creating opportunities for themselves.... The first generation of Koryein tried as quickly as possible to adapt to the new living conditions of the tsarist empire and later of Soviet Russia. The second generation did not have time to taste the first fruit of their labor in the new lands. They were forced to repeat the mission of the previous first generation, to adapt to a new land, Central Asia. They had to settle in new lands, thousands of kilometers away from the home they left. The third generation has also turned out to be pioneering because they were forced to adapt to the new sovereign states of the post-Soviet area, such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Russia. They are Koreans on one hand, and they have much in common with Koreans on the both parts of Korean peninsula. On the other hand, they are very much different from other Koreans; over the last century and a half, they have undergone many changes in their mentality, ethnic identity, language, customs, cuisine, and even appearance, 1989). Koryein have never tried to hide their ethnic origin and when asked about their nationality, answer, 'Korean.'" (p. 991)

Even those Central Asian countries use "Korean" in their nationality section of their passports for Korean diaspora.

Assimilation Process of Korean Diaspora in the USA

John Westerhoff (1987), a Christian-education scholar, sees education as religious socialization; later, he used this concept as “enculturation” (1987). The process of education is understood as a process of assimilation toward the host countries’ culture and societies. Assimilation, for the purpose of this study, is defined as integration of the members of an ethnic minority into the majority cultural group. The concept of assimilation as a process rather than a product involves establishing criteria for measuring the dynamic aspect of such social interaction. The term “assimilation” in this study shall refer to “the gradual process whereby cultural differences tend to disappear.” The notion of assimilation is thus opposed to that of differentiation or of separation. When we speak of assimilation, we mean the process of constant interaction of cultural elements of divergent groups. Theoretically, assimilation involves change in the basic structure of any two or more cultures that come into contact (Yu, 1977, pp. 167-168).

Korean diaspora churches and educational systems (Korean language school, KOSTA, and JAMA) seem to be mainly focused on teaching Korean nationalism and Korean-ness. They do not necessarily teach unity in diversity. They seem to go against assimilation or at least they became a hindrance to assimilation and integration with the host countries and majority culture. According to the research by Mark Mullins (1987), mono-ethnic churches become multicultural churches eventually.

This produces a tension between nationalism versus universalism and globalization. These Korean diaspora educational movements, ministries, and outreach resemble Jewish Zionism, which has produced anti-Semitic reactions among many nations throughout world history. Korean diaspora churches and educational systems must be careful to avoid Zionistic tendencies in order to prevent resistance movements against the Korean diaspora community.

Future of Korean Diaspora Churches in the USA

Korean diaspora churches, as ethnic churches, have historically been an integral part of American life for immigrant groups. Beginning with the very first Korean plantation workers who arrived in Hawaii in 1903, the church has been the focal point of the Korean immigrant community. Its initial prominence can be attributed to the fact that 40 percent of the early immigrants to Hawaii were either Christian upon arrival or had at least been exposed to Christianity in Korea (Min, 1992).

Later Korean immigrants, half of whom were Christian prior to arrival, reinforced the tradition established by the early Korean immi-

grants (Hur & Kim, 1984). The fact that some 25 percent of non-Christian Korean immigrants affiliate with Korean churches after arriving in America further bolsters the church's prominence in the Korean-American community (Hur & Kim, 1990). The practical needs met by the ethnic church fall into four categories, all of which would be appealing even to nonbelievers: (1) fellowship, (2) conservation of cultural tradition, (3) social services, and (4) social status and positions (Min, 1992).

First, churches bring individuals together, binding them into a community with regular face-to-face interaction and rituals. Second, the church helps immigrants maintain their cultural traditions. Furthermore, immigrants hope to pass down the Korean culture to their children by enrolling them in church-sponsored Korean language and culture programs. For many Korean-American children, church is the only place where they can meet other children with the same cultural heritage. As a result, Christianity and Korean-ness often become very closely associated in their lives (Chai, 1998, p. 298). Third, the church provides social services for members. Pastors and leaders counsel members on matters such as family relations, employment, housing, health care, and education. Church members exchange information on those issues as membership provides access to a well-established personal network that can yield helpful tips and opportunities (p. 299). Fourth, the ethnic church plays an important role in satisfying the needs for social status, prestige, power, and recognition within the immigrant community (p. 299).

Kwang Chung Kim and Shin Kim (1996) observe that most "grown-up" second-generation Korean-Americans do not attend their parents' church, even if they reside in the same city. As a result, many of these immigrant churches are gradually transforming from a "church of family members" into a "church of parents" (p. 14). According to some estimates, 90 percent of post-college Korean-Americans are no longer attending church (Cha, 1994). In the near future, a whole generation of Korean-Americans will be lost through "the silent exodus" (Song, 1994). He terms it an "exodus" because the number of those exiting is "staggering." In addition to the language and cultural barriers between the generations, there is a problem of "ownership" (Song, 1994, p. 1).

Mark Mullins (1987) presents an ideal-typical model of an ethnic church's development to secure survival. During the first stage of an ethnic church's evolution, the church is dominated by the language and clergy from the country of origin. However, the church soon encounters dilemmas primarily related to the tension between language and culture in the old and the new societies. As members age and their descendants become structurally assimilated into the host society, the unique language and social needs that motivated the first generation are no longer relevant. In response, the church must develop new goals. Mul-

lins believes that, even if congregations do not consciously modify their original goals, the process of accommodating English-speaking members and mixed marriages will eventually lead to their transition from “mono-ethnic” to “multiethnic” congregations (p. 301).

This model implies that the solution to the silent exodus is the transition from a monolingual immigrant church to a second stage with a bilingual minister who also conducts English-language services. The third and final stage of Mullin’s model is a monolingual congregation that has been de-ethnicized and transformed into a multiethnic church. By adapting to the inevitabilities of assimilation, the church can insure survival.

Conclusion

While this study did not include a detailed history on the Korean diaspora, it does suggest a course of action for the study of Korean diaspora communities with their churches, educational centers, and movements. The implications of this short study suggest the following issues that affect the Korean diaspora and churches.

The Korean diaspora and its churches must grapple with the issue of nationalism that is akin to Jewish Zionism, especially in the light of God’s universal plan of salvation for all nations (Gen 12:1-4; Matt 29:19-20). This is in fact a theological issue. The diaspora communities must construct a theology of community, purity, and social solidarity (Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, 2002, p. 145). The diaspora communities ought to approach educational ministries from a theological and missiological perspective.

Other issues such as the following need to be addressed: (1) tensions and conflicts between nationalism and universalism, isolation and assimilation/integration, and Korean-ness and assimilation; (2) lack of unity in diversity; (3) How the first generation lives a marginalized life in host countries; and (4) How to foster nationalism or universalism/globalization.

Korean family’s zeal for providing prestigious education for children produced so-called the “girogi-gajok” (wild-geese family) syndrome. This, however, is classified as a transnational family system rather than as being part of the Korean diaspora. For fathers work in Korea and send their wives and children to English-speaking countries (USA, Canada, England, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines). The proliferation of the wild-geese families has produced many concerns, such as dysfunctional families, separated families, or even broken families. Throughout Korean history, education has been the main way for families to move up in the social ladder. Children who have studied in English-speaking

countries for only a year are able to gain advantages when they return to Korea. In this highly competitive education system, transnational families, "GirogieGajok," have a strong desire to reproduce class privileges and achieve upward mobility in the next generation.

As Mark Mullins (1987) suggested the future of ethnic churches, Korean diaspora churches are able to adopt the processes of becoming Asian churches (multiethnic church) from Korean churches (mono-ethnic church). The role and tasks of Korean diaspora churches need to go beyond the Korean boundary as a faith community, educational center, identity-formation center, as well as evangelism and mission center. In closing, Korean Diaspora churches need to avoid narrow Korean nationalism, avoid anti-Koreanism, and broaden universalism for salvation and God's kingdom. Korean Diaspora churches need not only to help children to keep their heritage and tradition, but also to make global citizens, citizens of God's Kingdom, and a global community.

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