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# 1 Introduction

The Korean diaspora is one of the most extensive diasporas in the world and can in respect to the remaining population in the country of origin be viewed as the largest diaspora in East Asia. The number of Koreans outside of the Korean peninsula is estimated at seven million individuals, among whom around one hundred thousand live inside of the European Union. What started over half a century ago through guest worker programs and attracted young, poor Koreans to work as miners or nurses is now largely uncoupled from that aim, and today most Koreans who come here represent internationally leading companies or the South Korean government or they are following personal ambitions of obtaining the best possible education which they in many cases think is to be gained in Europe.

What these Korean expatriots bring with them are not only their distinguished national cuisine and martial arts, there is also a cultural trait once exported from Europe – a devoted and mission-oriented kind of Christianity. Several findings from the United States indicate that this religion is playing a crucial role in stabilizing, uniting and maintaining not only the local Korean communities as distinct groups in their country of destination. This paper is an attempt to bring together all academically gathered relevant information published on this issue, to add new insights by examining the situation in Austria and Europe in general and by connecting all existing information to weave a global picture of Korean diaspora Christianity.

While the Korean communities in the People's Republic of China<sup>1</sup>, Japan and the countries of the former Soviet Union have largely been in existence for about a century, the specifically South Korean diaspora to the West is a phenomenon of the last decades and on the impressive church growth among these expatriots lies the focus of this thesis. While there is a lively discourse about Korean Christianity in the United States this work will undertake the task of connecting some of its fundamental findings and theses to the rest of Korea's Post WW II emigration and by doing this add a significant feature to the discourse on the Korean diaspora in general.

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<sup>1</sup> throughout this work the term China will refer to the People's Republic of China (PRC) which is home to about two million ethnic Koreans, not to the Republic of China, also known as Taiwan.

This diaspora has been a rewarding research object for decades as it describes and helps to understand this growing international phenomenon and the diaspora communities themselves, which keep on expanding in both size and influence around the globe. Adding to culture based social studies this work will now underline the eminent role of organized religion within this community. The relation between migration and religion is a fascinating aspect of intercultural research but has been ignored for too long. Religion is the defining attribute for many believers and this study will show how it can in foreign countries reach even higher levels of importance. We know today that diaspora communities stick to their religion even stronger than to their mother tongue and we have to recognize religion of immigrants as a character-shaping trait decisively influencing the process of cultural preservation and integration (Graf 2006, 29).

At the first sight the Republic of Korea has with around thirty percent a relatively small Christian population share but looking only at the 15 to 20% of Evangelical Christians this is the second highest degree within the OECD topped only by the US. Evangelicals as opposed to Evangelics are as research shows the part within the Christian spectrum which is the least compromising in theological, political and social areas which makes them relevant to many areas of secular science.

While pointing to the enormous impact of the church on the Korean overseas societies and undertaking the task of supplying a first comprehensive overview of global Korean Christianity this thesis will focus on one aim; analyzing church growth. It has been proofed for some and will as part of this work be proofed for further countries, that the Korean churches in the diaspora are thriving to an impressive degree. We will investigate the mechanisms that are benefiting this growth, how churches are aware of this phenomenon and responding to it and tackle the question whether this is an enduring qualitative increase.

To undertake such a project intimacy with the Korean diaspora and religious science alone would be insufficient and so over the course of several years most Korean churches of Vienna were repeatedly visited, and numerous interviews with pastors but also laypersons contribute to this work's findings. All this was rounded up by a questionnaire to which over ten percent of the local Korean diaspora community contributed as respondents.

This work will show, that the global Korean diaspora is strongly linked to its vivid churches, and that most overseas Korean communities in the West today have a far larger

share of not only churchgoers but indeed passionate Evangelical Christians than Korea itself. It will give insight on why diaspora Koreans enter church, what makes them stay there, and how their habits and social lives in many aspects differ from unchurched fellow expatriots. In doing so an important piece will be added to the picture we have about the Koreans living among us.

## **2 Aim and Methodology**

### **2.1 Aim of Research**

There are several assumptions and observations concerning the religious aspect of the Korean diaspora on regular display in academic or semi-academic publications. The goal of this research is to illuminate those which are of relevance to social science to broaden our understanding and awareness of this important issue and with it the Korean diaspora in general. We will focus on both quantitative and qualitative church growth investigated for this project among Austria's Korean community but the aim is to embed and connect all findings within the broader framework of the Korean diaspora to the West. This research will deliver a baseline study about the Korean diaspora to Europe and especially Austria's capital Vienna with its nearly two million inhabitants of whom over one per mill is Korean. This demographic and historical analysis of Europe's Korean enclaves per se is arguably a worthwhile task.

Concretely this work will deal with differences of Christian affiliation between Korea and its overseas communities and attempt to offer explanations for them. The tie of diaspora Koreans to Christianity is obviously a very strong one and this work will test existing theories and add well backed up insights about how this relation is formed. The strategic and tactical work of churches, the individual outreach of Christians and the motivations of people who started attending church and entered the faith in the diaspora will with the necessary devotion be examined. The results will broaden the horizon and understanding of anyone with an interest in Christian missions or the Korean diaspora.

### **2.2 Research Field and Methods**

For an honest attempt to research the church growth in the Korean diaspora a thorough understanding of both Korean diaspora and Korean Christianity is inevitable. Trustworthy research is always based on statistical data and facts. Without assuring them, interviews would only give access to random opinions and the whole research project would lack embedment. Blessedly the Korean diaspora is a well researched setting and the Korean government itself shows a notable interest in it, supplying scholars with a lot of first-hand information. This work made use of the large amount on data accessible about the Korean dispersal over this globe and where existing statistics are lacking established new data.

Secondary literature about the Korean diaspora was consulted on a large scale. The Korean diaspora is not only in the academic field but also in popular media a regularly picked up subject and a large corpus of social science work about especially US-Koreans is at our disposal. This group has over the last decades just like the Korean diaspora to Europe been steadily increasing in numbers and has reached a size of up to two million people. One of the pillars on which this work is based is this research. For Europe there are this far no relevant religious science and hardly social science works about Korean immigrants but about other diasporas and these studies will complement this project.

Another essential corpus of basic knowledge necessary for this research is a thorough understanding of Evangelic and especially Korean Christianity, which was obtained through secondary and primary literature, in-depth knowledge about theology and in addition year-long attendance of four different Korean churches representing Korea's largest denominations, which also proofed to be very helpful in reaching the trust of interview partners including several pastors and a priest.

A further indispensable part of the study was deep immersion into the Korean community as field research was an integral part of this project. In this way interviews with dozens of church and unchurched Koreans became possible and they gave precious insights into the world of Korean churches. The last pillar which gave the necessary backing for findings from interviews was a detailed written survey conducted over the course of several months. It added to impressions and information from the interviews statistically useful personal information about over 230 Korean immigrants corresponding to about 15% of first-generation Korean expatriots in Vienna.

## 2.3 Structure of the Work

The following work is divided into three major parts. Chapters 3 and 4 introduce the subject of this work, namely the Korean diaspora in chapter 3 and Korean Christianity in chapter 4. They give the basic knowledge to thoroughly comprehend setting and background of this work and deal with the questions which parts of the diaspora are in which aspects comparable to the Austrian case, and what we have to know about Korean emigration and religious history to understand and interpret further findings of this research. Chapters 5 and 6 lead us into the exact field of research, namely Austria's Korean diaspora community and its churches and the questionnaire which served as a basis for the final chapters. Chapter 5



also features an analysis about Vienna's Korean churches and their role for the Korean community of this city. The last part, again two chapters, represents the bulk of innovative research done for this project. Chapter 7 will deal with the quantitative church growth already described in the chapters before, analyzing reasons to enter and settle for churches. Chapter 8 will look into the subject of qualitative church growth, namely conversion to the Christian religion. While giving reasons for conversion is beyond the possibilities of serious academic work it will attempt to make conversion measurable and prove it's standards on the basis of previous studies as well as this one and so be able to, to a certain degree, verify the sincerity of the extraordinary large diaspora church as well as give insights to the daily lives of hundreds of thousands of Christians in the worldwide Korean diaspora. Not only this last part about church growth but all chapters will be eager to contribute new input to the understanding of the Korean diaspora and thus the Korean society in general.

One of the methods used for this project was field research with participant observation accompanied by numerous conversations and interviews. Field research is an essential and indispensable method within social studies but is in strong need of a corset, a strong definition of how it has to be done, in order to gain academic recognition. To distinguish it from trivial observing by setting up conditions, it can according to the general consensus in the field of qualitative research be divided into the following phases (Mayring 2002, 54-57; 80-84);

- I Preparation; Besides equipping oneself with as much knowledge as possible study of literature on your field of study will show you which areas are worth going deeper than others did before. Reflecting your own experiences, expectations, culture, race et cetera you must also be aware of the biases you will bring with you, and while it is not possible to extinct them come up with strategies of diminishing their influence on your outcomes.
- II Fieldwork; visiting the scene and getting to know some members of the group helps as an entry into the community. In order to obtain quality data it is obligatory to hereafter become to a certain degree accepted as a member of this community. In order to achieve this you are of course required to master their language and follow their customs.
- III Recording data; During field work it is necessary to collect written data, without letting the community know this. In the case of qualitative interviews of course it is mandatory

to inform your counterpart but these interviews should only be conducted with persons you became close with and assuring that your study will not become known to other members of the community as this would presumably lead to a reserved attitude if not mistrust towards you. Methods of collecting data include field journals, written or audio-recorded interviews and other kinds of field notes.

IV Analyzing data: a principal of empirical study is to permanently reassure the effectivity of your approaches and if necessary to change them. When collecting data for the final evaluation of the field research to organize them according to recurrent themes is helpful and allows you to get to see new aspects of a given matter. To find common themes and construct a coherent story is the final aim.

In the process of planning and preparation of this master thesis I spent six years in Vienna's Korean community, actually hearing several times that I had „completely become“ a Korean. Thinking about possible approaches to an interesting scientific paper I invested this time in field research heavily relying on the principles of participant observation and collecting data later used for my qualitative research. While visiting over 40 Korean homes in Vienna and meeting many more Koreans outside their homes I collected individual notes on more than 200 persons completely including data on family, living conditions, visa status, legal and illegal work, aim and kind of migration, relation to church and apparent level of faith. This corpus I added to the research in literature and the survey I conducted during the last year.

As the setting of this research is the Korean culture the correct and adequate use of language should be without question. With respect to East-Asian customs Korean names are written with the family name in front of the given name. Only where there are Western given names, which is often the case with descendants from Korean migrants in the United States the Western order with the given name in front will be applied. The romanization of Korean words will follow the Revised Romanization, which is the official Korean language romanization system introduced by South Korea's Ministry of Culture in 2000. However to achieve maximal reader friendliness following each “s” that is read by Koreans as an “j” an „h“ was added. Also the Revised Romanization was not applied to personal names if they are usually romanized another way. E.g. long-time Korean president Park Chung-hee will not be written Bak Jeonghui as would be required by the Revised Romanization.

### 3 The Korean Diaspora

#### 3.1 Classification of the Korean Diasporas

Diaspora, deriving from the Greek word διασπορά which means scattering, as a loan word refers to widely scattered distribution of people of a common origin. While not familiar to many English speakers the term diaspora can often be found in non- or semi academic releases. The term was actually first used in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible dating back to the 2nd century BC. It can be found throughout the Old Testament and reappears in the New Testament. In two letters of Jesus' brother James and apostle Peter its intended meaning is clear; "it refers to the scattering of God's people, just as seeds are scattered for harvest". The Jews who used the word first saw a divine purpose in this social and geopolitical phenomenon and closely connected it to conversion (Song Minho 2011, 119). We will examine in this work that several diasporas, like the African or Turkish, indeed play a role in the presumed comeback of religion to Europe and investigate the missionary outreach of the Korean diaspora. A first task is the definition of the word diaspora and the justification to use it on the Korean case. After that we will have to categorize the Korean diaspora into three branches as an acknowledgment to the very different nature of its main branches. The overseas Koreans dispersion was argued to be a diaspora by Choi Inbom using five criteria, which he claimed would summarize most attempts to find a scientific definition of a diaspora:

- *dispersal of a large number of individuals from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions;*
- *an involuntary and compelling element in the motivation for people to leave their home country due to severe political, economic, or other constraints;*
- *a group's conscious and active efforts to maintain its collective identity, cultural beliefs and practices, language or religion;*
- *people's sense of empathy and solidarity with members of the same ethnic group in other countries of settlement, leading to efforts to institutionalize transnational networks of exchange and communication; and*
- *people's collective commitment to preserve and maintain a variety of explicit and implicit ties with their original homecountry, provided it is still in existence.*

- Choi Inbom (Choi 2003, 11)

As all of these conditions apply to the Korean case it will be called a diaspora throughout this work. Chapter 3 will further establish three different types of this diaspora

by describing origins and differences of the Korean diasporas to China and the former Soviet Union (the CIS countries), to Japan and finally to Europe and the United states. The latter ones, introduced in subchapter 3.4 are far closer to each other than to the Korean diasporas to Asian/Eurasian countries, and as this research is set in Western Europe this means that this paper must not be used to draw conclusions on Koreans in ex-Soviet areas, Japan or China.

The Korean diaspora is widely recognized as one of the most visible diasporas worldwide and considered to be the fifth largest in size behind the Chinese, Jewish, Indian and Italian diasporas (Lee 2000, 3). The *Jaeoe Gungmin* (Foreign Residing Citizens) or *Haeoe Gungmin* (Overseas Citizens), as Koreans living outside the Korean peninsular are usually called in South Korea or North Korea respectively, are a very diverse group consisting of over seven million individuals and widely spread over mainly North Asia and North America. At the first glance the diaspora's share of nearly ten percent in the total number of Koreans represents one of the proportionally largest diasporas in the world, but due to the very varying factors behind the several Korean diasporas, they essentially differ in nature. Accordingly the first step in approaching the dispersed Korean enclaves around the globe must be a well grounded classification of these communities.

This chapter will deliver a classification of the Korean diaspora and introduce the three types it is to be divided in. After this 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 will be descriptions of history and current status of these diasporas in China/CIS territory, Japan and the West. Further this chapter will include findings on religious affiliation in the several branches of the Korean diaspora. Thus chapter 3 establishes the basis for the further research in the following chapters.

The following table shows a detailed analysis of the ten numerically largest Korean diasporas worldwide and of Europe (as the UK belongs to to both groups its not 20, but 19 countries in all). Besides the total size it also shows the comparative size to the general public to visualize the significance of each diaspora. Also included are each country's overseas Koreans organizations registered to the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), which is supposed to show the respective diasporas commitment to its homeland and the last columns show number and concentration of both Protestant and Catholic churches. For the purpose of comparison data about Korea is added.

Region	Koreans <sup>2</sup>	per 10,000 population	registered <sup>3</sup> Organizations	density*	Evangelic Churches <sup>4</sup>	density*	Catholic Churches <sup>5</sup>	density*
China	2,574,000	18.9	258	10,000	49	52,500	8	323,000
USA	2,091,000	65.8	1,130	1,900	4,386	480	128	16,300
Japan	893,000	70.3	118	7,600	228	3,900	6	149,000
CIS <sup>6</sup>	480,000	17.3	177	2,700	26	18,500	3	160,000
Canada	206,000	58.9	244	840	474	440	13	15,800
Australia	157,000	69.5	82	1,900	206	760	10	15,700
Philippines	88,100	8.8	16	5,500	45	2,000	6	14,700
Vietnam	86,000	9.6	15	5,700	16	5,400	2	43,000
Brazil	49,500	2.5	56	880	64	770	3	16,500
UK	45,300	7.5	72	630	76	600	2	22,700
Germany	25,000	3.1	254	100	143	170	7	3,600
France	15,700	2.5	32	490	27	580	2	7,900
Italy	3,800	0.7	9	420	10	380	2	1,900
Spain	3,600	0.8	47	77	10	360	3	1,200
Austria	2,200	2.7	40	55	10	220	1	2,200
CH	2,100	2.7	27	78	7	300	1	2,100
Czech Rep.	1,800	1.7	11	160	5	360	1	1,800
NL	1,700	1.1	5	340	3	570	1	1,700
Slovakia	1,500	2.8	11	140	3	500	0	-
Europe combined	102,700	2.9	508	200	294	350	20	5,100
Korea <sup>7</sup>	49 million	9,600	-	-	77,966	630	1,609	30,600

Table 3.1: Overseas Communities, connection to MOFA, and church-density

It can be seen that among the six largest diasporas those to China and the CIS, while amounting to half of the roughly six million people, occupy a clearly smaller share in their countries populations, show very little connection to the South Korean government and have only a moderate number of churches. Japan with the highest percentage of Koreans (0,703%) is home to much more Korean churches than the former Communist countries, but also registered little organizations to the MOFA. The last part are Korean communities, which mainly developed after WW II. While Vietnam and the Philippines are exceptions in all

<sup>2</sup> Korean government numbers; for Europe from 2010; for rest of the world including CIS from 2013

<sup>3</sup> MOFA 2014 b

<sup>4</sup> according to KoreanChurchYP (2015) and Euroko.net (2015)

<sup>5</sup> according to CBCK (2015)

<sup>6</sup> including Ukraine

<sup>7</sup> referring only to South Korea, numbers based on Kim Yeonggeun (2014)

\* density shows the number of Koreans per organization; the higher the number, the lower the density.

areas, the rest - consisting of the Anglosphere<sup>8</sup>, Brazil and continental Europe share the highest degree of connection to the MOFA and also the highest concentration of Christian churches.

The presented data proves that the different origins and environments were not nullified by time and indeed allow, or rather obligate to separate the Korean diaspora into these three parts, which will in the following be introduced. This chapter will now first give an overview of the origin, history and structure of these Korean diasporas. 3.2 tells us the story of the Koreans in the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) and the former Soviet Union, 3.3 is dedicated to Japan's Koreans, also referred to as Zainichi and 3.4 presents Korean migrant populations of Europe and America. It will offer some characteristics, common features but also differences and information important for the understanding of overseas Koreans. In doing so this chapter will introduce the three types in which the diaspora historically and geographically but especially in regard to religion may be divided and outline to which degree research done on one group may also be used to draw conclusions on other Korean overseas communities.

### 3.2 Koreans in the People's Republic of China and the CIS<sup>9</sup>

Over 3 million of the 7 million Koreans residing outside of Korea live in China or the former Soviet Union. The largest share of these expatriots are found in Northeast-China and their ancestors moved there before the division of Korea in 1945 and the rise of South Korea to the fully developed modern and to a good part Christian society it represents today. The inflow from Korean nationals to China began at the end of the Ming Dynasty but did not become significant until the middle of the 19th century when the late Qing Dynasty was no longer able to execute full boarder control and this influx was soon accelerated by poverty and famine in Korea that worsened after a natural disaster struck the country in 1869 (China.Com 2015). By 1907, soon before Korea was incorporated into the Japanese Empire there were about 50,000 Koreans in China (Lee 2000, 9f). The strongest Korean migration to what today is Chinese territory took place after 1930, when Japan erected the state of Manchukuo which subsequently became home to many Koreans, whose descendants still live there in the Autonomous Provinces of Jilin and Yanbian. Some of these Koreans came working for the Japanese, some came to work against them, others simply tried to escape

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<sup>8</sup> Countries in which English is the first language of the majority of the population.

<sup>9</sup> Commonwealth of Independent States including Ukraine

famine and poverty. At its first peak the size of the Korean population in Chinese territory was 1.7 million in 1945, but then dropped due to one out of three Koreans returning to Korea before the first PRC census was taken in 1953 (Kim Si Joong, 2003, 102f). The natural rise in population - even though it was lower than of the PRC's total population brought the number to the two million ethnic Koreans we have today in China. Just like in other parts of the world the Korean minority is well educated and considered a model minority (Chan, Chu, Ku 2009, 226).

The Korean communities in the Post-Soviet Union share this history. The CIS-countries today have a population of nearly half a million ethnic Koreans, whose ancestors mainly immigrated there before the End of World War II. Just like in the case of China most of these originally 300,000 Koreans settled close to the Korean - after 1932 Manchurian border. But to prevent acts of sabotage 172,500 of the 250,000 Koreans that hadn't starved to death by then were moved to other parts of the Soviet Union and so today besides Russia also Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan have a Korean population of over 100,000 people (Yi 2002, 257-264).

However, due to historical and political reasons, the culture of most Chinese and CIS Koreans - in South Korea usually referred to as *Joseonjok* (a rather derogatory term meaning 'people of Old Korea') largely differs from the modern South Korean society. And 3.1 shows that although the expatriot communities in China and the CIS are with over three million people large in total numbers, they are less significant regarding their share in the total population, which is below two per mill. With 5.9 to 7 per mill the Korean communities in Japan, Australia, the US and Canada occupy a considerably larger portion of the local populations. Koreans that came from South Korea after the Second World War occupy an only insignificant share of the ethnically Korean population of those areas and accordingly the Chinese/CIS diasporas connection to the South Korean government shown in the same table 3.1 is also clearly lower than of the analyzed diasporas to English-speaking or European countries. And finally of all significant Korean expatriate communities the Chinese ranks last and the CIS second to last in the density of both Evangelic and Catholic churches. Therefore this three million people must be regarded as set apart from the Korean diasporas in other countries, where most expatriots came from South Korea after the division of the peninsular, have an apparently stronger relation to the republic and are better evangelized. With regard

to history and socialization of this North-Asian Korean diasporas they will in the following be widely excluded from this research.

### 3.3 Zainichi Koreans

The Korean diaspora to Japan counting about 900,000 people is itself a very interesting and popular field of study with a vast amount of academic work done about it. Compared to the Koreans in China the so called Zainichi-Koreans<sup>10</sup> have a younger but similar history, as most of them came while Korea was part of the Japanese Empire. Data published 1974 by the Japanese ministry of justice shows that of all foreign-born Korean residents less than 1 percent had moved to Japan before the official annexation in 1910 and only about 14% had come after 1945 (MOJ 1974, 26). Thus the vast majority can be viewed as a heritage from the time when the two nations were one. The reasons of this majority that came between 1910 and 1945 vary widely. According to a survey conducted by the Korean Youth Association<sup>11</sup> (KYC 1988) on Koreans who came during this period aged twelve or older 39.6% came for economic reasons, 17.3% to live with family members, 13.3% for conscription (including forced labor) and 9.5% for studies (Satehate 2000). While there were about two million Koreans in Japan in 1945 the repatriation of 1.4 millions had the Korean population of Japan drop to about half a million in the 1950s and it is mainly the descendants of this remnant who form today's Zainichi society (Tamura 2003, 81-83).

Given the fact that Japan has a strong bond to the Republic of Korea and that the Japanese society is much more similar to the South Korean one than China or Russia, Zainichi overall identify stronger as South Korean than the diaspora group presented before, which is proven in the strong ties between Zainichi organizations like Mindan and the South Korean public. But the Koreans in Japan are already in the fourth generation, and they are highly assimilated. E.g. endogamy<sup>12</sup>-rate among Koreans was only 16.6 percent in 1995 and an ever stronger growing language shift to Japanese monolingualism is today threatening the survival of the Korean language (Suzuki 2003, 2). The research presented in table 3.1 shows that with 118 organizations registered (among them only two schools which is surprising as the registry of schools ensures financial support from Korea (AKA 2012, 181)) the Japanese Korean diaspora's connection to the South Korean government is relatively loose.

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<sup>10</sup> 在日韓国・朝鮮人 means Koreans residing in Japan

<sup>11</sup> 在日本大韓民国青年会 part of Mindan(民団/민단), Japan's biggest Zainichi-organization

<sup>12</sup> marriage among the own people/ethnicity.



While the Koreans elsewhere are often portrayed as a model minority (compare 3.2 and 3.4), the Japanese view of the Zainichi is more negative. Although the adoption of the Japanese citizenship is relatively easy for them many refuse. Because many descendants of the Koreans who came to Japan during the Imperial era are nearly perfectly assimilated and often not even able to speak Korean obtaining a Japanese passport would mean to completely give up their Korean identity. Another reason to turn down the Japanese citizenship is that taking up its responsibility for the Koreans who in many cases were forced immigrants at the end of the Second World War the Japanese government offers the original Zainichi a special status that makes life in Japan much easier than for other foreigners (including the 100,000 Koreans who came after WW II). Among the 800,000 classic Zainichi-Koreans more than half a million did not become Japanese and they are often discriminated, find it hard to get a job and have less chances of finding a spouse (Yang 1991: 5-14). In addition many Koreans are involved in the dubious milieu of *pachinko*. That over 80 percent of these gambling halls which are viewed as suspicious and semi-criminal by many Japanese are run by Koreans further harms the image of the Zainichi (Kaji 2007: 25).

The number of Evangelic churches however is far higher than among the diasporas on the Asian mainland. On average there is one Evangelic church per 3,900 individuals which means a higher density than on mainland Asia (5,400 in Vietnam to 52,500 in the PRC) but a significantly lower one than in all other investigated expatriot societies (170 in Germany to 2000 on the Philippines).

### 3.4 Post WW II-Emigration to America and Europe

The character of the Korean diaspora as shown in the sections above changed essentially after the division of the country and the Korean War. Migration to non-Asian territories was insignificant until the second half of the 20th century. Lee Kwangkyu for example estimates the number of Koreans who emigrated to the United States before WW II at only about 9000 persons - 7000 male plantation workers, 1100 wives and 900 students (Lee 2000, 10-12). Most of them were working in Hawaii, only a minority moved to the southern west coast, which is now home to most American Koreans. This first wave of Korean influx to America remained insignificant in number as the start of hostilities between Japan and the US soon prevented more Koreans from moving there (Kim Hyung-chan 1977, 33).

In the 1960s amid a rapidly developing economy and growing concerns of overpopulation the South Korean government introduced an active emigration policy which over the following decades saw more than a million Koreans emigrating to the United States or other places where they hoped to find better economic opportunities than in their home country. Initially this newer type of Korean emigration was mainly aimed at the US, which in 1965 through the Emigration Act made it much easier for foreigners to enter the United States, and Japan which each received over a quarter of these Koreans. Actually until the middle of the 1980s except for Germany, where 1.7% went to, no European nation was among the top 10 destinations for emigrants (Bonacich; Light 1991, 105f.).

Today over a quarter of the Koreans living in Europe reside in Germany. Initially the main goal for Koreans to go to Germany was the work as *gastarbeiter*. Contracts between the FRG and the Republic of Korea saw 10,000 nurses and 8,000 miners moving from Korea to Germany between 1959 and 1978, endowing the Ruhr district with the largest Korean community in Europe. But by no means the German branch of the Korean diaspora should be regarded as typical low level immigration. Many of the miners that came were well educated young men from urban background, who had never done similar work before and by the 21st century this community is mixed with the Korean students and business migration we can also find in other European countries (Park 2003, 75; Lee 2000, 31). Germany's Koreans are a model minority par excellence. By the 1980s they had stabilized both socially and economically and by the end of the 1990s nearly all Korean children attended high school (Yoo Jung-Sook 1997, 1). In the same way Koreans in the US have also been depicted as a model minority for obtaining bachelor or higher education degrees nearly twice as much as the general public (53% to 28%) or having the highest self-employment rate among U.S. Asians (PEW 2013).

Emigration to Europe became even easier in the late 1980 when the Korean government removed politically motivated barriers which had prevented many willing students from studying abroad (AKA 2012, 192-207). The number of South Korean expatriots has continually been on the rise into the 21st century. For example between 1991 and 2001 alone it rose by 17% (Choi 2003, 15-17). Between 2002 and 2013 over 150,000 Koreans emigrated to the United States, 40,000 to Japan, about 16,000 to Australia, 11,000 to New Zealand and over 4000 to Great Britain making the European nation fifth in the ranking. The

total annual emigration throughout this period has been stable at over 20,000 people a year<sup>13</sup> (MOFA 2014 a).

The rising number of South Korean emigrants has been met by governmental efforts to preserve Korean identity, culture and language for the overseas communities. For this purpose in 1997 the Overseas Koreans Foundation was founded to help also foreign born Koreans to relate to their country of origin. Furthermore foreign citizens with Korean roots are granted special rights to have easier entry to the country and better access to the Korean labor market. In addition to this there are associations representing Koreans in particular countries. 35 organizations like the Korean Residents Society in the UK or the Association of Koreans in Germany (재독한인총연합회) represent quarter a million Koreans in 27 European countries. Just like the Overseas Koreans Foundation their main aim is the preservation of the Korean culture (AKA 2012, 180-194).

This Korean emigration to the West – Europe, the United States and Australia represents roughly 2.5 of the 7 Million expatriot – Koreans and can clearly be called a distinct part of the worldwide Korean diaspora. Table 3.1 showed size and distribution of the diaspora as well as the number and density of churches of these Korean communities. While differing in many aspects like density the diasporas to the West do share their strong connection to Korea, have large numbers of churches and also a similar history. They identify as South Korean just like the Korean community in Austria which serves as the study-object for this thesis. The Koreans in America, Australia and Western Europe are best connected to the Korean government, registered most Korean-language schools (93 compared to only 28 in CIS and Asia), and are responsible for the majority of the diasporas enlisted news papers and TV channels (102 to 19).

What must be noted about Korean churches in this Western branch of the diaspora is that we do not only encounter a large number of churches in all of Europe, the United States and Canada, but that their density is actually significantly higher than in Korea. While this does not automatically prove that there are more Christians in the these parts of the Korean diaspora, it very much points to this explanation. Keeping this in mind we will in the further course of this research strengthen this assumption.

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<sup>13</sup> actually a drop can be seen for 2012 and 2013 but the same drop is visible in all older statistics for the most recent years respectively and is obviously due to the late registration/back-dating of many emigrants, as this differences dissolve as soon as some years pass.

## 4 The Church in Korea and its Diaspora

### 4.1 Korea's Religious Landscape

The Korean peninsula might be small but its religious landscape is regarded as to be one of the most diverse and complex on the globe (Buswell 2007, 31). South Korea has no dominant religious group. Its population includes a plurality of people with no religious affiliation (46%) and significant shares of Christians (29%) and Buddhists (23%) (PEW 2014).

Korea's oldest religious tradition is shamanism. The same sort, which is found in Japan or Mongolia. Unlike Japan, where shamanism transformed into an organized religion in Korea it remained a folk religion with a multitude of superstitions and occult practices like *jesa* (ancestor worship) that are still believed and observed by Koreans belonging to all of Korea's major religions and even unaffiliated persons<sup>14</sup>. A second religious tradition is Confucianism, which under the so-called Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910) was the primary belief system of Korea, but nowadays is quoted by less than 1 percent of Koreans as their religion. However it deeply shaped Korea's society and until today the way Koreans think. Buddhism is today next to Christianity Korea's numerically second strongest religion. The number of Buddhists rose significantly during the last decades which can be regarded as a result of the Anti-superstition-movement (*mishin tapa undong*). As a part of the New-village-movement (*sae maeul undong*) under president Park Chung-hee it rid Korea of many shamanistic shrines and by doing so made many adherents to folk religion adopt Buddhism in order to be able to stick to a local religious tradition rather than adopting Christianity or leaving religion at all. Buddhism was also strengthened from the 1980 onward by the active adoption of various Protestant models of organization (Grayson 2002, 190-192). However much of Buddhism's strength exists only on paper. A poll conducted by the Pew forum in 2007 showed that a majority (51%) of Buddhists said that religion was of little or no importance to

South Korea: How Important is Religion in Your Life?			
	Christian	Buddhist	None
Very important	35%	3%	1%
Somewhat important	48%	45%	7%
Not too important	16%	48%	41%
Not at all important	1%	3%	48%
Don't know/Refused	*	1%	3%
Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project 2007.			

Table 4.1: importance of religion by religious affiliation

<sup>14</sup> the Catholic church banned worship of ancestors until 1939 but withdrew this stance with the *Plane Compertum* issued under Pope Pius XII. The Evangelic Church persists in the biblical view that worship of deceased persons is strictly against God's will, but also here many individuals ignore this precept.

them while the vast majority of Christians (83%) said that it was very or somewhat important to them (Pew 2007).

That being said today South Korea's strongest religion is both by census data and by active practice Christianity. Since World War II each census showed a rising number of Christians and as of 2010 their share in the population is estimated at 29%. Three of the five democratically elected presidents since 1992 were Christians<sup>15</sup> and as of 2007 so were the CEOs of Korea's 10 largest companies (The Independent 2007). The majority of Christians in South Korea belong to Protestant denominations. These include among others the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist church as well as various Pentecostal churches. Since the 1980s, however, the share of South Korea's population belonging to Protestant denominations and churches has remained relatively unchanged at slightly less than one in five persons. Catholics have grown as a share of the population, from 5% in 1985 to 11% as of 2005, according to the South Korean census (Pew 2014).

## 4.2 Korea's Church History

20th century Korean's openness to Christianity is well shown by the fact that its Evangelical church is by its share of the population today the second largest in the northern hemisphere topped only by the United States. Its Catholic church is also strong and growing in numbers. All this in a country where there were hardly any Christians a hundred years ago. In the following it will be illustrated how Christianity has risen during the 20th century and this will show the different background Korean migrants had depending on when they left Korea, but also how the Korean church is working and which role it has in the Korean society in its homeland. We will see that the church has often played the role of unifying Koreans in politically hard environments and that it gave a new home to people who had left their native places. And especially that it has always been visible. All three factors can be regarded as the fundament on which the diaspora church is also attracting people to use their foreign experience to make their first steps in faith.

Christianity has long been persecuted in Korea and what Catholicism and Protestantism have in common is that their first missionaries to Korea were martyred. Korea as a whole tried to protect itself from any non-Chinese influences - a policy known as

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<sup>15</sup> Kim Yeongsam and Lee Myungbak were both Protestant church elders at the time of the election, and Kim Daejung a devoted Catholic. Roh Moohyun and Park Geunhye were both without a personal religious affiliation but had a certain connection to the Catholic church (Hangyeore 2008).

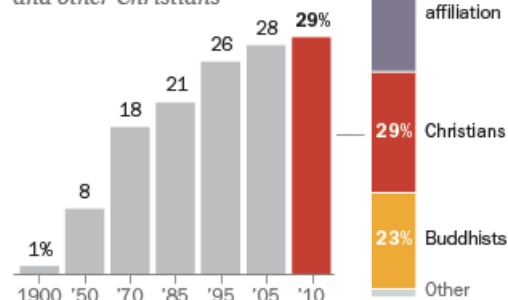
*Swaeguk Jeongchaek*. Logically the first Korean convert came to faith not in Korea but in China in the year 1784, when Lee Seung-hoon was baptized in Beijing by French Jesuit priest Louis de Grammont. Korea received its first bishop in 1831 and although the church suffered wave after wave of persecution by 1865 there were up to 23,000 Christians in Korea. Protestant evangelization also began in the Korean diaspora when Scottish missionary John Ross built up a church for the local Korean community in Manchuria and even translated the Bible to Korean for the first time. Within Korea's borders for most of the 19th century Christians were severely persecuted and thousands martyred (Song Minho 2011, 120f). In 1876, after the battle of Ganghwa, Japan forced the Joseon Empire to abandon the *swaeguk* policy and in 1886 in a treaty with France Korea guaranteed security for both missionaries and converts (Kim, Kirsteen 2007, 16).

Christian mission to Korea brought with it a social and institutional revolution similar to the Japanese input to its underdeveloped colony. Adultery, slavery, prostitution, superstition, gambling, smoking and alcohol misuse were common customs in Korea and the clergy men in many areas successfully tried to purge Korea from them (Clark 1986, 38). Missionaries laid the foundation of modern education in Korea. Korea's first school for girls among 300 schools and Ehwa, Sogang and Yonsei among 9 universities testify of this (Grayson 2002, 157-169). To help the poor and spread the Word of God it was necessary to improve alphabetization and so Hangeul, today's Korea's writing, which was at that time used only supplementary to Chinese, was promoted by the missionaries (Palmer 1967, 75).

Table 4.2 shows that in 1950, soon after the Second World War, already eight percent of the population were Christian which is a very high level for an Asian country. Although the church was suppressed by the Japanese during the years of the great war it was attractive to many people as it was seen as a basis of peaceful resistance to foreign rule (Grayson 2002, 161). Half of the activists who signed the declaration of independence of 1919 which is today commemorated as a national holiday were Christians (Jaeger and Park 1983, 14).

### Christian Share of South Korea's Population

*Includes Catholics, Protestants and other Christians*



Sources: Estimates for 1900, 1950 and 1970 are from the World Religion Database. Estimates for 1985, 1995 and 2005 are from the South Korean Census. Estimate for 2010 is from the Pew Research Center's 2012 report "Global Religious Landscape."

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Table 4.2: Increase of Christian population

As the national tragedy continued with the Korean War, people were looking for spiritual help and hope which was not from this world. Offering this the church also helped the poor, the orphaned, the widowed and the hungry. Again it did so in the face of brutal persecution as the North Korean communists used their land gains during the war to kill thousands of Christians for their faith (Grayson 2006, 18). On the other hand that Christians rallied behind the anti-communist government led to an alliance between Korea's first republic and the church, which for the first time in Korean history was supported by the countries leaders (MCT 2003, 71f). During and after the war Korea was dependent on foreign assistance and this mainly came from Christian countries and especially Christian organizations and individuals. Many Koreans who received help were aware of this and the church in return received a better and better reputation among the people (Lancaster 1997, 182).

When the tide turned and South Korea's high speed industrialization was advancing drawing more and more people to the large cities, it was again the churches that offered a substitute for the feeling of rural security and a steady rock in a torrent of change. The rapid church growth during that time is often contributed to the Korean workers, who were looking for a replacement for their lost village communities (Baker 2006, 299). But again it was in its suffering that the church gained credibility and attracted people. During the time of authoritarian rule by Park Chunghee and his successors large parts of both the Protestant and the Catholic church demanded democracy and their protest led to many clergy being beaten, abducted or imprisoned (Jaeger and Park 1983, 58-60, NY Times 2008). Many opposition leaders were devoted Christian laypersons, among them Kim Yeongsam and Kim Daejung. Both had been prohibited from political involvement but were rehabilitated and subsequently elected the first two presidents after the country's definite democratization in 1992 (Yonhap News 2010). While politically involved church leaders in many cases became victim to repression, the churches in general prospered during this time together with the economy and when the latter one came in trouble in 1997 Christians started money collections and many churches generously contributed to the recovery of their nation (Wippermann 1999, 3-6). Another feature of Korea's Christianity is its strong stance in politics. Christians have not only been overrepresented among the country's presidents since 1945 but also in every parliament at least since 1993 (Lee 2006, 338; Cry.or.kr 2008; CCU 2012). The endurance of the religion in the face of persecution and its connection to

economic growth but also politic leadership has been benefiting its appeal among the public.

#### 4.3 Characteristics of Korea's Christianity

The by far most important thing to know about Protestant Christianity in Korea is that its theology and churches are to about 95% Evangelical, a term created to distinguish secularized Protestant churches from those that hold fast to the principle of biblical inerrancy. Timothy S. Lee, expert on the Korean church and editor of the book *Christianity in Korea*, the perhaps best source on the Christian religion in Korea, even stated that Evangelicalism and Protestantism are more or less synonymous in the country (Lee Timothy 2006, 330). Korean Christians overall take their religion seriously, as illustrated by the 83% that claim that it is important to them. Of these 37% say that religion is very important to them, which is contrasted by the only three percent of Buddhists who say so. 77% of Korean Christians say they attend church, which is internationally compared a very high share (Pew 2007). To understand today's Korean Christianity it is necessary to know that far more active Christians in the country are Evangelics than Catholics. Official numbers show a large number of Catholics as well but the low number of Catholic churches clearly shows that most Catholics do not attend church. On average there are less than three Catholic churches for 10,000 Catholics. In other words 3,000 Catholics share one Catholic church. This number stays in strong contrast to little more than 111 Protestants per Protestant church. The low number of churches and perhaps churched people is the same with Korean Catholicism in Europe, where there are 5,100 Koreans per Catholic church but only 350 per Evangelic church. In comparison a study on immigration from predominantly Muslim countries to Europe showed that there is on average one Muslim prayer space per 2000 immigrants from the Muslim world (Laurence and Vaisse 2006, 25-26). In the degree of organized religion it can be said therefore that the Evangelic church has the firmest position far above Islam which itself is far better positioned than the Catholic church.

However the high number of Evangelic parishes reflects also a weakness of Korean Christianity – an extreme degree of division. In many Korean churches the loyalty to the own pastor is stronger than the loyalty towards the denomination and so there is today not one Evangelic church but hundreds of differing churches with often hostile attitudes towards each other. The lack of unity makes it easier for heretic teachings to spread and especially the so called prosperity gospel is a very common feature in many Korean churches including the Yoido Full Gospel Church, with is widely regarded as the world's largest Christian



community (Rhinow 1998, 1-4). While it may be argued that the prosperity gospel - the teaching that giving reverence to Christ Jesus makes life an easy road to wealth and worldly success - was imported from America it has been linked to shamanism which essentially teaches the same, simply with other gods instead of Jesus (Han Gil-Soo a.o. 2009, 3). Another aspect which can be ascribed to shamanistic influence is the ecstatic prayer praxis typical for Korean Christians (Clark 1986, 38). A more positive feature of Korean Evangelism is strong emphasis on sanctification, discipline and study of the holy scriptures which is typical for many Korean churches (Buswell 2007, 393).

Most of the country's Evangelicals belong to Korea's Presbyterian church, which has officially over 11 million members. The denomination differs from the by now secular American Presbyterian church in so far as it believes in Biblical inerrancy just like all other large Korean denominations. 1.5 million people belong to the Methodist church, 0.9 million people to the Holiness church (called after Methodist John Wesley's Holiness movement) and 0.7 million to Baptism. 1.2 million however are inscribed to the Assemblies of God, an international denomination which is often linked to heretic teachings and especially prosperity gospel. Several Christian-like apostasies with leaders claiming to be the messiah are excluded from the number of 15.5 million. These sects include the Mormons, the Unification church and the World Mission Society Church of God (Gang Seungsam 2003, 4). The number of 15.5 million stands in sharp contrast to the 10 million reported after the census from 2005, but might be explained by the high number of people who changed or left their denomination after registry but are still reported as members.

#### 4.4 The Church in the Korean Diaspora

Based on table 3.1 it can be argued that in a religious context the Korean diasporas to Europe and the Anglosphere are comparable to each other, to a lesser degree to Korean communities in most of Asia, but not to the Korean diaspora in the former Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). While there has not yet been any scientific study conducted on religion or spirituality of the Korean diaspora in Europe, studies of this kind about other Korean communities have already shown significant differences between Koreans living in Korea and abroad. This chapter will give a summary on some findings of these studies, which helped to formulate approaches, will foreshadow possible results and will also be a valuable object for comparison, reflection and possibly verification of this research.

The two major differences between Christianity in Korea and the Korean diaspora are that in the Post-WWII-diaspora there are apparently far more Christians proportionally to unbelievers than in Korea itself and that the share of Evangelics within the Christian population is much larger than in Korea. The 21st century in Korea has seen a stagnation of Protestantism while the number of Catholics has been growing significantly. The overall Christian growth over the last 15 years was nearly exclusively concentrated on the Catholic church. The demanding nature and the quarrels of the Evangelic church competing with a very tolerant and united Catholicism sees many Koreans choosing the wider and apparently more peaceful gate. While Evangelics are criticized for aggressive and arrogant missionary outreach Catholics are of renown for their tolerance of Korea's religious traditions (Asia Times 2008; MCT 2003, 79). In addition during the last decades secular competition arose. Korea's democratization accomplished during the 1990s made way to the formation of many NGOs, who are now also fighting political, economic or environmental problems. Governmental organizations also improved their work and less people need to turn to churches to find help (Lee Wongyu 2000, 46). The competition with governmental welfare and the attractiveness of the hardly missionary Catholic church however fall away in the diaspora. In an opposite effect the ambitious outreach of Evangelicals bears fruit and as one interviewed unbeliever put it, while clearly preferring the Catholic church as a whole in the diaspora situation she turned to the larger and more active Protestant church when in search for help or simply a Korean environment. The Catholic church fails to attract more people in the diaspora than in Korea itself, which is explicitly revealed by statistics. While the Roman Catholic church is home to about 10% of US-America's Koreans, far more than half of Korean Americans, precisely 61% identify as Protestant (Pew 2014). This overwhelming majority illustrates the effective outreach of Evangelics when abroad. While when speaking about church growth in the Korean diaspora generally it may be argued that the American society with its strong Christian elements works as a boost in this area. In the end most research done on this field was conducted in the United States, which happens to be a largely Christian country. But although the American population has a larger share of both Catholics and Protestants the impressive success of the Korean-American church can be virtually completely attributed to the latter. When studying church growth abroad this is a crucial evidence denying the importance of the environment moved in and at the same time

highlighting the importance of Evangelic outreach as practiced by most Korean Protestant churches.

Data shows that 17% of Buddhist raised Asian immigrants later chose to convert to Christianity. Not only Koreans but also other immigrant groups show this drift towards God. The number of Christian Chinese Americans for example is with 31% far higher than 5% Christians in China. For Indians it is 18% Christians in America versus 3% in India. In addition Asian American Christians are substantially stronger in faith and more orthodox than American protestants in general, which further drives them to evangelize others. 37% identify living a religious life as an important goal (compared to 24%), 76% attend church every week (to 50%), and 72% hold fast to the Christian claim, that Christianity is the one true religion leading to eternal life (to 49%) (Rholetter 2014, 777-778).

The first Korean church in the US opened its gates in 1902, later than the first Chinese or Japanese church in the States, but by now the Koreans amount to the strongest Asian Evangelic community in America. The Korean war, with its war brides and refugees did not play a major part in the church growth as until the middle of the 1970s there was a steady but at no point sudden increase. In 1975 there were 300 Korean churches in the US. Until 1980 this number had nearly doubled to 600 and during the 1980s, when Korean emigration to America was the strongest it tripled to 2,400. By 1997 at the start of the IMF-crisis there had been 3,300 churches, which then declined to less than 3,000 in the year 2000 but now the number of Korean Protestant houses of worship is estimated as to be above 4,000 (ChristianToday 2012) This means that far more than two in three Korean overseas churches are situated in the United States, where on average there is one Korean parish for the very low number of 480 Koreans. .

The largest congregation is the Sarang Community Church in Anaheim, California with more than 10,000 members. A phenomenon of special interest are often Korean-run pan-Asian churches which represent a growing number among Asian churches in general. This way Korean churches not only strengthen the ties between Koreans but also towards other Asian groups (Rholetter 2014, 778).

Surging Evangelization is not limited to the Post WWII diaspora. Japan, which is one of the most secular societies of the 21st century is by now already home to over 200 Korean churches and concerning China and the former USSR, there are today large numbers of

Christians among even these former communist-ruled Koreans, which is mainly the achievement of South Korean missionaries bringing the Good News to members of their ethnic group on the Asian mainland. While still many Koreans in China are regarded as Buddhists, a rapidly growing number accepts Christianity - Evangelical Christianity as well as Catholicism (China.Com, 2015; Li, 2010, 72).

## **5 Case Study in Austria**

### **5.1 Setting of this Research**

Chapter 4.4 already indicated the important role and impressive extent of the overseas Korean church. There are more Christians in many Korean societies outside of the Korean peninsula than in Korea itself. Whose evangelical efforts these fruits may be credited to is subject to question but it is undeniable that a variety of factors contribute to the effectiveness of spiritual outreach in diaspora communities. One is that in addition to their religious function most Korean churches are conservative in the widest sense of that word. Thus they serve to keep alive the distinctive culture of the Koreans as a group and offer a “means of connecting with the known in a sea of change. Religious observance offers the comfort of familiar rituals, native language and reassurance of identity. It also provides the consoling assurance that history and values can be transmitted to the next generation (Rholetter 2014, 780).

The following chapter will now present the specific field of research, the Korean community in Austria’s capital Vienna as a showcase for the Korean diaspora’s European branch. Vienna has about 2,000 Korean inhabitants, most of whom moved here during the last decades and inside of the city we find eight Korean churches which will be introduced in chapter 5.3. Presenting membership and activities of these churches it will be shown that Austria is no exception from the church growth within the diaspora, and how the work of the churches contributes to the cultural preservation of the expatriots.

### **5.2 The Korean Diaspora to Austria**

Speaking about Koreans in Austria it must be noted that about 90% of these live in Vienna and thus built up one community in contrast to e.g. Germany where the Koreans are spread over several cities. Vienna being the 7th largest city within the European Union and home to about 2000 Koreans of various backgrounds makes it an excellent place for research on the Korean diaspora. The following subchapter will give brief account on the formation and status quo of this community.

The history of Koreans in Austria started with only a couple of students, who came there in the first half of the 20th century and therefore mainly as citizens of Japan. After World War II there was hardly exchange between the two countries, until at the turn to the 1960s two gates for Korean students opened. One were scholarships offered by a Christian

women's organization, which opened the door for Koreans of various fields of study to come to Austria. Until the 1990s these scholarship was granted to 100 students majoring in 30 different fields ranging from forestry to piano, from zoology to philosophy. The other gate were Catholic theologic faculties which in the same period drew about 70 young men to the alpine nation (AKA 62-117).

While the majority of these students returned to their homeland - influencing both secular society and Catholic theology of Korea, the latter one counting three bishops who studied in Austria, many remained and laid the foundation for the now existing community. The first concentrated inflow happened in 1972 and 1973 when following the German example Austria twice received 50 South Korean nurses, who started working at several Viennese hospitals (ibid. 69-126). Given the Austrian history and the affection of Koreans for Classic Music they were joined by a rising number of musicians.

As one would expect settling in Austria as an Asian was not an easy task and the Korean students as well as workers faced many hardships. The necessity of joining hands, of community and mutual help became ever more obvious and several clubs and unions were founded. While the first student unions were dissolved after some years there is now again a Korean Students Union for Austria (오스트리아 한인학생회). The most important organization is the Association of Koreans in Austria (재오스트리아 한인 연합회, AKA) which was not only joined by hundreds of individuals but also by most Korean-owned businesses active in Austria, including churches, restaurants and other facilities (AKA 2015). This organization similar to its counterparts in other European countries works as a large-scale umbrella association for all the smaller companies which are run by Koreans or people of Korean descent who wish to connect to their roots or simply get access to the advantages such kind of networking brings. The AKA has the same aims as the Overseas Koreans Foundation introduced in 3.4, namely support and protection for the Korean community, strengthening and preservation of solidarity as Koreans and the achievement of a good reputation for Korea. To strengthen the community it organizes all kinds of events, like sport festivals or end of year banquets (AKA 2012, 192-194).

Another method aimed at achieving preservation of the cultural heritage is the Korean school, that was founded in 1980 by Vienna's Korean Catholic community and has been receiving support by the Korean government since 1988. As of 2015 ten teachers each saturday teach dozens of children with one or two Korean parent(s) to ensure them a

comprehensive knowledge of their mother tongue (AKA 2013, 195; KS Wien 2015). Vienna's Korean community is further enriched by branches of internationally working large Korean companies such as Samsung, Kia and LG. Another company, Youngsan, which specializes on the export of Korean car components to CIS countries was founded in Vienna by a Korean and has today offices in 15 countries around the world (AKA 2012, 202-206). At the Samsung main office for Austria there are about 25 Korean employees, who live in Austria together with their families. Just like the many Korean diplomats, most of them are bent on returning to Korea. While in Austria they have strong demand for Korean stores, restaurants, hair saloons and churches, which produces an environment that may be compared to the small civil settlements that develop around military bases as characteristic for the Roman Empire or the US-Army's presence on the Korean peninsular – little Korea Towns (Die Presse 2014, 11). Besides the Korean school mentioned above the Korean community of Vienna with a size of about 1,800 persons counts eight churches, one hair saloon (in addition to at least two Korean hair dressers working unregistered), at least six grocery stores, eight sport facilities (mainly taekwondo-schools) and 30 restaurants. The large amount of aspiring Korean musicians is highlighted by the existence of the Vienna Korean Women's Choir, a Korean Austrian Orchestra and the Vienna Korea Philharmonics.

As the Austrian government unlike the governments of the USA or the UK does not ask for ethnicity in its censuses, the number of naturalized citizens is hard to investigate. However as of 2001 there were according to the census of that year 316 persons with Austrian citizenship who stated to mainly use Korean for daily conversations. Adding Koreans in interracial marriages and their children this number might grow to around 400. Since 2001 there were additionally 191 (as of 2014) naturalizations of South Koreans (plus 17 of North Koreans). At the same time the number of Koreans in Austria with South Korean citizenship has been 1,946 (compared to only 50 from the North). Of these the vast majority, namely 76 percent were residing in Vienna (numbers combined from various statistics of: Statistik Austria 2015). All in all there are now up to 2,600 ethnic Koreans in Austria. About 2,500 can be regarded as South Korean and of these 1,800 live in Vienna. Estimates on the current number of Koreans studying or working in the field of Classic music in Austria vary. While for Vienna the number of 700 has been proposed (AKA 2012, 230), the field research conducted for this research showed that there are dozens who enlisted at music schools for the mere purpose of ensuring their visa. Many among them hardly receive lessons and came to Austria

to release their children from the pressure of the Korean education system, which is regarded as much easier than the Korean school system, to care for their children, who earnestly study music or in order to in the long term become European citizens.

## 5.3 Korean Churches in Austria

### 5.3.1 Introduction

There are two reasons to build up churches in foreign communities. One is the need of Christians who went abroad to have communion and to worship within an officially recognized church under a professional pastor/priest - we will see how this applies for the first Korean churches which were built in Vienna, the other one is the willingness of large church bodies in Korea to carry out the Great Commission and bring the Good News to at least their own fellow countrymen who live abroad. In a church landscape that's so far from united as is the case with the Korean church (see 4.3) church planting will not necessarily cease even if there already are enough church seats for all Koreans in a given country. We will also see how in this manner churches keep springing up in Austria even though there are already enough which causes a certain degree of competition and even hostility between them.

Chapter 5.3 will try to answer the following questions;

- What are the occasions for churches being planted in a foreign country?
- How does the clergy cope with the various unique challenges abroad?
- What does the church do for the Koreans, what for the native population?
- How are the churches organized, how many people are actively involved?

Focusing on these questions all Korean churches in Vienna will in the following be briefly introduced ordered according to the year they were established. Each introduction features among other things denomination, organization, history and size of the church. The data presented is based upon a recently published book about Koreans in Austria (AKA 2012), the homepages and Sunday leaflets of the churches and interviews and field research conducted for this study. The membership numbers were not reported by the churches but are based on observation at each church.



### 5.3.2 Vienna Korean Church (VKC)

Vienna Hanin Gyohoe	Presbyterian	1980
3rd district, 15min from center 2nd building, owned	1 pastor (6th) 2 co-pastors	450 members

The few Korean Christians in Austria usually turned to Austrian churches until with the arrival of the 100 nurses in 1972 and 1973 the demand for Korean-language services rose and starting 1974 a Korean pastor from Germany traveled to Vienna once a week in order to guide the meetings of Vienna's Evangelic Christians. These roughly 25 persons who met each week were mainly women. From 1978 when the pastor from Germany was no longer able to come, Sunday services were listened to on tape until in 1980 a first pastor was assigned to Vienna. The organization was done in cooperation between Korea's Presbyterian Church, the Protestant Church of Austria and Vienna's Korean Christians. Pastors changed every three years until in 1995 Pastor Jang was sent to Vienna. Under the new permanent leader who was chosen because of his knowledge of the German language, the church continually grew and has now about 450 members who attend one of the three Sunday services where they hear the customer-oriented version of the gospel that's typical for Korea's mega churches<sup>16</sup>. The Friday night services also attract up to 100 persons.

The VKC has two co-pastors, three church elders and over 100 additional volunteers as choir, for worship, in the kitchen, as teachers or other staff and it is Vienna's only Korean church that pays its ensemble. The large 5 story building, which was inhabited from an Austrian church, offers enough space for three kitchens and dining halls, many Bible study groups and child care. During the week the facility is used as an apartment and for prayer meetings or secular activities like music practice or German classes.

The church offers translation to each of its services and is attended by usually up to ten non-Koreans. Evangelical outreach is pursued by voluntary work in homeless shelters and nursing homes, which is organized together with local churches and done every week. About 20 church members are regularly involved in this work. In addition the church helped to establish Korean churches in two other Austrian cities. Even more effort is done for mission in East Europe, where the VKC invests about 50% of its income. Cooperation with other Korean churches in Vienna is not sought, so the VKC only participates in the Easter festival which is a joint venture of all Korean churches in the city.

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<sup>16</sup> on the theologically shallow preaching typical for many Korean churches see Hidemura (1998, 122-124)

### 5.3.3 Vienna Full Gospel Church

Vienna Sunbokeum Gyohoe	Assemblies of God	1980
15th district, 15min from center 4th building, owned	1 pastor (1st) 2 co-pastors	150 members

The second Korean church to start weekly services in Vienna was the Full Gospel church, an offshoot of Seoul's Yoido Full Gospel church, with 800,000 members the world's largest congregation. As some Koreans in Austria had been affiliated to the Assemblies of God, which in theology and worship considerably differs from the Korean Presbyterian church, it was not illogical to start a Viennese branch. Pastor Na together with his wife was sent on the Christmas morning 1980 and is by far Austria's longest serving Korean minister.

From an Austrian Protestant church which Pastor Na had shared in the beginning, after one year they moved to an office less than 10 minutes from the city center. However the church grew and after 8 years they had to move again, this time with the help of the Yoido Full Gospel Church they bought a factory building far from the center. Distance and shortcomings of the facility had the church move one last time to a place close to Vienna's second largest train station, where it bought a whole apartment building which is now used as church, apartment, kitchens, Bible study rooms and a student dormitory.

The church offers its main service on Sunday morning with around 150 attendees and additional services in the afternoon and on Fridays, both attended by 20 to 30 persons. Bible study is done on Sundays but also during the week. At its best times the church had been competing with the VKC for the higher number of members, now it's far behind but still a very active community. Just like the VKC it is crowded from Saturday with women preparing food for the following day and students practicing worship. On Sunday the first people arrive around 10 am, service starts at 11 am, lunch is eaten together on both ground floor and 1st floor and hereafter follows Bible study. The last people leave after 5 pm. All in all there are at least 50 people involved in voluntary services; choir, music, technics, teaching, kitchen work, cleaning and other duties.

The church offers German language translation but this is used by at best half a dozen people. The church funds East Europe mission and the pastor has a personal network to the other Korean ministers (except for the pastor of the VKC) in Vienna which is upheld through private meetings several times a year, besides the Easter festival mentioned in 5.3.2.

### 5.3.4 Wien Korean Catholic Church

Wien Hanin Cheonju Gyohoe	Catholic	1987
23rd district, 40min from center 2nd building, shared with Austrian church	1 priest (9th)	150 members (half attending)

Austria's first Korean language Mass was celebrated in 1962 when a Korean bishop was visiting Vienna, but until 1987 in order to celebrate Mass weekly Korean Catholics had to travel to Salzburg. The demand for a Mass in their city led to efforts to have Korean priests visit Vienna more often and by 1973 there was a Mass once a month. This was made possible when the Korean priest of Salzburg, which at first had more Korean Catholic inhabitants and already a church, agreed to visit Vienna regularly. By that time the demand in Vienna had risen because of the arrival of 100 Korean nurses. These Masses however were not attended by more than 20 Catholics on average. On initiative of a Korean bishop in 1979 the Korean Catholic Community was founded and Korean language missals and Bibles were imported. Finally in 1987 with assistance of Austria's Catholic church and under the Diocese of Daegu the first priest came to Austria to celebrate mass each week. In 2003 the church, which had grown to about 100 attendees, moved in to an Austrian church building which it shares with an Austrian community having Mass some hours after them.

The church building is situated in the outskirts of Vienna which reportedly keeps a considerable number of Catholics from attending. The current priest is Donald Kim, who came here in 2011. All priests are sent from the Diocese of Incheon, which in 2007 assumed leadership of the parish, and according to Korean Catholic customs stay for not more than five years. Reverend Donald was chosen because he had studied in Innsbruck before and the diocese prefers priests who are trained in the native language. Voluntary service of many church members allows a well organized Mass with the following agape and at times Bible classes for children. Several liturgical or cultural events are also organized. Usually there are 50 to 80 people attending Mass with circa 15 actively involved in serving, but both numbers can double on special occasions.

Connection to the Austrian church of the same building is given in at least two joint Masses a year and to the church of Austria in the monthly meetings of the African-Asian-South American Catholic Consortium and two or three joint Masses a year. In addition all Catholic Korean priests of Europe meet once a year for a one-week summit. To Protestant Korean churches there is no tie except since 2013 the Easter festival.

### 5.3.5 Vienna Presbyterian Church (VPC)

Vienna Jangno Gyohoe	Presbyterian	1984
15th district, 20min from center 3rd building, owned	1 pastor (3rd) 1 co-pastor	ca. 50 members

To understand the justification of a second Presbyterian church for the less than 2,000 Koreans of Vienna one has to know that the Presbyterian church of Korea is far from united. Mainly depending to where the respective pastor studied theology it is divided into over 40 sub-denominations with the largest two (*Tonghab* and *Habdong*) representing little less than half of Korea's Presbyterian Christians. With the Vienna Korean Church and the Vienna Presbyterian Church both *Tonghab* and *Habdong* are represented in Vienna.

The Vienna Presbyterian Church was founded in 1984 initially as a student's missionary church by a pastor who had graduated from a theological seminar in Korea and had come to Vienna to continue his studies. Through cooperation with the *Evangelische Studenten Gemeinde* of Vienna the church was able to obtain its first place of meeting, in a renown Protestant dormitory and event location. Later it moved to an Austrian Protestant church and finally it purchased a building of its own, where Pastor Lee since 1993 conducts services each week. Although the church is small it offers German language service.

### 5.3.6 Vienna Methodist Church (VMC)

Vienna Gamni Gyohoe	Methodist	1992
21st district, 30min from center sharing with Austrian church	1 pastor (3rd)	ca. 70 members

The Vienna Methodist Church was founded in 1992 through cooperation between the Methodist Churches of Korea and Austria. Since then there has been good teamwork between the VMC and the different Austrian congregations it shared its worship spaces with. The current church building is for an Evangelic church the furthest from the center, which does not keep the church from growing continually. Up to 25 members serve at the church for choir and kitchen etc. and some even help at the Austrian congregation in the same building. In return the Austrian church supports the Korean pastor with apartment and residence authorization. In addition there are regularly joint events e.g. at Pentecost, which makes the VMC's connection to Austrian Protestant Christianity perhaps the closest among Korean churches. Its mission donations go to Africa and Germany.

### 5.3.7 Wien Jeongdong Church

Wien Jeongdong Gyohoe	Presbyterian	2000
15th district, 20min from center shared with Austrian church	1 pastor (2nd)	ca. 35 members

In the year 2000 the third Korean Presbyterian church, the Jeongdong Church opened its gates in Vienna. Different from the VKC and the VPC the service of the Jeongdong Church is very traditional and the church focuses on not only spiritual but also theological growth as it offers a very high level of Bible study for all age-groups. The Jeongdong Church uses an Austrian church building where the Korean service follows after the German service. Due to the nature of the church the involvement rate is very high with most adults serving the church in some way. During the week the pastor works as a tourist guide.

### 5.3.8 Manna Mission Church (MMC)

Manna Seongyo Gyohoe	non-denominational	2003
2nd district, 10min from center owned (Taekwondo-center)	1 pastor (1st)	ca. 25 members

The MMC is the only church with a considerable number of non-Korean members, who are entertained with Korean arts, sports and cuisine. It was established in 1994 in Innsbruck by a Korean missionary who had come to the provincial town as a Taekwondo-teacher but with the aim of evangelization. Due to the lack of Korean population the church from its beginning was open to Austrians and when some of the churchgoers permanently moved to Vienna the pastor started to weekly commute between Vienna and Innsbruck. The church uses a Taekwondo-school, which is used for Sunday service and daily morning prayer.

### 5.3.9 Korean SDA Church Vienna

Vienna Hanin Jaerim Gyohoe	Seventh Day Adventist	2005
23rd district, 35min from center shared with Austrian church	1 pastor	up to 30 members

This far the last church to be established in Vienna was a congregation of Seventh Day Adventist (Mormons). The location is quite far from the city center and is joint used with an Austrian SDA community. A SDA pastor was sent here in 2005 and did not establish any connection to other Christian communities in Vienna but the church is networking with other Korean Mormon churches in Europe and there are international events several times a year.

### 5.3.10 Additional findings and Conclusion

All in all there are eight churches for Vienna's 2000 Koreans. Of course some Koreans visit Austrian or International churches but as participant observation indicates, their number is similar to the number of non-Koreans attending Korean churches and is most probably below 25 individuals. One Korean church per 250 Koreans is both above the European and the Korean average and apparently more than necessary. The main reason for this are the dissent within the Evangelic Church of Korea and the ambition of even small churches to participate in the Evangelization of in our case Middle Europe. A ninth church was in existence for several years, but the Presbyterian International Church (Vienna Gukje Gyohoe), which was planted by a university lecturer and had a close relationship to both the VPC (5.3.5) and the Austrian church, where service was celebrated ceased to exist when the church-planter and pastor concluded his work at the University of Vienna and returned to Korea. Most church members moved to the VPC. Even a tenth church was possible but the Presbyterian pastor was persuaded by the pastor of Vienna's largest congregation (VKC) to move to Graz instead, Austria's second largest city.

The pastors who came to Austria to start a ministry among the diaspora communities were sent by their Korean denominations and came here with help of the Austrian Protestant church. This highlights the importance of bonds between Evangelic churches throughout the world regardless of the many theologic differences, that exist between Korean and Middle-European Protestantism. Austrian churches organize residence permits, houses and buildings and in many cases support the foreign pastors over many years. In return Korean churches send believers to help with the worship by playing instruments, singing or in some cases even preaching, where there is no Austrian pastor. Vienna's Korean Evangelic churches cooperate with both the Evangelic welfare-organization Diakonie and the Catholic counterpart Caritas, they visit nursery homes for the elderly and for blind people and shelters for homeless and asylum seekers. In this way migrant churches vitalize Austria's perishing Christianity. And they do so although they themselves cite shortage of manpower as their main concern.

With the human resources given to them the churches organize devotional meetings on a daily basis<sup>17</sup>, handle and maintain building and finances, have exchange to other

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<sup>17</sup> most Korean churches offer morning prayer meetings and sunday worship, in many cases also Friday night worship. Only on Saturdays there are no liturgic activities, as preparation for the following Sunday dominates.

churches/missionaries, train as many believers as possible to be able to lead themselves and try to offer bible study for all of their members, including children. The financial output of the churches is impressive. Most believers do not give the 10% which are demanded within large parts of Christianity, but 50 to 100€ a month are common. The three largest churches annually receive over 400,000, 100,000 and 50,000€ respectively in church givings. Of this a large part goes into the mission field, the VKC for example sends 70% of the amount to nearly 100 missionaries, most of them working in East Europe. Upkeep of church facilities and living costs of the pastor are in many cases also to be covered by this money, and meals, snacks, bibles, instruments, paper and everything else that's needed to keep a church running as well. To strengthen the churches' footing in the community and to help the diaspora communities thousands of Euros find their way into the Korean school, the Korean community center and the several events organized by Austria's Korean expatriots organization (Hanin Yeonhabhoe Ji 2011; 2012; 2015).

Statistically the most obvious result, which studying Vienna's church landscape revealed, was that just like in the United States or New Zealand where this phenomenon had been observed before far more people attend church than in Korea. The non-Catholic churches combined have 750-800 attendees a week. With up to 2000 Koreans in and around Vienna these are around 39% and so double the 19% Protestant Christians we have in Korea. Catholics on the other hand even with the highest estimation for festivals like Easter reach only 7.5% (150 persons). This brings to mind the 10% Korean Catholics in the United States of America, who also fall short to the 11% in Korea. The rise in Evangelic attendance is not as extreme as the 61% in the US but still impressive. So obviously the phenomenon of strong diaspora Christianity is widely Evangelic, not Catholic.

The high number of Korean churchgoers in Austria is also interesting concerning the role of the religious environment in church growth. In chapter 4.4 we saw that church attendance of virtually all Asian diaspora communities in the United States lies dramatically above the level in the respective country of origin. Accordingly it would seem likely that the church growth could be explained by the high level of Christianity within the migration receiving country. But if this was so, then there would be no church growth in Austria as the European nation has a church attendance which is considerably below the level of Korea. The conviction that the observed rise in Christianity among diaspora communities is to be attributed less to the religious state of the receiving nation than to the institution church

itself is further indicated by the relatively high number of Christian churches we find in China and the CIS countries, where the Korean communities were established long before Christianity in Korea became a major religion and Evangelic Christianity is everything but encouraged<sup>18</sup>. If the nature of the church itself is drawing people who live abroad this means a whole lot of things; a promising future to diaspora churches in the context of globalization, huge chances but also responsibility for its leaders and a model for the Catholic Church if it wishes to compete with the Protestants.

Keeping the community and evangelization-focused nature of Korean Evangelism, which we learned about in the previous chapters in mind, we will invest the reasons Korean expatriots start attending and choose a church in chapter 7. The survey to be presented there serves the two aims of affirming this relation between diaspora life and church growth and to create this model of how churches manage to attract these additional sheep - people who in many cases would have never stepped into a church if they had stayed in their homeland.

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<sup>18</sup> the large Korean communities of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Vietnam and China (PRC) are all residing in countries which are featured on the Open Doors Christian Persecution World Watch List (Open Doors 2015).



## 6 The Survey

### 6.1 The Impact of Faith Communities in the Diaspora

Having established the object of this study, with the following chapter we will enter the core content of this research; identifying and discussing reasons for church growth in the Korean diaspora. Austria served as the background for this research but we can assume that similar results can be obtained when applying the same methods on Korean overseas communities in many other countries.

The world is now at the highest level of connection it has ever had. The highly advanced internet with all its options of bringing together people, globally risen standards of living and affordable mass transportation offer lots of challenges and at the same time opportunities to all kinds of thoughts and concepts circulating the earth. It may be argued that the survival of the fittest will mean that we are soon to arrive at a much more homogeneous world culture than what we have now. And the decline of smaller religions contrasted by the surge of larger religions is one of the most compelling and fascinating topics on that area. A lot of work is done on the field of *Religion on the move*, as is a book title from 2012 and perhaps the most inclusive and neutral formulation of the phenomenon. Its authors argued that in the post-imperial era worldwide influence and power must be newly defined as countries like South Korea or Nigeria with less monetary wealth than religious capital are through missionary outreach affecting lives and societies around the globe (Andogame and Shankar 2012, 1).

Similar to the Irish reevangelization of Europe after the collapse of the Roman Empire the 21st century witnesses a reawakening of religion in the former Christian West often thanks to the efforts of Asian or African peoples which themselves had been evangelized by Europeans hundreds of years ago. Given its nature this phenomenon is sometimes called reverse mission (ibid. 4). There is however one snare awaiting whoever enters this field of research. The so called reverse mission must not be compared to Western missionaries who left Europe or the US to bring light to people living in darkness. While Nigerian and South Korean clergy are preaching all around the world, they do so most often to their own people. While church attendance has during this century been rising in many European countries, this was nearly exclusively due to immigrant communities.

The God of the Bible demanding separation from unbelievers (Lev. 20:23-24), weekly assembly (Lev. 23:3), preaching (2Tim. 4:2) and evangelization (Mt. 28:16-20) makes church

creation in any foreign territory an inevitable and most natural thing for Christians. Over the last decades more and more Black Africans moved to Europe and they formed churches in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Ireland and other regions contributing greatly to the cultural protection of their communities but also to religious revival in the inner cities. Many have even bought and reconsecrated church buildings, that had been sold to secular establishments. In some places African churches begin to outgrow the indigenous congregations (Gerloff 2007, 5).

The Korean diaspora is part of a phenomenon, where in many parts of the world independent and often Charismatic churches of foreign Christian communities are growing in number and self-confidence. Hans Joas, head of the Max-Weber College at the University of Erfurt, said that these communities could contribute to the secularization of Europe losing momentum. He quoted as examples that there had been 250 foundations of churches in and around Paris over the last couple of years and that today the majority of churchgoers in London were blacks (Kath.net 2010).

There is of course one crucial question remaining when asserting that immigration might lead to a surge of organized religion in Europe. Will the next generation follow the ways of their parents? The claim is well known that children of the second or third generation will more and more adopt the culture their parents moved into, leaving behind their language and traditions. And indeed chapter 3.3 showed how Korean offspring in Japan tries to avoid adopting Japanese names as their Korean family names are in many cases the very last tie between them and the home of their ancestors. But religion as this work is showing offers the ideal tool of conserving culture and especially moral values through generations to come. This effect of religion was shown by study on several Asian immigrant groups to the United States (Rholetter 2014, 777-778) but also by research on Muslims in Europe, where in many cases the religious zeal of the children outperforms the one of the parent generation that moved to Europe (Gurfinkiel 1997).

## 6.2 The Questionary

We were able to through this project assemble a vast amount of previous research on the supposed positive relation between diaspora experience and a growth in religious affiliation or at least church attendance and each chapter is presenting more details of this phenomenon. After establishing the framework in chapters 3 and 4, chapter 5 described the Korean church landscape of Vienna indicating that church attendance is far more common

among Koreans in Austria than in their homeland. We added international studies in chapter 6.1 and they imply that we are dealing with an international phenomenon observed among Koreans but not confined to them. To be Christian is obviously much more common among Koreans in the United States (ca. 70%), New Zealand (up to 90%) and as discovered in the course of this research Austria (over 50%) than it is in Korea (ca. 30%). Looking at the density of churches we can assume that the same is true for Canada, where there are even more Korean churches in relation to the Korean population than in the US and also for most European countries topped perhaps by Germany which has the worldwide highest density of Korean churches, with one congregation for an average of 170 Koreans. There has not yet been academic research on Korean Christianity in Europe but this work is painting a first picture by portraying the situation in the seventh largest city within the European Union and connecting it to international findings. And putting in mind that we are dealing with the same Korean diaspora in Europe as in the US or Oceania as pointed out in chapter 3 the results support the claim that what is known about Korean diasporas in parts of the English speaking world can be transferred to other parts of the world as well. And thus that we do not have merely the interesting phenomenon of highly religious Koreans in the United States but that the Korean diaspora offers a uniquely fertile field for Evangelic outreach which is harvested with varying success throughout the world.

The following chapters will now present the fruits of a questionnaire which aimed at two goals. One is affirming or contesting various possible motivations for attending a church abroad, even if someone did not do so in Korea. The other one is to put into question the element of conversion among these new churchgoers. A doubt often raised and encountered in many conversations about church attendance of people who did not enter a church back in Korea but now visit one each Sunday, is whether such people can be considered to be “real” Christians, thus if there has been more change to them than the mere fact that they join others once a week on an occasion nominally dedicated for worship. The results of the survey will be presented in chapters 7 and 8; the function of chapter 6 is to introduce the survey itself and to establish categories which will be used in the following two chapters. Categories refers on the one hand to the degree of personal faith which will with reference to the academic discussion be divided into the three groups of nominal, active and passionate. On the other hand chapter 6.4 will shortly deal with the difference between Evangelics and Catholics and the question whether such distinction is even necessary for a

study like this. A question which will be negated. All results of the survey will be reflected and backed by previous findings drawn from secondary literature.

The survey on which the presented results are based was conducted between November 2014 and March 2015. It included 27 questions, which can be found in the appendix as 10.1. The whole questionnaire was issued in Korean and it featured mostly multiple choice questions with some free response questions. The questions were aimed at five topics; I. religion and faith (presented in chapters 7.1 and 8.2), II. choosing and starting to attend a church (7.2 and 7.3), III. religious life (as in Austria compared to Korea)(8.2 and 8.3), IV. social relations (8.4) and V. happiness (8.5). The questionnaire was displayed and handed out at Vienna's two largest Korean churches, in a German language course for Koreans and on a meeting of members of the Catholic church. Participants had to be at least 16 years of age and anyone born in Austria or who moved there at a very young age was excluded from partaking. To collect a larger amount of data on non-churchgoers recipients were encouraged to hand copies also to Koreans, who are not attending any church. With a comparable study on Turkish Muslims in Germany based on 250 respondents and the Gallup institute usually collecting 400 answers when conducting polls in Austria, a significant three-digit number was aimed at for this work as well (Sen 2007, 18; Pollitik.net 2015). In the end of 400 sheets placed at disposal 234 were answered and had within four months found its way into one of the boxes provided for the collection of the survey. Of these 8 were self-described Buddhists, 29 Catholics, 166 Evangelics and 31 of no religion. As Evangelic churches were the main base for the distribution of the questionnaires the high number of Evangelics is just as expected and the questionnaire can and will not be used to draw conclusions on the number of churched Koreans in Austria – this number was evaluated by visiting the churches and is presented in subchapter 5.3. However the low number of self-described Buddhists compared to Catholics and unaffiliated can be considered a surprise. The collected surveys were divided into three major groups which will serve as the basis for our findings; 109 passionate Christians, 70 other churched people and 55 unchurched people. The definition of passionate Christians will follow in chapter 6.3.

### 6.3 Categories for Christians

This project was started with the aim of giving scientifically backed up answers and new insights to both quantity and quality of church growth among the Korean overseas

communities. In order to investigate qualitative church growth it is inevitable to create objective standards by which individual faith can be classified. The basic differentiation between churchgoing Christians on the one side and mere nominal Christians on the other side is beyond question but to draw the line between converted Christians and unconverted people within Christian denominations is much more challenging. Basically there are two groups - one being the 'carnal', 'unconverted', 'moderate' or simply worldly thinking person, the other the 'Evangelical', 'spiritual', 'converted', 'fanatic', 'radical' or 'born-again' Christian. The two largest American religious science institutes, the secular Pew Research Center and the Evangelic Barna Group both use the term 'born-again' (Pew 2011; Barna 2006). The Pew Research Center sees the term born-again as closely related to the expression Evangelical. While it offers a number of Characteristics of this group it doesn't provide a definition and instead lets respondents freely determine whether they are 'Born again'. The statistics it presents show differences between Christians in general and this core of Christianity but this might simply be due to unchurched Christians who are arguably less likely to refer to themselves as 'Born again', and the academic relevance of any term that anyone can determine in a different way should be questioned in principle. The Barna Group does use a definition for 'born-again', by which respondents determine whether they belong to this group, but it is basically a version of the so-called sinner's prayer which has been under serious attack within Christianity because it is again merely based on personal feelings rather than an objectively verifiable truth for which reason it should not be considered as to be academic (MacArthur 2008, 37-46).

To exclude any theological connotations this research will use the terms 'nominal' for anyone who confesses to be a Christian but does not attend church weekly, 'non-passionate', for those who do but fail to qualify for the last category which is 'passionate', referring to the Christian center, defined by the following norms;

- identify as Christians
- attend church weekly
- read the Bible weekly
- pray regularly

To divide churchgoers into these two groups can be regarded as the same idea by which Pew and Barna refer to self-declared Evangelicals or Born-Again Christians. But it is

arguably more reliable and academic. As the following sections of this work will show the result is similar to what the work of Pew and Barna reveals; namely that people at the center of Christianity differ much from unbelievers in even secular matters while ‘non-passionate’ Christians do not.

While throughout the text some clearly distinguishable alternative terms might be used, this text mainly speaks in the three categories ‘nominal’, ‘non-passionate’ and ‘passionate’. Where there is a division between only ‘non-passionate’ and ‘passionate’ according to whether the context requires church attendance ‘nominals’ will or will not be included in the ‘non-passionate’ category. The term ‘active Christian’ will always include both ‘passionate’ and ‘non-passionate’ churchgoers. As the group of the nominal Christians was with only 16 individuals the smallest, many statistics will merge this group with the non-Christian population. Several international research results presented in 8.1 show that there is little to no difference between unchurched but self-described Christians and the general pagan population. That this is not confined to Christianity, was revealed by a study on German Muslims that concluded that there is a distinct difference in the way of thinking depending on whether Muslims weekly attend a mosque or not (Sen 2007, 29).

#### 6.4 Evangelics vs. Catholics and churchd vs. unchurched

While the definition of the groups passionate, active and nominal Christians served the aim of achieving better results concerning the sincerity of new-found affiliation to Christianity in the diaspora and to find clearer differences between Christians and unbelievers in social aspects, a distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism did not seem to be necessary for this work. It must be admitted here that Koreans usually consider Catholicism and Protestantism as two completely different religions (Baker 2006, 289-296). This goes to the degree that they use different words for God<sup>19</sup> and Catholics do usually not refer to themselves as Christians<sup>20</sup>, but only as Catholic. Most Koreans regardless of their religion use the term Christianity only to refer to Protestantism and hardly use the actual proper noun for Protestantism. It should be argued however that this division to a certain

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<sup>19</sup> Catholics say *Haneu-nim* deriving from “Heavenly [God]” while Evangelics refer to God as *Hana-nim* meaning “the One [God]”.

<sup>20</sup> Catholics usually call themselves Catholics and their religion Catholicism (*Catholic* or *Cheonju-gyo* which means “teachings of/about the Heavenly God”), the word Christianity, *Gidok-gyo* (meaning “teachings of/about Christ”), in Korean most of the time refers to Protestantism, while the proper word for Protestantism, *Gaeshin-gyo*, is rather a rarely used “synonym” for *Gidok-gyo*.

degree misses the point, as even within Protestantism essential theological disagreements exist and only the least churchgoers are able to define the differences between certain denominations or Evangelism and Catholicism respectively. But in order to examine possible differences between Evangelics and Catholics we will now have a short look on certain results of the survey with this additional division;

	Catholics			Evangelics		
	nominal	active	passionate	nominal	active	passionate
believe in God (0 no - 2 convinced)	1.9	2	2	1.9	1.9	2
believe in Jesus as Messiah and the Bible as God's word (0 no - 2 convinced)	1.2	1.6	2	1.6	1.9	2
friends are churchgoers (0 no/hardly - 2 all/mostly)	0.7	0.9	1.6	0.7	1.3	1.5
are happy, have no problems (0 not at all - 5 absolutely)	2.5	2.6	3.2	2.7	2.4	3.4

Table 6.4: Comparison of Catholics and Evangelics

We can see that in various aspects investigated for this work Christians of the several levels of faith tend to give similar answers regardless of them being Catholic or Evangelic. These results imply that there is no essential difference between Catholics and Evangelicals in regard to social research on a personal level. In contrast regardless of Catholic or Evangelic there is a striking similarity within the groups nominal, active and passionate respectively. The statistical differences rather exists on the church and population level due to the differing ability or willingness to attract and train followers. Chapter 5 showed that around 39% of Vienna's Korean population attended an Evangelic church compared to only 4% going to the Catholic church. What can be seen here is an extreme difference in mobilization. While the number of Koreans referring to themselves as Evangelic in Korea is only twice the number of those aligning with the Roman tradition, Evangelic attendance in Austria is ten times better than of the competing Catholic church.

What chapter 6.4 showed is that indeed the main difference between Evangelics and Catholics is not that Catholics per se have little interest in God or a weaker relationship to their church but the apparent inability of the Korean Catholic church to attract people and then convert its members into passionate Christians. Therefore we find among Catholics a very low number of the so called new-born Christians and the group as a whole is therefore inferior to Evangelics in any spiritual or religious matter. But having this said, on the

individual level there seems to be no non-theological reason to discriminate between the two groups as long as a differentiation between the several levels of faith is adhered to. To examine the quality of conversion, which is one of the crucial elements of this research, we already established three different levels of faith in chapter 6.3. Therefore chapters 7 and 8 will, except for 7.1 which includes an estimation about the population share of the major religious affiliations, regard these two main branches of Christianity as one religion. They will not discern between Catholics and Evangelicals but rather between passionate Christians, active Christians, nominal Christians. The merging of nominal Christians with non-Christians in social and habitual aspects is justified by previous findings (8.1 and 6.3) as well as the results of this survey. Unchurched Christians show little belief in the central elements of Christianity, namely the Bible and Jesus as Christ, least of their friends are active Christians and they hardly read the Bible to summarize some findings. Attending the assembly of believers is not merely an optional add-on to religion it is the defining moment in personal faith.



## 7 Quantitative Church Growth

### 7.1 Church Growth

The reasons that the institution of the church is more attractive when abroad lay at hand. Newly arriving persons often undergo a culture shock, in many cases they face racial and cultural discrimination in all aspects of life. Christian congregations respond to this experience by offering a spiritual home, comfort and discipline. It is an easy covenant; Immigrants are seen as second class citizens and face all kinds of hardships during the week but become holy conquerors of a 'promised land' if they spend their Sundays united before the Lord and enter the protection of their congregation and even a supreme being (Gerloff 2007, 7). This notion of empowerment can be felt even stronger in many European nations, where churched immigrants observe the church around them growing ever bigger due to the continuing inflow of new immigrants, while the usually pagan local population is shrinking.

If we attempt to make a projection on the complete religious landscape of Vienna's Korean community we may combine the attendance numbers of the churches introduced in chapter 5 with the 55 questionnaires turned in by people not attending a church. It can be challenged to which degree 55 sheets are representative but nonetheless a rough estimation would look like this;

Religion	surveyed	population estimate for Vienna I <sup>21</sup>	population estimate for Vienna II	population in Korea
Buddhist	8	9%	9%	23%
Catholic active	20	4%	12%	11%
Catholic nominal	9	8%		
Evangelic active	159	39%	45%	18%
Evangelic nominal	7	6%		
other	-	-	-	1%
unaffiliated	31	34%	34%	47%
total	234	100%	100%	100%

Table 7.1a: Religious affiliation of Vienna's Koreans

Based on this the Korean population of Vienna would be to 43% active Christians which is about double the number of Korea. The second largest group are the 34% of

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<sup>21</sup> Church attending Evangelic and Catholic population was estimated in chapter 6, all other group estimations were based upon the number of persons surveyed, reaching 100% by evenly adding 10% to non-Christians but detracting 10% from non-attending Christians as they were likely to take part in the survey due to church-attending relatives.

unaffiliated people, which is 13% less than in Korea. Hereafter we see with 14% a large share of nominal Christians. This can be regarded as a surprise, as one of the most obvious attempts to explain stronger church attendance in the diaspora would be to assume that people who did not attend church in Korea, enticed by the various advantages now started doing so. But actually the number of people who do not attend church although they identify as Christians is even larger than in Korea, and this to a similar degree as the increased number of churchgoers. In Vienna about 85% of Korean Protestants and 33% of Catholics go to church on Sundays, both numbers indicate only a slight gain compared to figures from Korea. So we notice a very natural church growth in Austria.

We see that the total number of Korean Christians in Austria might be at 60% and thus twice as high as in Korea. People who claim no religious belief drop by 25 to 30% from nearly half the population to a third of it but not nearly as devastatingly as the Buddhist population which is down by 60% to a one-digit number (9%). Thus Buddhism, regarded as the strongest religion in Korea when dividing Evangelism and Catholicism, pales into insignificance, clearly falling back behind both large Christian traditions. These findings are consistent with what now churching people who responded to this study revealed about their backgrounds.

The more than four in ten Austrian Koreans who identifying as Evangelic is distinctly above the less than two in four who do so in Korea, Buddhists drop from two in ten to one in ten and unaffiliated even from five to three. Catholics remain stable. So on the one hand we see that the rise of Christianity among this diaspora community vastly effects both the Buddhist and the unreligious community and on the other hand, that it is very much to be contributed to the Evangelic church. This result stands in accordance and is therefore backed up by data collected in America. A recent study conducted by the Pew Research Center in the United States showed that an impressive majority of 71% of Korean Americans said they were Christians. This is exactly the converse picture of the 29% minority of Christians in South Korea. While 11% of South Korea's population identify as Catholic this number is at only 10% among Koreans in the USA. At the same time the number of 18% who identify as Protestants ascends to 61% among US-Koreans (Pew 2014).

The main finding of this research is the higher number of churchgoers among Korean overseas communities as compared to the situation we find in Korea. A quick conclusion would now be to assert that many people are becoming Christians when being abroad for

some years. But there are two very important objections to that idea. One has been mentioned by some dialog partners during the course of this conversation; it is the possibility that people who leave Korea are disproportionately Christians in the first place. As can be seen in chapters 4.2 and 4.3 about Christianity in Korea the religion has for decades been linked to economic growth and education and recently wealth. Looking at the Koreans that come to Middle Europe most are from exactly this social class. In addition Vienna as the so called Capital of Music attracts many music students who, as a Korean youth pastor active in Vienna put it, tend to be Christians. The other objection is that while church growth exists this does not necessarily mean that a qualitative rise in the number of Christians is occurring. Unconverted people who are deliberately using churches for diverse carnal reasons are at least in the large churches common. Knowing some individuals who indeed changed their lifestyle and their way of thinking in Austria does not build a compelling relation to the diaspora situation as these individuals also exist in Korea. So tracking converts numerically, building a connection between church growth and the diaspora experience and testing the sincerity of these new adherents to Christianity have been the main goals of the questionnaire. Chapter 7 will deal with the element of church attendance or “outward conversion”, the more challenging inquiry about “inward conversion” will follow in chapter 8.

According to the results the number of people who joined church in Austria is indeed overwhelming. 36% of those surveyed who said that they were currently attending church every week stated that they had never or only rarely visited a church back in Korea. This means that over a third of Korean churchgoers in Vienna are new to organized Christianity. In that sense one out of three persons in every church can be considered a diaspora convert. 85% of respondents came to Austria after 1995 and so after the peak of Evangelization in Korea. So the 50% growth of church attendance among Koreans in Austria was not simply the parallel to a similar growth in Korea. Actually over the last 20 years church attendance in Korea stagnated. So that the rise in church population can indeed be attributed to the diaspora experience should by now be proofed. People who in their new environment dropped out of church were encountered in four cases, representing just 7% of Koreans who do not attend a church in Vienna.

People who in Austria.	...visited church weekly in Korea.	...did not attend church in Korea.
...visit church weekly...	64%	36%
...do not attend a church...	7%	93%

Table 7.1b: Change in church attendance

What the table shows is that church attendance among Austrian Koreans has in the course of their life as expatriots risen by about 50%. In connection to this the question, whether people sense that there is a stronger stimulus to go to church when abroad was answered with yes by 70% of respondents, while 7% believe in the opposite effect. Answers were evenly divided over all groups. Only people who stopped attending church in Austria tended to say that the motivation to attend a church abroad is lower than in Korea.

„How do you think about the motivation to attend a church while living abroad as compared to Korea?“

it is higher	it is the same	it is lower
69.8%	20.4%	7.3%

Table 7.1c: changed motivation to attend church

Why is that? For the Korean case it has been argued that the life in Christian community as churches are supposed to offer it fits very well to people from Confucian societies like Koreans (Jaeger, Park 1983, 51f). But we are dealing with a phenomenon, that is far stronger in the diaspora and can also be observed among other ethnicities, so we will have to look deeper. When trying to make a life abroad, many people complain about suddenly being cut off from their home country where they felt secure and in control and put into an unknown territory where they realize how utterly people are dependent on language skills and personal networks. Koreans in Austria that mastered German are the minority. Most struggle with the language. The easiest personal network these people can obtain is the church. And the idea of entering a church is something many Korean unbelievers are permanently confronted with and therefore aware of. Chapter 4.3 pointed to the mission-oriented Evangelical nature of Korean Evangelism. A study from 2007 showed that every third Christian in that country claimed to weekly speak with unbelievers about his faith (Pew 2007). Thinking of the story of Abraham leaving his home land to align with God, the Israelites leaving Egypt on their quest for the promised land, or the Babylonian exile Jewish history offers lots of stories that serve Christian preachers in mentally unifying and supporting a people in any foreign land. In addition becoming member of a church means getting in touch with individuals that “made it” in the foreign society and so it provides positive examples newly arriving expatriots can look to. The examined churches in Vienna are regularly visited by the heads of most Korean businesses of the city. Successful directors of international companies, founders of Austrian based Korean companies as well as owners of restaurants and grocery stores attend church each week. Of course this also offers people

looking for a job a welcome opportunity to find it as well as business owners an opportunity to find trustworthy employees and to develop their clientele. It is an open secret that people of faith prefer doing business with or visit stores of other believers and churches encourage this practice. Many Koreans when in a foreign country start attending church for very pragmatic reasons. A study that asked Korean residents in New York why they come to church collected several social reasons like having intimate fellowship with other Koreans, keeping up the Korean culture, receiving help as new immigrants and gaining social status. In New Zealand, where reportedly overwhelming 90% of Koreans go to church another study revealed that most had not visited church when in Korea but felt compelled to attend church because of their need for networking in the new country (Song Minho 2011, 125).

## 7.2 Entering Church

In chapter 7.2 we will discuss and verify reasons that cause people who arrived in a foreign country after leaving Korea as non-Christians to enter a church for the first time. Despite the various reasons to join a congregation it still appears to be an uncomfortable step for a person with zero faith, especially as Korean Evangelical pastors usually deliver their sermons in a very unapologetic way at times accompanied by alienating prayer styles. Therefore to assess the general level of spirituality and faith among Koreans we asked about belief in spiritual things, God, and the Bible. We see that only one in four non-Christian Koreans falls under the label atheist in the sense that they do not believe in any god or spirits. Most say they do not know and a third believes in the supernatural. Even when asked about God, nearly half (46%) decline from expressing unbelief. While no unbelievers (and only 50% of unchurched Christians) stated to believe in Jesus as Messiah and the Bible as God's word, 17%, or one in six non-Christians at least expressed uncertainty about this issue.

Percentage of people who do not believe/do not know/do believe in...<sup>22</sup>

	non-Christians	non-passionate Chr.	passionate Chr.
...spiritual things	23% / 46% / 31%	9% / 18% / 73%	3% / 5% / 93%
...God	54% / 43% / 3%	2% / 5% / 94%	- / - / 100%
...Jesus and the Bible	83% / 17% / -	2% / 14% / 85%	- / - / 100%

Table 7.2: religious views by group

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<sup>22</sup> the exact questions can be found in the appendix

We can presume that this relatively high level of spirituality among those people who even in the diaspora didn't join Christian denominations is an important bridgehead for future Evangelization and already worked on those who did.

Looking at the occasion for the first step into a church the interviews conducted for this work showed that many Koreans who had never attended church in their homeland after they came to Austria felt the compelling need to connect with other Koreans and so eventually took part in a Sunday service. Churches are the largest Korean gatherings in Austria and anyone is free to visit them. Some people visited church first as early as the second week in Vienna, others after months. The exact manner in which these people for the first time step into a church building differs but most often they get to know someone who is already attending the church and who invites them to do the same. Those church members in some cases feel they are evangelizing their vis-à-vis in other cases they themselves are far from converted but simply wish for company.

An interviewed group of three women stating that they had very little faith said that they were encouraging one another to visit church in order not to feel alone among so many believers. A married couple running an international company in Vienna regularly invites new employees to attend their church with the argument of getting to know some people and perhaps improve their Korean skills. One Chinese employee started this way and by now has been attending church for over three years. Even church staff uses this method of bringing forward worldly arguments in joining church, Bible meetings or even the ensemble in the hope that some might be converted subsequently. As a result most people who are brought into a church this way attend the larger churches, where the probability is higher of meeting a member by chance at the work place or university and where there are more opportunities of getting to know people or finding information and help. A mother said that she joined church with her two daughters to obtain a secure environment in a completely foreign country; One woman said that she sent her daughter to church the same way she sent her to concerts in order to connect her to the elite of Korean musicians in Austria. A man in his 50s who said he was Buddhist started attending churches when he launched a business in order to make it known and receive support by his fellow countrymen. Another man wanted to church his children so that they might get some guidance and moral teachings, as he thought the church would offer this the best way. He himself however did not become a churchman. What some male students and even one female admitted was

that churches are a good platform to get in touch with Koreans of the opposite sex. Especially in a small diaspora (only two per mill of the population in Vienna are Korean) this is of course a factor not to be underestimated. These were only some examples but they should help to illustrate the way joining a church happens in particular cases. Three of the individuals mentioned do no longer visit a church, but the rest is as far as is known still active.

To underpin these findings by attaining statistical data, people were asked through whom they had for the first time visited the church they are currently attending. People who had already been Christians (or at least attended church) when they came to Austria in most cases do not rely on people other than their family in choosing a church. 73.5% either select a church on their own or go to the church their family attends. 9% follow the advice of friends and about 16% decide after speaking to other people they know. On the other side people who did not have a relationship to organized religion when they came here in most cases (73.5%) go to a church which was introduced to them by friends or other people they know, while mere acquaintance is of even more importance (42.6%) than friends (30.9%). Convincing strangers to attend a church is obviously possible and has with 6% a considerable share in Evangelization. A remarkable result is also that you do not have to befriend someone in order to invite him to your church as far more people join a congregation through people they are not close to (28.8%) than through friends (16.8%).

“Through whom did you start to attend your church?”

	family	friend	acquaintance	stranger	on my own
people who attended church in Korea	41.6%	8.9%	16.4%	1.3%	31.9%
people who did not attend church in Korea	11.8%	30.9%	42.6%	5.9%	8.8%

Table 7.2b: Introduction to church by personal relationship

Concerning particular motivation in another question several reasons unbelievers might enter church were presented to the participants of the survey and they were also given the possibility to add further motives. The answers are presented divided into the three groups of people who do not attend church, who became churchgoers in Austria and who had already been churchgoers back in Korea. What is shown in the table is a stunning discrepancy between what churchd people think what might draw the interest of others to the church to what these others are stating.

Estimated reasons drawing unbelievers to church according to people who...

	...have already been attending church in Korea	...started attending church in Austria	...do not attend church
someone to go with them	63.9%	52.5%	20.9%
receiving help or information	21.3%	40.7%	41.9%
convenience, eg. free meals	5.6%	10.2%	4.7%
finding new friends	23.1%	37.3%	44.2%
finding business partners	4.6%	16.9%	11.6%
<i>individually added by dozens of respondents hand-written</i>			
exemplary lifestyle of Christians	12.9%	6.8%	16.3%
inner compulsion	4.6%	1.7%	2.3%

Table 7.2c: Estimated reasons to enter church

Evangelism is a hot topic in most Korean Protestant churches and is addressed in many sermons. Churchgoers are encouraged to share their faith with others and to try to make them into fellow believers. But apparently many Christians are living in delusions about individual Evangelism. While nearly two thirds of those who have already been church in Korea think that what unbelievers need is someone who accompanies them to church the share of unchurched people who say so is only one in five persons. This goes in accordance to what we learnt above, namely that more people find a church through people they are not close to than through friends. While many Christians, which was also mentioned in interviews, tend to think that convincing someone to go to church with you is best achieved after befriending him, four in five unchurched people say that they do not need anyone to go with them. The number one reason for unchurched people to visit church actually goes in the opposite direction; it is the need of finding new friends, stated by 44 percent. So Christians becoming friends with unbelievers under the pretense or justification of someday making them go to church in doing so at times actually deprive them of their very stimulus to go there.

Summarizing what people answered about apparent motivations to enter a church, who used this opportunity in the diaspora or still have it, we see that the number one reason mentioned was help and information people can obtain in churches (41.3%) and number two would be the hope to find friends (40.8%). Both things mirror what was portrayed in the individual stories summarized above. The necessity to accompany them which was mentioned by the vast majority of Christians follows on rank three. What many would consider an exploitation of churches - eating free of charge or finding business partners - was



mostly chosen by those who really did join church in Vienna, with combined 27%, but still clearly behind other reasons. A last thing worth mentioning is the very Biblical demand of unbelievers that Christians ought to behave better. A commendable, godly or righteous lifestyle was not featured on the survey but written as an alternative or additional answer by nearly 10 percent of churched people and surprising 16.3% of unchurched people.

Most clergy persons who were interviewed for this project stated an awareness of the diaspora life being an additional or for many people perhaps the only reason to ever enter a church. To give further cause to these people they organize various events where churchgoers are encouraged to come along with unbelieving friends. This can be flea markets, concerts or the annual Christmas festivals. The presumption is that many unbelievers will at some occasion accompany a friend to church for an event and after spending an enjoyable day at church they will surely return if they are not very anti-Christian. To get an impression about the statistical significance of this kind of outreach the survey featured the question if respondents ever visit a church for non-religious purposes. In case someone does so they were asked to also write the reason.

Non-Christians visiting churches for non-religious reasons

Yes	- lessons, tutoring	7%	35%
	- events	9%	
	- seeing friends or family	7%	
	- other reason	6%	
	- no reason mentioned	6%	
No			65%

Table 7.2d: Non-Christians visiting church for non-religious reasons

The table indicates that the events do indeed achieve some outreach and combined with the several other reasons circa a third of unbelievers stated that at times they visited a church. This underlines the cultural significance and range of influence churches have in the diaspora community. In order not to scare unconverted churchgoers away again, at the large churches sermons usually lack any characteristics of the gospel that seem to be too demanding. The pastor of Vienna's largest church for example stated to only deliver controversial subjects on Friday worship services, which in contrast to the Sunday service are hardly attended by uninterested persons.

### 7.3 Leaving or Settling on a Church

The data presented this far suggests that it is relatively easy to get people into once visiting your church, may it be for a Sunday service or another reason. The crucial element in building up and maintaining congregations of course takes us on step further into getting people to permanently settle on a church. The four largest congregations all have had their ups and downs, they have long lists of inscribed but non-active members and there is a high awareness of people who switch to another church even though this quickly transforms them into a persona non grata among some people they considered their friends. One church had been plunged into a crisis when a clergyman caused a minor scandal through poor conduct towards a member, another church within three years lost a fifth of its members, many of them to just one competing church, among them its youth pastor, and Vienna's largest church has had 69 registrations over the course of one year but the actual number of attendance did not change at all. Many people drop out of churches or look for another one, which is a main obstacle to long-term church growth. The survey asked both for reasons to decide for a church and for reasons to leave it. The result of the first question, which was only asked to people who currently attend a church is as follows.

"What do you consider important when choosing a church?"

	non-passionate Christians	passionate Christians
pastor / priest / sermon	73.9%	83.2%
atmosphere of the service	49.3%	42.5%
atmosphere apart of the service	21.7%	8.0%
distance	17.4%	5.3%
someone to accompany you	11.6%	2.7%
missionary outreach / vision	10.1%	30.1%
denomination	8.7%	8.0%
religious activities, eg. Bible study	7.2%	19.5%
<i>manually added by some people: God's calling</i>		5.3%

Table 7.3a: Choosing a church

The reason given by most people, regardless of their level of faith is the sermon or the preacher respectively. Seven in ten non-passionate and eight in ten passionate Christians mentioned this as very important. A big difference between these two groups is that 33% of passionate but only 20% of others gave only this reason. The overall atmosphere of the service is with nearly 50% of more importance to the so called carnal Christians than to

passionate Christians where a little more than 40% selected this answer. The largest differences with passionate inclination were missionary outreach and religious activities. Praying Christians who also read the Bible were three times as likely to choose these answers as mere churchgoers. On the other hand churchgoers without a Christian passion were three to four times more likely to consider distance, company and atmosphere besides the service as crucial in choosing a church. The possibility to add further reasons was only used by six passionate Christians who all wrote things which can be summarized as God's direct calling, if not exactly those words.

Summarizing these results and in reference to the interviews there is a strong awareness among both Christians and others, that the diaspora drives people to the church. The main superficial reasons mentioned were looking for friends or finding help and information in the new environment. These reasons obviously apply to people who have not been in Austria long enough to build up personal relationships outside of religious groups. However another surprising finding of the questionnaire was that this solely carnal factor is apparently overestimated. If it was true as is literally taken for granted by many if not most churchgoers, church attendance would be the highest among people who came to Austria during the last years. But actually Koreans who came to Austria within the last five years have the lowest church attendance rate among all groups. While the average surveyed Korean who came before 2010 attends church weekly the average for newcomers is clearly below that. For the statistical evaluation of the questionnaire we referred to attendance at least twice a week with 3, once a week with 2, sporadic with 1 and to no attendance with 0. The table shows the average by decade of arrival.

Church attendance of surveyed people who came to Austria			
before 1990	in the 1990s	in the 2000s	in the 2010s
2.1	2	2	1.7

Table 7.3b: Church attendance by arrival in Austria

To complete this illustration the questionnaire also asked people who in Austria had started or quitted attending church or switched the congregation, to freely write about their reasons. 35 of the respondents used this possibility of whom half stated why they had moved to another church; nine mentioned theological shortcomings of their former church and six disputes or quarrels within their church, one mentioned personal reasons and the church of the last person had closed its doors. People who started attending church in

Vienna did so because of family ties (four persons), friends (three), because of a Christian enlightenment (two) or on various other social reasons (four). Five people said, why they had at least for a while left church. For three this was because of conflict or malicious gossip within the church, one person said it had to do with his family and one that he had felt ashamed due to his lack of theological understanding. Three of the people who were interviewed for this work and asked why they didn't attend a church also mentioned church internal conflicts and gossip, which seems to be a main reason for people to avoid churches even in the diaspora.

## 8 Qualitative Churchgrowth

### 8.1 How Religion Matters

Both within and outside of Christianity the opinion exists that faith is a personal matter between any given believer and his or her God, which can or must not be proofed or valued by others. However this notion is rejected by sound theology as well as by a vast amount of research. Contending that religious affiliation and faith are indeed academically researchable topics it has to be mentioned that the fundamental result of practiced religion has been documented by an overwhelming body of research and literature. Thanks to this knowledge we are effectively able to determine whether the growth of the Korean church overseas is indeed a growth of Christianity and if so to which degree. Before we will continue to the actual research done on Koreans a partial introduction to this previous research will highlight already proofed relations between faith and mindset and lifestyle of people. The amount of scientific research on connections between the Christian religion and various practical variables is overwhelming. Attending church, or rather lived religion affects among others social, health and political matters.

Their stance on morality is perhaps the largest difference between churchd people and the unchurchd population. A Barna Group study from 2001 found that 24% of adults lean primarily upon religious principles and teaching or Bible content when making moral decisions which was contrasted by 44% of mainly unchurchd adults stating a desire to do whatever will bring them the most pleasing or satisfying results. The survey was conducted with 1,000 interview partners and showed that passionate Christians were decisively stronger opposed than unchurchd people to abortion, adultery, drunkenness, drug consumption, fornication, homosexuality, lying and pornography (Barna 2001).

Marriage as a sacred life-long communion between one man and one woman is a Judeo-Christian institution and so it is of little surprise that statistical data points to the importance of Christianity for its success. The German magazine *Focus* titled in 2008 that Churchgoers were more faithful than others and in the following article made clear that only churchd Christians, not those of only personal spirituality, were indeed living up to their marriage vows much more often than the average person (Focus 2008). Churchgoers are also much more family oriented than non-believers or unchurchd self-declared Christians. A study about several Western European countries showed that religious women on average

gave birth to between 0.9 (Italy) and 1.4 (Austria) children while nonreligious people gave birth to only between 0.6 (Italy) and 1.1 children (Germany)(Berghammer and Philipov 2007, 283-292). The Cologne Institute for Economic Research proofed the same relation in 2007 claiming that based on 260,000 interviews Christians worldwide had 0.5 children more (2.0 compared to 1.5) than their agnostic or atheist counterparts (Kath.net 2012). Defining religion by church attendance the World Values Survey for 82 nations over the period 1981-2004 showed that adults who attended worship weekly averaged 2.5 children, those who attended once per month had 2.0 children and those who never attended had only 1.7 children on average (Rowthorn 2010, 1).

Also the money which is donated by individuals to the society varies widely based on whether one attends church or not. The Barna Group found that Atheists and Agnostics donated far less money than active Christians (200\$ on average vs. 1,500\$). Even when church-based giving is subtracted, active-faith adults donate twice as much as atheists and agnostics (Barna 2007). German political scientist Andreas Püttmann in his book *Gesellschaft ohne Gott* (society without God; Püttmann 2010) pointed to several studies suggesting that religious areas in large Western countries like Germany and the US had less social problems, lower crime rates and were overall much easier to administer for the authorities.

On the political scale there is also a remarkable effect. 67% of Korean and 72% of US-American Christians wish for their political leaders to be rooted in a strong faith to God (Pew 2007; Pew 2008). Churched people in many cases reject political agendas that threaten religious freedom or undermine the Word of God. Christians therefore tend to social conservatism and federalism. Studies from many countries show that Christians and again especially churched people are less willing to vote for Socialist parties and instead support Center, Center-Right or Right parties. In the US for example there's a widening gap between religious and unreligious people on how to vote. While the American public leans Democrat by 48 to 43 percent, white Catholics and Protestants favor the GOP by a 7-point margin. Looking at only white Christians who attend church weekly this becomes even clearer. Mainline Protestant churchgoers favor the Republicans by 9%, Catholic churchgoers by 12% and Evangelical Protestant churchgoers by overwhelming 57%, with 76% leaning Republican compared to only 19% Democratic (Pew 2012). Similar examples for this were verified by studies from Germany, Austria and also South Korea itself, where the Presbyterian church elder Kim Yeongsam and Lee Myungbak won their presidential races receiving 90% and 80%

of the Christian vote respectively (Asia Times 2008; Timothy S. Lee 2006, 338; Spiegel 1967, 56; ORF 2002).

What all these statistics prove is the large discrepancy between church attending Christians and unchurched people who call themselves Christian, but respond to the various questions the same way or similar to non-believers. Here we have to remember the high degree of church attendance among the Korean diaspora community, which therefore itself should have a considerable impact on the Korean society overall. What some of these statistics added was the level of personal commitment to religion and with this additional detail, results become even clearer. We will use it in the following to value the quality of church growth in the Korean communities and create the most accurate picture of the Korean diaspora church possible.

## 8.2 Conversion

Most of the results presented in 8.1 can be accredited to the concept of conversion. Conversion means that separate from the change of habits that accompanies the entry into a congregation, there is in many cases a change of character as well. Following chapter 8 which focused on outward changes and was able to illustrate the considerable and lasting numeric growth of Vienna's Korean churches, chapter 8 will now go for these inward changes and reveal that even in the aspect of quality we do not observe a strong decline among the diaspora. Starting with the first data sets we can see that there is against even Evangelic expectations no reason to think that the diaspora church, which is comparatively much bigger than the church in Korea has therefore a much larger share of unconverted members. Instead the numbers indicate that equally many people who become churchgoers in the diaspora use this opportunity to join the group of passionate Christians.

Percentage of surveyed people who are now...

	..passionate Christian..	..non-passionate..	..nominal Christian..	..non-believers..
...and were in Korea...				
...passionate Christian.	58.7%	13.6%	-	-
...non-passionate.	11.0%	37.9%	16.7%	-
...nominal Christian.	11.9%	30.3%	72.2%	2.9%
...non-believers.	18.3%	18.2%	11.1%	97.1%

Table 8.2a: Changes in level of faith

Table 8.2a shows that only six out of ten passionate Christians have been this way in Korea. Two out of ten did not have any affiliation to Christianity and the rest are evenly divided among former non-passionate and former unchurched believers. Interesting detail is that people who had a relationship to Christianity but little interest and mostly remained non-passionate in Austria are apparently harder to convert into the so called born-again label than complete unbelievers that enter church of whom about half became passionate worshipers. So looking at non-passionate churchgoers, which are in total numbers a group of similar size as the passionate ones, reveals that they are not the typical destiny of a diaspora convert. We find the same 18% with a background as unbelievers as among the passionate Christians. That there are indeed more non-passionate churchgoers in Vienna than apparently in Korea is not due to new followers of Christianity but because of the large number of people who activated their inactive relationship to the church after they came to Austria. With 30% they are the second largest group of non-passionate Christians next to those that stayed in the group. Nearly 14 percent are former passionate worshipers who in the diaspora loosened their relationship to the faith. Unchurched people who still describe themselves as Christians have to 17% attended church in Korea, to 11% they were unbelievers. What we do not see are people who had weekly attended church in Korea and now denounced their faith and there was not a single former passionate Christian who quitted attending church. A thing the survey suggests is that those who did leave the church have never had a passion.

To not only judge by measurable activities but also include the spiritual self assessment of the surveyed individuals, we asked whether the churchgoers felt that their relationship to God had improved in the diaspora. The table shows the results for those who had already visited church in Korea. According to it some Christians started their so called 'relationship' to God only in the diaspora, many of whom moved from 'non-passionate' to 'passionate'. Of those who remained 'passionate' or 'non-passionate' respectively the overwhelming majority still stated that their relationship to God had improved. All in all nearly 75% of respondents consider their relationship to God as better than it was in Korea, which is far more than the roughly 45% who are now more occupied with religious activities. Those who were nominal or not Christians when in Korea but started attending church regularly in Austria equally stated that they had begun a relationship to God (49%) in this country or that their relationship had improved (48%). Only two persons (3%) choose the



answer ‘stayed the same’. This implies that even unconverted people who attend church for basically carnal reasons, admit a certain faith in the Christian God as a personal deity.

“In Austria my relationship to God...”

began	improved	stayed the same	worsened	ended
6.4%	67.9%	24.8%	0.9%	-

Table 8.2b: Self-conception of relationship to God

The fundamental result of the questionnaire in this aspect was that the diaspora draws people not only closer to the church but also closer to faith. The disproportionate church growth as observed in many Korean diaspora communities like the USA, Canada, Germany or Austria is at least in the Austrian case a rise in the number of passionate worshipers nearly as much as in the number of total churchgoers.

### 8.3 Religious Life

To achieve such a large number of so to say ‘true’ converts it is necessary to give spiritual guidance to people who are new to church. Bible study is therefore the first thing church planters assure. If we take a look back at chapter 5.3 Vienna’s first churches all stated with a group of believers organizing Bible and prayer meetings and it often took years until a pastor started weekly services. The persons in charge of all churches expressed the thought that in the ideal situation all newcomers are integrated into group meetings. These meetings have leaders who are usually laypersons with hardly theologic background but the trust of the pastor or priest. The effectiveness of the organization varies but up to two thirds of the attendees of Evangelic churches indeed take part in these meetings, and even as in some groups the members are predominantly without much interest in spiritual things everyone is confronted with them and so the aim of sowing a seed is achieved.

In addition the changed schedule of the diaspora life plays into the hands of spirituality among Christians. Many people have more spare time in Austria than they had in Korea. This is especially true for former working wives who follow their husbands or only their children to live abroad where they do no longer work. In the case that they are Christians, they might use this gained time to invest into their spiritual growth. No matter if someone is more or less occupied in Austria his exact schedule will most probably change. To get an impression on this field we will have a look on the frequency of several religious activities of people who have already been active Christians when they came here and are still.

#### Change in frequency of religious activities of diaspora Christians<sup>23</sup>

	more often	no change	less often
attending church	10.7%	75%	14.3%
reading the Bible	32.1%	58.9%	8.9%
praying	30.4%	63.4%	6.3%

Table 8.3a: change in religious activities

The table shows that while the frequency of attendance stayed the same in most cases and was loosened by as many Christians as it was tightened, religious activities at home have even among people who already came here as Christians been on a strong rise in the diaspora. 44% of respondents stated that they are now reading the Bible more often and/or are more regularly praying. The rise is evenly divided with three in ten studying the word more diligently and three in ten seeking prayer more often. Nearly a fifth (18.8%) made use of the diaspora to improve on both fields.

The churches visited as part of the field work are not only demanding on the spiritual level, they also offer a lot of possibilities to be involved in the community apart from this. A question already mentioned in chapter 7.2 asked for reasons to visit a church for non-religious reasons. The result for unchurched people showed that 35% sometimes visited for such reasons. The next table presents the result for churchgoers.

#### Churched people visiting churches also for non-religious reasons

Yes	- lessons, tutoring	2%	
	- events	3%	
	- seeing friends or family	5%	
	- serving at the church	6%	28%
	- other reason	3%	
	- no reason mentioned	9%	
No			72%

Table 8.3b: Christians visiting church for non-religious reasons

The total relation of affirmative to negating answers was with 28 to 72 percent even below the 35:65 rate of non-churchgoers which itself is surprising. The main reasons cited by churchgoers was to help at the church mentioned by eight persons. It must however be noted that the actual number of these people is far higher as portrayed in 5.3. Serving the church particularly refers to the kitchen work done by many, usually female church

<sup>23</sup> only active Christians who have already been active in Korea

members. Another notable thing is tuition. The two largest churches are regularly used for one-to-one instrument lessons, at the largest church there have been several music classes which each were discontinued after some months and at another church there was a handicraft course for a couple of months. Still the numerically most important thing are German classes. At the moment there are three different German classes given by different instructors at churches with all together about two dozen members.

Comparing the time spent at churches for only those who have been attending church weekly both in Korea and in Austria it is shown that only a third claims to invest as much time now as then. Of the remaining two thirds yet again two thirds (43% of the total) spend more time at church while one third (24% of the total) invest less time in their congregation. That in this aspect every fourth church member loosens his relationship to the religion is relatively surprising given the fact that all data we looked at this far exclusively pointed to the diaspora's positive effects on the church.

"Compared to Korea the time I spend at church..."

became more	stayed the same	became less
43.1%	33%	23.9%

Table 8.3c: Change in time spent at church

## 8.4 Separation

Given the very strong involvement with the church we could expect that Christian Koreans have less contact to the foreign society than unbelieving fellow countrymen of the same diaspora. Living abroad per se can deepen the connection one feels towards his own people and attending an ethnic church strengthens the feeling of belonging to this certain community. Studies on Muslim migrants in Germany showed that the more religious they were, the lower was their connection to Germans. The study which was conducted with a sample of 45,000 middle-school and high-school pupils from various ethnic and religious backgrounds revealed that while 43% of non-religious Turkish migrants had German friends and that they to over fifty percent felt as Germans, of their highly religious counterparts only 22% had German friends and less than 15% felt German, although most of them were born in Germany. This study among others illustrates, how finding identity in an organized religion substitutes the need to assimilate into another culture, strengthens the bond among the own kin and so preserves a people even in a diaspora situation (Welt 2010, 6).

We utilized part of the questionnaire to see if churched Koreans have the same tendency of separating from the outside world and so the culture where they moved in. Respondents were asked which share among their friends are visiting church and how many Korean and Austrian friends they have. Based on the answers while Koreans who do not attend church have mainly unchurched friends, church-attending Koreans have mainly churched friends. But what the table shows is that this tendency is far stronger among passionate Christians and this although the definition of passionate did not include church involvement.

“How many of your friends visit a church?”

inactive and unbelievers	active but non-passionate	passionate Christians
0.6	1.2	1.6

*2 means all or most; 1 about half; 0 little or none*

Table 8.4a: portion of friends attending church

Given this statistic one is inclined to expect also more Korean and less Austrian friends, as except for the smallest all Korean congregations in Austria are ethnic churches and the local population of Vienna is largely unchurched. But actually churched Koreans stated a higher number of both Korean and non-Korean friends than their unchurched fellow countrymen. Besides their far more Korean friends the Christians have seemingly also befriended more local people. The fact alone that this number is not clearly lower than among unbelieving Koreans rules out the assumption that a strong tie to ethnic churches might keep Koreans abroad from close relations to the local people.

“How many friends do you have in Austria who are...

	unchurched people	non-passionate churchgoers	passionate Christians
...Koreans“	1.9	2.1	2.5
...locals“	1.3	1.5	1.6

*3 means many; 2 some; 1 hardly; 0 none*

Table 8.4b: proportion of Korean to local friends

Contrary to the presumption of many, attending ethnic churches doesn't keep the members of the Korean diaspora from becoming friends with persons outside of their ethnic group. While the number of Christian friends apparently gets higher the more someone moves into Christianity we do not see a lower number of local friends. What we do see is that the surveyed churchgoers have more friends than other Koreans and here again that passionate Christians have more friends than other churchgoers. So even though there seem

to be certain aspects of separation, churches obviously don't become obstacles for integration. In many cases they will rather help newly arriving members to find Korean friends and get a footing in the foreign country. This includes not only information and practical help but also the language level. That there are currently three separate German classes at Korean churches was mentioned in chapter 8.3.

## 8.5 Religion and Happiness

The last result to be presented here concerns the happiness of people in relation to their faith. Several studies have pointed to a positive connection between these two factors and with two questions referring to wellbeing this study now adds Koreans to the cluster of researched people. Using questions about personal perception of happiness is not new to seek for possible differences in gratification between believers and non-believers. Perhaps the most impressive research on religion in relation to mental health was conducted by R. Bonelli and H. Koenig and released in 2013. The two scholars had collected and analyzed over 500 articles published between 1990 and 2010 in leading English-language psychiatry and neurology journals that were dealing with religion. They concluded that of the 43 publications among these which presented new findings 72% found a positive relationship between the level of religious involvement and less mental disorder, 19% found mixed results and only two articles (5%) reported a negative relation. All studies concerning suicide and stress found a positive association (Bonelli and Koenig 2013). In addition in 2006 the German Spiegel cited four different studies which pointed to a positive correlation between attending church and living both longer and healthier (Spiegel 2006). The reliability of self-reported happiness is a controversial matter but it is commonly used by many authors and has helped to prove that e.g. strong family ties, employment and marriage positively contribute to personal happiness and well-being (Alesina 2007, 12). We will now attempt the same for the Christian faith.

To come to possible conclusions on the matter of happiness and satisfaction in life for this survey two questions were used. One was a direct approach to happiness; the statement 'I am living happily in Austria' was to be answered with 'It is so', 'so-so' or 'it is not so'. Replies were recorded mathematically with plus 2 for confirmation and 0 for 'so-so'. The option to deny being happy was not used by any of the 234 respondents and so did not have to be weighed. The second statement was rather subliminal asking for distress in the respondent's life in general. It read "I am feeling hardships in Austria" and offered the

answers “a lot”, “a bit”, “hardly” and “not at all”. The answers were recorded as 0 (a lot) to 3 (not at all). Summed up a happiness ranking for each person was achieved ranging from 0 to 5, a higher number corresponding to wellbeing, a low number implying the opposite.

The following table shows two things which can easily be added to the most surprising results of this questionnaire. That the questionnaire helped to support the claim stated above that there is indeed a positive relation between happiness and faith/spirituality was to be expected but the manner is twofold remarkable. On the one hand the division of Christians into passionate and non-passionate proofed to hit the target, as it revealed that the heart of the issue is not church attendance or the confession to be a Christian. Both respective groups showed the same degree of happiness as non-Christians. It was only the passionate, so the converted ones, who showed a higher level of personal happiness. Strong faith (including weekly church attendance) - rather than mere church attendance - apparently makes people significantly happier and helps them to feel more secure in their new environment. The second insight the result grants us which was not to be anticipated this clear is the large gap between the passionate group in comparison to the rest of diaspora Koreans. On average their happiness score is 30 percent higher than of any other group.

Wellbeing (based on happiness and hardship awareness)		
unchurched people	non-passionate churchgoers	passionate Christians
2.6	2.4	3.4

*ranked from 0 to 5, with higher number corresponding to wellbeing*

Table 8.5: faith and happiness

## 9 Conclusion

Thanks to the limited amount on previous research about the church in the worldwide Korean diaspora, we were able to through this work raise our knowledge about it to a new level and can now conclude this thesis with a review of the presented findings.

Any research project is limited to time, to human resources and the potential of its field of research. As a master thesis conducted in Vienna this work was limited to a Korean community of less than 2,000 individuals and had to be concluded by one person within limited time. Still it revealed an unforeseen number of interesting and in part astonishing phenomena within the Korean community. While the basic results were clear to distinguish, for many cross references it would be worthwhile to repeat a similar research within a larger framework. If for example the relation of Korean friends versus foreign friends would be evaluated with consideration of age, sex, years spent in the expatriot community and the level of faith, in order to draw unchallengeable conclusions a four-digit number of respondents should be aimed at. A variable related to the ability of integration which was not asked for are language skills. It would be worthwhile to feature them in a similar research. Nonetheless this research project turned out to be successful bringing about a revaluation of former findings with now deepened insights and a large enrichment of our overall view on the Korean diaspora to occidental nations.

While the knowledge had been previously established that the Korean community in the United States is far more Christianized as the society in its country of origin this was not necessarily considered related to the diaspora itself, several sources rather put this phenomenon into relation to other Asian minorities adopting or intensifying their Christianity in the United States. But this work indicated that we do have the same surge in church attendance to different degrees among Koreans in at least Canada, New Zealand, Austria and Germany. Even the Korean diasporas to non-Evangelic areas, China, Japan and the CIS-countries are today significantly more evangelized then they had been at the time of their formation. While a minority of about one in five Koreans in Korea attend church, the collected data implies that this rate is twice to three times as high among their compatriots in Europe and the Anglosphere.

These results will effect and enrich the way we think about the Korean diaspora, Korean society in general and global diasporas in general, all the more as chapter 8 managed

to prove that a large portion of new church-members become true converts with all its implications. For church men and women several parts of this work offer new challenging insights into their field of engagement.

We saw that churches play an eminent role in the Korean diaspora, functioning as both spiritual and social hubs for immigrants and vibrant centers of the Korean community. But their effects are most probably not limited to the Korean overseas enclaves. Considering that the East Asian nation is one of the countries with the worldwide highest share of citizens living abroad, and that many of them after some years return to their native country, diaspora churches are to the degree to which they convert their members contributing to the spiritual future of their homeland.



## 10.1 The Questionary

## 한인 디아스포라의 신앙 생활에 대한 설문지 조사

- ## 1. 믿음

5. 신이나 귀신, 사람의 영혼, 죽음 후의 내세 등이 있다고 믿으십니까?  
네            잘 모르겠다            아니요
6. 하느님/하나님을 믿으십니까?  
네            잘 모르겠다            아니요
7. 예수님을 구세주로, 성경책을 하느님/하나님의 말씀으로 믿으십니까?  
네            잘 모르겠다            아니요
8. 요즈음 얼마나 자주 교회에 가십니까?  
한 주에 2 번 이상            일요일에            가끔만            전혀
9. 오스트리아로 오시기 전에 얼마나 자주 교회에 가셨습니까?  
한 주에 2 번 이상            일요일에            가끔만            전혀
10. 성경책을 읽으십니까?  
매일/거의 매일            매주            가끔만            전혀
11. 오스트리아에 오기 전에 성경책을 읽으셨습니까?  
매일/거의 매일            매주            가끔만            전혀
12. 기도를 얼마나 자주 하십니까?  
매일 몇 번            매일            가끔만            전혀
13. 오스트리아로 오시기 전에 기도를 얼마나 자주 하셨습니까?  
매일 몇 번            매일            가끔만            전혀
14. 어떤 것들이 불신자의 관심을 교회에 끌을 수 있다고 생각하십니까?  
데리고 가는 사람            생활 정보/조언 받기            식사 등의 편리한 것  
친구 사귀는 기회            비지니스/인맥 만들기

## 2. 생활

15. 한국과 비교하면 외국 생활에 교회 다니는 동기의 정도가 어떠하다고 생각하십니까?  
더 크다      같다      더 작다
16. 종교와 관계 없이 교회에 나오실 때가 있습니까?  
아니요      네,
17.      왜냐 하면: \_\_\_\_\_
18. 나의 친한 친구들은 교회에 다닌다  
다 / 대부분      절반 정도      거의 / 안 그래요
19. 나는 오스트리아에서 한국 친구가  
많다      몇 명이 있다      거의 없다      없다
20. 나는 오스트리아 친구가  
많다      몇 명이 있다      거의 없다      없다
21. 나는 오스트리아에서 어려움을 느낀다



(3) several times a day (2) daily (1) sometimes (0) never

26. Compared to Korea the time you spend in church

(2) became more (1) stayed the same (0) became less

### **Choosing/Joining a Church**

14. What do you think can cause unbelievers to visit a church?

(1) accompanying them (2) look for help/information (3) offered lunch etc.

(4) looking for friends (5) personal networking ○ \_\_\_\_\_

15. Compared to Korea how is the motivation to go to church abroad?

(2) bigger (1) the same (0) smaller

16. Are you sometimes at church without relation to religion?

(0) no (1) yes,

17. \_\_\_\_\_ because of: \_\_\_\_\_

23. If you started or quitted attending church or switched your church in Austria, would you summarize your reasons?  
\_\_\_\_\_

24. Through whom did you join to the church you're now attending?

(1) family (2) a friend (3) acquaintance (4) a stranger (5) on my own

25. What is for you important when deciding for a church?

(1) distance (2) pastor/priest/sermon ○ no pressure related to money/time

(3) denomination (4) company (5) religious activities, eg. bible study

(6) atmosphere of the service (7) atmosphere outside of service

(7) non-religious activities (eg. picnic) (8) evangelical vision ○ \_\_\_\_\_

### **Separation**

18. My close friends attend church

(2) all/most (1) about half (0) hardly/no

19. I have Korean friends in Austria

(3) many (2) some (1) little (0) no

20. I have Austrian friends

(3) many (2) some (1) little (0) no

### **Happiness**

21. I encounter hardships in Austria

(0) a lot (1) some (2) hardly (3) no

22. I live happily in Austria

(2) yes (0) somewhat (0) no

## **10.2 Individuals interviewed about church/faith**

*religion by church affiliation, first name shortened; sex, age group and district of Vienna underlined indicates church staff, 3 pastors, 2 pastor's wives, 1 priest, 2 co-pastors, 1 elder*

Evangelics: Bae Hanna (f, 20s, II), Baek Misuk (f, 40s, XXII), Baek Seungmin (m, 40s, XIX), Bailey Andrew (m, 50s, XVIII), Castellani Yurika (f, 40s, III), Choi Mijeong (f, 40s, XI), Choi Yeongshik (m, 40s, XXI), Gang Deokhee (f, 50s, IX), Han Sumin (f, 20s, XV), Heo Gyuhui (f, 10s, II), Heo Yeongae (f, 40s, II), Jang Hwang'yeong (m, 50s, III), Jeon Beomho (m, 30s, IV),

Jeon Eunsuk (f, 60s, VI), Jeong Yena (f, 20s, XXII), Jo Suhyeon (m, 50s, XVI), Kim Hyecheon (f, 50s, XI), Kim Jieun (f, 20s, III), Kim Minju (f, 30s, XV), Kim Taehee (f, 40s), Lee Dain (f, 10s, XI), Lee Eunhui (f, 40s, XXI), Lee Gippeum (f, 20s, XV), Lee Geon'ung (m, 20s, XI), Lee Shiyeon (f, 40s, IV), Lee Yeongshin (f, 60s, XV), Maeng Hyeonsun (f, 40s, XXI), Na Gijang (m, 60s, XV), No Eunae (f, 30s, III), Park Eunbi (f, 20s, XI), Park Hwagyeong (f, 20s, II), Park Huiso (f, 10s, II), Park Yeonsu (f, 50s, III), Rusch Manfred (m, 50s), Shin Jeongok (f, 50s, X), Yu Hanna (f, 20s, V), Yuk Yeongmi (f, 40s, V), Yun Hyeollak (m, 30s, XV), Yun Sera (f, 30s, III)  
 Catholics: Kim Donald (m, 40s, XXIII), Kim Hyeongyeong (f, 30s, IV), Kim Minju (f, 40s, XXI), Kim Seonyeong (f, 40s, XIX), Peter Yongsun (f, 50s, X), Shin Hyejin (f, 30s, XIX)  
 Others: Jeong Usang (m, 20s, III), Kim Gyeongho (m, 50s, XV), Kim Hyeonju (f, 30s, III), Lee Gero (m, 20s, IV), Lee Jeongin (f, 10s, XI), Lee Sanggi (m, 40s, XVI), Lee Seunghui (f, 40s, II), Lee Jiwon (f, 40s, V)

### 10.3 List of Churches

Vienna Korean Church	Schützengasse 13, 1030 Wien	Jang Hwangyeong
<a href="http://viennachurch.com">viennachurch.com</a>		
Vienna Full Gospel Church	Haidmangasse 4, 1150 Wien	Na Gijang
<a href="http://jesuschurch.com">jesuschurch.com</a>		
Wien Korean Catholic Church	Don-Bosco Gasse 14, 1230 Wien	Donald Kim
<a href="http://cafe.daum.net/KKGiW">http://cafe.daum.net/KKGiW</a>		
Vienna Presbyterian Church	Lindengasse 44a, 1070 Wien	Lee Juyeon
<a href="http://www.vienna-church.com">www.vienna-church.com</a>		
Vienna Methodist Church	Bahnsteggasse 27/12, 1210 Wien	Choi Yeongshik
<a href="http://www.viennachurch.org">www.viennachurch.org</a>		
Wien Jeongdong Church	Schweglerstraße 39, 1150 Wien	Lee Dongyeong
<a href="http://vjchurch.net">http://vjchurch.net</a>		
Vienna Manna Mission Church	Blumauergasse 6, 1020 Wien	Kim Jeonggwan
<a href="http://cafe.daum.net/mannamission">cafe.daum.net/mannamission</a>		
Korean SDA Church Vienna	Anton Baumgartner Str. 8, 1230 Wien	Park Sangik
<a href="http://viennachurch.tnaru.net">viennachurch.tnaru.net</a>		

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## Curriculum Vitae

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- 2010    Begin of Korean Studies' postgraduate master programme  
         Abandonment of Sinology receiving Excellent on B.A.-theses
- 2008    Graduation from Japanese Studies as B.A.
- 2007    Begin of Korean Studies
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- 2008    Abschluss des Japanologiestudiums als Bakkalaureus
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## **Abstract**

The dispersion of seven million ethnic Koreans outside of their home country is considered to be one of the largest diasporas in the world. Data from the United States of America as well as from New Zealand shows that in both countries the rate of Korean expatriates attending church is far above the rate within Korea. As observation in Vienna also points to exceedingly high church attendance among Austria's Koreans, this master thesis undertook the task of proving this and examining church attendance also in other parts of the Korean diaspora. The results of this confirm that church growth is happening in many parts of the Korean diaspora and thus establish it as a global phenomenon rather than isolated cases. In addition through study of historical, religious and social literature about Korea's Christianity and diaspora and through field research including interviews and a survey this work will elaborate processes that lead to this church growth and test the sincerity of conversion in Austria's Korean diaspora. In doing so this work will largely enhance our understanding of the Korea diaspora and the Christian church in diasporas in general.

Die rund sieben Millionen Koreaner, die außerhalb ihrer Heimat wohnen, gelten als eine der zahlen- und verhältnismäßig größten Diasporas der Welt. Daten über diese Diaspora aus den USA und aus Neuseeland zeigen, dass in beiden Ländern die Kirchbesuchsquoten weit über jenen in Korea liegen. Da Beobachtung in Wien ebenfalls auf außergewöhnlich hohen Kirchenbesuch unter den Koreanern Österreichs hinweist, unternimmt diese Masterarbeit den Versuch, dies zu beweisen und auch den Kirchenbesuch in anderen Teilen der koreanischen Diaspora einzuschätzen. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass sich Kirchenwachstum in vielen Teilen der koreanischen Diaspora ereignet und es sich damit weniger um Einzelfälle als um ein globales Phänomen handelt. Zusätzlich wird diese Arbeit durch das Studium von historischer, religiöser und sozialwissenschaftlicher Literatur über Koreas Christentum und Diaspora sowie durch Interviews und eine Umfrage inkludierende Feldforschung Prozesse herausarbeiten, welche zu diesem Kirchenwachstum führen und zudem die Aufrichtigkeit der Konvertiten in Österreichs koreanischer Diaspora untersuchen. Auf diese Weise wird diese Arbeit unser Verständnis über die koreanische Diaspora und die christliche Kirche in Diasporas im Allgemeinen in hohem Maße bereichern.