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**Master's Thesis of International Area Studies**

**The role of Christian institutions in  
identity formation for the Korean  
diaspora in Japan**

일본 내 한인 이주민 (디아스포라)의 정체성 형성  
과정에 한국 기독교 기관의 역할

**August 2019**

**Graduate School of International Studies  
Seoul National University  
International Area Studies Major**

**Han-Byeol Angela Kim**



국제학 석사 학위논문

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서울대학교 국제대학원

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# **The role of Christian institutions in identity formation for the Korean diaspora in Japan**

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## **Abstract**

The Korean Christian Church in Japan has a long history as an ethnic church serving the Korean diaspora in Japan. As an ethnic church, it has served the role of social and religious functions in order to help create and maintain the diaspora as a nonstate, nonpolitical institution. This thesis focuses on the narrative of identity that the Korean diaspora in Japan has created through the Korean Christian Church in Japan, and the ethnic survival of the diaspora through these lenses.

The ethnic survival of the Korean diaspora focuses on the boundaries of the diaspora itself. By defining these boundaries as solely Zainichi-Korean, there exist a separate diasporic identity for Zainichi-Koreans and Korean newcomers to Japan. The church maintains these boundaries through language, assimilation, and social function.

**Keyword :** Zainichi Korean, identity politics, diaspora, Korean churches, Japanese multiculturalism, ethnic identity

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# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Research Objective

Looking at the Korean diaspora, the Japanese case offers an interesting study as it the geopolitical realities of the world have and still affect the diaspora and host country to a large degree. Within this large history, the Korean Christian Church in Japan stands out as a community leader at times of turmoil for the diaspora. Existing still today, how has the Korean Christian Church in Japan maintained and formed the identity and community of the Korean diaspora?

The institutional aspects of church often direct how community is developed. The organizational structure, educational goals, and interactions with other church groups and their own congregations shape the people's connections with the institution. With globalization and transnational migration, new forms of information sharing and flows of culture have been introduced. Diasporas are no longer static within their host country but interact with the homeland and with diasporas in other countries to a larger degree today.

*How is ethnic Korean identity being formed in Christian churches? What role do Korean Christian churches play in ethnic survival? What makes an adequate institution for ethnic survival within a diaspora?*

Answering these questions can help in not only how Korean diasporic identities are negotiated through non-state institutions, but also examines the trajectory of these diasporas that are more than 100 years in the making.

## 1.2 Literature Review

The great body of work written on theories of diaspora and diasporic connections is too great to go into detail in this paper. For the purposes of this argument, a diasporic community will be defined using the works of William Safran (1991) that extend the initial 'Jewish Diaspora' and apply it to the global context to communities that are dispersed from their original homeland. Nina Glick Schiller defines migrant ethnic groups through two conceptual lenses: the transnational community and diaspora. Glick Schiller argues that diasporas have often been tied to theories of development while transnational communities are embedded in the rhetoric of transnationality and comes from a scholarship tradition of moving away from the boundaries of the nation-state (Faist et al. 2012). Diasporas are especially interesting in how they are placed within the push and pull of both the host country and the homeland, where social remittances – the ideas, behaviours, identities and social capital that flow between the two – travel through institutions to create a separate collective identity for those that participate in said institutions (Levitt 2001). Focusing on this distinction, the timeframe that this thesis will examine is how the flow between diasporas have created a transnationality of the Korean diasporic church, where though remaining within the context of their host countries, the institutional directions of identity creation and maintenance have functioned in similar ways. With more opportunities of collaboration between diasporas and the homeland, and between diasporas themselves, have narratives of ethnicity changed?

Robert Brubaker (2006) uses 1) dispersion, 2) homeland orientation, and 3) boundary-maintenance as criteria to outline a diaspora. The first category simply talks about dispersion over state borders. The second category refers to a real or imagined 'homeland' that is the "authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty" (Brubaker 2006, 5). The last criterion is boundary-maintenance, or

rather the belief that there is a boundary to be maintained. Brubaker points out that more recent theories of diasporas subscribe to a more fluent understanding of boundaries, believing them to be more fluid, rather than the more conservative view of insider/outsider boundaries (2006, 6). This criterion used by Brubaker becomes important when considering the boundaries of the Korean diaspora in Japan, and what the insider/outsider traits of the Korean diaspora are.

a) Role of Christian institutions in identity formation

Churches have often played the centre of community life within diasporic cultures. Christian institutions function to fulfil a spiritual need, but also play the role of a community. Churches have often provided 'cultural expression for non-dominant social classes', including racial groups (Hargrove 1989). As Bankston and Zhou (1995) write regarding Vietnamese youths' religious participation, "religious participation consistently makes a greater contribution to ethnic identification than any of the family or individual characteristics examined" (530). Hans Mol, in his seminal text *Identity and the Sacred* remarks at how "migrant churches have always been the most effective bastions of ethnic preservation" (1976, 174).

Mark Mullins (1987) identifies three stages of in the life-cycle of an ethnic church, as can be seen in the figure below. An ethnic church is a "special-group organization established to meet the needs of a particular ethnic group," - however, because of their unique attention to a specific group, they are "dependent upon ethnic identification and loyalty for their continued existence" (Mullins 1987, 325). While Mullins created these stages based on ethnic churches in the United States, these categorizations can be applied to the Japanese context as well.

<b>Stages</b>	<b>Characteristics of Membership</b>	<b>Environmental Changes</b>	<b>Adaptation Required</b>	<b>Consequences for Organization</b>
<i>First</i>	Original immigrants; Monolingual			
<i>Second</i>	Original immigrants and Native-Born generation; Bilingual	Cultural Assimilation	Bilingual minister and introduction of English language services	Effective recruitment of acculturated generation
<i>Third</i>	Monolingual	Structural Assimilation; membership through mobility and intermarriage; disappearance of immigrant generation	Goal succession and de-ethnicization	Transformed from ethnic to multiethnic organization

Figure 3) Life-stages of ethnic churches

(Mullins 1987, 324).

The dearth of academic writing on Korean diasporic churches is focused on Korean-American churches. The theoretical foundations found in these texts has been and can be borrowed to suit the Japanese context. It is generally accepted by foundational writers such as Oscar Handlin (1973) and Barbara Hargrove (1989) that American religiosity lends itself to the immigrant communities as a method of becoming ‘Americanized’. William Herberg (1960) identifies how ethnic churches became the center of interaction and

identity, as well as cultural education in alien environments. Not only does a change in civic and political identity occur, religious identity is found and located in the process of becoming an immigrant. Hirschman (2004) builds upon these works by looking at how immigrant/ethnic churches offer social and economic services such as English classes, meals, social interaction, housing information, etc. to members of the congregation. Most importantly, churches “provide a means of continuity with the past through reaffirmation of traditional values as well as coping the problems of the present” (1225). In fact, it is the religious affiliation of new immigrants in the US that led to an increase of religion in the late twentieth century. Jinna Jin (2017) writes on how East Asian diasporic churches often help newer generations develop transnational identity through participation in diasporic churches. Korean churches in particular are identified in providing different functions, such as social fellowship, maintenance of cultural tradition, providing social services, and most interestingly, a method of social hierarchy and status (Min 1992a; Min 1992b). Can these same functions be found in Japanese Korean churches, where the historical context and type of immigrant is so vastly different?

At the same time, Min Pyong Gap writes at how Korean Protestantism has a loose association between ethnicity and religion compared to other immigrant groups (Min 2010). This is due to the relatively recent introduction of Protestantism to Korea, and the lack of incorporation of Korean culture within the religion itself and how it is practiced in Korea. Many of the more ‘traditional’ aspects of culture are indeed frowned upon, such as ancestor worship. Min goes on to write that the basis of Christianity as a religion itself de-emphasizes ethnic cultural aspects but rather focus more on the universality of the religion (Min 2010).

While case studies have been conducted surrounding specific Zainichi Korean churches focusing on diasporic life negotiated within churches (이현철, 조현미 2013), little is written about the narrative building performed at the

institutional level of Korean churches in Japan. For these purposes, a closer examination of the Korean Christian Church in Japan as a denomination and institution regulating Korean immigrant churches is necessary. By comparing the Korean diasporic churches in Japan to American Korean diasporic churches, an interesting comparison can be made not only from the historical intersubjectivity of immigrant groups, but how identity and community is changed when the immigrants coming from Korea become less differentiated between the two host countries coming into the twentieth century through transnationalism and globalization.

Additional to the sociology of religion, it is important to integrate the nature of Protestantism today in South Korea. As this paper will be looking at more recent understandings of the Church in diaspora, how the Korean Protestant church is perceived and the institutional role it plays in the homeland will no doubt have influence on the diasporic churches as well.

#### b) Korean Christian Church in Japan

Yang Hyun-hae's book, *Christianity in Modern Korea-Japan Relations* provides a detailed study on the history and nuances that characterize how Christianity has formed between the two countries and the various geopolitical relations that they have created. It mostly serves as a textbook into the history of the Korean-Japan relations and the role of Christianity in both politics and societal movements. It provides great background, yet fails to delve further into the role of Zainichi-Korean Christianity in this context, serving only a brief introduction. It is in this area that this thesis began to look, hoping to fill in the gaps of Zainichi-Korean identity and Christianity, as well as the role that Zainichi-Korean Christians have played in the societal movements surrounding Zainichi-Korean activism.

Literature on the KCCJ is not as wide or varied. First off, there exists barely any English language work on the institution. Second, the literature that

does exist focuses more on the history or the individuals of the church rather than the institutional focus, leaving space for further research. This research strives to fill up those holes by focusing on the church as an identity building apparatus and how it negotiates the different identities within. Third, there is little information given on the residual clashes between oldcomers and newcomers within the church. These are the areas that this research will focus on.

In light of these research directions, there are three studies that have guided and inspired the direction of this thesis. The first of these is Lee and Cho's qualitative study on Kawasaki Church. This interview-based case study explores the lives of Zainichi-Koreans and their identity through looking at Kawasaki Church. It focuses on the social capital and social outreach programs that the church participates in, such as the activism of Reverend Lee In Ha, as well as how this affects the identity of the people within this church. It concludes that Kawasaki Church played an important community center for the daily lives of the people attending said church. It also concludes that the social activism that the church took part in plays an important role in the identity creation of the congregation members, leading to a church that works for the community it lives within (이현철, 조현미 2013).

Lee and Cho's study on Kawasaki Church is important for looking at how the church plays a similar apparatus to institutions such as the Korean Residents Union in Japan (Mindan) for creating a basis of Zainichi-Korean life and identity building. However, it fails in a comprehensive view of Korean churches in Japan. Kawasaki Church is a special case in that it has a mostly Zainichi-Korean population (around half, according to interviews), and has been involved with many community projects under the leadership of Reverend Lee In Ha. It also left room for a more comparative study looking at various churches to see if this indeed was just the case for Kawasaki Church or other churches within the Korean Christian Church in Japan network.

A more comparative study can be found with Lee Hyun Kyung's study on the 'open' and 'closed' diasporic churches, mainly at the de-ethnicization of Korean Christian Church in Japan churches. This study is especially important as it provides a comparative view of eight different churches and how they perform as ethnic churches. To use Mullin's language here, this study explores more on the various life-cycles of the ethnic churches that it studies to see how it moves its ethnic survival on from simply an ethnic church to a community church. This study also finds that the church plays an important role in maintaining an ethnic community, and soothes the souls of those that have been discriminated against in Japanese society. Lee finds that since 1980, as more and more newcomers have entered into KCCJ churches, many of these churches have changed from a 'closed' diasporic church (only allowing members of a strict criterion and servicing these people) to a more 'open' diasporic church. This 'open' diasporic outlook involves a much more inclusive look at how the Korean diaspora has to evolve in this current atmosphere. Lee Hyun-Kyung's (이현경 2014) article on the KCCJ is one of the only works written on the institutional style and challenges facing the Korean diasporic church from the perspective of the KCCJ. Lee's study of eight different churches within KCCJ uses a more transnational framework in examining how oldcomers, newcomers, and third-destination migrants interact with each other. The conclusion drawn from the comparative analysis was that there exist churches within KCCJ that strive both to maintain a 'closed' diaspora and another group of churches that wish to 'open' the diaspora and not be limited to the ethnic enclave that they serve.

As Lee (李賢京 2012) writes, the role of Korean churches for the Korean diaspora in Japan have many utilities. She identifies three different patterns: 1) those who attended church in Korea and continue their spiritual lives in Korean-style churches in Japan; 2) those who attend church due to the

church's role as a community centre; and 3) those who attend church to foster in their children Korean ethnic identity and language.

The Korean Christian Church in Japan is chosen for this case study as it plays a unique role as a mostly Korean-Japanese or *Zainichi* populated church. As its origins can be placed with the first wave of migrants from Korea to Japan, it stands apart from many of the other Korean church denominations that have in fact been exported out of Korea with the wave of newcomers. Lee (2012) identifies largely four churches that play a big role in the Korean community within Japan: the Korean Christian Church in Japan, Japan Full Gospel Association (순복음 교회), Yohan Tokyo Christ Church (요한 동경 기독교회), Tokyo Chou Kyōkai (동경 중앙 교회), and Onnuri Vision Church (온누리 비전 교회). Of these four churches, KCCJ has the longest history (dating back to 1908) which makes it an interesting case study for how ethnic identity and community are created within the organization.

Lee's study, while informative, focuses on newcomers within the Korean diaspora. This thesis aims to look at more varied reasons for attending KCCJ churches, especially to do with second and third-generation *Zainichi-Koreans*.

### **1.3 Methodology**

This thesis will seek to answer the question, 'Who are *Zainichi-Koreans* in the eyes of Korean ethnic churches and what role do these churches play in creating that identity?' through a case study on the Korean Christian scene in Tokyo and Osaka. By examining the Korean Christian Church in Japan through a qualitative method and the lens of a diaspora, it will study how the KCCJ has accompanied this specific diaspora and how it helped shape the diasporic identity for those belonging to it.

The church as an ideological state apparatus is influenced and subjected to the dominant state rhetoric, the social and political contexts of the institutions themselves is important for understanding how identity and community formation is developed (Althusser). Interactions between the home country and the diaspora, the host country and the diaspora, and between diasporas themselves has allowed for a sharing of social information (Levitt 2001; Faist et al. 2012). This third aspect of information and culture sharing is generally understudied as it still remains a fairly recent phenomenon. This paper will build upon previous works by looking at a number of variables to see how instrumental the KCCJ is in maintaining ethnic community and survival. By examining the historical formation of church, political relationship between host country and homeland, number of generations within diaspora, and social outreach programs conducted by the church, this paper will attempt to draw the conclusion that while performing an important function within the Korean diaspora in Japan, the years of oppression and assimilative policies, as well as the lack of religiosity in the daily life of Japan compared to South Korea or United States, the Korean Christian Church in Japan maintains an identity as a minority church rather than performing the same functions of social fellowship, maintaining cultural tradition, providing social services, and social order and social status for adult members (Min 1992a).

While the basis of Zainichi life is centered in Osaka, the institution is headquartered in Tokyo, and Tokyo remains the landing base for many newcomers and current Korean migrants to Japan. For these purposes, the research field will be centered around the Tokyo area, with references made to Osaka.

a) Theoretical Framework

i. Ethnicity and Nationality

Due to the nature of research, it is important to first unpack the meaning behind ethnicity and nationality. Donald Horowitz speaks to how visible and nonvisible cues inform ethnic identification, and ethnic affiliation as “being located along a continuum of ways in which people organize and categorize themselves” (1985, 55). He separates two types of ethnic identity: voluntary membership and membership given at birth, yet focuses on how ethnic identity remains a mostly ascriptive phenomenon. Ethnic community as defined by Anthony Smith (1992) is a “named human group claiming a homeland and sharing myths of common ancestry, historical memories, and a distinct culture” with segments “expressing sentiments of solidarity” (438). Smith refers to ethnic survival in how some symbols, traditions, and memories create cohesion within an ethnic community, allowing for said community to survive past multiple generations (438-40). Speaking on ethnic survival, it is also important to note on how Horowitz claims that, though difficult, ethnic identity can change (1985, 52). This paper will use this rhetoric of ethnic community and survival to examine how the Korean Christian Church in Japan as an institution has aided in the survival, or has contributed to the ethnic change, of the Korean diaspora in Japan.

National identity also plays in an important factor on how groups are formed. A nation, according to Benedict Anderson, is “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (2006, 6). National identity is believing to be belonging to a certain nation, therefore both the nation and the national identity are subject to movability since they are both ‘imagined’.

Alongside theories of ethnicity and nationality, rethinking how these two rhetorics are contextualized in Japan and Korea is important. This involves

a historical analysis of the development of citizenship of the Korean diaspora in host countries. The Japanese example remains highly politicized due to the long history of Korean migration to Japan within largely five different periods: pre-Japanese occupation, Japanese occupation, post-liberation, post-formation of North/South Korea, and the economic development of South Korea. The Japanese government's attitudes towards alien populations and citizenship rights during these different periods vary drastically. Nationality is then doubly tied not only with host country citizenship, but with the creation of two Koreas post-Korean War. With many 'oldcomers' originating from both the now-North Korea and now-South Korea, when this political border was drawn, consequences were also met in the diasporic community, with only South Korea enjoying diplomatic relations with Japan (Oh 2012). How nation is reproduced by members that knew the country before its separation, and how recent migrants change the nation groups imagined identity plays a large role on the formation and trajectory of the diaspora.

To complicate this further, recent developments of transnational identity must be taken into consideration. Esteban-Guitart and Vila (2015) define transnational identity as a "type of 'national identity' linked to at least two national referents: the society of origin and the host society" (18). As the myth of ethnic homogeneity becomes systematically destroyed with transnational identities no longer fixed upon one specific conception of ethnic nation (Oh 2012), will more open policies lead to different conceptualizations of ethnicity for diasporic communities as well?

Similarly in Japanese diasporic communities, it is also important to note the outside status that many of these members feel within the host country. While there may be diasporic members that have lived in the host country for generation and enjoy civic recognition as a national, often times visible and non-visible markers 'other' them from the national community. So then in what ways is ethnicity being reproduced within Korean-Japanese churches?

## ii. Diasporic Identity

For the purposes of this paper, this study will be focusing on the definitions of diaspora given mainly by Khachig Tölölyan (2007), who creates a criteria of diasporas as a) being born of trauma, b) preserving culture and collective identity, c) maintaining relations with kin community, and d) distinct through time. Identity cannot be considered outside of political or cultural contexts. They are innately created through the projection of 'other' versus the 'self' (Alfonso, Kokot, and Tölölyan 2004). Following Tölölyan's view of diaspora, he envisions them as an example "of the possibility of living, even thriving in the regimes of multiplicity which are increasingly the global condition" (1996, 7). Another important distinction that Tölölyan makes is the difference between an ethnic community and diaspora. To differentiate the two, Tölölyan notes the existence of "the committed, the activists" that "constitute the 'leadership elites'... or 'interest group'... that have specifically diasporan concerns" (1996, 18-19). This is how they are 'homeland-oriented' or 'maintaining kinship relations' with the homeland.

## iii. Concerning Zainichi-Koreans

There is no real consensus on the terminology used to demarcate the Korean diaspora in Japan. Several different monikers have been discovered: Korean-Japanese, *Chosenjin*, Zainichi-Korean, Korean, etc. In KCCJ's own literature, often the terminology '조선인', '조선어', and '재일한인' are used. Within interviews, the term '재일교포' was commonly used. The word 'Zainichi' refers to temporary resident, indicative of the precarious political situation that many Zainichi-Koreans have lived under throughout the years. While other Korean diasporas generally will follow the rule of ethnicity-nationality for naming themselves (Fukuoka 2000), the case of Koreans in Japan rests problematic due to the deeply historical context and intersubjective nature of each of these terms. For the purposes of this research, ethnic Koreans in Japan

as a group will be termed 'Korean diaspora', ethnic Koreans that migrated during the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> wave of migration will be termed 'Zainichi-Korean' or 'oldcomer', and ethnic Koreans that migrated during the last wave of migration will be terms as 'newcomers'. Temporary migrants will simply be denoted as Korean temporary migrants.

The distinction between 'oldcomers' and 'newcomers' play an important role in the Korean diasporic community. Studies have been performed stating the lack of 'Koreanness' or ties to the homeland past the first generation of Korean migrants due to the years of oppression from the Japanese state and society (Hicks 1998; Fukuoka 2000; 윤인진 2003; Chapman 2006; 이현경 2014). This distinction is less apparent in other Korean diasporas, with less literature devoted to the clashes between older and newer immigrants. This shows the distinctiveness of the Japanese Korean enclave and can make for an interesting comparative analysis.

#### b) Materials

Using a qualitative method, field research was conducted from October 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> 2018 and March 19<sup>th</sup> – April 24<sup>th</sup> 2019 in Tokyo, Japan to ask participants their interactions with the ethnic church community. Interviews were conducted as well as visits to various churches in Tokyo and Osaka. These interviews were held within the respective church premises and lasted from 40 minutes to two hours. Informal group interviews also occurred during visits to the churches with various staff and members of the church. During my stay in Tokyo, I was hosted by various churches through the Korean Christian Church in Japan network, which allowed for a more thorough observation of the daily on-goings of the churches themselves. A snowball sampling method was utilized in order to identify interviewees. After contact with the General Secretary of the Korean Christian Church in Japan, key members were identified within the church

institution such as individual church congregation members (n=5), clergy from community churches (n=6), and staff of the Korean Christian Church in Japan and the National Council of Churches in Japan (n=4). As this paper will focus more on the institutional role of the church, the main target for interviews were those that directly work either consciously or subconsciously in the formation and maintenance of community. With a qualitative methodology, participants' meanings can lend insight to the conclusions, lending multiple perspectives and various views (Creswell 2013). It will be important for this research to allow for individual voices and therefore plans to ask open-ended interview questions that will be guided rather than scripted. The semi-structured interviews focused more on the building of identity and how it was maintained within the church, and allowed for follow-up questions that depended on the flow of the interviewees themselves. Before each interview was conducted, a clear introduction of this study and the writer were given to avoid any confusion.

Alongside the interviews, observations were made by participating in the life of the churches themselves. Time was spent within six different churches to see the hustle and bustle of the church. This participation allowed for a more first-hand approach of the daily doings of the church institutions and how business was conducted. It also provided insight into the relationship between the participants of the church (the congregation) and the administrators of the institutions (the ministers and other staff). This observation is important as this thesis focusing on the institutional role of the church and its effects on the Korean population.

For church observations, the selection criteria were mostly based on the history and make-up of the church. The first priority when choosing a church was having a large Zainichi Korean population, the second priority when choosing a church was having a rich history. The last priority was a church that had exceptional circumstances that would provide depth the research. This last criterion was identified through the snowball method. Church A, Church B, and

Church F were selected specifically due to their history and importance to the KCCJ. Church F was the first church to be established through the KCCJ, and from it, Churches A and B were established. However, in observation it was noticed that Church F has recently gone through several institutional changes that had altered many of the features of the church, specifically that this research would focus on. Thus, Church F will only be mentioned in brief and be excluded from the analysis of this paper.

Churches C and D were included in this study for their exceptional circumstances. They are representative of newer churches to join KCCJ. Church C is a solely newcomer church that conducts all church business in Korean. In order to show differentiation between newer/newcomer churches compared to churches that have been with the KCCJ since the beginning, these two churches were observed to provide insight into the current reality of KCCJ churches. Church D on the other hand joined KCCJ 11 years after its establishment. Looking into the motivations for joining the church after being successful for eleven years may give insight into why newer churches are still finding KCCJ attractive, and how this is changing the landscape of KCCJ.

Church	Language	Size (approx.)	Established	Location	Minister
A	Japanese and Korean	50	1947	Kawasaki, Tokyo	Third- Generation Korean
B	Japanese and Korean	40	1952	Nishiarai, Tokyo	Third- Generation Korean
C	Korean	100	1993	Arakawa, Tokyo	Korean
D	Korean	60	1999	Edogawa, Tokyo	Korean
E	Japanese and Korean	300	1921	Ikuno, Osaka	Korean
F	Japanese and Korean	1000	1908	Iidabashi, Tokyo	Korean

Figure 4) Churches Visited

Interviewee	Affiliation	Identification	Date Interviewed	Location Interviewed
Professor Lee	Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary	Korean	11 May 2018, 4 October 2018	Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary
Minister Kim	Church A	Third- Generation Korean	7 October 2018	Fureikan Institute
Minister Kim	Church B	Third- Generation Korean	19 March 2019, 24 March 2019	Church B

Minister Kim	Church C	Korean	28 March, 31 March 2019	Church C
Minister Kim	Church E	Korean	7 April 2019, 8 April 2019	Church E
Minister Jeong	Church D	Korean	10 April 2019	Church D
General Secretary Kim	KCCJ	Korean	5 October 2018	KCCJ Office
General Secretary Kim	NCCJ	Third-Generation Korean	8 October 2018, 29 March 2019	NCCJ Office
Staff A	RAIK	Japanese	9 October 2018	RAIK/CMIM Office
Staff B	CMIM	Canadian	9 October 2018	RAIK/CMIM Office
Elder A	Church A	Second-Generation Korean	7 October 2018	Fureikan Institute
Member A	Church B	Zainichi-Korean	24 March 2019	Church B
Elder B	Church B	Third-Generation Korean	24 March 2019	Church B
Member B	Church E	Korean	7 April 2019	Church E
Member C	Church E	Korean	7 April 2019	Church E

Figure 5) List of interviewees

A comparison of built narratives will be conducted through this information gathered. An examination and analysis of official texts and publications from relevant institutions will aid in the understanding of the directives in forming

community. This will include texts and materials published from the Korean Christian Church in Japan, newspaper articles from media outlets, and official records provided from the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan. This study of the Korean Christian Church in Japan will rely on the participants' perspective on the topic of interest as well as the researcher's own interpretation of the data gathered.

It is at this point Creswell's definition of qualitative methodology becomes useful in understanding the parameters and purpose of this research. There is an important distinction to be made between an ethnography and a case study. An ethnography, as Creswell (2013) explains, focuses on a culture-sharing group and their social behaviours. As opposed to this, a case study is characterized by its boundedness, its restrictions of a specific place or time, or a group of individuals, and can include multiple sources of information. An ethnography on the other hand mostly relies on participant observation. Sue Walters (2007) drew up a clear chart that helps us understand this difference.

	<i>Ethnography</i>	<i>Case Study</i>
An Object of Research Study	A social group or entire cultural or social system	A bounded system (a programme, an event an activity, or individuals but not a system of people)
A Method of Research Study (Approach/Process)	Prolonged observation of the group, typically through participant observation and one-to-one interviews (using anthropological concepts) – always qualitative.	Can use different methods that focus on the collection of in-depth data from multiple sources rich in context - documents, archival records, interviews, direct and/or participant observation, physical artefacts - can include quantitative methods and analysis (may or may not use anthropological concepts)
A Product of Research Study (Outcome)	A holistic portrait of a group or system	Can result in very different products - an in-depth analysis of a programme, an event, an activity or individuals
With the Aim Of	Understanding the way a group or social system works, the meanings it gives to actions, artefacts and so on. Ethnography investigates people in interaction in ordinary settings, it looks for patterns of daily living (culture), what people do, say and use to find out what a stranger would have to know in order to be able to take part in the group or society in a meaningful way.	Understanding the uniqueness of a case or to providing an illustration of an issue.

Figure 6) Walters' Summary of Creswell's 'Ethnography' and 'Case Study'

(Walters 2007, 91)

However, other thinkers suggest that all ethnographies involve case studies, and that case studies are simply a choice of what is studied rather than a methodological choice (Hammersley 1992; Brewer 2000; Walter 2007). This research will follow Sue Walters definition of case study and ethnology, where while an ethnology provides a holistic picture of an entire culture-sharing group, a case study is an “in-depth study of a bounded system or case or set of cases” (2007, 93). This is illustrated by Walters as below.

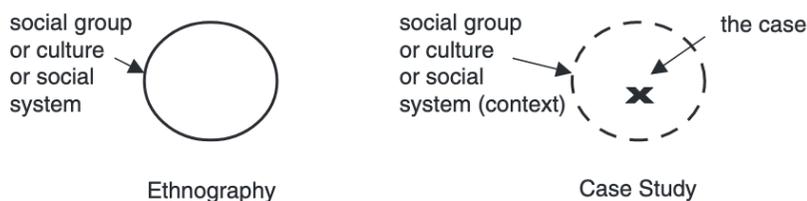


Figure 7) Walters' illustration of 'Ethnography' and 'Case Study'

(Walters 2007, 93)

Understanding the restrictions of my research, it became clear that a case study was the more appropriate methodological approach for the study. The social group (context) here were Korean Christians living in Japan, while the case is the Korean Christian Church in Japan. More specifically, it also allowed me to have multiple cases of study within this case – Zainichi-Koreans and newcomers, at multiple sites – five different churches. That being said, I also followed with Walters claims of an ethnographic case study, in that my research was based on a specific bounded group of people, while accepting the context that they lived within. Yet there were some restrictions that prevented this study from performing as a full ethnography. The first of these restrictions would be the time made available to spend with the participants. The next would be the level of intimacy that was able to be formed amongst the interviewer and the interviewee. As the time frame was short, the ability to form meaningful, trusting relationships with the interviewees was also limited. The third would

be the most meaningful, in that the study would not be holistic. It specifically chooses the Korean Christian Church in Japan as an institution and those members that exist within it rather than the whole Korean Christian culture in Japan because of the history and intricacies of the KCCJ.

As a researcher, it is important to identify myself, the “I” in this paper. As Stuart Hall writes, “We all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific. What we say is always ‘in context’, *positioned*” (Hall 1996, 222). By creating this ‘I’, this paper acknowledges the inherit biases that go into interviews and the perspectives taken within the paper. As a participant observer, it should be noted that church is not a foreign location for me, nor is it a new one. I myself am Christian and have my own set of biases of what Christian life, and more specifically immigrant Christian life, often looks like. The background to the motivations of this research as well stem from my participation in various immigrant Christian churches.

## Chapter 2. Findings

### 2.1 History of the Korean Diaspora in Japan

While there are some discrepancies, generally scholars will agree that the worldwide Korean diaspora started at the beginning of the 1900s, with the Japanese occupation creating Korean refugees to Japan, Manchuria, China, Russia, and the United States (Hicks 1998; Fukuoka 2000; 윤인진 2003a). It is only after the start of the Second World War that the migration of Koreans start in earnest, and with the next large wave of migration in the 1970s and 1980s in the post-authoritarian setting of South Korea (福岡安則, 金明秀 1997 Chapman 2006; Jin 2017). This paper will follow Yoon's four waves of Korean migration (윤인진 2003a, 8-11):

- 1) 1860-1910 (until the Korea-Japan annexation treaty): The first wave is characterized by economic migrants traveling mostly to China, Russia, and Hawaii (United States).
- 2) 1910-1945 (until Korean independence from Japan): The second wave is characterized by economic migrants leaving mainly for Japan and Manchu, and political migrants who left for China, Russia, and the United States as freedom fighters.
- 3) 1945-1962 (until establishment of South Korea's first immigration policy): The third wave is characterized by war orphans, marriage migrants, international adoptees, and academic migrants emigrating to mostly the United States and Canada.
- 4) 1962-now: The fourth and current wave of migration is characterized by migration for immigration and permanent residency. In Japan, this wave of migrants is often denoted as 'newcomers', and hold South

Korean citizenship, largely economic migrants to Japan (Fukuoka 2000).

This categorization of Korean migration abroad is somewhat limited in its mostly Korean perspective. While Yoon incorporates both push and pull factors, the wide scope of the book fails to explore a more critical analysis of multicultural and immigration policy of host country as well home country to account for variety in migration patterns.

Yoon (2003b, 106) delineates a separate categorization for the Japanese example:

- 1) Pre-1910 (Korea-Japan annexation treaty);
- 2) 1910-1937 (Occupation);
- 3) 1937-1945 (World War II and National Mobilization Act);
- 4) 1945-1989 (Post-Liberation and Treaty on Basic Relations with the Republic of Korea);
- 5) 1989-onwards (Post-Restriction on Overseas Travel in South Korea).

These categories are based mostly on the different geopolitical influences at the time. Before the annexation treaty, many migrants to Japan were mostly educational and economic, looking for better schooling or business opportunities. The majority of Koreans came to Japan during World War II through the National Mobilization Act. While under Japanese annexation, Japan gave citizenship to all Koreans, and considered the Korean peninsula to be an extension of Japan. The 1947 Alien Registration Order identified both Korean and Taiwanese residents in Japan as 'aliens' and by 1952, pursuant to the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan no longer recognised Koreans as Japanese citizens, which stripped all the Koreans in Japan at the time of their citizenship. In that same year, Law 126-1-6 gave Special Residency to those residing in Japan by September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1945 and offspring born by 28<sup>th</sup> April 1952.

Starting from 1952 to 1965, talks were opened between the governments of Japan and the newly formed Republic of Korea (South Korea)

re-establishing diplomatic ties between Japan and the Korean peninsula. By 17 January in 1966, Treaty No. 28 of 1965 was signed, granting qualified South Korean nationals to obtain Agreement Permanent Residency, however those Koreans without South Korean nationality were not qualified for this designation. Lastly, in 1991 on November 1<sup>st</sup>, Law No. 71 of 1991 was enforced, providing Special Permanent Residency to all treaty-qualified residents, as well as their descendants that continue to live in Japan.

As reported by the Foreign Human Rights Act Liaison Meeting (外国人権法連絡会) in 2018, the number of Koreans in Japan have been decreasing recently.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
<b>TOTAL NUMBER</b>	489,431	481,249	465,477	457,772	453,096	450,663
<b>PERCENTAGE (%)</b>	24.1	23.3	21.9	20.5	19.0	17.6

Figure 1) Total number of Koreans in Japan, 2012-2015

	1995	2000	2005	2010	2012	2015	2016	2017
<b>TOTAL NUMBER</b>	563,050	512,269	451,909	399,106	381,364	348,626	338,950	329,822

Figure 2) Total number of special residency holders in Japan, 1995-2017

The total number of Koreans in Japan (Figure 1) does not discriminate between Koreans with special residency and Koreans that do not have residency. Meaning, the numbers reflect the total amount of Koreans in Japan and does not separate those that have lived in Japan for many generations and those that have more recently immigrated to Japan since the creation of the Republic of Korea. The total number of special residency holders (Figure 2) can be misleading as it includes other nationals (Taiwanese, Chinese, etc.) in their numbers as well.

#### a) History of the Korean Christian Church in Japan

The beginnings of the Korean Christian Church in Japan (재일대한기독교회, hereafter ‘KCCJ’) can be traced back to 1883 with the formation of Protestant worship of Korean students in Japan led by Lee Su-jeong 이수정(李樹廷). According to the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary DVD published from the KCCJ (재일대한기독교회 2008), Lee Su-jeong was one of the first Koreans to be converted to Protestantism, influenced by Tsuda Zen (津田仙), and helped in founding the *Chōsen* Church (조선인 교회) in 1885. The KCCJ is especially notable due to its positioning as a diasporic church serving the Korean community, and in creating a ‘*Chōsen* identity’ and locating it within the Christian rhetoric (양현혜 2009, 223). On November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1906 Korean students in Japan created their own chapter of the YMCA, lending itself to the structural foundations of the KCCJ. In 1908 the church was officially founded, and it was in 1934 that the KCCJ was officially formed (then known as the 재일본조선기독교회). The *Chōsen* chapter of the YMCA was sent ministers from Korea, starting a church congregation. The formalization of the church as it is known today occurred post-liberation. It has a unique history in being a church existed before, during and after the Japanese colonial period in Korea, and therefore played a large role in normalizing the societal burdens placed between Koreans and Japanese populations within Japan.

In their 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary DVD, the narrative is given that KCCJ has been journeying alongside the Korean diaspora from the very beginning, with the first formations of the church being founded alongside the first formations of the diaspora itself.

*Chōsen* was originally a country that was heavily influenced by Confucianism. Why then did so many Koreans seek the church? After

having their nation taken away, and losing their lands, they came across the sea to Japan looking for livelihood. They were met with racism and ignorance. The church for these Koreans was an oasis that healed their hearts and helped them find peace. This faith community provided space to share news from the homeland and was a space to share their suffering as a nation.

This is a description of the church's role from the 1920s-1930s as translated from the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary DVD. It becomes clear that there is the idea of the church acting as not only a community center, but an 'oasis' that lent space to the Koreans away from persecution. As the diaspora continues to grow, so does the church itself, continuously journeying alongside Koreans in Japan.

In 1940, the church has no choice but to disband under new laws and be formed under the National Church of Japan. This was a dark time for the church as they lose their ability to speak their language and use their Korean names, and ministers had to retake certification tests under Japanese control. At this time, many Korean ministers lost their ability to lead the church or were taken away, and many Japanese ministers came into Korean churches and started to lead them. This led to the loss of Korean identity for many churches.

However, after liberation, the Korean church becomes re-established and is officially renamed as the Korean Christian Church in Japan in 1948. The church continues to flourish post-liberation even as many are repatriated back to the homeland. A new sense of direction comes in 1968, at the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, when it is decided that the KCCJ has not paid enough attention to the plight of Koreans living in Japan, and must focus on journeying together and fighting for the rights of Korean-Japanese. Immediately afterwards the KCCJ lays down the groundwork for the Research-Action Institute for Koreans in Japan (RAIK) in 1970 as an institution that can gather information and help

liaise between Korean-Japanese factions. And there is a continued presence from there on end with activism involving Korean-Japanese issues.

Some notable instances of the KCCJ journeying alongside the Korean diaspora can be seen in its activist role. In an article in DongA News written on October 19, 1981, it outlines the KCCJ's efforts against NHK TV Station for the Korean pronunciation of Korean names over the Japanese pronunciation (“韓人 이름을日式 발음 고집” 1981). As such, the church has been fighting alongside other NGOs and secular organizations for the Zainichi-Korean population. The Research-Action Institute for the Koreans in Japan was founded in 1974 with support of churches in North America, with its main focus on information gathering. RAIK was established with influence from the civil rights movements in the United States. It often has worked as a facilitator between secular and Christian organizations. In 1970-1974, the court case of Park Jong Seok against Hitachi for wrongful termination was supported by the KCCJ. The anti-fingerprinting movement in the 1980s first began as individuals, yet the KCCJ was instrumental in institutionalizing the movement, and RAIK helped liaise between KCCJ and other secular organizations such as Korean Residents Union in Japan (Mindan). In 1989 leader of KCCJ start to put together a direction for mission for peace on the peninsula. In 1994, an International Consultation on Minority Issues and Minority Strategy is opened.

From the trajectory of KCCJ's outreach programs, there is a clear emphasis of the discriminated and oppressed. First their focus stays with the Korean diaspora, as can be seen with the anti-discrimination campaigns that the KCCJ participated in during the Hitachi trial. RAIK also provides the Korean-Japanese lean that their efforts were sided towards. However, a decade afterwards, with the anti-fingerprinting movement, while this does still involve Korean-Japanese, it has moved forward from simply being Korean-Japanese to encompass all foreigners in Japan. This gets widened up further as they become involved with issues on the homeland, leaping national boundaries, and then

with the international consultation on minorities, looking at a worldwide lens of minorities.

Today the Korean Christian Church in Japan encompasses 94 churches all around Japan. They are divided into Kansai, Kantō, Chūbu, Seibu, and Seinen Regional Associations. These units work together alongside the headquarters of the KCCJ in order to administer the church. There is no exact count of numbers officially offered but the likes of about 5000 people attend KCCJ churches around Japan.

## 2.2 Creating an Identity

### a) Self-Identification

Self-identification is important, as it shows how each church and interviewee identifies themselves. When asked to identify themselves, three different categories were identified: n-Generation (n-세), Zainichi-Korean (제일교포), newcomer, and Korean (한국사람). Of those interviewed, five people identified themselves to be Korean, two identified as newcomers, one as Zainichi-Korean, and five as n-Generation Korean. Aside from this, two interviewees were none of these categories as one was Japanese and the other was Canadian, working for KCCJ affiliated institutions.

The distinction between oldcomer and newcomer was made very clear within interviews and observation. The most common form of Zainichi-Korean used was “제일교포” (*jaeil-gyopō*). However, it was interesting to note that those the self-identification of Zainichi-Korean was not as common. They would refer to themselves more by which generation of Korean living in Japan they were (third-generation, fourth-generation, etc.). The term Zainichi-Korean was more ascribed to them. At the same time, those who were born in Japan yet were children of newcomers did not refer to themselves as Zainichi, *jaeil-gyopō*, or second-generation. One woman in her mid-twenties living in Osaka referred

to herself simply as 'newcomer', which was commonly witnessed in other interviews as well. It is then clear to see that the term 'third-generation' is not simply informative but holds symbolic meaning as well.

Several of the ministers interviewed categorized the types of churches in KCCJ by the origin of the minister, largely having to do with language spoken. Three categories have been identified from this information.

1) 'Zainichi' churches

The first category of church is churches with a third- or fourth-generation Zainichi Korean minister as the head minister. These churches have a large Korean-Japanese population, usually having about half of its congregation made up of 'Zainichi' Koreans. Many of these churches have their service conducted in both Japanese and Korean as the minister has a handle on both languages.

2) Missionary churches

The second category of church is churches with a minister who self-identifies as a 'Korean', meaning that they have studied and sometimes practiced ministry before coming to Japan. Often these types of ministers were considered 'missionaries', with a different denominational belonging before joining with KCCJ. These churches helmed by a 'Korean' pastor generally had a largely Korean speaking congregation, with the focus on Korean language services with simultaneous translations available.

3) Korean churches

The last category of church can be seen as a combination of the aforementioned two categories. Largely they refer to churches that are led by a minister who identifies as Korean, however studied theology in Japan, having little to no pre-existing denominational leaning before joining the KCCJ. Most of the time these ministers had a handle on both Japanese and Korean languages. The make-up of these churches varies largely, due to the variety of language spoken.

By this categorization, two of the churches visited (Church A and Church B) were Zainichi churches, and three were Korean churches (Church C, Church D and Church E). Professor Lee at the Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary would fall into the third categorization, having completed his education in Japan. Lee emphasized at how he was only accepted by his mostly Korean-Japanese congregation once he had a better handle on the Japanese language. Minister Kim of Church B also commented that one of the biggest hurdles that KCCJ faced was finding ministers that could speak the language. Many times missionaries from Korea came to churches with very little knowledge of Japanese, creating an ostracizing environment within the church and between the members and the minister. Minister Kim is a third-generation Korean, working at a church that is split largely half and half between old-comers and new-comers. Minister Kim mentioned that this was a rare case for KCCJ churches, as most of the attendees now in KCCJ were mainly new-comers.

#### b) Language

Of the six churches visited, four of the churches conducted at least one service on Sunday in solely Korean, while the other two used both languages during the service, with the minister repeating the sermon in both languages. Many of the hymns were sung in both Korean and Japanese, and bulletins featured both Korean and Japanese.

The monthly newsletters that are published by the KCCJ are published in both Korean and Japanese, and can be found on their website. It is unclear to whether one is translated from the other, yet both seem to be made of the same content. Church E had a separate Korean and Japanese website, while Churches C and D had Korean only websites. Church A and B did not seem to have an official website to be found. When talking to the General Secretary of KCCJ,

he was fluent in both Korean and Japanese, however the staff at the office could not speak Korean and only conversed in Japanese.

It was common among the churches to see a split within the congregation based on the preferred language spoken. Very rarely were there people who spoke both languages with equal proficiency, except for newcomers that had lived in the country for several years. Many of the people interviewed had a rough handle on the Korean language, preferring Japanese than the former. The Korean spoken by those who identified themselves as n-Generation Korean or Zainichi-Korean often spoke with a thick accent that made it difficult to understand their Korean.

It is notable to see that KCCJ had published bibles and hymnals that had both Korean and Japanese on them. They were made available at each of the churches that I visited. The accessibility for either language speaker was evidenced in all the churches.

#### c) Ritual

At Church A, on the date observed, there were 19 people in the congregation. The hymns were sung in Korean, as well as the Apostle's Creed and Lord's Prayer recitations. The average age of participants ranged from their 60s-70s. The minister would recite in Korean first, then Japanese. The bulletin was in both Korean and Japanese. After service, lunch was provided. During lunch, there was a stark separation of those who spoke Korean and those who spoke Japanese. At Church A, I was greeted by the ushers first in Korean, and then spoken to in Japanese. There was a large population of oldcomers with some newcomers.

Church B was a similar situation to Church A. 27 members were participants of the Sunday service. The choir sang in Korean, while the hymns alternated between verses in language. Other recitations were done in Korean first, then Japanese. The sermon was delivered in Korean and Japanese. After

service, lunch was provided. There were only one or two young adults and the rest of the population was mostly in their fifties. I was greeted warmly by ushers who first spoke to me in Japanese, then quickly switched to Korean after learning I was from Korea. The church was split between oldcomers and newcomers.

At Church C, the service was conducted purely in Korean. On the date observed there were approximately 58 people in attendance for Sunday service. All hymns and sermons were conducted in only Korean, and all interactions within the church were done in Korean. That week, the church was celebrating their 26<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The bulletin was written in all Korean, and the church had a relatively large range of ages, starting from children to elderly people. The majority of the population was mostly in their 40s. The church was mainly made up of newcomers.

Church D was visited on a Wednesday rather than a Sunday, so Sunday service could not be observed. They have Sunday service first in Japanese, and the second service in Korean with translation services available. The church had English and Korean language programs for children every week, as well as Wednesday service and Friday prayer meetings.

Church E conducted separate services for Korean and Japanese services. While the subject matter of the sermons and hymns were the same, the Korean service was more largely attended. The first (Japanese) service was attended by roughly 50 people, while the second (Korean) service was attended by roughly 200 people. During the Korean service, simultaneous translation was offered. Both services used the same bulletin, written in both Korean and Japanese. During the early morning service, the service was led in Korean with simultaneous translation offered.

Church F also conducts Sunday services in both Korean and Japanese, with separate services for each language. Two of these services offer simultaneous translation. Church F was the largest of all the churches, and the

service style was most similar to service styles that can be found in Korean churches in South Korea. The age range varied from young students to elderly people. There was a broad mix of newcomers, oldcomers, temporary visitors, and non-Koreans.

## **Chapter 3. Analysis**

### **3.1 Being a Sanctuary**

The establishment of churches within the Korean Christian Church in Japan as safe spaces to practice and perform one's Korean-ness is one of the biggest roles that the KCCJ has played within the identity formation of the Korean diaspora.

In an interview with the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in Japan, Kim Sung Jae, he commented at how the ethnic church became a safe haven for many Korean-Japanese people to express their Korean identity. This idea was also conveyed at RAIK, where it was suggested that KCCJ has played a touchstone for ethnic identity. However, General Secretary Kim made firm the point that ethnic identity maintenance has never been the focal point of the vision of the KCCJ. In a later interview with General Secretary Kim, he did make the distinction, however, that KCCJ was a specifically ethnic church, and had the mission of an ethnic church. Reverend Kim of the Church A also emphasized at how KCCJ does not stress ethnic identity in their practice. Yet the church has maintained its status as an ethnic church. There is still a large portion that attends ethnic churches in order to maintain a sense of ethnic identity and in order to benefit from the existing community (Lee 2012). Exploring what the church then emphasizes gives more insight into the role that the KCCJ plays in ethnic construction.

The role that the KCCJ has played throughout history in maintaining community is often emphasized by their participation in rights movements, such as the Fingerprinting Refusal Movement. Churches such as Church A have been integral in many of these movements and have focussed themselves on ministry that emphasized minorities within the community. The KCCJ as a whole have set up institutions such as Research-Action Institute for the Koreans

in Japan (RAIK), nurseries, and nursing homes to cater to their mostly Korean congregations. KCCJ observed its 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary in 1968 with the specific vision to branch out into social justice and social issues in their ministry, with a focus on human rights (재일대한기독교회 2008). Since then, the creation of institutions such as the International Conference on Minorities and Mission and the Center for Minority Issues and Mission (CMIM) have shown the wider reach of KCCJ's vision for human rights. The unique aspects of KCCJ moving from a solely ethnic church to broadening their view and serving the wider minority community makes it differ from other ethnic organizations that remain mostly to serve the Korean population.

On the other hand, the minister of Church C, Reverend Kim denied the identifier as an 'ethnic church', believing that it limited the KCCJ to only work for one ethnic group.

What does it mean to be an ethnic church? I don't believe that KCCJ is an ethnic church. It's much more than that. It has to be more than that. To think that we are only serving one ethnicity goes against our Christian values. We can't limit ourselves to just being Korean, or just being Zainichi-Korean.

Yet this seemed contradictory with the practices of the church, specifically that they only utilized Korean purposefully in order to appease the congregation's request to teach the younger generations Korean language and culture. Church C is a church on the first stage of the ethnic church – monolingual and monoethnic.

What an ethnic church means to the congregation is different than the theological minds of the ministers and staff. During an interview with a Zainichi-Korean member of Church A, I asked why he attended KCCJ churches when the climate for being Korean used to be persecution.

We were living in fear in our daily lives. But this was a place where we could be Korean, and live as Korean people. We were all the same people, and we all had the same struggles. There were some people who were afraid of coming to a Zainichi church and went to Japanese churches. My children either stopped going to church or went to a Zainichi church. But this place has always been a sanctuary for people like me. We have to protect it.

This idea that the church was a sanctuary is different from the motivations of newcomers attending ethnic churches as outlined by Lee (李賢京 2012). While newcomers attended ethnic churches to a) keep their faith, b) participate in the community center, and/or c) educate their children on cultural practices, for oldcomers there was an added dimension of safety and belonging.

This differs from association with political groups such as Mindan, where Zainichi-Korean's ethnic identity were put front and centre, and used as a tool for activism. In the church, Zainichi-Koreans could privately practice their identity without fear of persecution.

Language is a large proponent of identity-creation. Using the United States as an example, Choi writes on how languages within immigration groups with multiple generations will often follow a pattern. The first-generation of immigrants predominantly use their mother tongue, while the second-generation will learn English and use English (in this case, Japanese) predominantly with occasional home country language usage at home and with family. The third-generation will often only use English, using English with their family and outside the home. This pattern shows a monolingual-bilingual-monolingual progression (Choi 2015, 242). In my findings, this was also the case. The third-/fourth-generation Korean-Japanese that were interviewed reported that within their family, only their grandparents or great-grandparents spoke Korean, with the command of the language declining dramatically as the generations progressed. It is then evident at how language spoken and used

within churches can have a large effect on the construction of identity for both the church and the congregation.

Like this, the language spoken and predominantly used within a church can change the course of identity maintenance and creation. The KCCJ uses both Korean and Japanese in their official communications, such as their website, newsletters, etc. However, at the lower level, the language spoken at different churches highly varied through congregation make-up, head minister and history. The languages spoken in the Korean diaspora divide widely by when migrants arrived, with oldcomers and temporary migrants being monolingual (speaking Japanese and Korean respectively), while newcomers were often bilingual.

Language in a multilingual and multicultural setting are intertwined with identity. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) write, “language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors’ views of their own and others’ identities” (1). In Church C, the minister explained at how all services and notices were conducted in Korean because there was a big push amongst the adult congregation to teach their children Korean and Korean culture. While this may seem organic, it also points to how many of the congregation members had a keen desire to return to South Korea, which is why they considered language education important. For them, South Korea was seen as the upwardly mobile location. The minister at Church C explained the situation as following:

We don’t speak Japanese at our church. The parents like this. They all believe that they will inevitably return to (South) Korea and want their kids to speak Korean. They want their children to go back to Korea to study. We have simultaneous translation available to the few Japanese that attend our church. They’re here through marriage. The congregation of our church are people who migrated here about 20-30 years ago. So most of them are more fluent in Korean, though they can

speak a little Japanese. They have to use it in their everyday lives, so they like to speak Korean at church.

Language is given importance here, with Korean being given power over Japanese in this specific context. On the other hand, Minister Kim of Church B complained at how few ministers learn Japanese when coming to Japan.

There are about 110 ministers in KCCJ. 80 are Korean, 5 are Japanese, and 20 are Zainichi-Korean. Approximately 60 of these people can't speak Japanese. We have a training session when missionaries first come to Japan. They are full of passion to convert and evangelize, but don't practice any Japanese, so all they can do is preach to the Korean populations. I think that they should at least do the benediction in Japanese, but rarely of them do so. Because the service is done in Japanese, many Japanese-speaking Zainichi leave the church, but the ministers aren't worried because they believe that newcomers will come fill up the church anyway.

In this example, it is clear how language is used as a dividing tool. As Korean is the predominant language of choice, it changes the context within which KCCJ works in. It creates exclusion within the church itself.

Vernacular is another important aspect of language. The most common form of Zainichi-Korean used was “재일교포” (*jaeil-gyopō*). However, it was interesting to note that those the self-identification of Zainichi-Korean was not as common. They would refer to themselves more by which generation of Korean living in Japan they were (third-generation, fourth-generation, etc.). The term Zainichi-Korean was more ascribed to them. At the same time, those who were born in Japan yet were children of newcomers did not refer to themselves as Zainichi, *jaeil-gyopō*, or second-generation. One woman in her mid-twenties living in Osaka referred to herself simply as ‘newcomer’, which was commonly witnessed in other interviews as well. It is then clear to see that

the term 'third-generation' is not simply informative but holds symbolic meaning as well.

This plays into the idea of ritual. Through observations of services, it became clear that the church was a place where Korean-ness was performed. Through the repetition of hymns, prayers, and bible verses in Korean, the language is constantly at the forefront. Customs are reproduced in how people greet each other. Even Japanese speakers would greet each other in Korean, and then continue conversations in Japanese. In ceremony, Korean traditional costumes (hanbok) are worn. After every service a meal is served, customarily a Korean meal, where fellowship is shared. This was noted as unique of Korean churches, as Minister Kim from Church B explained.

You can always tell a Korean church because they'll give you food after the meal. If you go to a Japanese church you have to pay a small amount, maybe 200 yen, for lunch. But in KCCJ churches, there's always food after the service. We have lunch together after every Sunday service. Most of the time it's Korean food. Like today, we have *yūk'gae'jang!* The women's group makes the food and does the dishes, and the budget is provided by the church. This is because of the history of Koreans. Many Koreans didn't have food long time ago, so it became a tradition of the church.

Through this repetition at least once every week, the ethnic identity is doubled down upon. KCCJ churches also offered a space different from political institutions such as Mindan and Chongryun to the next generation as well. Children who normally do not have access to political institutions are taught these ethnic rituals starting from a young age as they do have access to church and to Sunday School. The more one participates in these ritualized events, the stronger the connection to ethnic identity and the diaspora.

Apart from ethnic identity, national identity is also being reproduced within KCCJ churches. In the context of the Korean diaspora in Japan, it is

interesting to note that the name of the KCCJ specifically moved away from 'Chōsen' to 'Korean'. This change was made at the 4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly session of the organization in October 1948 (Kang 2012). General Secretary Kim spoke on this change as being monumental.

1948 was a politically contentious year. There were a lot of anti-communist sentiments, and the proposal to change the name from *Jaeil Chōsen* to *Jaeil Daehan* came up at the general assembly. The proposal passed by one vote. It was also at a time when Japan was scared of the Korean population. After liberation, ethnic schools popped up all over Japan. They focussed on ethnicity more than politics, but were branded as left-wing. Japanese were frightened that the movements towards ethnic solidarity would also turn them more left-wing, and form a communist base in Japan.

This change shows the leanings of the KCCJ. Though neutral in their standing, the church is mostly made up of newcomers and those that identify with the South. The KCCJ churches visited all conducted their services in South Korean dialects when Korean was used, and ministers/missionaries sent from Korea are exclusively South Korean. This development also is due to the historical context of North Korea.

North Korea is a religiously hostile country. Since 1958, Protestants in North Korea have been under heavy persecution, due to Protestantism's linkages to the United States and due to the anti-communist tendencies of Protestant believers (Kim 2018). These sentiments continue in the Korean diaspora in Japan. At the time of schism, anti-communist sentiments were high both in Japan and within the Korean peninsula. The KCCJ, historically with their connection to Canadian and American churches, followed the geopolitical context.

Post-liberation, the spirits in Japan were high. Many believed that they could now return to their motherland, and invested in Korean education for their

children. Around 600 education centres were created during this time. However, in the eyes of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (represented by the General Headquarters, of GHQ), they were seen as anti-communist and in January of 1948, these schools were shut down (신준수, 이봉숙 2007, 119). In terms of ethnic schools, *Chōsen* Schools still exist today, though they are discriminated against by the Japanese Government (Cho 2019). Most North Korean leaning Zainichi-Koreans have been educated in these schools, and are reproduced through them (손애경 2006). However, South Korean schools have not found the same reproductive qualities, and rather there are limited educational centres with Mindan affiliation. In this sense, the Korean language schools and nurseries that are set up through the KCCJ play an important role in the educational reproduction of nation. This 'social island' that *Chōsen* Schools exist within also make the separation between South Korean identity and North Korean identity further from each other.

National identity is formulated through imagined communities (Anderson 2006). Through common language, shared history, and collective culture, nations are created and identity is formed. In this case, the shared national identity of the KCCJ is definitely South Korean. This is reproduced through missionaries coming to KCCJ churches and through the nation that the KCCJ promotes. Minister Kim of Church B explains how South Korea influences even the Zainichi-Korean population.

My father said, that to be a pastor, I had to practice and study in (South) Korea. I joined the Methodist Church in Korea and became an ordained pastor with them. I wrote in Korean and studied in Korean, which is why I have the ability to write and perform sermons in Korean now. Before going to Korea, my Korean skills were very bad. They aren't perfect now either but at least I can write my own sermons in Korean.

Minister Kim took great pride in his ability to speak Korean. He further outlined at how many third-generation Zainichi-Koreans are unable to speak the language, speculating that perhaps only 5% can speak Korean. Speaking Korean in KCCJ churches then play a big role in furthering identity within the Korean diaspora.

The fact that Minister Kim learned Korean in South Korea shows how South Korean-ness defines his view of Korea and the Korean language. When I interviewed him, though his Korean held the distinct accent of Japanese-Korean, the vernacular used was in line with the vernacular used in South Korea. This was the same for other third-generation Zainichi-Koreans interviewed, such as Minister Kim of Church A and General Secretary Kim of NCCJ.

KCCJ has been active in many activities involving South Korea, such as releasing statements against Japan-South Korea's Foreign Ministers' talk on comfort women (KCCJ 2016), or working in favour of the 'National Committee' (구국위원회) (양현혜 2009, 229). When asked if there were many liaising opportunities between South Korean churches and churches in KCCJ, three of the five churches interviewed responded positively. At one of the churches interviewed, the recent wildfires in South Korea were given attention during Sunday Service. In February 2019, a six-member delegation from the KCCJ went and visited Seoul for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 3.1 Movement (마리아에 2019). The geo-political reality is that access to North Korea is not as convenient, nor are there diplomatic ties between North Korea and Japan, making it difficult for the KCCJ to establish meaningful ties to the country.

In such ways, nation ties are continued to be reproduced. One of the most meaningful ways would be the constant flow of ministers or missionaries traveling to Japan working within KCCJ. With less and less Japanese or Zainichi-Korean ministers and more Korean ministers in KCCJ, the ties between the organization to South Korea become stronger, creating a stronger reproduced national identity.

This affiliation with South Korea becomes stronger with the increased presence of newcomers. The current General Secretary of KCCJ is also a newcomer, having been educated and having practiced in South Korea before moving to Japan. Nation is reproduced through newcomers coming in with food, ideas, vocabulary, and news of the motherland. Especially with anti-communist and anti-North Korean sentiments still strong in Japan, which can be seen through actions such as hate speech, the backlash over the abduction of Japanese citizens by North Korea, and current geopolitical realities, the KCCJ has, purposefully or subconsciously, moved itself to the South of Korean affiliation.

As a diaspora where the first wave of immigrants came from a different country as the immigrants today come from, the reality of national identity becomes nuanced. All of the Zainichi-Korean oldcomers that were interviewed addressed themselves to be Zainichi-Korean, not South or North Korean, and not simply Korean. As the church is being pulled towards South Korea, this demographic is left behind.

### **3.2 Being ‘Zainichi’**

One of the most important roles that the Korean Christian Church in Japan has managed to play is in its ability to be non-political. During the late 1940s when the Korean peninsula was divided into the North and South, already this started to have an impact on the diaspora. The Association of Koreans in Japan (재일조선인련맹) was formed in 1945 and had a socialist spirit. One year later, this association was split down political lines, and the anti-Communist factions split off to create what is now known today as the Korean Residents’ Union in Japan, or Mindan. In 1949, due to the Cold War context, the Association of Koreans in Japan is disbanded by the GHQ, and reformed by the remainder of the Association of Koreans in Japan to what is known now as the General

Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryun) in 1955 under the leadership of the North Korean government. During this split amongst the Korean diaspora in Japan, the KCCJ remained a non-political body managed to stay closely related to the diasporic identity. That is not to say that KCCJ also was not politically sensitive, as mentioned above, they had sided ultimately with the South Korean side. However, still the KCCJ managed to make a safe space for people to practice just 'being Zainichi' rather than being part of Mindan or Chongryun. Being Zainichi then became an identity on its own, not tied to a specific nationality, but transcending nation and becoming a diasporic entity. Here as the homeland changed, the KCCJ remained unchanged.

It also lends for the imagination of a Zainichi diasporic homeland that is not split by conflict, that the South Korean and North Korean reality has become. There is a nationality that is based on the understanding of Chōsen rather than on one side of the peninsula. It is an alternative view of the homeland, that is enabled because of the politically neutral tone that KCCJ undertakes.

The other notable institutional make-up of the KCCJ is its religious undertones. While being non-political allows for a distinctly Zainichi identity to surface, it's religious nature also helps it solidify. This phenomenon is explained by Tölölyan that boundaries can be solidified through religion. Using the Muslim North Africans becoming 'French', he compares them to Portuguese Christians, in saying that the Muslim nature of their religion has a 'real or perceived religious incompatibility' (1996). As Japan is a nation that practices Shintoism and that religion is prevalent through its culture, the pull against assimilation can also be attributed to the religious institution that the KCCJ provides. Their 'Christian' nature has helped prevent this Zainichi identity from becoming Japanized as it not only reproduces Korean culture within the church through ritual, but also because it provides an alternative identity that sits in contrast with the Japanese Shinto other. As Christianity itself

is a minority in Japan, it helps create Korean Christians to have a doubly minority identity.

Professor Lee remarked at how as a minority church, KCCJ has always been keen on minority issues. During one of two interviews conducted with Professor Lee, Lee commented on how KCCJ was a minority in the sense that it was serving an ethnic minority, but also that because Christianity in general was not popular in Japan, it was doubly a minority as an ethnic church. When asked if there were any discriminations from other Japanese churches against Korean churches in Japan, Professor Lee answered that because the rest of Japanese churches also had a minority status in Japan, there was a certain understanding and acceptance between the Japanese churches and the Korean churches. The ethnic church in Japan then builds itself as serving a minority as a minority, which makes the progression to wider social issues natural.

The identity of the KCCJ is not so much based on ethnicity but as its role in serving a minority community. What this means for its congregation base is less distinct. The motivations for attending ethnic churches are diverse. Writing on newcomers' attendance of Korean churches, Lee notes the following pattern: 1) those that attend church because of their faith, 2) those that attend church because of the church's role as a community centre, and 3) those that attend church in fear of becoming 'Japanese' (or losing their Korean-ness) (李賢京 2012). One Zainichi-Korean interviewee from Church B spoke on how he felt that the church was theirs to protect.

Look at the name of this church. It starts with *jaeil*, no? This church is for us Zainichi-Koreans. Who will protect the church if we don't? My parents went to this church and so I go to this church. My children don't go to this church anymore, and that's a shame. I should have pushed harder for them to continue going. This church is like a sanctuary to many of us while we live in Japan.

The minister at Church D repeated this sentiment.

Many Zainichi feel like the church belongs to them. But that's not the reality of the situation right now. Without newcomers, KCCJ wouldn't have survived. I think it's foolish to think that KCCJ 'belongs' to Zainichi-Koreans.

Church D is a mostly newcomer church, having joined KCCJ in 2010. When asked why Church D had joined KCCJ after 11 years of establishment, Minister D responded that it was mostly due to tax benefits.

Korean Christian Church in Japan is registered with the government, so they get special tax benefits of being a religious organization. The church mostly joined to get these benefits when we moved to our new building. The congregation members went along when they realized that we would be saving money. If they had any denominational reasons... I don't think they really knew what the KCCJ was when we joined them, and what being a Zainichi church meant.

Church D had originally started in Asakusa, Tokyo and branched out to its Edogawa, Tokyo location as it grew in size. However, due to budgetary reasons, the church had to shut down their Asakusa location and focus strictly on the Edogawa branch. It was after this move that they had registered with KCCJ. The idea that newer churches are registering with KCCJ not because of ethnic or Zainichi ideals changes the structure and landscape of churches within the KCCJ. While older churches such as Church A, Church B, and Church E had stronger ideas amongst its members in how the history of KCCJ has journeyed together with the Zainichi Korean population in Japan, these newer churches had less of a mission in terms of preserving this history and realizing the church's mission to journey with Zainichi Koreans. Rather, newcomer churches such as Church C and Church D focused on their primarily newcomer congregation and the struggles that this demographic faced. The difference

between Church C and Church D was that Church C was still founded by KCCJ, meaning that they still held on to the semblance of keeping with the KCCJ mission, yet wanting to expand further from the idea of an ethnic church solely for Zainichi Koreans, and Church D, being founded outside of KCCJ, had little designs with the larger history and mission of the KCCJ, and rather focused on their singular church.

This idea that KCCJ belongs to one sub-group of people makes a distinction within the diaspora itself between oldcomers, newcomers, and temporary migrants. This split between older or oldcomer focused churches and newer or newcomer focused churches plays a large role in the trajectory of the KCCJ today. The reality of KCCJ situates itself between trying to preserve its core members while still trying to expand to include newer churches as well. However, it still remains that the church seems to stagnate with its clause of being a 'Korean' Christian Church in Japan. While the church's official line is that they are inclusive of all people, it still remains that the church is indeed an ethnic church.

To put this in the language of Mullins, within KCCJ exists churches at the last two stages. As these churches move beyond the fourth-generation of immigrants, what will the ethnic church look like? As the immigrant generation disappears, KCCJ faces the problem of losing membership and changing demographics with more and more newcomers entering into the church. This fundamentally changes the way that KCCJ operates, with different priorities being introduced with a different congregation. With the constant influx of newcomers, there exists in KCCJ churches for all three stages, with churches such as Church C being at stage one, where original immigrants take precedent and monolingual services are conducted.

This changing dynamic of the KCCJ results in a lack of coherent identity. Rather, the identity of the KCCJ is in its pluralism. This goes along with the history of the church as well. Without strong denomination ties from

the beginning, the church has been pluralistic and ecumenical. In this sense, it is only right that KCCJ does not have a distinct identity, but rather its identity is made up in their diversity. General Secretary Kim Sung Jae drew the comparison that churches within KCCJ were akin to hermit crabs.

KCCJ is like a hermit crab leaving its shell. A new crab comes in, changing its colour. I once asked a second-generation Zainichi why they went to a Japanese church [over a KCCJ church]. They said that they were disappointed with the church, as newcomers overrule, and the minister is a missionary.

When asked about what the KCCJ identity then was, Kim replied that it was as a minority church.

As an ethnic church, we have to respect our history. Our meaning of being is that we're a minority church. We have been tasked with this. Why we exist in Japan is so that we can play a role between Japan and Korea. Working as catalysts for peace in between, as mediators.

This is an interesting idea that poses Zainichi-Koreans as in-between being Japanese and Korean. It not only creates Zainichi-Korean as its own distinct identity, but also ties it as being distinctly Japanese and distinctly Korean at the same time. KCCJ has played the role of mediator in a number of accounts. The church initiated a conference for both South and North Korean Christian leaders on the topic of peace on the Korean Peninsula (“南北교역자 東京서 집단회동” 1990; 안영인 1996), and has continuously advocated for peace between South Korea and Japan, such as asking the National Christian Council in Japan to admit to wrongdoing of Japan in the Second Great War (양현혜 2009, 230).

It is here important to note the non-political status of the KCCJ. While other organizations have been divided along political lines (such as Mindan and Chongryun), KCCJ remains inclusive of all identities, focusing not on a

national identity but rather a Zainichi identity. As an institution, it has shared a history with the Korean diaspora as a whole, and thus, as an institution, maintains a very 'Zainichi' spirit within. Not only does it try to keep an ethnic flavour alive, it creates and defines what it means to be Zainichi-Korean, and a church-going Zainichi-Korean. Yet this situation is changing with the influx of newcomers into KCCJ churches.

### **3.3 Being Marginalized**

In General Secretary Kim of NCCJ's writing, there is a lot of focus on how the diasporic church needs to move on from being 'closed' and only serving one aspect of community, to a wider, more inclusive society. In a speech given on August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2018 at the 110<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Commemoration of the KCCJ titled, "Sojourners Living within God's Promise," General Secretary Kim speaks on the activist history of the KCCJ, such as the Anti-Fingerprinting Movement or the Hitachi Employment Scandal Movement, as well as the creation of RAIK and CMIM. From here, he draws the conclusion that, "Looking at the Zainichi-Korean activist history, activism based on Zainichis in general needs to be multi-cultural and multi-ethnic". General Secretary Kim bases the future of the KCCJ on this vision towards being multicultural and multiethnic.

Interestingly, the word multicultural and ecumenical came up in every clergy interview. It seems that from an institutional stand point, being 'ecumenical' is important. Ecumenical is a theological term based on solidarity with the world. The history of KCCJ can be seen as quite ecumenical. The starting of the church began with missionaries from multiple denominations leading KCCJ, creating a history of diversity. Now the church houses a multitude of identities: Japanese, Zainichi-Korean, Korean, non-Korean, etc.

In the title of General Secretary Kim's address, he uses the word 'sojourner' (기류민). This term can be defined as a temporary resident, or a temporal stayer within one area that is looking to return home. 'Sojourner' is

introduced by Rev. Lee In Ha, a leader in both the KCCJ as well as the Korean diasporic community. The term refers to a certain displacement of the peoples and the longing to go back home. This idea of sojourner not only is appropriate for the Korean diaspora, but Kim extends it far to other minorities as well. In Yang Hyun Hye's book (2012), this is further defined as creative minority (창조적 소수민). Creative in the sense that they are recreating the word marginalized, taking away the negative connotations of being a minority, and rather celebrating their minority status.

Like this, the KCCJ is now refocusing its energy to creating a new identity. This identity focuses on the margins and the marginalized. Striving for this identity gives another meaning to ethnic survival, putting in its place not only just for the ethnic diaspora, but opening up its borders to include a more transnational meaning. If the definition of a diaspora according to Brubaker is dispersed, homeland-oriented, and bounded, it fulfils two of these three categories. This brings up the question, what is a diaspora? It is simply made of shared cultures, or shared language? What is important is the idea of a shared history, and in this sense, the shared trials of a migrant living in Japan can be this shared history for this 'larger' meaning of diaspora.

### **3.4 Being Diasporic**

Going back to the writings of Tölölyan and the definitions of diaspora utilized in this thesis, how is the Korean diaspora formed? Can it be spoken of as a diaspora or is it simply an ethnic community? This thesis argues that yes, the Koreans in Japan form a diaspora, and this can be seen through the case study of the Korean Christian Church in Japan.

First using Brubaker, what can be said about the Korean diaspora in Japan? It is dispersed by nature in that they have been (some forcibly) uprooted from Korea to Japan. In this way Koreans have crossed national borders in order

to find their new country. It is homeland-oriented in the sense that the ideas of culture and ethnicity are given by the homeland. There is a keen sense of connection back to the homeland within the diaspora, and people define themselves against being Japanese by using the language of Korea. It is bounded because there is a strict delineation of what constitutes a Korean diasporic person in Japan. Mostly it is limited to oldcomers and newcomers, as can be seen within the example of KCCJ.

To delve deeper into this, and the role of KCCJ, Tölölyan's criteria of diaspora – a) born of trauma, b) preservation of collective identity, c) maintained relations with kin, and d) distinct through time – plays a handy tool in measuring how suitable an institution KCCJ is in for the survival of the diaspora.

Together, as can be seen through the history of both the Korean diaspora and the history of the KCCJ, the KCCJ was born out of the traumatic separation of land and country by the Korean migrants to Japan. Through rituals and participation, the KCCJ offers a space to preserve culture and to share a collective identity within. With continuous relations with Korean churches and other Korean diasporic churches worldwide, the KCCJ offers a linkage back to the homeland. Finally, the identity of being part of the Korean diaspora has been developed into this identity of being 'Zainichi' that is perpetuated by the KCCJ.

The churches within the Korean Christian Church in Japan also help create a distinct identity by being present within the fabric of churches in Japan. It is acknowledged by the National Council of Churches in Japan, and stands tall within the sea of Japanese churches. The 'other' is the Japanese church and the 'self' is then the Korean churches, saying not only are we minorities because we are Christian, but we are created minorities because we are Korean. A marked difference is created, demanding that a separate space is necessary for Koreans to practice their own faith and their own version of Christianity.

Diasporas as an example of thriving regimes of multiplicity is a useful way of looking at the Korean Christian Church in Japan. The KCCJ shows proof of a diaspora that can thrive and that is thriving within perhaps a once hostile Japanese society. It shows the survival of not only an ethnic group but also of a diasporic group, that has yet to fold against the pressures of an increasingly globalized and newcomer focused world. Here we can make the distinction that the Korean community in Japan is indeed a diaspora through the actions of institutions such as the KCCJ playing as committed activists that have specifically diasporic concerns. This can be seen in the founding of RAIK, and the solidarity that the KCCJ has shown to Koreans living in Japan.

## Chapter 4. Conclusion

Looking at the Korean Christian Church in Japan, the negotiations made within Christian institutions in maintaining identity can be seen. As people associate with members of the same diaspora, identity is created. Within the church there are three distinct groups, oldcomers, newcomers, and the next generation. These groups are negotiated through language, years spent in Japan, and self-identification.

This research was limited by the time frame and limited reach of the researcher. However, by focusing more on the institutional qualities rather than on specific individual accounts, the attempt is to create a broader picture of how Christian institutions themselves have been tying the diaspora to the homeland, the host country and to other Koreans abroad in order to maintain a specific narrative of ethnicity. Diasporas are special by fact that they are created and bound by transnational flows. By incorporating this transnational perspective on looking at diasporas, how has the role of Christian institutions affected the construction of identity in Korean diasporas? The reproduction of cultural identity and ethnic identity within the churches, especially through the role of an ethnic church allows for the maintenance of an ethnic community outside of political lines.

By looking deeper into diaspora theory, it is seen that the role of the KCCJ has been to solidify this identity formation as a diaspora rather than just an ethnic community. The KCCJ plays an inclusive, non-political safe space that allows for the reproduction of ethnicity, and through this the continued contestation of identity can be undergone.

This study looks at how the Korean Christian Church in Japan also has negotiated between generations of Koreans living within the Korean diaspora. In Japan, the question is raised whether people are members of a diaspora solely

because of their ethnicity or if they have to identify as a member of a diaspora. If the latter is the case, the KCCJ provides an avenue to continue membership within the Korean diaspora, pushing for further ethnic survival. In order to ensure ethnic survival, there is a reinvention of what it means to be Korean – namely in the supranational minority identity.

However, this ethnic survival is contested by the finite number of Zainichi-Koreans. The sense that the KCCJ as a bastion of Zainichi-Korean life is also dying as more and more newcomers enter the church. If KCCJ is of and for the Zainichi-Koreans, and they protect the church, how will they continue to protect their church and identity if they do not allow space for change to the demographics?

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## Appendix

### Semi-Structured Interview Questions (all participants)

- 1) Please identify yourself
- 2) How long have you attended this church? Church in general?
- 3) Why do you attend KCCJ churches outside of other Korean or Japanese churches?
- 4) What does it mean to be Korean/Zainichi-Korean?
- 5) In what ways do you think that the church serves the Korean community in Japan?
- 6) Do you participate in any other activities within the church? Such as bible study, volunteer programs, social meetings, etc.

### Semi-Structured Interview Questions (clergy members)

- 1) How long have you served in this church?
- 2) What are the demographics of the church?
- 3) If you have practiced in Korea, what are the differences between KCCJ and Korean churches?
- 4) What social services does the church provide?
- 5) Are there many spaces for volunteering or upwards mobility within the church?
- 6) What do you think is the identity of KCCJ?

## 초 록

재일대한기독교회는 재일한인 만큼 긴 역사를 가진 민족교회로서 종교적, 사회적 목적을 이뤄낸 비정치적인 기관이다. 본 논문은 재일기독교회 안에 정체성과 디아스포라의 내러티브를 관찰하며 민족의 살아남기가 디아스포라 안에서 어떻게 형성되는지 본다.

디아스포라 안에서 민족 살아남기는 재일한인 디아스포라의 경계선에 달려있다. 이 경계선을 어떻게 긋는가에 따라서 재일한인만에 아이덴티티가 생기고, 재일교포 와 재일한인에 경계선인 생기는것이다. 이 경계선은 재일대한기독교회 통에서 언어, 현 문화의 동화, 와 사회적 기능에 달려있다.

주요어: 재일한인, 정체성 정치, 디아스포라, 한인 교회, 일본 다문화, 민족 정체성

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