

RELIGION AND ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANTS: THE CASE OF REVIVAL MEETINGS IN KOREAN-AMERICAN CHURCHES

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The primary purpose of this study is to investigate various aspects of revival meetings in Korean American churches. More specifically, this study examines the rituals, functions, and symbolism involved in the revival meetings. The data analyzed in this study were obtained from a series of participant observations. Revival meetings are organized by Korean American churches for the spiritual renewal and awakening of their members as well as for the promotion and maintenance of traditional Korean Protestantism. Findings suggest a dynamic feedback effect between the roles of Korean American churches, the social needs of Korean immigrants and their expectations from the church. The implications of the exclusive intra-ethnic group activities of immigrant churches, such as revival meetings, are discussed in the context of the adaptation of immigrant groups to American community life.

The primary purpose of this study is to investigate various aspects of revival meetings in Korean American churches. More specifically, this study presents an historical overview of revivalism in Korean Protestant traditions, followed by participant observation of revival rituals, and a set of content analyses based upon information obtained from newspaper advertisements and church bulletins of revival meetings held in Korean American churches. I address the sociological implications of the dynamic interplay between the religious orientations of immigrants and their churches for the processes of adaptation to community life in America. Additionally, I formulate inferences about the possible impacts of revival meetings on the religious and community lives of members of Korean immigrant churches.

BACKGROUND

Sociological inquiries into the religious activities of ethnic immigrant groups are embedded within the theoretical perspectives of the sociology of religion, and the sociology of race and ethnicity in American society. An economic approach is among the sociological theories of religion that have been used in the analysis of religious behavior. In particular, Berger's choice theoretic model (1969) has attracted a substantial amount of attention. Berger argues that the pluralistic nature of religious activities resembles market situations in many important respects, with religious institutions

and traditions analogous to marketing agencies and consumer commodities, respectively. Through these analogies, Berger asserts the dominance of market logic in most religious activity, with parallels to buying and selling (Berger 1969:138). Similarly, Stark and Bainbridge (1980) formulate an axiomatic theory of religion based on the concepts of reward and cost, exchange and substitution, and scarcity, credit, and debt.

Using the economic approach, Innaccone (1988:S245) developed a formal model of church and sect, based on the assumption that individuals allocate resources to maximize overall satisfaction or utility. The model concentrates on normative conduct that affects status and opportunities in both religious and secular contexts (Innaccone 1988: S245). According to this model, churches and sects are analytically distinct, with sects more likely to emphasize rigid behavioral guidelines, conversion experiences, and enthusiastic participation, being resistant to change and appealing largely to minorities and members of the lower classes (Innaccone 1988: S241). In a subsequent study, Innaccone (1994) applies rational choice theory to the analysis of determinants of religious participation in America, asserting that rigidity increases the strength and attractiveness of organizations by reducing such collective action problems as free riding. According to this theory, this rigidity serves to weed out free riders and encourages more active participation by remaining members. In this manner, rational choice theory can be used to explain the success of sects and other separatist religious groupings without assuming irrationality or other deficiencies on the part of their members (Innaccone 1994:1180).

Other studies in the sociology of religion have investigated the dynamic interrelations between race or ethnicity and religious behavior in America. Regarding longitudinal changes in U.S. religious institutions, Warner (1993:1044) notes that an open market system, such as found in the U.S., provides a fertile environment for organized religion, contrary to previous monopolistic concepts, and that religious institutions in the U.S. tend to be "pluralistic, structurally adaptable, and empowering (Warner 1993:1044)". Finke and Stark (1988: 43) argue that pluralism stimulates religious mobilization, while Blau et al. (1991: 36) assert that religious diversity is neither casually nor even positively related to religious membership rates.

Traditionally, religion in America has served as a "free social space," providing a haven for free association, autonomy (Evans and Boyte 1986), and cultural particularity (Warner 1992: 1060). Warner (1993: 1061-1063) dissects the history of the religious experiences of immigrants, focusing on the dynamic interplay between such variables as class, race, ethnicity, language, urbanism, and differentiation by region and religion, and those associated

with the impacts of recent immigration on religious pluralism in America. Williams (1988: 3) observes that religion in the United States is accepted as a means of both identification and negotiation within and between communities. Additionally, Curtis et al. (1992) indicate that religion remains the pre-eminent voluntary associational form in American society.

Sociological theories of ethnic communities in the United States note a shift in focus over time (see Alba 1992: 576). In earlier periods, the assimilationist perspective dominated the study of social phenomena enabling smaller ethnic groups to assimilate into larger society (Alba 1992:576). Subsequently, the social stratification and ethnic group resources approaches were proposed (Alba 1992: 576-584). Sociological literature since the 1970's has seen the emergence of several different perspectives proceeding from the ethnic group resources approach. These theoretical orientations include theories of split labor markets (Bonacich 1972), segmented labor markets, (Piore 1979), ethnic enclaves (Portes and Bach 1985; Zhou and Logan 1989; Sakong 1990), and rational choice (Banton 1983; Hechter 1987). Additionally, ethnicity has been viewed as a form of "genetic nepotism," (Vanden Bergh 1981) proceeding from fundamental drives and impulses that are impervious to modernization and change (Alba 1992: 576). This recent development seems to reflect an increasing recognition of the reality of race and ethnic relations in the United States.

The model of the "melting pot" has been replaced by one of cultural pluralism and by a tendency to maximize ethnic and racial advantages. It should be noted, however, that such sociological theories are based exclusively on the structural characteristics of the economic activities of ethnic immigrants, in comparison with the economic characteristics of the majority nonimmigrant population. While useful in principle, theories based on economic behavior must be applied in conjunction with theories that address noneconomic aspects of ethnic immigrant communities. This study addresses one specific aspect of the religious behavior of the Korean immigrant community.

Previous studies (Williams 1988; Haddad and Lummis 1987; Hurh and Kim 1990; Lee 1996; Min 1992; Warner 1993) have asserted that religious association may be more salient before immigration than after immigration, both for individuals and groups, as evidenced by such recent immigrant groups as Asian Indians, Pakistanis, and Koreans. A 1986 predeparture study found fifty-four percent of Korean immigrants to be Christian; forty-two percent were Protestant and twelve percent were Catholic (Abelmann and Lie 1995: 69). Hurh and Kim (1990) note that twenty-five percent of non-Christian Koreans were affiliated with ethnic immigrant churches fol-

lowing immigration to the United States. Thus, about three quarters of Korean Americans can be estimated to be Christian (Warner 1993: 1063).

Korean American churches have been identified as the fastest growing congregations in several denominations, including the Presbyterian Church (USA) and the United Methodist Church. It has been estimated that there were approximately 3,500 Korean American churches in the United States as of January 1999 (The Korea Gospel Weekly, February 8, 1999). The estimated total size of the Korean American population in the same year was 1.5 million, suggesting that Korean Americans are one of the most "churched" of all ethnic groups in the United States. In light of the fact that many mainline Protestant denominations in the United States have been losing members over the past four decades, the rapid growth of Korean American churches begs solid explanations, grounded in sociological theory.

In an overview of the current condition of religious institutions in the Asian American community, Yoo (1996: xvi) argues that rituals, beliefs and religious structures provide immigrants with frameworks within which to interpret their experiences as immigrants, and also provide beneficial links to non-immigrant communities in the new nation. Yoo also asserts that, contrary to the popular belief that Asian Christianity is synonymous with the beliefs passed on by missionaries, Asian Christians see Christianity as very much a part of their own culture (Yoo 1996: xv). This suggests that the history of Asian American Christianity does not necessarily transcend the bounds of race and ethnicity. The experiences of Asian American Christians and other peoples of color have thus been significantly different from the experiences of their European-American counterparts. It follows that, having become aware of their alienation from American society and thus freed from the dominant social structures, Korean immigrants became consciously liminal and thus open to a "*communitas* experience" (Turner 1969; Lee 1996: 153).

The establishment of immigrant churches can be viewed as a response by Korean immigrants to the deprivation and suffering inflicted upon them by their marginal position in American society (Shin and Park 1988: 237; Lee 1996: 149-159). This notion is consistent with perspectives elaborated in the comfort theory of religion (Glock and Stark 1965; Glock et al., 1967). Comfort theorists view religion as essentially providing comfort, serenity, and reassurance to those who are deprived, troubled, or disturbed (Greely 1972: 63-69; Shin and Park 1988: 237; Lee 1996: 149-159). The African American church has historically provided its members with a refuge in a hostile white society, and has served as an arena of political activities. Churches have comprised the main area of social life in which blacks could

aspire to community leadership (Frazier 1974: 209-223). Similarly, Korean immigrant churches are primary sources of comfort and compensation for Korean immigrants (Shin and Park 1988: 237).

The theory of marginality accounts for the rapid multiplication of Korean American churches and the initial participation in these churches. Such an explanation, however, may need further elaboration in order to explain the continued explosive growth of Korean American churches and the extensive participation of members in church activities. Rational choice theory provides an alternative theoretical framework that fills this void. A series of studies by Kelley (1986) and Iannaccone (1988; 1992; 1994) report that increasing rigidity led to consequent increases in attendance and contributions, as well as to closer ties within the groups and decreased participation in outside groups (Iannaccone 1994: 1197). Iannaccone (1994: 1205) notes stronger self-identification among members of the strictest denominations, and that these members also tend to contribute more in both time and money. Additionally, according to Iannaccone, categories with few secular opportunities tend to choose sectarian membership over membership in mainline churches.

The application of rational choice theory to the study of Korean immigrant churches suggests that such activities as daily pre-dawn prayer meetings, midweek Bible study sessions, Sunday school, and other organized religious events throughout the week clearly reflect characteristics of "strictness, demands, complete loyalty, unwavering belief and rigid adherence to a distinctive lifestyle" among Korean immigrant church members (Iannaccone 1994: 1181). In this study, characteristics of revival meetings in Korean American churches are examined with the assumption that such activities are organized for the purpose of promoting the capacity of immigrant churches to extend and retain a vital, devoted membership and to demand total commitment, steadfast faith, and strict maintenance of a distinctive lifestyle (Iannaccone 1994: 1180-1181).

Traditional sociological theories of religion postulate that religion promotes fervor and integration among members, thus leading to integration into larger society (Durkheim 1951; Simpson and Conklin 1989; Stark and Bainbridge 1982). It is not apparent, in the case of Christianity among Korean Americans, whether or not religion has had a direct positive effect on the process of adaptation to American society. What is certain is that ethnic immigrant churches have played a vital role in the maintenance and promotion of ethnic identity and solidarity among Korean immigrants. Although the church has been the most powerful and influential voluntary organization within the ethnic enclave, its role in representing the interests

of the ethnic immigrant community to the larger community and in bridging between the two communities has been quite limited. It should be acknowledged that churches may be substantially constrained in dealing with secular issues. Thus, the extent of the participation of Korean immigrant churches in the nonreligious affairs of the ethnic community as well as the larger community should be examined in a comparative perspective, perhaps involving interethnic group comparisons (Chung 1998; Hurh and Kim 1990; Kim 1981; Min 1992).

A close examination of the salience of religious affiliation among Korean immigrants reveals sociologically important insights into the nature of Korean American churches. Unlike the Buddhism of Thai and Vietnamese immigrants, the Islam of Pakistani, Iranian, and other Arab immigrants, and the Hinduism of Indian immigrants, the Protestantism of the Korean immigrants can be seen as a "boomerang phenomenon." While the former groups retained their "old country" religions and transplanted them into their immigrant communities in America, Christianity was first introduced in Korea by American missionaries in the late nineteenth century. Over the period of one century, Korean Christianity experienced not only remarkably rapid membership growth, but also extensive adaptation to and cross-pollination of traditional sociocultural values with indigenous religious orientations. In fact, such effective amalgamation and synthesis within the boundaries of Protestant theological principles has been the most critical underlying social force in the rapid expansion of Christianity in Korea.

It should be noted that it is the "Koreanized" version of Protestantism that has been transplanted into Korean immigrant churches in America. It is therefore reasonable to argue that the Korean immigrant church has adhered to such traditional norms as polity, worship, Bible study, Sunday school, and administrative organization to a much greater extent than has any other organization in the Korean American community to its counterpart in Korea. Because of the importance of the roles played by churches in Korean American communities, such adherence has profound implications for the adaptation of Korean immigrants to the community life of mainstream America.

The revival meeting is one important feature of the Korean immigrant churches that was originally introduced by American missionaries, but subsequently "Koreanized" and transplanted. I assert, therefore, that an analysis of the correlates of revival meetings in Korean American churches will shed light on interrelationships between characteristics of Korean immigrants and the orientations of Korean immigrant churches.

DATA AND METHODS

Data analyzed in this study were obtained from a series of participant observations and from advertisements in two Korean American ethnic newspapers: *Joongang Daily News* (New York Edition) and *Gospel News*, a weekly published in Washington, D.C. Information was collected about all revival meetings advertised in the two newspapers for the eight-year period between 1991 and 1998. The data collected from the newspapers are as follows: 1) the title and themes of the revival meeting; 2) denominational affiliation of the church which organized the meeting; 3) date of the meeting; 4) special occasion which was linked to the meeting; 5) identity of the guest preacher, and; 6) scripture readings in the revival meeting. During this time, advertisements appeared for 703 revival meetings, although some did not contain all of the desired information. Additionally, the cases included in this study do not constitute a representative sample, as the primary region of circulation for the two newspapers from which the data were obtained is the eastern United States. Not surprisingly, then, the majority of the churches included in this study are located in the eastern region of the United States. To supplement the newspaper data, I also obtained information from church bulletins printed for the revival meetings. Participant observation is included as well, gathered from more than fifteen revival meetings held during the study period.

HISTORY OF REVIVAL MEETINGS

Contemporary revivalism appears to be modeled after those described in scripture. Old Testament writings describe great revivals (For example, see Exodus 32, 33; 1 Samuel 7:2-13; 2 Samuel 7:-13; 2 Samuel 6; 2 Chronicles 20; 2 Chronicle 29-31; 2 Chronicles 34-35; Ezra 9, 10; Nehemiah 8-10) in which people turned to God in great numbers and renounced their "sinful" lifestyles. An account appearing in Nehemiah describes one such event:

Ezra opened the book. All the people could see him because he was standing above them; and as he opened it, the people stood up. Ezra praised the Lord, the Great God; all the people lifted their hands and responded, "Amen! Amen!" Then they bowed down and worshiped the Lord with their faces to the ground (Nehemiah 8:5-6).

McLoughlin (1978: xiii) defines revivalism as a "Protestant ritual in which

charismatic evangelists convey the Word of God to large masses of people who, under this influence, experience what Protestants call conversion, salvation, regeneration, or spiritual rebirth." Henry (1988:799) describes revivalism as distinctive to the United States, having emerged in the late eighteenth century. American revivalism began with the activities of Theodore J. Frelinghuysen in New Jersey in 1717. Other early pioneers in revivalism included Gilbert and William Tennent, Jonathan Edwards, Nathaniel Taylor, Lyman Beecher, and Charles Finney (Henry 1988). Dwight Lyman Moody and William Ashley (Billy) Sunday were two major figures on the American revival meeting circuit between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Henry 1988: 809-812). Billy Graham emerged as a leading conservative American evangelist in the early 1950s, and he has maintained a prominent status in American revivalism ever since.

Revivalism in black churches has played an important role in the history of revivalism in America as a whole. Cone (1988:1173-1187) asserts that justice, liberation, hope, love, and redemptive suffering represent major themes in the history of black religious thought. The nature of black theology, functions of black churches in the community, and the involvement of black churches in the civil rights movement have contributed to the growth of revivalism and revivalist preachers. Historically, the leading figures of African American Protestant denominations were also known as charismatic revivalists, and as leaders of the civil rights movement. Richard Allen, Nathaniel Paul, Booker T. Washington, Henry McNeal Turner, Martin Luther King, Jr., Fred Price, and Tony Evans are examples of such figures.

Revival Meetings in the History of the Protestant Church in Korea

The growth of Christianity in Korea over the past 50 years has been remarkable. As of 1995, about one quarter of the population of the Republic of Korea was categorized as Christian, and there were more than 43,000 Protestant churches (Office of Statistics, Korea 1998:529). Since the introduction of Protestantism to Korea by American missionaries in the late nineteenth century, Korean churches have been greatly influenced by the fairly conservative Presbyterian and Methodist denominations of the United States (Suh and Lee 1981:34). From the very beginning, American missionaries utilized the American style of revivalism as a vehicle for the conversion of nonbelievers and the recruitment of new members (Han 1981: 35-58).

In 1903, Rev. Hardie, an American missionary, organized an intensive Bible study workshop for missionaries and lay leaders of churches in the city of Wonsan, North Korea. It was the first revival meeting-type gathering

in Korean Protestant history (Kim 1996: 56). Revival meetings proved to be effective mechanisms both for the conversion of nonbelievers and for the spiritual awakening of church members. In particular, revival meetings were ideal outlets for the frustrations and sufferings that Korean converts had to endure under the oppression of Japanese colonial rule. Additionally, revival meetings reduced conflicts between nationalist church leaders, anti-colonialist leaders, and American missionaries, who were ambivalent toward the colonial administration. In any case, a solid foundation for great spiritual revivalism in Korean Protestantism was laid between 1907 and 1910. Early revivalists such as Rev. Ikdo Kim and Rev. Youngdo Lee are regarded as models of the nationalistic revival preachers of the Japanese colonial era (Kim 1996: 58-64).

Successful large-scale evangelistic crusades led by such American revivalists as Bob Pierce and Billy Graham in the 1950s set the standards, and suggested the possibility of utilizing mass evangelistic revival meetings for the conversion of nonbelievers and the spiritual revival of believers. Revival meetings were also effective in providing spiritual growth and comfort for Koreans, who had experienced the horrors and destructions of the Korean War. Additionally, leaders of Korean Protestant denominations became increasingly protective of their domains and organized associations of revival preachers in an effort to control the evangelistic activities of their churches. Such associations produced a group of Korean revivalists specialized in leading revival meetings at churches in Korea and abroad.

Churches in Korea have an average of two revival meetings a year — one in the spring and another in the fall. Events connected to revival meetings include the anniversary of the formation of the church, the calling of the new head pastor, election of new elders and deacons, and completion of a new sanctuary. Revival meetings may also be held to resolve conflicts between the pastor and the congregation and to calm internal strife between factions in a church.

Ma (1992: 26) asserts that Korean history has provided a favorable environment for the emergence and growth of revival meetings in the Korean churches. Specifically, Koreans experienced severe political and religious oppression during the Japanese colonial era, and suffered from the destructions of the Korean War and economic hardships following independence. They were alienated by the three authoritarian military regimes of the 1970's and 1980's that advanced industrialization and economic development as the priority agenda, while ignoring human rights, democratic political processes, and civil society. Arguably, this historical background made revival meetings an effective outlet to release frustrations, anger, hopeless-

ness, suffering, and to get comfort and assurance through the experience of participating in emotionally uplifting religious rituals (Ma 1992: 26-29).

Another reason for the emergence of revival meetings as popular church events is that the truly disadvantaged lower classes did not fit into the rigid formal worship services and programs of the middle class dominated churches, which placed heavy emphasis on traditional Christian values and biblical teachings. Revival meetings were more freewheeling in their style of service and message delivery.

Revival meetings tended to be more open to the participation of nonmembers, including nonbelievers. Since revival meetings were usually held in the evening hours, working class families were able to attend without difficulty. Even the dress code for the occasion was usually more casual than other worship services and formal programs. Han (1984: 34-38) pointed out that the rapid growth of churches in Korea itself had created the need for a more open format of religious functions. He indicated that the rapid growth of the Christian population in Korea had been closely linked to the growth of the new and old middle classes (Han 1984: 36). Established churches were exclusively emphasizing Christian values and biblical teachings from traditional middle class perspectives, and were not seriously concerned with the issues of social justice, economic inequality and class cleavage, and oppression by authoritarian regimes. Thus the poor, alienated from both the rapid economic development and the political processes controlled by the authoritarian military power, needed sources of comfort, support, and hopeful outlook. Revival meetings provided such outlets, especially in urban Korea where impersonal and mechanical relations had created depressing and hopeless environments.

Church members from middle class backgrounds had also experienced frustration and disappointment from traditional church programs that placed heavy emphasis on traditional theological and biblical doctrines under the leadership role of the head pastor. The spiritually charged atmosphere of revival meetings may have provided a refreshing alternative to Sunday worship services and bible study classes. Revival participants were more free to express their inner feelings and become more directly rewarded and invigorated from the characteristic emotionality of revival rituals. In any case, historical and sociopolitical conditions combined with the internal characteristics of churches had provided structural conditions leading to the institutionalization of revival meetings as necessary annual events for churches in Korea.

THE KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCH

The immigration of Koreans to the United States began with the arrival of 102 immigrants in Hawaii January 13, 1903. About forty percent of the 7,226 early Korean immigrants in the next two years were Christian. In addition to the fact that immigrants were recruited through American missionary organizations, escape from the religious oppression of the Japanese colonial powers was one of the primary reasons for emigration from Korea (Yang 1982: 5-6). Early immigrants to Hawaii established nearly one church for each of the sugarcane plantation communities where they worked. By 1913, thirty-one Korean immigrant churches had been established in Hawaii (Yang 1982: 5-6).

In addition to their roles as places of worship, immigrant churches soon became the centers of educational, social, and community affairs. Nevertheless, during the 1920's, the number of immigrant churches declined drastically as early immigrant groups left the plantations and dispersed. Korean immigration to the United States essentially stopped between 1920 and 1945, due to the policies of the Japanese colonial government. The growth of Korean immigrant churches also ceased during this period. Korean American churches have experienced explosive growth over the past three decades after passage of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act.

American denominations had considerable impact on many aspects of Protestant church life in Korea, although congregations have also developed many of their own unique styles and structures over the last century. It is interesting to note that Korean immigrant churches in the United States were modeled more along the lines of churches in Korea than of American churches of the same denomination. In fact, as organizational entities, Korean immigrant churches may be more strongly attached and adhere more strongly to the norms of churches in Korea than they do to any other organizations in the immigrant community. This may be related to the fact that immigrant churches are organized by Korean-born first generation immigrants, who constitute the primary focus of the churches.

A great majority of churches are led by Korean-born ministers, educated and initially ordained by a denomination in Korea. It is not surprising, therefore, to observe worship services conducted in Korean, Bibles and hymn books printed in Korea, and a preponderance of Korean-made educational material. Many programs of immigrant churches are in essence copied from those of churches in Korea. For instance, a large proportion of

immigrant churches have daily daybreak prayer meetings, reflecting a long-standing Korean Protestant tradition. Revival meetings provide another example of practices reproduced from Korean churches.

TYPES AND RITUALS OF KOREAN AMERICAN REVIVAL MEETINGS

Two types of revival meetings are common to Korean American churches. Traditional revival meetings are led by charismatic guest preachers specializing in revivalism. Another form involves intensive Bible study led by a guest preacher who is not a specialist in traditional revival meetings, but who focuses more on witnessing and sharing based on the interpretation of scripture. In this section, I provide a description of ritual aspects of revival meetings in Korean American churches, followed by a Neo-Durkheimian analysis of these rituals. As noted before, the descriptions were developed through a series of participant observations in actual revival meetings.

The general features of revival meetings in Korean American churches closely resemble those of revival meetings in conservative American churches. The rationale behind the discussion of the rituals of revival meetings in Korean American churches is that idiosyncrasies of the ritual contents and symbols may differ, and such differences may have important sociological implications for the understanding of religious orientations of Korean Americans.

Hymn Singing

A traditional revival meeting in a Korean church typically involves singing a series of hymns regarded as appropriate for the occasion. Hymn singing usually lasts for about half an hour, and is usually accompanied by the clapping and raising of hands, following the body language and directives expressed by a leader of the session — usually a deacon or elder of the church. Many of the hymns sung in revival meetings are from *The Korean-English Hymnal*, although some hymns are selected from the *Gospel Hymn Book*, which includes many hymns using the music of Korean composers and lyrics of Korean origin.

Hymn singing at a revival meeting is louder than at regular worship services, and is more likely to involve gesticulations and exclamations of “Hallelujah!” and “Oh, Lord!” inserted among the lyrics of the hymns. During the hymn singing, the head pastor of the church and the guest preacher prepare for the revival meeting in another room of the church. They enter the sanctuary at the end of the hymn session, expecting it to

have prepared the congregation emotionally and spiritually for the revival to begin.

Opening Rituals

The official beginning of the revival meeting is conducted by the head pastor of the church. Introductory remarks may include information about the schedule of the revival meeting, housekeeping details, and reminders of the importance of remaining focused, humble, and prepared to receive divine messages during the revival. These remarks are followed by two or three more hymns, and a prayer offered by one of the elders. Following the elder's prayer and another hymn, the head pastor reads scripture passages, selected by the guest preacher, that relate to the theme of the revival meeting. The scripture reading is followed by an anthem performed by the choir. The head pastor then introduces the revival preacher by providing a brief commentary on the professional credentials of the guest preacher. The congregation is encouraged to greet the speaker with shouts of "hallelujah!," hand-raising, or both.

Preaching

Following the introductions, the guest preacher takes over the pulpit and begins preaching, which usually lasts at least one hour. A typical style of preaching by Korean revivalists includes detailed accounts of God's love, power, and omnipresence, as illustrated by descriptions of personal experiences of the preacher or those close to him. Some characteristics of these accounts are intended to relate to the theme of the speaker's presentation.

What the revivalist preachers usually do in their preaching at revival meetings could be analyzed by applying the "neo-Durkheimian model of ritual" (Collins 1988:194-228). The preacher tries to establish the "traditional and charismatic authority" by giving such orders to the participants as asking them to repeat the words or phrases from the scripture immediately after him or asking them to respond by saying "Amen!" or "Hallelujah!" loudly. He tries to generate a "frontstage personality" and "self-assured" attitude by solo singing of an appropriate hymn in between the different sections of his preaching and frequently announcing such a benedictory statement as "In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ grace be with you all!" which is followed by "Amen!" in unison by the participants. The preacher points out on occasion that the voices saying "Amen!" were not powerful and loud enough to signify that they meant it. Upon hearing such a statement by the preacher the participants yell "Amen!" much louder. In this

way, the preacher is generating a "common focus of attention and mutual awareness" and "intensification of emotion" (Collins 1988: 193-195). Such a presentation of performance and "ritual coercion" (Collins 1988: 213) by the preacher provides the participants with "a common emotional mood" (Collins 1988: 193) and "sympathetic like-mindedness" (Davenport 1968:1-2). Through such a process of ritual coercion the participants become "suggestible," "imitative," and "impulsive" (Davenport 1968: 2). Participants become willing to accept sacred words and ideas, they create a symbolic reality and these will in turn result in "enhanced emotional energy and confidence" for the participants (Collins 1988: 193). Such an enhanced emotional energy and confidence subsequently brings about renewed and intensified commitment to the symbols, ideas, and dogmas which are presented in the sermon and ritual of the revival meeting by the preacher (Collins 1988: 193-196).

Group Prayer

The emotional level of a revival meeting tends to reach its peak during a prayer session, in which the participants are asked by the revivalist to pray together simultaneously on the subject of repenting sins and accepting God's messages delivered in the sermon. The voice level of the group praying rises rapidly after the initial minutes. At some point during the prayer session, some participants may begin to "speak in tongues." Such phenomena are more likely to occur during the later days of the revival meeting — particularly on the last day. The group prayer session lasts for about five minutes, but may last longer depending upon the preacher.

Concluding Rituals

Following the prayer session, the head pastor comes forward and resumes the role of moderator. Initial comments often express admiration, appreciation, and gratitude to the speaker for the sermon that was just delivered, and may include invitations for exclamations of "Hallelujah!" After the singing of a hymn, special offerings for the occasion of the revival meeting may be collected by elders, deacons, or deaconesses moving from one pew to another with offering plates. It should be noted that the session of the church or other corresponding entity would usually decide the budget for each event. Thus, the church may decide to pay the cost out of the budgeted fund for the revival meeting, and they may decide not to ask the participants to make special offerings for the occasion. When the collection process is completed the collection party marches forward in two columns

from the rear of the sanctuary to the front of the podium and forms a single line with each person facing the head pastor who is standing on the platform. The leader of the collection party would present the offering envelopes to the head pastor. Some envelopes may bear short notes from revival participants expressing their gratitude to God for providing the opportunity for spiritual reassurance and renewal. Such notes are usually read aloud by the head pastor.

Most of the elders, deacons, and deaconesses are likely to give special offerings, and many may identify themselves by writing their names on the envelopes. Most participants, however, give the offerings anonymously. The meeting closes with an offertory prayer led by the guest preacher, a closing hymn, and a prayer of benediction given by the guest preacher.

Fellowship

After the service, many participants gather in the fellowship hall for refreshments and informal conversation with the preacher. Participants who are not members of the host church rarely join the informal gathering. Fellowship sessions may last from thirty to forty-five minutes, by which time it may be after ten o'clock.

The events described above are typical of the first day of a revival meeting. The sequence of events on the second, third, or fourth day would be very similar, but with notable differences. The rapport between the guest preacher and the congregation grows stronger in subsequent days, as does the intensity of preaching and the number of passionate responses from the congregation.

Daybreak Prayer and the Laying on of Hands

Daybreak prayer meetings are traditionally held on the morning of the second day of a revival meeting. Many Korean American churches have such prayer meetings each day throughout the year. If the host church has such a daily prayer meeting, the guest preacher assumes the role usually played by the head pastor, and delivers a brief sermon. Daybreak prayer services associated with revivals are often followed by a session of healing through "the laying on of hands." Such rituals are usually expected of the guest preacher, and are considered to be critical to the overall success of the revival meeting.

The laying on of hands begins with an invitation following the daybreak service. Participants are asked to move to the front of the sanctuary and to sit on the floor. With participants seated in rows close to each other, the

sanctuary lights are turned off. The preacher moves to each participant in turn, placing his hands on the head and repeating a prayer. The prayer will have the following or similar words:

“I pray that you shall be healed in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Following the prayer, the preacher presses the head of the participant backwards, sometimes causing the participant to fall backward. The fall may not be solely due to the physical push initiated by the preacher, but may result from a combination of several psychological and mental factors. The desire for and belief in healing through the prayers of the preacher may combine to create a highly suggestible state. Older females are the most likely to participate in the laying on of hands.

The preacher usually spends less than a minute or two with each participant. When the preacher is finished with one individual, he moves on to the next, and the previous person stands up and leaves. In some cases, individuals may inform the preacher of specific health, personal, and family problems and request the preacher to pray for healing from such specific sufferings. It should be noted that, if the performance of the preacher in his delivery of the sermon is excellent, and if he is able to establish a strong rapport with the participants, more individuals will request the laying on of hands.

Individuals who experience positive sensations during the laying on of hands are more likely to share their experiences than are those who do not. Positive sensations reported by some participants include feeling a streak of heat, falling down backward, or feeling as if momentarily lifted in the air. The number of individuals experiencing the laying on of hands will positively influence the amount of the special offerings given by the congregation for the revival meeting.

Financial Aspects

Prior to a revival meeting, the head pastor seeks information from other pastors about the current honoraria expected by particular revival preachers. The amount of the honorarium varies by a number of factors, including the general reputation and credentials of the preacher, the number of days and sessions involved, travel distance, the congregation, and the relationship between the preacher and the head pastor. Some churches include the expenses associated with the revival meetings in their annual budgets, and church funds are used to pay for the cost of the revival meetings. In these cases, the special offerings would not be made formally during the revival

TABLE 1A. DISTRIBUTION OF THE REVIVAL MEETINGS IN THE KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCHES BY THE TITLES OF THE MEETINGS USED IN THE NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

Titles	Frequency	
	Number	Percent
Revival Worship Service	215	30.6
Intensive Bible Study	73	10.4
Revival Holy Assembly	239	34.0
God's Gift of Healing	1	1.8
Fasting	16	2.3
Others	147	20.9
Total	703	100.0

meetings, although some church members may make them informally. Such informal gifts, however, would not be sufficient to pay for the total expenses involved in the meetings.

Relatively small, non-affluent churches may have difficulty inviting revivalists who usually command fairly high honoraria. Nevertheless, some churches may decide to organize revival meetings with the expectation of long-run benefits. Perceived benefits may include possible long-term increases in contributions, recruitment of new members, growth of the congregation, and revitalization of the church in general.

TITLES AND THEMES OF REVIVAL MEETINGS

In the Korean-American church, revivals are usually organized around a theme, and are given titles that reflect the chosen theme. Titles will usually consist of a combination of adjectives, nouns, and types of activity. Common descriptors include "great," "spiritual," "holy," "revival," "evangelical," "worship," and "intensive." Nouns used in the titles often include "meeting," "assembly," "convocation," and "service," and are frequently combined with such activities as "awakening," "Bible study," "faith healing," "fasting," and "blessing." Many advertisements have the phrase "great holy revival worship service" in the titles, apparently consistent with the recent practices of churches in Korea. In any case, the underlying intention of the titles is to be inclusive in terms of participants, program contents, and overall scope of the revival.

Table 1A presents information on the distribution of the revival meetings

TABLE 1B. TITLES OF THE REVIVAL MEETINGS BY DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION OF THE KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Titles	Denominational Affiliation of the Church													
	Total		Presbyterian		Methodist		Baptist		Full Gospel		Evangelical		Others	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Revival Worship/Meeting	208	30.3	88	34.8	22	39.3	16	32.0	18	20.7	6	37.5	58	25.9
Revival Holy Assembly	238	34.7	74	29.2	16	28.6	18	36.0	35	40.2	7	43.8	88	39.3
Intensive Bible Study	73	10.6	38	15.0	6	10.7	7	14.0	6	6.9			16	7.1
God's Gift of Healing	13	1.9	3	1.2			1	2.0	4	4.6			5	2.2
Fasting	16	2.3	2	0.8	1	1.8			10	11.5			3	1.3
Others	138	20.1	48	19.0	11	19.6	8	16.0	14	16.1	3	18.8	54	24.1
Total	686	99.3	253	100.0	56	100.0	50	100.0	87	100.0	16	100.0	224	100.0

by type of the titles used in the newspaper advertisements. The data show that a great majority (64.6 percent) of Korean American churches use the terms "spiritual revival meeting/worship service" or "spiritual revival holy worship/assembly." Intensive bible study workshops appear to be less common (10.4 percent), and gatherings directly oriented towards healing and fasting are fairly infrequent (less than five percent). The category of "others" primarily consists of large-scale crusade-type gatherings organized jointly by several local churches or by a denominational organization.

As indicated earlier, revivalism was introduced to Korea by American missionaries in 1903, and early meetings took the form of intensive Bible study workshops. The underlying philosophy of Korean Protestant leaders at that time was that Bible study was the most effective channel for both the spiritual growth of church members and the conversion of nonbelievers. This focus remained intact throughout the era of Japanese colonial rule.

Following liberation, particularly after the end of the Korean War, the American style of revival meeting emerged as a powerful alternative to the Bible study workshop. This may be explained in part by such historical developments as the division of the Korean peninsula. The subsequent destructive conflict between the north and south essentially wiped out the economic infrastructures of both north and south and caused the largest number of casualties of human lives in the history of war. Spiritual revival meetings involving more emotionally charged rituals than the traditional bible study type meetings were more effective in meeting the needs and expectations of individuals who were desperately seeking spiritual comfort, assurance, and escape.

Methodist churches tend to have traditional revival meetings, while Presbyterian churches appear to prefer the intensive bible study workshop format. Table 1B shows, however, that the use of such phrases as "revival meetings/worship" or "revival holy worship" in advertisements was fairly common, regardless of denominational affiliation. This phenomenon may be explained in part by the marginalized position of Korean immigrants in the mainstream of American community life. The preference for the revival meeting format may reflect the orientation of Korean-American churches to meeting community needs by adopting theological tendencies based upon divine gifts or blessings.

The data in Table 1B indicate also that, in both the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, the title of "revival worship/meeting" is most frequent, followed by the title of "revival holy assembly," with "intensive bible study" a distant third. However, in churches which were affiliated with the Baptist and Full Gospel denominations, the title of "revival holy assembly"

TABLE 2A. MAJOR THEMES OF THE REVIVAL MEETINGS IN THE KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Theme	Frequency	
	Number	Percent
Spiritual Growth	149	21.2
Evangelism	112	15.6
Church Growth	19	2.7
Healing	35	5.0
Bible Study	31	4.4
Unknown	357	50.7
Total	703	100.0

was as frequently used as that of "revival worship/meeting." In particular, Full Gospel churches were more likely to use the title of "revival holy assembly" than "revival worship/meeting." This may be correlated with the Full Gospel tradition of adopting such words as "holy" and "assembly" even in the name of the denomination.

Spiritual growth and evangelism appear to be popular themes for revival meetings in Korean-American churches. Table 2A shows that 21.2 percent of of revival meetings had the phrase "spiritual growth" in their stated themes, while 15.6 used the term "evangelism." Other themes, including "church growth," "healing," and "bible study," were not widely used. It should be noted that about half of the newspaper advertisements (50.7 percent) did not specify the themes of the revival meetings — a serious limitation that should be taken into account in interpreting the data. Table 2B presents a cross-tabulation of the types of meetings and the major themes, showing that "spiritual growth" was the primary theme of revival meetings, regardless of denominational affiliation. Again, this conclusion is limited by the large number of cases in which no theme was specified.

Seasonal Variations and Duration of Revival Meetings

Revival meetings appear to be held most frequently in the fall, with spring as the next most popular season. As shown in Table 3, about 21.4 percent of revival meetings occurred during the month of October, while the proportions for November, May, and April were 13.0, 10.8, and 10.4 percent, respectively. Nearly forty-five percent of revival meetings in Korean American churches occurred during the fall months. In fact, many of the newspaper advertisements had such headings as "Fall Season Great Revival

TABLE 2B. THEMES OF THE REVIVAL MEETINGS BY DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION OF THE KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Theme	Denominational Affiliation of the Church											
	Presbyterian		Methodist		Baptist		Full Gospel		Evangelical		Others	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spiritual Growth	42	17.9	16	33.3	11	22.0	21	26.9	4	25.0	52	25.9
Evangelism	40	17.1	10	20.8	7	14.0	16	20.5	3	18.8	33	16.4
Church Growth	9	3.8	2	4.2	3	6.0	3	3.8			1	0.5
Healing	14	6.0	2	4.2	2	4.0	5	6.4	1	6.3	11	5.5
Bible Study	16	6.8	2	4.2	4	8.0	2	2.6			6	3.0
Unknown	113	48.3	16	33.3	23	46.0	31	39.7	8	50.0	98	48.8
Total	234	99.9	48	100.0	50	100.0	78	99.9	16	100.1	201	100.1

TABLE 3. FREQUENCY OF THE REVIVAL MEETINGS BY MONTH

Month	Frequency	
	Number	Percent
January	33	4.7
February	20	2.8
March	49	7.0
April	82	11.7
May	83	11.8
June	70	10.0
July	53	7.5
August	21	3.0
September	58	8.3
October	117	16.6
November	75	10.7
December	29	4.1
Unknown	13	1.8
Total	703	100.0

Holy Worship Service." The preference for revivals in the fall may be associated with the tradition of rural churches in Korea, where revival meetings are held after the harvest, and are accompanied by Thanksgiving and celebrations. The summer and winter are not popular seasons for revival meetings in Korean American churches, although some advertisements were for revival meetings with the celebration of the new year as a theme.

Most revival meetings in Korean American churches begin on either Thursday or Friday, and last between three and four days. Table 4C shows that the mean duration of revival meetings was 3.35 days, with nearly ninety percent following a three- or four-day schedule. The duration of revival meetings appears to vary according to the starting day, with meetings beginning on Wednesdays or Thursdays tending to be longer on average than those starting on other days of the week. The duration of meetings does not appear to vary much by denominational affiliation, with means ranging from 3.06 days for Full Gospel churches to 3.63 for Evangelical churches. (See Table 4B).

Revival meetings obviously represent a tremendous investment of time and money on the part of the congregation. Furthermore, such schedules can be very taxing to many of the participants, as many are self-employed and work long hours. Small business owners typically work from early morning until eight or nine o'clock at night, with more than two-thirds of

TABLE 4A. DURATION OF THE REVIVAL MEETINGS

Duration	Frequency	
	Number	Percent
One Day	37	5.3
Two Days	42	6.0
Three Days	306	43.5
Four Days	287	40.8
Five Days	15	2.1
Six or more	4	0.4
Unknown	12	1.7
Total	703	100.0

TABLE 4B. MEAN NUMBER OF DAYS FOR REVIVAL MEETINGS BY DENOMINATION OF THE CHURCHES

Denomination	Number of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation
Presbyterian	251	3.33	0.92
Methodist	55	3.35	0.82
Baptist	47	3.30	0.91
Full Gospel	86	3.06	0.83
Evangelical	16	3.63	0.50
Others	221	3.44	1.36
Total	676	3.34	1.06

TABLE 4C. MEAN NUMBER OF DAYS FOR REVIVAL MEETINGS BY STARTING DAY

Starting Day	Number of Cases (%)	Mean	Standard Deviation
Monday	54 (8.6)	3.13	0.80
Tuesday	25 (4.0)	3.44	1.12
Wednesday	44 (7.0)	3.73	1.56
Thursday	248 (39.4)	3.81	0.68
Friday	207 (32.9)	3.00	1.05
Saturday	19 (3.0)	2.37	0.76
Sunday	32 (5.1)	2.56	1.48
Total	629 (100.0)	3.35	1.07

their weekly business taking place on Fridays and Saturdays. Thus, church members with such business commitments would have to make special arrangements for the weekends when their churches have revival meetings. On the same token, these individuals may expect a great deal from revival meetings in terms of their spiritual comfort and reinvigoration, and thus may be more than willing to adjust their business schedules in order to participate. A supply and demand relationship may represent a balancing mechanism between revival schedules and the work commitments of church members.

Origins of the Preachers

Table 5A shows that, for the revival meetings addressed in this study, guest preachers are about evenly divided between those currently affiliated with churches and organizations in Korea and those based in the United States. Only nineteen of the total 703 cases involved non-Korean preachers. The proportion of revival preachers based in Korea is truly remarkable, considering the distance and expense of travel from Korea to the United States. The proportion of guest preachers whose current home base was in Korea varied by the denominational affiliation of the churches, as shown in Table 5B. Korea-based revival speakers were more common for Full Gospel and Methodist churches than for Presbyterian and Baptist churches, perhaps reflecting the close ties with Korea maintained by Full Gospel churches with the denomination in Korea. For example, Rev. David Cho is one of the pre-eminent leaders of the Full Gospel denomination in Korea, and is now the head pastor of the Yoiedo Full Gospel Church in Seoul — one of the largest churches in the world, with a congregation of more than 150,000. Reverend Cho has had a great influence over the Full Gospel denomination all over

TABLE 5A. IDENTITY OF THE GUEST PREACHERS FOR THE REVIVAL MEETINGS IN THE KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Identity	Frequency	
	Number	Percent
Korean	307	43.7
Korean American	283	40.3
Korean from other countries	17	2.4
Non-Korean/Non-Korean American	19	2.4
Unknown	77	11.3
Total	703	100.0

TABLE 5B. IDENTITY OF THE GUEST PREACHERS BY DENOMINATION OF THE CHURCHES

Current Affiliation	Denomination											
	Presbyterian		Methodist		Baptist		Full Gospel		Evangelical		Others	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Korean												
Korea	105	46.3	25	46.3	18	40.0	41	51.3	13	81.3	94	49.7
US	105	46.3	28	51.9	25	55.6	31	38.9	3	18.8	87	46.0
Other Country	11	4.8			1	2.2	3	3.8			2	1.1
Non-Korean	6	2.6	1	1.9	1	2.2	5	6.3			6	3.2
Total	227	100.0	54	100.1	45	100.0	80	100.3	16	100.1	189	100.0

the world and he has visited the United States frequently to lead revival meetings in Korean American churches.

That a large proportion of guest preachers at revival meetings in Korean American churches are based in Korea may shed some light on the nature of the current relationships between Korean American churches and churches in Korea. It is reasonable to suggest that the immigrant churches essentially represent colonization by Korean Protestant denominations, which have long had a profound influence on various aspects of the lives of immigrant churches. Korean denominations train and supply ministers to immigrant churches, and they organize the denominational entities in the United States as regional branches or sister entities, supplying various educational materials used in the immigrant churches over the years. On the whole, therefore, strong network ties have long existed between denominational organizations in Korea and those of immigrant churches, and with the immigrant churches themselves.

The head pastor of a church usually recommends one or two candidates to lead a revival meeting, with the final decision made by the church session. Pastors often suggest seminary classmates or well-known revival specialist within the denomination. In general, pastors are reluctant to recommend any revival specialists they do not know, thus guest preachers selected for revival meetings tend to have at least weak ties with the pastors of the churches to which they are invited.

Pastors consider several factors in suggesting a guest preacher for revival meetings. Consistency in theology and worship style are important considerations. Therefore, those belonging to the same denomination and having attended the same seminary as the pastor are most likely to be selected. Another important factor contributing to the selection of Korea-based revivalists is that a substantial number of ministers in Korea are recognized as established specialists in revival meetings. The pool of such specialists among Korean American ministers is quite limited. In fact, each of the major Korean denominations maintains an association of revivalists, with many members having substantial reputations as charismatic revival preachers for revival meetings.

One prominent revival preacher is Rev. Jong Jin Pee, the head pastor of the South Seoul Central Church, Seoul, Korea. According to a published schedule (*The Gospel News*, January 17, 1999, p.6), Rev. Pee was scheduled to lead 134 revival meetings in Korea and 17 revival meetings overseas in 1999, including ten different meetings in the United States. Many other Korea-based revivalists have schedules similar to that of Rev. Pee. From an American perspective, it may be unthinkable that the head pastor of a

church with ten thousand or more members would be able to maintain a demanding schedule of travel away from the home church. Nevertheless, many Korean churches have grown into enormous congregations, and their structures have become bureaucratized to the point that head pastors are able to delegate responsibility to thirty or more associate pastors, allowing the pursuit of a career as a traveling revivalist.

Cross-tabulations of revival themes and the identity of guest preachers showed no significant differences between Korea- and U.S.-based preachers. Furthermore, the mean number of days of the revival meetings led by guest preachers from Korea (3.49 days) was only slightly greater than that of the meetings led by the U.S.-based Korean American preachers (3.30 days).

Scripture References

Newspaper advertisements for revival meetings provide, in some cases, detailed meeting schedules, including the scripture readings relevant to the general theme and to specific topics for each day. Many advertisements, however, contain no information at all about the scripture readings. Analysis of the scripture readings is therefore biased by the cases with multiple scripture references, and the results should be interpreted with caution. Table 6A presents the data on scriptural citations used in newspaper advertisements for revival meetings in Korean immigrant churches. The data indicate that nearly two-thirds of scripture citations were from the New Testament. The most frequently cited passages were from the gospels of John and Matthew, followed by selections from the gospel of Luke, Genesis, and the Acts of the Apostles. Thirteen books of the Bible were cited more than twenty times.

Table 6B presents a cross-tabulation of scripture readings by type of meeting, denominational affiliation, and identity of preacher. The "synoptic gospels" (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) and Acts were the most frequently cited New Testament books both for the revival worship/meeting and the revival holy assembly categories, while the Book of Genesis was the most frequently cited book in the Old Testament for both categories of meetings. On the other hand, scriptural citations used in devotional/intensive bible study meetings varied more widely among New Testament books than those of either revival meetings or revival holy assemblies. A preference for New Testament scripture readings is evident for Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches, while the scripture readings in the revival meetings of Full Gospel churches were more widely spread over both Old and New Testaments. (See Table 6D).

TABLE 6A. SCRIPTURE READINGS CITED IN THE REVIVAL MEETINGS

Scripture	Frequency	
The Old Testament	286	(34.1%)
The New Testament	553	(65.4%)
John	79	
Matthew	69	
Luke	64	
Genesis	61	
Acts	54	
Mark	41	
Ephesians	41	
Isaiah	40	
Psalms	37	
Romans	36	
Hebrews	27	
Revelation	24	
2 Corinthians	24	
Exodus	22	
Philippians	17	
Others	203	

TABLE 6B. SCRIPTURE REFERENCES BY TYPE OF MEETINGS, KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Revival Worship		Revival Holy Assembly		Intensive Bible Study	
Matthew	31	John	30	John	12
Genesis	24	Genesis	23	Matthew	10
Luke	24	Luke	19	Revelation	10
John	22	Acts	17	Acts	9
Acts	20	Matthew	16	Romans	8
Mark	20	Mark	14	Hebrews	5
Psalms	19	Ephesians	13	Galatians	5
Ephesians	18	Isaiah	11	Exodus	5
Romans	17	Exodus	9	Luke	5
2 Corinthians	15	Philippians	8	Genesis	4
Hebrews	14	Revelation	7	Psalms	4
Isaiah	13	Hebrews	6	Isaiah	4
1 Corinthians	7	Psalms	6	2 Corinthians	3
Total	336	Total	235	Total	115

TABLE 6C. SCRIPTURE REFERENCES BY IDENTITY OF GUEST PREACHER

Korean		Korean-American	
Scripture	Number of Citation	Scripture	Number of Citation
John	41	Matthew	41
Luke	28	John	33
Mark	27	Genesis	30
Acts	21	Acts	30
Matthew	19	Luke	29
Genesis	18	Psalms	24
Ephesians	12	Romans	22
Romans	11	Ephesians	22
Isaiah	11	Isaiah	20
Hebrews	11	2 Corinthians	15
Exodus	10	Revelation	14
Psalms	10	Hebrews	13
Total	290	Total	434

As shown in Table 6C, preachers affiliated with organizations in Korea tend to make more references to the New Testament than those who are based in the United States. The first five books of the New Testament, however, were the most frequently cited sections of the Bible for both categories. The fact that the synoptic gospels are the most popular bible readings for Korean American revival meetings may be due to the fact that these sections of scripture focus on the life and ministry of Jesus Christ, including miracles and divine acts. Thus, charismatic revival preachers may refer to such passages in their sermons in order to support their presentation on the love and grace of God and the power of faith.

Chapters and verses from the gospel of Matthew and from Genesis were examined in order to ascertain the contents of revival sermons. These books were selected for examination, as they were most frequently cited in the newspaper advertisements. Verses from Matthew appearing repeatedly included:

Ask and it will be given to you; seek and you will find; knock and the door will be opened to you. For everyone who asks receives; he who seeks finds; and to him who knocks, the door will be opened. (Matthew 7:7-8)

Come to me, all who are weary and burdened, and I will give rest. (Matthew 11:28-29)

TABLE 6D. SCRIPTURE REFERENCES BY DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION OF KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Presbyterian		Methodist		Baptist		Full Gospel	
Luke	37	Acts	9	Matthew	8	Genesis	4
Matthew	39	Luke	8	John	5	Matthew	3
John	32	John	6	2 Corinthians	5	Luke	3
Genesis	31	Isaiah	6	Mark	4	1 Kings	3
Acts	22	Galatians	5	Romans	4	Isaiah	3
Mark	21	Exodus	5	Isaiah	3	John	3
Psalms	21	Genesis	4	Genesis	3	Joshua	2
Ephesians	21	Romans	3	Ephesians	3		
Isaiah	18	Ephesians	3	Acts			
Romans	17						
Revelation	17						
Hebrews	14						
2 Corinthians	14						
Total	413	Total	71	Total	53	Total	39

Then Jesus answered, "Woman, you have great faith! Your request is granted. And her daughter was healed from that very hour." (Matthew 15:28)

Jesus feeds the five thousand (Matthew 13-21)

The power of God is a common theme of these verses. Revival preachers may attempt to explain biblical miracles from both the historical and the theological perspective. Such orientations for sermons are also reflected in frequently cited verses from Genesis.

The two most quoted verses in Genesis were the call of Abram (Genesis 12: 1-9) and Abraham being tested by God (Genesis 22: 1-18). Both passages stress the importance of obedience and faith. Hence, the general orientations of revivalist preachers tend to emphasize the power of God, the faith of Christians, and the dynamic nature of relationships between faith and blessings.

Table 7 indicates that a great majority of the newspaper advertisements of revival meetings did not provide information about the occasions for organizing the revival meetings. Less than twenty percent of the total 703 cases had specific information about the occasions. Therefore, it was not possible to conduct any systematic analysis of the occasions associated with revival meetings in Korean American churches. Among the 131 cases providing this

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF OCCASIONS FOR REVIVAL MEETINGS IN KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Occasions	Frequency	
	Number	Percent
Anniversary of the Founding of the Church	113	16.1
Dedication of a New Church Building	12	1.7
Installation of a New Pastor	2	0.3
Installation of New Elders and/or Deacons	4	0.6
Unknown	572	81.4
Total	703	100.0

information, the anniversary of the founding of the church was the most frequently noted, followed by the completion of the construction of a new church sanctuary. As indicated earlier, many advertisements contained seasonal references in their headings, suggesting that yearly revival meetings have become institutionalized such that special occasions are not required for their organization.

DISCUSSION

In this study, I have analyzed various characteristics of revival meetings in Korean American churches. Theoretical bases for the analysis have included rational choice theory, the comfort theory of religion, ethnic enclave theory, and the concept of primordialism. The Korean American church is an ethnic associational enclave, and as such the church serves as a multi-functional social institution within the ethnic community. Furthermore, the Korean American church is a re-transplanted version of the Protestant church in Korea, and the activities of Korean American churches tend to adhere to the traditional systems of Protestant denominations in Korea. One of the important aspects of the transplantation of traditional Korean denominational systems is a conservative orientation, resembling American fundamentalism in terms of theological doctrines, church polity, and the level of commitment and loyalty expected of church members.

The strict traditions of Korean Protestantism are alive and well in the Korean American church, as evidenced by the very demanding daily schedule of church activities and the extent of participation of the members in such activities. The Korean American church has been quite effective not

only in providing a refuge of spiritual and psychological comfort for immigrants, but also in achieving explosive membership growth through a process of differentiating members from the rest of the immigrant community, thereby minimizing the free-rider effect in the congregation. Revival meetings were organized by Korean American churches with goals of spiritual renewal and awakening, as well as the promotion and maintenance of traditional Korean Protestantism — particularly with a primary theological focus on divine blessings, love, and grace.

The traditional orientations of Korean American churches are very consistent with the expectations Korean immigrants have of religious institutions. Korean immigrants are basically marginal sojourners in the wilderness of mainstream American society until they settle in “the eternal home,” creating a dynamic feedback effect between the roles of Korean American churches and the expectations and needs of Korean immigrant church members. On the whole, the activities of immigrant churches in revival meetings may have met the needs of immigrants while at the same time tending to isolate the immigrants from mainstream American community life.

The multiplexity of the functions of Korean American churches is an interesting phenomenon in terms of the inter-ethnic group comparisons of religious behaviors and institutions. For instance, as indicated earlier, the black church has been one of the most important institutions in promoting the issues of the African American community, solidifying their consciousness of black-white racial inequality and social injustice, and encouraging, supporting, and spearheading the political participation of African Americans in the mainstream political arena. Historically, therefore, the African American church has been instrumental in linking their community to the larger society for the purpose of effective penetration into mainstream political, economic, and social structures. In contrast, the primary orientation of the Korean American church has largely concentrated on the traditional roles of the church — worship services, Christian education, and evangelism.

While Korean American churches do provide such educational programs as the Korean language, history, arts and music training for younger generations of Korean Americans — essential programs for the maintenance of ethnic heritage within the Korean American community — the nearly complete absence of outward orientations concerning issues of larger society is especially intriguing, given the prominent roles played by churches in the Korean immigrant community.

Active lobbying and effective campaigning by Korean denominational leadership over the past two decades has resulted in the creation of several

separate presbyteries of Korean American churches within the Presbyterian Church (USA). The goal of these political structures was to enhance the status of the Korean American churches within the denomination, but may have set a precedent of following an outdated approach toward interethnic relationships — e.g. “separate but equal” — within the denomination. In view of the fact that African American churches within the same denomination have assimilated more fully within existing presbyteries, the decision of the Korean American leadership to create separate presbyteries begs more thorough re-examination. If Korean American churches can exercise power within the denomination only through the creation of separate presbyteries, then serious problems may exist within the denomination as a whole. If that is the case, a logical first step to remediation would be for immigrant churches to form a movement to remove factors inhibiting their direct and effective participation in denominational affairs.

In light of its active involvement in the independence movement during the Japanese colonial period and in the democratization movement under the authoritarian military regimes in Korea, the exclusive intraethnic group orientation of the Korean immigrant church cannot be explained entirely by an adherence to the doctrine of the separation of church and state. In fact, some immigrant church leaders have been quite vocal in their opposition to political oppression and socioeconomic injustice brought about by the military regimes during the 1970s and 1980s. It is possible that a great majority of the Korean American clergy was born, educated, and ordained as ministers in Korea, and thus are not well versed enough about the economic, political, and social issues and problems of contemporary American society to lead their congregations and encourage them to participate in such arenas.

More importantly, the leadership of the Korean American church may have made a strategic decision to subscribe to the ideology of the “strict church,” and conservative theological orientations purposely have adopted the Korean version of Protestantism, concentrating exclusively on the agendas of the church and denominational entities. Such theological and organizational orientations of the Korean American church may explain much of the explosive growth observed in the membership of the church. Had the Korean immigrant church taken a more active role in mobilizing ethnic community resources for the purpose of greater involvement in the political discourse and activism of the mainstream American community, the church could have lost its power, authority, and effectiveness as a unique organization in the ethnic community. Nevertheless, to become “a true embodiment of the household of God,” the Korean American church has to be more

inclusive — both internally and externally (Lee 1996: 155). Issues of inclusiveness within the church concerning the status of women and younger generations in church power structures vis-a-vis the dominance of the first generation male immigrants are emerging as serious agendas calling for immediate attention and corrective action.

Encouraging signs have appeared in recent years of the movement of Korean American churches toward greater involvement and participation in affairs outside the church and denominations. Cases supporting this observation include fund raising activities organized by Korean American churches for such causes as aid for Korean merchants victimized during the Los Angeles riot on April 29, 1992, and the humanitarian assistance program for the food shortage and hunger problems of North Korea over the last several years. In addition, the community assistance and service programs organized and supported jointly by the Korean American and other ethnic churches — particularly African American — and the community organizations of other ethnic groups have increased substantially in the recent period.

Although it has all the resources which may be required for secular activism, the Korean American church faces much work in order to change its traditional intra-church, intra-denominational, and intra-ethnic group orientations. For example, in 1999, more than thirty Korean American churches had annual budgets of \$2,000,000 or more (*The Korea Central Daily*, January 7, 1999, A-7), and a large proportion of these budgets was allotted for the support of international evangelical missionary programs — with priority given to sending Korean American missionaries to Mexico, Central and South America, Southeast Asia, Russia, China, and Africa.

In contrast, the budgets for community service programs within large Korean immigrant churches were quite limited. Again, this situation reflects a belief that, by distancing itself from secular community problems, the church can maintain its undivided attention to traditional roles, thus minimizing possible dissension within the organization. Lee (1996: 154) argues that “the Asian American church has to take an ethnically particular form in the Asian American context.” Furthermore, he asserts that churches should not apologize for their “Asianess.” On the contrary, in this situation, ethnicity can serve to reflect the redemptive role of the church (Lee 1996: 154). Lee further questions the ability of churches to serve as a refuge in the sufferings of marginalized immigrants without affirming a strong sense of pride and dignity in the ethnic identities of the immigrants (Lee 1996: 154). It has been suggested that an essential function of the Asian American church must be “liberation *through* ethnicity” and not “liberation *from* ethnicity” (Lee 1996:

154; Sano 1976: 291). However, Lee (1996:155) also points out that:

... the ethnic particularity must not be absolutized. Whenever this absolutizing happens, the demonic consequences of the idolatrous ethnocentrism will only be perpetuated again — this time in its Asian American form. The Asian American church, in short, has this most delicate and difficult calling to affirm its ethnic particularity against racism and at the same time to resist the temptation toward self-enclosure and constantly to move beyond itself toward others (Lee 1996: 156).

It is possible that the Korean American church's orientations may not be unique, but may be observed in other religious groups in America. Thus, in further study, it is advisable to conduct a comparative investigation of different ethnic immigrant groups in order to ascertain similarities and dissimilarities in religious orientation, and to identify the roles played by their religious organizations in the process of adapting to American society.

More specifically, it will be useful to conduct a comparative content analysis of the "messages" delivered by revivalist preachers in Korean American churches with those in African American churches. Such comparative perspectives may provide important insights on the processes through which religious entities of various racial and ethnic groups have mobilized resources in linking their communities to the larger American society, building a base for power and effective participation in political, economic, and social structures. More importantly, future studies of the Korean American church should elevate its theoretical baseline above and beyond the withdrawal and marginality perspectives to the engagement, reformative, inclusive, and power-building orientations.

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