

Women Ministers and The Oppressed in Korea

The Meaning of Their Ministry for Theology and Social Change

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I. Introduction

The intense economic development of Korea was initiated by the government. It provided strong ideological legitimacy for economic development by promising progress and prosperity for all. The Christian response to the government controlled economic development has been twofold. First, the individualistic entrepreneurial ideal of the Protestant ethic provided religious justification for the upward mobility that national economic development promises.¹ Second, the church has responded to the negative consequences of economic development. As it has turned out, national economic growth did not secure prosperity for all but, rather, widened the gap between the income of the rich and the poor, with women being hit the hardest by economic problems.²

In the West, the church, in general, has always been involved in dealing with the problems of the dispossessed. But, there has been sharp disagreement in its approach to the problem in recent decades.³ On the one hand, many argue that the church should continue its conventional, paternalistic style of philanthropy aimed at relieving suffering caused by the economic development. On the other hand, some argue that the church should provide religious critiques to the current forms of capitalism that are assumed to be perpetuating such suffering, and address directly issues of social justice rather than simply encourage individual philanthropy.⁴ This growing awareness of the social sources of economic problems has led some politicized ministers to begin to serve the oppressed by attending to the social conditions that have created the problems.

In the case of Korea, from the late 1960s, politicized Christian ministers have been at the forefront in advocating the rights of people deprived of economic opportunity and human dignity.⁵ In the intense modernization process, the human rights of the

¹ For the relation between Protestantism and the development of capitalism in the west, see Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

² Soon Young Song Yoon, "The Emergence of the Fourth World: Korean Women in Development," *Korea Journal* 17.2 (1977), pp. 35-47, and "The Role of Korean Women in National Development," *Virtues in Conflict: Tradition and the Korean Woman Today*, ed. Sandra Mattielli (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1977), pp.157-67.

³ Barbara Hargrove, *The Sociology of Religion: Classical and Contemporary Approaches* (Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1979), p.231.

⁴ Marie Augusta Neal, "Social Justice and the Sacred," *The Sacred in a Secular Age: Toward Revision in the Scientific Study of Religion*, ed. Phillip E. Hammond (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp.333-43.

⁵ For the urban industrial mission of the Korean Church, see Christian Institute for the Study of Justice and Development, *Presence of Christ among Minjung: Introduction to the UIH in Korea* (Seoul: Christian

unfortunate have been violated by entrepreneurs and government policies. Advocacy of their rights, therefore, has often involved conflicts with entrepreneurs and government authorities. In some cases,⁶ this has required the advocates to speak against affluent churches because, for them, the very existence of social classes within the church creates social injustice.

Although Christian ministers--men and women--who are involved in advocacy often risk their own safety, they remain loyal to the movement because their commitment is grounded in their understanding of Christian mission.⁷ Women ministers who have been active in this movement include those who have been active from the beginning in the late 1960s to those who have recently joined.

The following stories of Korean women ministers for the oppressed were collected in 1989.⁸ By letting them speak about themselves and their work, I try to present the meaning of theology and social change seen from their perspectives and experiences. At the end of the article, I summarize my evaluation of their interpretations of the world as lived by them.

II. Ministry with The Poor: Evangelist Oh Cha-gyo

Oh Cha-gyo was dissatisfied with a church which taught love for neighbors and equality of men and women but did not do much to practice its teachings. To solve this dilemma, she went to the seminary after some years of teaching in high school. She was active in community service work such as teaching less privileged children free of charge, while working part-time as a Sunday School educator. Upon her graduation from seminary in 1983, she was invited to work in an urban industrial mission center that served factory workers.

For my training I was sent to a garment factory which manufactured coats for export. I was an assistant clothes maker [sida] for three months. Very soon, my back and neck hurt and I became drowsy. The dormitory was filthy and full of

Institute for the Study of Justice and Development, 1981) ; The Presbyterian Church of Korea, Unit of Evangelism, Committee on Industrial Mission [Taehan yesugyo changnohoe ch'onghoe chondobu sanopson'gyo wiwon hoe], Kyohoe wa tosi sanop son'gyo [Church and Urban Industrial Mission] (Seoul: The Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1981) ; and Cho Wha Soon, *Let the Weak Be Strong: A Woman's Struggle for Justice* (Bloomington, IN: Meyer- Stone Books, 1988).

⁶ Examples of the governmental suppression of the churches urban industrial mission are found in the following: National Council of Churches of Korea [Han'guk kidokkyo kyohoe hyobuihoe], *Sanop son'gyorul wae munjesi hanun'ga* [Why Is the Industrial Mission Suppressed?](Seoul: NCCK, 1978) ; and National Council of Churches in Korea, *Nodong hyonjanggwa chungon* [Work Place and Testimony] (Seoul: Pu'lpit, 1984).

⁷ The literature on theological reflections on the ministerial responsibilities for the oppressed includes: Kim Yong-bok, *Han'guk minjunggwa kidokkyo* [Korean Hujung and Christianity] (Seoul: Hyongsongsa, 1981) ; National Council of Churches in Korea, Committee on Theological Studies, ed., *Kinjunggwa han'guk sinhak* [Hinjung and Korean Theology] (Seoul: Han'guk Sinhak Yon'gu so, 1982) Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia, *Hinjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983); An Pyong-mu, *Yoksa ape minjunggwa tobuoro* [Facing history with the Hujung] (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1986) ; Hee-suk Cyris Moon, *A Korean Hujung Theology: An Old Testament Perspective*(Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985) ; Soon-Hwa Sun, "Women, Work and Theology in Korea," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 3.2 (1987), pp.126-34; and Jung Young Lee, ed., *An Emerging Theology in World Perspective: Commentary on Korean Hujung Theology* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1988).

⁸ Their names have been changed to protect their privacy.

bugs. To avoid being attacked by the bugs, workers went up to the flat cement roof where they were instead attacked by mosquitos.

For the first time in my life, I encountered so many poor people who worked so many hours in drudgery. The workers who labored under terrible working conditions still refused to return to their home villages because they knew there was not much hope in the rural areas. The government neglected agriculture and instead emphasized the industrialization of the nation.

I found "Jesus the Laborer" [Nodongja Yesu] among the workers. In Bible classes workers declared, "God has died. If God is alive, how could God allow our effort to secure our rights to be crushed?" From their statements, I heard Jesus crying out, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" while he was dying for the sins of others. Workers were suffering for the sins that other privileged people committed. Yet, workers continued worshipping God and treasured their faith. To me, the worship services they offered were their living sacrifices to God. I found that many workers possessed great intelligence and personal strength. I did not see anything better in myself except higher education. I asked myself, "What have I done for these people, while constantly talking about the love of God and the love for my neighbors?" These workers were my neighbors but I had not known it. Many a time, I had to blink my eyes to suppress the tears because I knew that I did not even deserve to cry for their sake. For me, my tears seemed to be the expression of my romantic self indulgence.

I learned that there was a wide gap between the two classes of people and that the haves would never return voluntarily what they possessed unless the have-nots demanded it. I discovered what ministry I would have to do in the future. It would have to be the ministry for the liberation of the oppressed. My ministry would be part of the Movement for God's Nation [Kingdom of God] [Hananim nara undong]. My ministry would support every endeavor of workers, particularly women, to improve their status. As long as one of us is not free, none of us is free. I believe that this understanding is the essence of the Movement for God's Nation.

Evangelist Oh Cha-gyo is the co-chair of the social action group of Christian women activists. She has often been disappointed by the manipulative statements of her male colleagues in the Christian social movement who criticize the work of women colleagues. They are hurt by the fact that male colleagues in the Christian social movement often exclude women from the decision-making process and request women's support only when they need to mobilize women. Majority of the action group members are college-educated women and are determined to work for working class women.

The action group supports the labor movement, particularly the women workers' movement, that tries to ensure, among other things, equal pay for equal work, and works for women's health and child-care needs. It sponsors education programs and public rallies for working-class women.

I believe that the establishment of the "Nation of God on Earth [Yi ttangui hananim nara]" will not be completed until women stand on their own feet and fight for their rights. I believe that women tend to be more caring than men because of their social experiences as caretakers. It is my observation that even the most power-seeking woman is less authoritarian than the average man. Women can help overcome the abuse of power in society and in the church by forming collective power among ourselves.

Evangelist Oh Cha-gyo also serves the church that she and her colleagues have established for working-class people in the factory area. Her church sponsors after school programs for the children of working-class women. The church provides education programs that are relevant to young workers. It also runs a day-care center for the working women.

I opened the day-care center to establish a concrete connection with working-class people. It provides both services and a means to change the consciousness of working-class people. When they are scattered, they are not aware of their problems. But, when they come together as a group, they begin to discuss their problems as social problems. The church has become their meeting place through which they transform private issues into public issues.

Evangelist Oh Cha-gyo believes that the work for the Realm of God must begin with concrete acts. For example, in her day-care center, a boy swore at a girl for stepping over him. He said that girls should not step over boys. He was only four years old. Evangelist Oh was shocked by how early children are able to develop stereotypical views of male and female roles. So, she invited a man to do voluntary work in the child-care center. In front of all the children, he cooked and did laundry. He washed them and fed them. She hoped that the children would gain a new awareness about gender roles through direct observation of the man doing "women's work."

I do not preach about Christian humility or suffering because workers have already suffered enough. I believe that social change will be brought about by the changes in individuals as well as in social structure.

Evangelist Oh Cha-gyo also tries to involve the members of large established churches [Kisong Kyohoe] in her church work. She encourages them to donate an ample sum of money for constructing her church building and in developing programs for working-class people. She also invites women members of middle-class churches to do volunteer work, preparing meals and providing child-care for working-class women.

I hope that this volunteer work will be a small beginning to bridge the gap between the churches of the poor and the churches of the rich. The rich will not directly involve themselves in the social movement for fear of risking their security. The only thing I can expect from the middle-class people now is that they support the cause of workers.

Evangelist Oh Cha-gyo has not been ordained yet because of her denomination's policy against women's ordination. She complains that she feels stupid when she cannot offer the sacraments to the church members to whom she has already ministered, and when she cannot be a delegate to meetings of the Presbytery or the General Assembly. She expects that through the working-class church movement, new forms of the church will emerge in the near future.

Most of the working-class churches have existed for less than ten years. When they expand their influence to the church in the future, I believe there will be change within the church.

I sometimes become disappointed by the slow pace of social change that my action group and the churches of the oppressed bring about. Our work sometimes looks like we're throwing an egg to break a massive rock [pawie tol tonjigida]. But, I am determined to continue the work I do because I believe that that is right. Even if my effort for workers may contribute to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and even if they condemn the intellectuals--myself included—to death, I will continue to work for the protection of workers' rights.

III. Ministry with Ex-Prisoners: Reverend Kong Suk-hi

The three previous generations of Kong Suk-hi's family were Christians. She wanted to be part of the Enlightenment Movement for Farmers [Nongch'on kyemong undong]. She heard that an expert on this movement was teaching in a seminary. So, she went there. At that time, she did not know that if people wanted to become ordained ministers, they had to enrol in the theological seminary. She didn't care to become a minister. Ministers in the early 1960s still looked very destitute to her. In particular, the fate of women evangelists looked pitiful. Most of them wore a gross-looking Korean attire--a white blouse and a black skirt--which she abhorred. Their pay was extremely low. With no privilege to appeal, they were expelled if senior pastors and influential church members found any disfavor with them.

Kong Suk-hi became very disillusioned in the seminary. She was awakened to the fact that if she wanted to be in the farmers' movement she had to sacrifice her life "like a grain of wheat that falls on soil and decays for future generations." She dropped out of seminary twice. Then, seminary friends and family coaxed her to continue. They insisted that she would find some reason to be attracted to ministry. They also suggested that she could go to graduate school to major in another subject if she still found the ministry unattractive upon graduation from seminary.

After graduation, I still didn't know what to do with my life. Then, I heard that the government was hiring seminary graduates as prison chaplains. I was curious about what these horrible criminals looked like and why they killed or harmed other people. I found there that female inmates were particularly neglected by the prison system because they were a minority--only five percent of the total inmates. They were also neglected by their families and society. I

found that, even in prison, sexism existed. That was the beginning of my ministry to prisoners, particularly the female ex-prisoners.

I was interested in women inmates simply because they were a minority. Unlike male inmates who usually committed crimes for money, women usually committed crimes against the men who abused them.

During my prison ministry, I rarely told the inmates to repent of their sins because the majority were well aware of their crimes. I emphasized that I wanted to be their friend and recommended that they read the Bible. Because, in prison, the inmates were free from making a living, they tended to be honest in human relations. I felt that it was I who was a sinner. Once they became Christians, they were so devoted to the spiritual discipline that I felt ashamed of myself.

After six years of prison ministry, Reverend Kong Suk-hi opened a church for children in a poor residential area. She decided to teach Christian values to the children. Everyday, fifty or sixty children came to her church. With some volunteers, she taught dancing, singing, drawing, or told Bible stories. She used to dislike teaching small children but this time, to teach them better, she even practiced in front of a mirror how to dance and smile. Very soon, the regular members reached one hundred.

Then, I invited two of the former women inmates to move in with me. They served as volunteers in my ministry for children. They cooked and washed for the kids. Slowly, a plan for a communal ministry for women ex-prisoners [ch'ulsoja] emerged. A piece of land was donated as the building site. I have been constructing a three-story building during the last seven years. Presently, thirteen women are living with me. I hope that when the construction is completed, more women ex-prisoners will come to live with me. The building includes a chapel, bedrooms, workrooms, and activity rooms. Unfortunately, however, many church members from the neighborhood left the church because of the prolonged construction of the church building. The parents were also reluctant to send their children to our church for fear of the imagined influence of the former inmates. But, still some children come to church.

The whole life of Reverend Kong Suk-hi is devoted to the members. Fortunately, she is single and does not have a family to look after. On the other hand, she does not have a family who can take care of her either. The members are needy people.

Then, I fell ill for a long time. I wanted to be cared for but the members seemed indifferent to my illness. I became resentful toward their self-centredness. I went to my father to complain, "These people only demand favors from me without ever returning favors to me." My father was a man of faith and scolded me, "Hush (ttek)! You are an ordained minister. Think about Jesus who gave up his own life for us. How good it is for you to sacrifice for the sake of Jesus! I think you lack a prayer life. You have to pray diligently. If you cannot pray because you are too upset, then, just recite the Lord's Prayer."

I was shocked by my father's comment that I lacked a prayer life. As a matter of fact, until then, I thought that I didn't need to pray explicitly because I felt that the omnipotent God knew all my thoughts before I articulated them. My illness forced me to pray. I prayed day and night for forty days while I was bed-ridden. Since then, my bitterness toward the members has diminished. Now, after having lived together with them for ten years, the members have begun to change. They now appreciate the value of living together. They consider the church their own church. They do not consider it a charity organization. They regard me as a minister of Jesus and not as a charity worker.

The members themselves make decisions on the matters of the church and communal life. We call ourselves family members [sikku]. I encourage them, at least once a day, to talk looking into each others' eyes to show sincerity. I also encourage them to try to listen to their neighbors at work for at least ten minutes a day. I insist that, as Jesus stood up against injustice, we must stand up for justice. I understand that doing ministry means expanding the Realm of God and loving people.

I continue to visit prisons. The members are also involved in person-to-person ministry with women inmates. Women inmates seem more open to the former inmates. When women inmates have a temporary parole, they are invited to spend their time with us.

Other church women volunteer in our church, but they are not very welcomed by the members because the members cannot behave freely in front of them. And some volunteers are so insensitive that they ask questions like, "How many 'criminals [choesu]' are living here?"

IV. Ministry with Prostitutes: Evangelist Pae Pok-sun

Pae Pok-sun was born in a Christian family. She didn't miss a Sunday School class and was mesmerized by the teachers who told the Stories of the Bible. Impressed by the life of her older sister and her sister's boyfriend who were students in a liberal seminary, she transferred to the seminary from a university where she was majoring in Korean literature. In the seminary, Pae Pok-sun learned about the mission of God for the oppressed. She then planned to work for women workers in the future. Upon graduation from the seminary in 1981, however, she decided to know first the life of the established churches. She served as an educator and a home-visitation evangelist for six and a half years. Then she was offered a staff position in a newly established mission center that aimed to work for the wives and prostitutes of the American GIs stationed in a military base near Seoul. While in the seminary, Pae Pok-sun took classes in feminist theology and theologies for the oppressed [minjung-sinhak] However, her understanding of the world of the oppressed was vague and naive because she had learned about it only through books.

I didn't know what to do in the beginning because there were no role-models in this type of ministry. - I went to a clinic where the prostitutes received their weekly examination. I felt funny because only the prostitutes for the American

GIs, are mandated to have regular check-ups. Other prostitutes for domestic customers are not required the same regular check-ups. Even in this prostitution business, American imperialism is in effect to protect the health of the American GIs.

After some more visits to the clinic, I was approached by a woman who seemed to be a leader. She asked me where I came from. I told her I came from a mission center. Her facial expression instantaneously changed into hostility. She said that the people they abhorred most were ministers and scholars. Later, I found out the reasons for their hostility towards the two groups. The reason these women do not like scholars is that the scholars who visit them, mostly women, are very concerned about them while studying their situations. But, the scholars rarely revisit them once their research is finished. These women open their hearts to those scholars in the hope that the scholars will continue to work with them, but the scholars do not join the women in their struggle.

The reason these women did not like ministers was confirmed by Evangelist Pae's own experience. One day, she went to the nearby church with a small number of these women to inform the pastor about her mission work and secure his future cooperation. The pastor told her in front of them, "These women are lazy. They never come to dawn prayer meetings. They don't come to vigil prayer meetings on Fridays. When I visit their homes in the morning, they are still sleeping, or have not washed up yet." Hearing his criticism of these women, Evangelist Pae felt her anger surging up at him. She wondered, "How can they attend those meetings at the hours when they have to work or rest?" For Evangelist Pae, the church schedule must be made flexible and sensitive to the working hours of the members.

I have also found that the Jesus that ministers of this type preach is the one who comes to visit "sinners". I think they imply in that statement that these women are sinners and the ministers are righteous ones.

I want to emphasize, rather, that Jesus came to his neighbors to be a friend. I consider these women scapegoats of our age, not lost sheep. These women want to believe in God because they are the people who need God most.

Evangelist Pae learned very soon that she was not there to have a one-directional relationship of giving to or of learning from these people. She realized that ministry in such places must be the sharing of life between the minister and the members and that ministry for women demanded a woman minister in order to be most effective.

Evangelist Pae maintains that her mission center differs from secular charity organizations which operate with the "from top to bottom" attitude in which the rich give some of their "material possessions" to the poor. The rationale of her mission center is to share "ourselves" with "them".

In the beginning I told these women that I would not push them to believe in Jesus. Instead, I simply told them that I did not know what to do because this type of work was new to me and I needed their help in developing the programs

they wanted to have in the mission center. One of the first programs they wanted to have was learning English. I first thought, "My God, why English, that language of imperialism?" But I corrected myself. For them, speaking English well was crucial for survival in their business with American soldiers.

Through the center, they meet together. When they do seemingly private matters become common issues, and they try to solve the problems together. In this process, a community of people emerges. During the Christmas season two years ago, a member said that they should be in solidarity with each other. Hearing that statement, I felt like I was receiving the first confession of love. The member reported to the group that in her neighborhood she had heard a woman crying for help. But, no one answered her cry. In indignation, she went to the woman's room and found an American soldier strangling her. She took him off the woman. The woman could have died if she had not been rescued. The member swore at the tenants of the house for their indifference.

I understood those who did not answer the woman's cry. People who do not have hope for their life do not respond to the hopeless situations of others. They are dying in their own despair.

Another member told me a Story with indignation. While watching T.V., she heard one of her American GI guests cursing the students who demanded, "Yankee, go home!" during a street demonstration. The American soldier boasted, "We have come to save your country from the invasion of the communists. Your country cannot survive without our help." The woman's national pride was injured. She wanted to kick him out of her room, but she had to suppress her indignation for fear of losing a customer. She told the group, "We did not ask them to come to our country. They decided to come to become richer. We are saving their people from unemployment." In this short statement, I think, she expressed the nature of the relationship between Korea and the United States. Definitely, the oppressed people [minjung] of Korea did not ask the American soldiers to come. Through their life experiences, these women know the truth better than any college student.

One frustration Evangelist Pae finds in her ministry is that she cannot share with other ministers the stories she hears from the members. Even the ministers of the churches of the oppressed [minjung kyohoe] do not understand her work. Rather, they urge her to work for workers where change in their situation happens faster and is more visible. Evangelist Pae is annoyed that they ignore the fact that the number of prostitutes in Korea is more than 1.2 million including about 20,000 prostitutes for the 43,000 American GIs stationed in Korea.⁹ Unlike the labor problem, the problem of prostitution has not received its due attention from the public. This public negligence is largely due to the privatization of prostitution or seeing it as a matter of moral corruption of the individual prostitute.

⁹ See Coalition of College Women in the Seoul Area [Spul chiyok yohaksaeing taep'yoja hyobuihoe], Oeseui Song ch'im t'algwa maech'un [Sexual Invasion of Foreign Powers and Prostitution], n.d., p.32.

Fortunately, in 1988 women's organizations and government policy makers began to pay some attention to the problem of prostitution. In a public hearing, it was suggested that the prostitutes working near the American military bases in Korea be legalized for a certain period of time as an experiment. But I opposed the idea for two reasons. First, the act will function as a public endorsement of the presence of the American military in the Land of Korea. Second, if prostitution is legalized, prostitutes must be treated as regular workers. They must be paid for overtime work done on nights and weekends. They must be given pension upon retirement which comes at an early age. Their working conditions must be improved to include the prevention of violence from American GIs. And, they must have the right to put their abusers on trial. I don't think that any pimp or the government will be willing to meet these requirements.

I still believe that sex must not be commodified for sale. It should be an expression of love between lovers. Commodified sex is not good labor because it does not offer any sense of accomplishment. Prostitution is definitely a product of sexism and classism against women. The problem of prostitution does not have much to do with the morality of the individual prostitute. Prostitutes did not have much choice but to take up prostitution. Once they had gotten into prostitution, however, they were not welcome by their families who had lived on their income.

Once, during her first year at the mission, Evangelist Pae was going to visit her family to celebrate the Full Moon Festival [ch'usok]. She asked the members, "Aren't you going home to see your family?" They just laughed and said, "They will break our legs if we visit them." She suddenly realized that they were abandoned by their families. After that she never left for a home visit during holidays. Instead, she cooks with the members and celebrates with them.

The problem of prostitution is related to the problems of agriculture and labor. If the conditions of these two do not improve, prostitution will not disappear. Now, one seventh of the ten million workers in our country are prostitutes. I do not think that the church can insist that this is the problem of a small number of people. If more ministers were willing to serve this type of people, the church would be reformed sooner.

V. Evaluation

Women ministers who work for the oppressed tend to accept the Marxist analysis of social problems that claims that the problem of the oppressed is caused by the unjust social system which often serves the interests of the powerful at the expense of the powerless. However, they differ from those Marxian activists who deny the value of religion. Instead, they employ Christian teachings to deal with the problems defined by Marxist analysis.

These women ministers who work for the oppressed try to recognize the presence of the Divine in the unfolding history, seek empowerment in the gospel, and

envision the Realm of God on earth, a glimpse of which can be found in the life of Jesus and the early church.¹⁰

While discouraging their own aspiration for economic gain and fame, women ministers of the oppressed value community formation and participative decision-making processes. At the same time, these ministers encourage their community of faith to take political action as an attempt to restructure unjust social structures.

Although this form of Christian mission, conducted by ministers concerned with social justice, is a minority movement, it can be more influential than its numbers would indicate.¹¹ Their ministry may contribute to the re-definition of church ministry and Christian living by emphasizing communalism and mutual empowerment between ministers and parishioners.

Women ministers for the oppressed may contribute towards criticizing the privatization of issues of justice and to enhancing the church's collective responsibility for social justice. They hope that their re-definition of power and altruistic commitment will contribute to the expansion of the Realm of God on earth and ensure that, all people with full human dignity, can live in justice and communal care.

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¹⁰ See also Barbara Hargrove, *The Sociology of Religion: Classical and Contemporary Approaches*, 234-35.

¹¹ While the number of churches for the oppressed [minjung kyogoe] was about 100 in 1988, the total number of the Protestant churches was 30,321. See Kidokkyomunsa, *Kidokkyo tae yon'gam* [The Christian Yearbook], 218.