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SECOND-GENERATION KOREANS IN WEST GERMANY: GENERATION OF HEIRS OR FASHIONER OF A FAITH OF THEIR OWN?¹

INTRODUCTION

I mean, our parents' needs increase. I think that we have to position our parents in our community when they get older and weaker... But I do not think that we have to adopt their understanding of a Korean church. Because this kind of Korean church is not our church and is not so important for us.

– A second-generation Korean woman

When asked how she planned to adjust to the generational change in her Korean church in the near future, the second-generation Korean woman quoted above asserted that she and other second-generation congregants ('we') have a different understanding of what a migrant church should be. They believe that the congregants of the first generation have misconceptions about how to shape this time of transmission. Most of the younger congregants want to be active participants in this process of change. Actually, no outright discourse between older and younger congregants about the place of the second generation within Korean churches can be observed. Cultural and hierarchical structures of the churches complicate the possibility of younger congregants obtaining an equally forceful voice. But the question is this: is the second generation a generation of heirs, or is this generation fashioning a faith of its own? What strategies can they use if they wish to find their own way of religious practices in the churches of their parents?

¹ See Kim 2010, who discusses second-generation spirituality in Korean American Churches under the working title „A Faith of Our Own“.

The quote above illustrates that the second-generation congregants have an idea of how the churches should look like, but that they want to respect the liability the older generation feels for its faith and that they feel responsible in some way for its cultural and religious tradition.

At the current stage of development, new religious spaces are a result of negotiation processes. Intergenerational tensions are a result of these processes and should be understood as a field of tension between groups within Korean churches. Each of these groups attributes a different sense to the place of religious mediation and of the community because of the different circumstances of migration, their deviant cultural and religious socialization, and their unequal life phases.

The intergenerational tension, or conflict, itself should not be understood negatively per se. It is not a matter of primary concern. The research concentrates rather on how the second-generation congregants deal with it and how it has an impact on the processes of change in migrant churches. The tensions are the result of a reciprocal relationship between the migrant churches and their environment. Other fields of tension could be observed in migrant churches, too, such as economic matters or questions of personnel.

However, these points will not be discussed in this paper, because intergenerational tensions, in particular, seem to be the primary factor for institutional change of these religious organizations. Applying a sociological perspective to religious institutional change is perceived in this context as a change in the religious practice, religious communication and structure of the social form.

The assumption is that second-generation congregants create, in an act of empowerment, new religious spaces within and outside their parents' churches, while the congregants of the first generation hold on to their idea of an immigrant church. Processes of identity formation of second-generation Korean Germans arise along with intergenerational religious, cultural, and social dissonances within their churches. It is a clash between older and younger congregants over values, which results in generational group building in the churches, dissonances over worship styles and misunderstandings in communication, and challenges hierarchical structures.

I will first provide some information about the history of Korean migration to Germany and will then summarize some theoretical considerations about intergenerational tensions. After that I will seek to ascertain intergenerational tensions between the congregants of the first and the second generations within the Korean churches. What are the reasons for cultural and intergenerational tensions? Secondly, in this suspense-packed context, the negotiation of religious beliefs and practices as well as new forms of community building occur and so

more traditional forms of religious communities are transformed into more fluid and translocal forms of collective identity.

The major goal of this paper is to demonstrate a typology of strategies which the churches and the congregants of the second generation deploy. For that purpose, I will cite four examples from the data, which show the formation of new social spaces that are intertwined with religious change. The main thesis of this paper is that the intergenerational tensions, and the identified strategies which are consequentially related to them, play a powerful role in the construction and reinforcement of Korean religious identity in second-generation congregants. This perspective enables a wider understanding of individual and collective ways of looking into new areas of religious negotiation, concerning especially the transformation of religious ideas and practices coming along with institutional change. In the conclusion, I will provide an overview on development trends in this religious field. In the following section, I will first present some theoretical considerations about the intergenerational transmission of religious and cultural traditions.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT TRENDS

This year (2013), a touring exhibition is celebrating the Korean community in Germany and chronicles in impressive pictures taken by the photographers Herlinde Koelbl and Kim Sperling the story of the lives of mine workers, nurses and their families.² At the same time, 2013 is the 50th anniversary of the labour recruitment agreement of 1963 between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Korea. In the exhibition, seven families and 15 individuals are presented. Around 18,000 South Korean guest workers arrived in Germany between 1963 and 1977. In the beginning, they were sought only on a temporary basis. On 16 December 1963, the ‘Programme for Temporary Employment of Korean miners in the West German Coal Mining Industry’ was signed by the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Korea. This agreement formed the basis for the immigration of an estimated 8,000 miners. In 1970, a similar agreement regulated the immigration of some 10,000 Korean nurses to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Germany needed these guest workers and the young Koreans saw in the contracts an opportunity to improve their personal living conditions and to escape from a country which had been ravaged by the Japanese occupation and the Korean War. Reasons for emigration were generally poverty and the hope

² For further information about the exhibition see <http://korea-migration.de/wordpress/>.

that they would be able to earn enough money in Germany for their families in Korea. South Korea was, in the early 1960s, one of the poorest countries in the world.

About half the Korean guest workers remained in Germany after 1977. The others returned to Korea or drifted off to other countries such as the USA or Canada. Today the Korean people work in various capacities: as cooks, taxi drivers, or nurses. Many are already in retirement.

The guest workers who stayed back in Germany created communities of faith. Because of language difficulties and cultural differences, they did not begin worshipping in the indigenous churches of the host society. They first came together in private rooms and established bible study groups. Step by step they founded their own congregations and searched for religious leaders. Most of the migrant churches in North Rhine-Westphalia were evangelical and were founded in cooperation between the EKD (Evangelical Church in Germany) and KNCC (Korean National Council of Churches) (An 1997: 36).³

Religious services may have been the primary motive for attending the ethnic churches for many congregants of the first generation. Various social functions, which the Korean immigrant churches serve, seem to be important to these people. Four major social functions that are being served till this day are: 1) providing a sense of fellowship for Korean immigrants; 2) maintaining the Korean cultural tradition; 3) providing social services for church congregants and the Korean community as a whole; and 4) providing social status and positions for Korean adult immigrants. Owing to the fact that the older congregants gained no recognition in their jobs as mine workers and nurses, the Korean churches offered them the possibility that they could serve an important function in the churches and accept a responsibility, such as choir directing, continuous budgeting or cell group leadership.

Besides, the older male congregants were engaged as members of the executive committee of their respective churches or presbyters.⁴ Six evangelical

³ The foundation of Korean Evangelical Churches in Germany took place in 1965. A Korean protestant PhD student named Hong-Bin Lee in Göttingen was appointed by the Protestant synode in Lower Saxony to take care about his compatriots. He called this first Korean communities Na-Geo-Ne-Communities, which characterize people who travels around and remains only for a certain time at a place. (Jeong 2008: 46)

⁴ For older Korean congregants being a Christian is more a matter of obligation. The rules and routines of the church determine activities. For example, gender hierarchy, because women feel locked in to doing "soft" departments like service work, education and choir, while "hard" departments, such as finance and preaching, are maintained under male leadership. (Chong 1998: 272) Women are not only prohibited from the position of pastorship, but female congregants of a church cannot become elders, although they are allowed to become deaconesses.

churches, which cooperated with the EKD, received financial support for a spell. However, the churches are all financed by donations today. The weekly church services, the common meal and leisure time activities have become possible as they are based on the congregants' participation.

The Korean pastor Sung-Hwan Chang, who practiced counseling in North Rhine-Westphalia, mentioned in a report on the situation of Korean Protestants in Germany that there are 13 communities at this time. Currently, over 34 representative Korean churches in North Rhine-Westphalia can be identified.⁵ The number of congregants of each community varies between 15 and 400 people, and lay people are the impetus behind most of the religious activities. Most of the churches are located in university towns such as Dortmund, Bochum, Essen, Düsseldorf, Köln (Cologne) or Aachen. Only one community in Düsseldorf was able to buy their own church. The other communities rely on rented rooms for their worship services. Demographic changes, economic difficulties and a shortage of young people are just some of the problems which the churches have to deal with today.

Not only in North Rhine-Westphalia, but also throughout Germany, Korean immigrants are less noticed like other immigrant groups (Turkish immigrants for example) and are classified as being very well integrated and highly educated. The congregants of the second-generation often grew up as bilingual and bicultural individuals, many of whom today have a strong educational background in common. After the spurt in Korean churches since the 1970s in North Rhine-Westphalia, the growth of the second generation has coincided with a drop in their participation and attendance in these churches.

Helen Lee, an American researcher, writes in this context about a 'silent exodus of church-raised young people who find their immigrant churches irrelevant, culturally stifling, and ill-equipped to develop them spiritually' (Lee, 2009: 99). Some of the complaints that second-generation Korean-Americans have against the first generation is that the immigrant church seems more like an ethnic institution rather than an authentic religious institution. This is one of the primary criticisms leveled by many second-generation Asian Americans within the immigrant church and a major reason for Lee's so-called silent exodus.

But there are scholars like Min and Kim who argue that the claims of the silent exodus are exaggerated. After surveying 102 young Korean adults in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area, they concluded that Korean Protestant

⁵ The number of the churches fluctuates. "Representative" means in this context, that the Korean migrant churches are visible in the public sphere. They have for example an website, an official address, be part of an religious institutional network or associated with a Korean church, and be present with social activities in the public sphere.

immigrants have been fairly successful in transmitting their religion to their children. About two-thirds of them have preserved their childhood religion and built second-generation congregations with English ministry services (Min/Kim 2005: 279).

But the US situation is not comparable with the German situation. The history of Korean migration to America is different—the Korean population is much bigger and in consequence the second and third generations have more resources to build their own churches. Furthermore, the religious, cultural and social circumstances are different for congregations in Germany. Carroll and Roof show that ‘(...) congregations constitute the dominant form of religious gathering in American society’ and ‘(...) a congregation becomes a staging ground for generational conflict and efforts to mobilize influence’ (Carroll/Roof 2002: 9, 10).

In Germany, the Evangelical and Catholic churches are the dominant religious institutions and congregational chapels and migrant churches are all around the people. But they don’t have the same extent of social meaning. The analysis, therefore, must take into account the context of Korean migrant churches in Germany and the personal living conditions of the Korean Germans.

SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING INTERGENERATIONAL TENSIONS IN ETHNIC CHURCHES

It is important to introduce the sociological perspective that will provide the theoretical basis for the empirical analysis of the formation of new religious spaces in the context of the religious identity-building of second-generation Korean Germans and the evolution of ethnic churches. Researchers have developed ideal typical models of life-cycles for ethnic churches (Mullins, Yang/Ebaugh 2001). On the basis of assimilation theories, which are being assumed, the development of the churches depends on their ability to offer services in the language of the majority society, with which the members of the second and third generations grow up. Churches which were originally mono-linguistic change into bi-linguistic churches. Tensions between the generations are being seen in the course of these changes.

However, this theoretical focus falls short. Because, above all, it is examined from a top-down-perspective regarding the extent to which the ethnic churches have to adjust to generational change through new services and structural adaptations. The assumption now is that Korean churches, with a rising grade of institutionalization, are slow off the mark to deal with tensions and conflicts. Therefore, the strategies which the second-generation Korean Germans develop

independently, if their religious institutions cannot take their needs sufficiently into account, have to be examined now from a bottom-up perspective.

In order to understand the social and religious praxis of the second-generation Korean Germans, which can lead to a transformation of the ethnic church, theories about formation of identity and intergenerational conflicts have to be considered. Rumbaut (1996) determined that it could be a challenge for children of migrants to constitute their identity, because they have to 'adapt in social-identity contexts that may be racially and culturally dissonant' (Rumbaut 1996: 123). Intergenerational tensions about values and normative expectations could arise in this context (Rumbaut/Portes 2001: 307).

Already Karl Mannheim (1952) had assumed that social circumstances have an influence on different age groups. Younger generations do not have the same experiences as older generations; they interpret their environment on this basis. The norms and values of the congregants of the first generation become manifest in a general organizational framework of their ethnic churches. The cultural and religious transmission from one generation to another occurs within the families and is institutionalized in the ethnic churches. But the transmission is determined through three principles: gender-and-age-based hierarchy (male-dominated), social interaction (unwritten norms and unspoken expectations such as 'deference for elders') and frequent participation (at sermons, bible study groups, celebrations and group activities) (Chong 1998: 270–80).

The members of the first generation were raised in a so-called 'mono-racial' and 'mono-cultural' society in Korea, which emphasizes a strict social order in communities. The transmission has to be seen in the context that the congregants of the first generation 'put a strong emphasis on group interdependency and conformity to group norms, whereas their individualistically oriented children tend to resist such pressure to conform to parental mentalities and traditional moral norms' (Park 2003: 76). Second-generation Korean Germans are influenced by western ideals of democracy, equality and individuality and disagree with the older congregants' views on hierarchy and authority. The social and cultural imprint of this generation can lead to intergenerational tensions and conflicts.

Conflict has long been considered intrinsic to social relationships, but became formally integrated within mainstream sociological thought with Georg Simmel's classic essay on social conflict (Simmel 1908: 247–336). He assumed that tensions and conflicts between people could have an integrative function in social relationships (Simmel 1922 [1955]).⁶

⁶ Conrad leaned on Putnam and Poole formulated a definition of conflict, which says that conflicts are communicative interactions among people who are interdependent and who perceive that their interests are incompatible, inconsistent, or in tension. (Conrad 1990: 286)

According to Prasad, '[t]he word 'conflict' carries a negative connotation. Since conflict can upset status quo, it should also be considered as a predictor of change. Conflict and change operate as a two-way system and therefore conflict of a certain type can be very adaptive for progress' (Prasad 1992: 18). In this sense, the potential which intergenerational tensions could have for further developments should be taken into account.

METHODS AND DATA

The analysis for this study⁷ is based on a data obtained through participant observation and informal talks in 14 Korean ethnic churches in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia in West Germany, and 21 in-depth interviews with second-generation Koreans, lay members and church leaders, and reviews of relevant literature. Of the 21 interviews, three interviews were conducted with German pastors, 11 interviews with second-generation Korean-Germans, two interviews with first-generation Korean-Germans (a Korean nurse and her German husband), and five interviews with pastors and church leaders.

In addition to personal interviews, I engaged in observing participants for two years (2011 and 2012) within 34 identified churches as well as related church events, seminars, Korean New Year celebrations, Christian holidays like Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, and special intercultural events like Korean-German worship between Korean and German congregations.

The analysis, described in this paper, uses the approach of Jochen Gläser and Grit Laudel.⁸ For the preparation of the analysis, crude data has been extracted from an already existing text—in this case, interviews with congregants. The data was transcribed and imported in MAXQDA software for content analysis. After being extracted, the data was processed and finally evaluated. The whole analysis was carried out in the German language.

⁷ This article is based on research conducted for the PhD project in progress "Institutional Change of Korean-German Churches in West Germany through Intergenerational Tensions" at the Young Academic Research Group "Networking religion" at the Ruhr-University Bochum. The research group "Religious Networking – Zivilgesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Potentiale religiöser Vergemeinschaftung" is funded by the Ministry of Innovation, Science, Research and Technology of the German State of North Rhine-Westphalia.

⁸ Gläser, J./Laudel, G. (2004): Experteninterviews und qualitative Inhaltsanalyse, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

GENERATIONAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE CHURCHES

I would like to present four examples of fields of tension between the congregants of the first and second generations, which I had observed in my fieldwork:

Orientation of the first-generation congregants towards their home country:

In the interviews, many of the older congregants spoke about the hardships they had experienced because of immigration, their position as guest workers in Germany society, and their lives and working conditions over the past few years. Many shouldered these hardships to subsidize their families in Korea and to facilitate a good life and education for their children. The Korean churches served as places of transmission of religious and cultural identities through religious services, Korean language courses and celebration of festivals, like the celebration of the Korean New Year's Day. Thus, congregants of the first generation find it upsetting when younger congregants born in Germany try to re-create church. And tensions often come to a head over issues like church attendance or active participation in church groups or the choir.

Some of the congregants of the second generation reject religious, social and cultural traditions. In fact, they don't reject the cultural roots of the older members, but they are geared to German culture. In contrast, the second generation feels that it is being dismissed by the first generation and finds that it has expectations from it that cannot be fulfilled.

Many of the interviewees said the older congregants expect that their church will never change and that the next generation should preserve it. A 31-year-old Korean man says:

The church is not only a community of faith. Rather, it is a culture club. But it does not take us into consideration (...). And many things that we discuss in the church are escapist and uninteresting to me. The church serves as a surrogate family for older members. For the sake of my mother, I go to church, even if I'm not in the mood for it.

The quotation illustrates that the ascription of sense regarding what a Korean church stands for is not comprehensible to the younger congregants. There is no active debate about this blank space, since the older congregants do not accept the fact that their orientation is being questioned. Another conflict lies in the second generation's ambivalence towards the basic cultural norms of the church: in spite of their internalization of many of the basic ethnic cultural norms, there nevertheless exists a considerable amount of questioning of these norms on the

part of second-generation members. This, in effect, represents a challenge to first-generation authority. The first-generation members prefer a monocultural setting, but the younger generation often feels restricted by such rigid ethnic identity boundaries.

Particularistic versus universalistic orientation:

Some second-generation congregants would like the churches to quit their particularistic orientation towards the ethnic community. They wish for a church that tries to reach all people with their Christian message, and do not emphasize Korean culture exclusively. The exclusion of other national groups and the privilege of the language of the Korean ethnic group gave some people the impression that their churches aren't universal churches. For example: a Korean Pentecostal church, called 'All Nations Church', has 95 per cent Korean members. The son of the Pentecostal pastor of this church, who studied theology, says:

Our church is named All Nations Church and it is Korean and it should have a strong sense of cultural bonding with other Koreans. I think the gospel at that point transcends, the gospel of Christianity at some point should transcend, cultural exclusions to become inclusive, for example, for students in their town. I mean a church like our church needs to create that social space for people in other ethnic cultures to flow in their worship.

His statement embodies the conflict developing between the church's religious mission and the ethnic function it is serving for its older members. In former times, the church carried a Korean name. The deletion of the Korean element ought to symbolize the departure of a particular orientation.

The adherence to Korean traditions and the Korean language is deemed to be a constraint for further developments of the churches by some second-generation congregants. Differences and difficulties in language have apparently created communication and relational problems, fuelling divisions in ministries and enlarging the generation/language gap. A constant dilemma facing Korean German congregations is the relationship between Korean-speaking first-generation parents and German-speaking Korean youths and young adults. In addition to the usual tension between older adult parents and the younger population, language barriers heighten tension and dissuade healthy, ongoing communication.

Liberalism vs. Conservatism:

The traditional Korean church is often guided by the values of authority and hierarchy. Some pastors and elders prefer strictness in confronting demands for

change and preventing children from adopting the values and lifestyles of German society. They are critical of non-Christians, non-Koreans and non-churchgoing second-generation Korean Germans and advise their members against dangerous temptations like cigarettes, alcohol, drugs and premarital sex. Two positions became clear in the interviews: these referred above all to the topic of alcohol consumption. Some internalized the Christian values and are trying to meet the expectations of the community. The relinquishment of alcohol is being justified theologically by a young Korean woman, who argues:

I would not like that alcohol stands between me and God. Nothing should cloud my perception (...) I've solved this question for myself: God is in first place. He wouldn't like at all that we give up something. But there are moments in which, I think, a glass of red wine would be ok. But I also know that I actually don't need it.

On the other hand, there are young congregants and Korean parents, who do not find this kind of value orientation. But they cannot show their liberal orientation in their church. A 26-year-old Korean woman says:

For example, smoking and drinking. The first generation, our parents, drum it into you that it is quite unchristian. But many of us drink a beer, you know. Or smoke. I also smoke, for example. Until half a year ago, my closest friends did not know this even partially. The congregants of the second generation knew it, but, for example, our Korean foreign students and older congregants did not know it, because they could not handle it.

These values often come into conflict with the younger generation, whose lives have been heavily influenced by Western ideology, such as democracy, equality in school and university and ethnically heterogeneous circle of friends. The result is a power struggle between older and younger generations, where the pastors and leaders of the second generation seek the freedom to lead their communities, while the older generation is slow to adapt and hand over authority and control.

Different expectations on worship styles:

The style of worship and music often become a source of conflict within the Korean churches. Contrasting preferences in liturgy, style of worship and music have led to quarrels in some congregations with second-generation congregants. A young Korean woman, a congregant of a Presbyterian church, says:

The worship that we celebrate on Sundays is still very antiquated. It is like 30 years ago. Hardly anything has changed there. But we're playing drums at the beginning of praise. That is already a big improvement. I wish that the worship style becomes a little bit younger. I don't know how to change it, but someday it will happen.

This quote shows that the young woman does not find the worship style very attractive. Both the topics of the Korean sermons and the liturgy follow the interests of the older congregants and do not include the young people much. This especially applies to those churches in which the majority of the congregants belongs to the first generation. Only the bigger Korean churches, like those in Aachen, Cologne and Düsseldorf, can establish a second German speaking worship service. Frequently, they additionally hire a second pastor for this service, who ideally speaks German or is born in Germany. In these churches, the worship style is hardly criticized and young adults from other cities also visit these worship services. Carroll and Roof say in this context: 'The choice of liturgy and music is more than a preference, it is a symbolic expression of identity and of religious meaning implicit within that identity' (Carroll, Roof 2002: 10).

As apart from the common meal, the worship service is the central religious element of the Sunday meetings, the congregants of the second generation expect a religious experience, which gives them sense and makes a difference, in contrast to their profane every day world. The church represents less a shelter but is rather a meeting place, where they can experience a community feeling. Many of the interviewees were disappointed that the older congregants do not want to get involved in new religious practices such as loud singing, application of electronic music instruments and clapping with hands. They have met these actions in Christian youth seminars, which are often led by charismatic pastors. Presbyterian Korean churches, in particular, oppose the introduction of charismatic elements into their worship services.

Charismatic religious practices exert a special fascination for the Korean youth since they put the personal experience of the participants in the foreground. There are few doctrinal principles and the emotional life of the congregants is emphasized to a greater degree. The worships are more open to improvisations and the offerings of the Holy Ghost can award power, which is otherwise regarded as insignificant. This adjustment of interest towards charismatic religious elements is a theological problem for Presbyterian churches.

After this short comment on intergenerational fields of tension, the next section deals with observable changes on the level of religious action and will discuss a typology of strategies in reaction to the fields of tension mentioned.

NEGOTIATING RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN NEW SPACES OF RELIGIOUS INTERACTION

The following typology of coping strategies, on a meso level of analysis, should represent an arc of suspense about the ways in which second-generation Koreans find their way of preserving the cultural heritage of the first generation and develop a faith of their own at the same time. These strategies were born from these intergenerational tensions.

1) Self-determination and mobility:

Some second-generation congregants are no longer attending the Korean churches of their parents, in which they grew up, on Sundays. During my field research I met Presbyterian teenagers, who drove into another city with their smaller siblings, or families, in order to take part in a worship service of Pentecostal churches which are especially oriented to the second generation. The return trip often lasts over two hours. Music, singing, clapping with hands and youth near sermon topics play a central part in the worship services. The parents are not pleased with this decision of their children. But some parents give their children the leeway as they are afraid that they would otherwise not go to church anyway. Those who switch accept the long journey, because the worship is led by a young second-generation pastor, or because the new church, in contrast to the prior church, offers more child care.

The reason for switching from one church to another is actuated by dissatisfaction and yearning. These young people changed their church without changing their residences. In consequence, the Korean churches compete with each other for their young congregants. The originally familiar relationship with the parental churches is being replaced in favour of a rather market-oriented and individualistic decision-making by the second-generation Korean Germans. Those Korean churches gain new members, and adjust themselves to the needs of all of their members.

2) Displacement: Layman organization as alternative to established churches

A group called GIL was founded in 2002. GIL is the acronym for 'Gott im Leben' or 'Life in God'. In Korean GiL/길 means 'way'. First, a group of over 100 second-generation Korean Germans founded a church for their generation. But it was too difficult since they did not have enough resources, no second-generation pastor and no experience about how to establish a church. In addition, the number of congregants was never stable. They currently have about 50 congregants. GIL turned into a lay organization with a low hierarchical system and a weakening of gender differences. They organize their meetings

on Facebook and have established a worship service, which takes place every two months in Korean churches in different cities in North Rhine-Westphalia. A pastor of each congregation acts as a guest preacher in their worship. They themselves determine the content, themes and style of worship. In this way, they have established a space of interaction beyond the established churches without interrupting the connection with their parent churches.

GIL has been accepted by the pastors and elders because they do not perceive GIL as a serious competitor. This is an example of layman organizations which open up new social spaces for religious and social interaction. At the same time, the example shows that the second generation simply does not leave their churches and their religiosity decreases.

3) Separation/differentiation: the establishment of second-generation worship services within the church

Korean Christians, with their different generational backgrounds, have different church-related needs. The church is an important venue for immigrants who negotiate their adjustment to Germany; conversely, many young adults want their own worship service within the churches to be independent of those of their parents' generation. The phenomenon of establishing a second-generation worship service is only found in large Korean churches with 150 congregants and more, and can be seen as a reaction to declining membership numbers, the low bonding force of the churches, and different linguistic abilities. Only four churches in North-Rhine Westphalia have a second-generation worship service on Saturday or after the Sunday worship service. There is a remarkable difference between the worship styles of the first- and second-generation congregants. Some churches incorporate many elements of mainstream evangelical Christianity. Worship is led by a band of musicians on electric guitars, drums and synthesizers, with lyrics projected onto large overhead screens.

A Presbyterian pastor has criticised the attitude of some younger congregants, saying that they are more concerned about fun and experiences in worship than about concentrating on intensive bible studies, for example.

Second-generation Koreans mentioned three aspects about why they prefer their own worship service. First, they prefer German-speaking worship services. A 30-year-old Korean woman says:

We do not have the old songs, but rather the new songs, and sometimes we can also sing in German or English. Because... our mother tongue is somehow Korean, but somehow also German. I think that it does make a difference if you worship in Korean or German. It feels different if I pray the Lord's Prayer in German or Korean.

The possibility of religious experience is linked to the mother tongue. The religious practice is sensed by her as being meaningful if the language does not generate any distance to the religious content. Another point, which is important to her, is the use of 'new songs'. These contemporary songs of praise focus on themes of victory, joy, love, celebration and intimacy and are emotionally charged. They are recited by a praise team. This generation is influenced by the media and pop culture (Beaudoin 1998). They can identify more easily with songs in English in the style of evangelical music, as in America, than older congregants.

Secondly, they like the more friendly and intimate atmosphere and social interactions in the worship service for the second generation. A 24-old-Korean student explained:

The atmosphere is much warmer and much closer than in the main worship service. It is not just sitting around and listening to the sermon. For us it is more of ...togetherness. We can talk about everything and I know everybody. It is not so anonymous. It is more like in a school class. I like it very much.

While stricter social norms and values determine the interactions of the congregants in the main worship service, hierarchical and gender-based norms are less strict in the second worship service. This is because all participants are approximately of the same age, belong to the same generation, and have a higher rate of members from other countries, such as those in Africa, China or Latin America. The last point applies especially to Pentecostal churches. The establishment of a second-generation worship service is an active coping strategy, which is accompanied by a structural differentiation of the church.

Thirdly, some younger congregants prefer the possibility of a third space or spatial separation within their churches from older Koreans. A 30-year-old Korean woman says:

It is a space where we're not forced into a role or have to attend a service which is not pleasant for us. It's a platform for second-generation congregants. We are spatially separated and I wouldn't like to come in contact with the congregants of the first generation. So we don't quarrel.

The quotations show that potential conflicts are avoided through spatial separation. Older and younger congregants are separated within this Korean Catholic church. Once a month there is a worship service for second-generation Korean Germans. So that the generations don't meet, the older members visit a worship service in the neighbouring town. This kind of passive coping strategy is uncommon and is not approved by most of the pastors. However, this handling

ensures that the congregants of the second generation will not leave the church forever.

4) *Cooperation of second-generation pastors:*

‘We are a group consisting of second-generation Korean pastors, who share the awakening of Germany and Europe as a common vision,’ said a young Pentecostal pastor, who is cooperating with two other Presbyterian second-generation pastors and is a founder member of a group called EXODUS. He said: ‘We believe that Korean immigrants play an important role in God’s Revival Plan for Germany, Europe and the whole world. In particular, we are convinced that God has called and enabled the second-generation Koreans to contribute to this revival plan’. His statement is a characteristic claim in the Pentecostal movement.

In recent months, they were able to build an interdenominational network of ‘spiritual leaders of the second generation’. Their goal is to prepare the second-generation Koreans in Germany through spiritual guidance and training about their responsibilities within and outside their communities. EXODUS offers personal counseling and support as well as ways of consulting the communities. They want to reconcile the first- and second-generation congregants. For three years, they have organized a conference to talk about the future of the Korean churches and the role of the second generation.

Figure 1.

A Typology of Strategies on the Member Level and Institutional Level

Member Level	Institutional Level
Self-determination/mobility: Switching from church to church (religious market)	Separation/differentiation: Second generation worship service
Displacement: Lay organization: GiL/길 (German: Gott im Leben/Korean: way)	Cooperation: EXODUS: Network of second generation pastors

Cooperation among second-generation pastors forms a small network, which is unique in this form in North-Rhine Westphalia. Since they could not express their concerns within the Korean associations that still existed, they banded together. With EXODUS, they want to function as an institutional bridge between the second-generation congregants and their churches. This kind of coping strategy can be seen as a reaction to a lack of discussion about the change of generations

within the Korean churches. Admittedly, the interdenominational network is still small, but they offer a space for discussion at their annual meetings. The following table summarizes the results that have been discussed earlier.

CONCLUSION

Contrary to the assumptions of theorists like Herberg (1955), who argued that the second generation would turn away from the church, or Mullins (1987), who predicted that with the cultural and structural assimilation of the second generation, the attraction of ethnic churches would diminish—because social and religious needs can be better met within religious organizations of the host society—second-generation Korean Christians are neither assimilating into mainstream churches nor abandoning their faith.

Most of the second-generation Korean Christians do not want to adopt the cultural and religious traditions of the first generation, like the way runners pass a baton in a race. The second-generation Koreans I have met in Korean churches are more or less just as religious as their immigrant parents. But it is important to note that they are searching for new ways to fashion a faith of their own and change institutional structures, which are less hierarchical and gender-based, more lay-organized, and more engaged in implanting charismatic religious elements into the sermons.

The three levels of transmission of religious and cultural traditions—gender- and age-based hierarchies, forms of social interaction and the frequent participation in religious practices—are the main areas of conflict. Three changes can be observed: First of all, the second generation is more open-minded to charismatic religious elements, which rest upon an increasing dispersion and power of charismatic Korean churches and their engaged second-generation pastors. There is a desire for closer social interactions and intensive religious experiences, which reminds one of ‘Eventisierung des Religiösen’ or ‘eventisation of religion’.

Secondly, they turn away from gender- and age-based hierarchies, which leads to two different developments. The first is the establishment of second-generation worship services in bigger Korean churches and the next is self-organization out of the churches.

Thirdly, the churches are no longer a shelter for all congregants, but tends towards multiracial and universalistic-oriented places. Young religious second-generation leaders (particularly Pentecostal pastors) are aiming to influence mainstream Protestantism by practicing and marketing religion that is flavoured with Korean expressions of Christianity. The emphasis on ‘Christian’ identity, and

not primarily on a Korean identity, is a sense of connectedness to a community of believers that transcends ethnic divisions and stands in contrast to the secular host society.

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