Constructing a Local Theology  
for the Second Generation Korean Ministry

By Minho Song

We live in a postmodern world, in which truth is regarded as "elusive, polymorphous, inward, and subjective" rather than "unique, exclusive, objective, external and transcendent."\(^1\) Akin to the spirit of postmodernism, a revolution in the discipline of theology has been in the making in the last twenty years or so. Whereas modernity made us believe in Western theology as consisting of universal truths, "valid in all times and settings, and through the missionary enterprise, exported in their unaltered --- and unalterable--- forms to the younger churches in the Third World," a paradigm shift in the postmodern age challenged such a closed system of deductive theological truths to be no longer binding upon all experiences. A theology is now seen as rather a dialogue between text and context, and is best understood as provisional, rather than final and exclusive.\(^2\)

To put it in another way, the postmodern world has brought forth new questions, which old answers in the old "plausibility structure" could no longer satisfy. Theology went through an identity crisis, so to speak, because a comprehensive, but context-free, approach of systematic theology was no longer in tune with, and thus relevant to, the needs of the local community. Various types of theology which emphasize the context came into being, such as liberation theology, feminist theology, and black theology. Recently, Robert Schreiter proposed a case for constructing local theologies, which would pay close attention to the context, procedure, and history where theologizing was to occur.\(^3\)

The present paper is an attempt at constructing "a local theology" or a contextual theology for the second generation Korean ministry in the urban setting. While not altering the basic message of the gospel, I would like to rethink through the factors which impact and shape people's response to the gospel in the context of the Korean immigrant church setting. The contours, directions, and limits of ethnic ministry in the urban setting will be examined. After delineating the context of ministry, I will then suggest a direction or a guideline for an effective ministry among the second generation Koreans in the urban setting. Such a study is not only useful in dealing with the particular issues in the Korean ethnic setting, but it also has a far reaching implication for any ethnic group as it moves from the first generation to the next, from its tight, ethnocentric identity to a more society-conforming, broad identity.

Before we go any further, it is necessary to establish the point that at least in Canada, and most likely in the states as well, ethnic ministries tend to be an urban experience. According to

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2. For an in-depth discussion on this issue, see David Bosch, Transforming Mission, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1992, p. 427ff.

Statistics Canada, a 1991 survey revealed that 87.4% of Chinese immigrants live in six major cities of Canada: Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal.\(^4\)

A lesser but equally significant ratio is found in other ethnic groups: Korean (85.7%), Vietnamese (76.3%), and Japanese (75.4%). Although not all urban ministry has to do with ethnic ministry in Canada, the reverse appears to be the case.

The Context of the Second Generation Ministry

The second generation ministry among English-speaking Koreans takes place in the urban ethnic setting. The people involved are a group of young adults who find themselves in the Korean-speaking mother church. Their serious, spiritual plight has been noted by many. By the time these English-speaking Koreans leave for college, it appears that they are also ready to leave their Korean churches. Most do not return to church. Los Angeles Times ran a front page column titled "Trying to Halt 'the Silent Exodus'" to describe the mass leaving of the adult children of Korean immigrants from Korean churches where their parents have found solace.\(^5\) Simply put, the present Korean church life is, somehow, no longer in tune with these young people, culturally and ideologically. Some pastors predict that at this rate of exodus the majority of the second generation Koreans will be unchurched in a few years, making them one of the most unreached peoples in our very neighborhoods of North American cities.

In fact, there has even been a suggestion to send a missionary to "the mission field" of the Manhattan Island to work with the young urban Korean professionals who are no longer interested in spiritual things. Further observations should make us cynics who work with the second generation. First, these people once flocked our Sunday schools. Yes, we taught them Bible stories. We took them to summer camps and retreats. But they are no longer interested in church. We look at the Sunday school children today and wonder, "what makes us believe that our present efforts are not futile?" Will they not also grow up and grow "out of church"? Second, how ironic it is that we should use such terms as "the unreached people group" or "the mission field" to describe the spiritual poverty of the second generation Koreans when there are literally hundreds of Korean churches in New York City alone? And third, what good is it to labor and toil to build the ethnic enclave and construct church buildings when there is no guarantee whatsoever that our sons and daughters will be around.\(^6\) This brings us to the next question: How and why then did the "silent exodus" take place?

\(^4\) The total of 444,940 Chineses were reported to be living in Vancouver (130,680), Calgary (24,800), Edmonton (23,890), Winnipeg (7,710), Toronto (175,030), and Montreal (26,770). The figure is, of course, very conservative. See The Statistics Canada 1991 Census Report.


\(^6\) In my last eight years of full-time ministry with the second generation Koreans, I have visited New York, Houston, New Jersey, Chicago, San Jose, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, and Toronto ---to name a few large cities--- where Korean churches abound. While I celebrate what God is doing in these cities, I am also reminded of the tremendous challenge these churches face in meeting the needs of the second generation Koreans.
Reasons for "the Silent Exodus"

1. **Too much emphasis on Korean ethnicity:** A study by Hurh and Kim shows that 77% of Koreans in Chicago belong to Korean churches.\(^7\) It is a staggering percentage when one considers the fact that only 21% of Koreans go to church in Korea. From a theological point of view, the immigrant church plays a vital role in giving spiritual direction to immigrants as they look to God's help in charting the new course of their life in the unknown experiences of the new land. Undoubtedly, they become very receptive to the gospel. From a sociological point of view, however, Korean immigrants flock to immigrant churches because the church can meet various needs of the first generation. According to the sociologist Min, the immigrant churches offer intimate fellowship with other Koreans, guard and maintain the Korean culture, help new immigrants to settle, and grant social status and leadership opportunities.\(^8\) For the second generation Koreans who are much more de-ethnicized and acculturated, the church takes on a different meaning. They are less likely receptive to the gospel, relying more on their knowledge and desire to face the challenges of life in North America. This point was well brought out in Mitchell's study of the Boston area immigrants. Mitchell looked at the cases of the Puritan migration in the 17th century, the Irish Catholic migration in the late 19th Century, and the Polish Catholics in this century. He found that church affiliation declined from the first through the second and third generations in a predictable pattern:

Urban ethnic churches can learn from this intergenerational study. Immigrants may be drawn initially to an ethnic church by a combination of social, emotional, and spiritual needs, but they and their children must be firmly established in a personal faith. Whether the church is Puritan or Polish, it will decline if the second and third generation members do not come to know Christ personally. The immigrant church cannot long survive on the secondhand faith of parents and grandparents, or mere social bonds.\(^9\)

It explains partly why many college age second generation Koreans simply leave the church once they leave home to go to school: they have never owned personal faith in the first place. Whereas the uprooting experience of immigration prepares and exposes the first generation to a fresh encounter with God resulting in a deeper faith in Him, the second generation goes through a much different religious experience. Moreover, the second generation Koreans do not bring to church the same social or emotional needs which can only be met by other fellow Koreans. Instead, many come to church out of a family obligation or a habit carried on from infancy. In short, while the immigrant church foremostly provides the first generation Koreans with comfort and solace, it is not necessarily the case for the second generation.

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A search for self-identity continues, however, for the second generation Koreans. They are "caught between two cultures that do not [fully] accept them." Hiebert and Hertig describe well the identity struggle Asian Americans go through:

The first generation immigrants are foreigners in a new land, but they know who they are. The core of their identity was shaped by the old culture. Their children, on the other hand, face a deep identity crisis. At home these second generation immigrants learn the beliefs and values of their parents' first culture, but in school and in public they are enculturated into the new one. They have two worlds at the core of their being. Their identity crisis is compounded by the fact that their parents generally do not understand them, and try to impose old ways on them. The identity crisis is resolved by choosing one of the four options: reject old, reject new, compartmentalize, or integrate old and new. 

For example, when the first generation imposes strongly upon the second generation to use the Korean language in the church and to worship God in the Korean way only, then they are in essence effectively pushing their children out of the immigrant church and onto the streets. The second generation's decision to reject the old is often an emotional response to such stubborn impositions. Self-identity is not something to be forced upon externally; rather, it is to be discovered in a loving and nurturing environment. Sadly, many first generation pastors and leaders have failed to recognize the contextual distinctives of the second generation ministry and have continued to resort to inflexible approaches of their conviction and comfort. Where conformity was preached, flight was the result. This has been partly responsible for the silent exodus.

2. The Power of the Postmodern Culture: There has been a lack of awareness and attempt in identifying and delineating the patterns and limits of the second generation spirituality. Many of us who are in a position to provide spiritual care to the second generation Koreans are coming to grips with the fact that these Koreans identify more readily with the ethos of the postmodern, pluralistic North American culture than with that of their parent culture (which is still very much Korean). Both the first and second generation church leaders have underestimated the power of postmodern, secular education and mass media. We have naively thought that so long as we raised the second generation Koreans in the Sunday school setting, these students would automatically emulate the spirituality of their Korean parents. But as it turned out, we were too assuming. Many Asian virtues --- strong family ties, loyalty to group, respect for vertical human relationships, passion to know clearly what is right from wrong --- which the parent generation consider to be

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10 Manuel Ortiz, director of urban ministries program at Westminster Theological Seminary, has done a study on the Second Generation Puerto Ricans. He mentions the issue of identity as their foremost problem. See "Insights into the Second Generaion Hispanic" Urban Mission, June 1993, pp. 21-22.


12 Ibid., p. 17-18. The fourth choice is believed to be the healthiest.

13 I have in mind a painful story of a youth pastor in New York who has been deeply hurt by his senior pastor's insistence that his American born teens must worship in the Korean service even if it meant that they had to wear a headphone set and listen to a simultaneous translation.
essential in life, no longer take on the same meaning and importance for the second generation. In their place new values such as individual rights, relativism, pluralism, democratic decision-making process are being implanted.\textsuperscript{14}

In addition, Reginold Bibby, a sociologist at the University of Lethbridge, Alberta, rightly argues that individualism and the lack of religious group commitment have taken an even heavier toll on Canadian church attendance than the American counterpart. He concludes, "The harsh reality is that Canadians are not very loyal to very much of anything."\textsuperscript{15} This gives a double blow to the already weakened commitments of the second generation Koreans in Canada. It calls for a change, a paradigm shift: our traditional approach to the first generation Koreans will not work with the second generation Koreans. In fact, we would be gravely mistaken if we assumed that the second generation Koreans would seek church affiliation out of the same reasons which drew their parents to church in the first place. On the contrary, reaching out to the second generation Koreans is just as hard, if not harder, as reaching out to the secularized North Americans because these Koreans have been "vaccinated" with an incomplete and, often frustrating, church experience in their childhood and teenage years. I am convinced that the silent exodus has thus far taken place because the immigrant church has been insensitive to the different emotional needs and spiritual conditions of the second generation. Such a reflection calls for a re-examination of ministry styles including communication patterns, leadership style and worship style to the second generation Koreans.

3. Structural Limitations: The present structure of Korean churches has been the inhibiting factor. Where do the English-speaking Korean adults belong in a typical Korean church in North America? They usually belong to the Sunday school or youth group as either students or leaders. Rarely will their services be utilized in making important decisions for the church. Even though some of these Koreans have finished university, started their family, and even taken up important positions in work places as professionals, in the eyes of many parents they are still children. Cultural and language barriers which exist between the first and the second generation Koreans work against their assuming wider roles in the church.

For the second generation Koreans, then, the real issue at stake is one of belonging, a sense of ownership. The more decisions are made by others, the less important they feel about their presence in the church. When mistrust mushrooms between the first and the second generation, a natural resolution is simply to leave the church. Moving to another city for a job or a school provides an easy excuse to leave not only the home church but also Korean churches in general. Tragically, many of them break ties with church at a time when they are being heavily influenced by the secular values of market places. Any pastor or church leader who is interested in keeping the second generation Koreans in the church, must face the hard fact: there is not enough incentive for them to stay in the church which is dominated by the Korean-speaking members. What kind of concession or structural change will the present leadership make so that the second generation

\textsuperscript{14} See Grace Kim, "Critical Issues for Christian Education with the Korean-American Second Generation" in Korean American Education Ministry Basic Principles, Seoul: Presbyterian Church of Korea Press, 1988, pp. 195-209. She has a very helpful analysis of American values vs. Korean values. For a comprehensive presentation of the schematic differences between modernism (depicting the life-orientation of the first generation, generally speaking) and postmodernism (and that of the second generation), see David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford: Blackwell, 1989, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{15} Reginald Bibby, Mosiac Madness, Toronto:Stoddart, 1990, p. 95.
Koreans are empowered to make substantial contribution to the church life and continue to stay in
the church?

4. Unclear Future of the Korean Immigrant Church: Moreover, many second generation
Koreans leave Korean churches because of they are unclear about, or frustrated with, the direction
of church's ministry. Many second generation Koreans are wondering what their role is in regards
to the church's mission in the multi-cultural, urban context. Even though they are linguistically
equipped to go beyond the Korean enclave and to reach out to other ethnic groups, they are unsure
whether it is the right thing to do in the Korean church setting. The question is really about the
second generation church's identity in ministry. Whereas the first generation's ministry has largely
to do with helping Korean immigrants settle in the new land, the identity of the second generation
ministry is still in deep crisis. Yes, the church believes in evangelism. But will the Korean church
approve of evangelism to non-Koreans and in the process risk losing her ethnic identity? Seeing
that Korean churches are still very homogeneous, many second generation believers come to
believe that the Korean church is more interested in ethnicity than the gospel, believing in one type
of evangelism only: bringing in other Koreans to the church. Bosch's words are helpful to us as a
way of warning, "The church's identity sustains its relevance and involvement."16

Even though a high number of the second generation Koreans are actively involved in world
missions, they are still unsure about what their mission is here in the multi-cultural context of North
America. We can be sure of this: An inward-looking, enclave-building approach (i.e., ethnic
exclusivism) will prove to be suicidal as a means to retain the second and third generation Koreans
in the Korean church. Moreover, in light of such a tragic mishap as the 1992 LA Riot, it is
important that not only "the ends of the earth" but also "All Judea and Samaria" be taken into
account.17 The first generation leadership has been, understandably, incapable of giving leadership
to the second generation in this area. The result thus far has been that for the most second
generation Koreans the immigrant church is a dead end experience.

5. Church Split and Other Negative Experiences: According to a survey done with 191
UCLA Korean students, 57% of them reported that they had experienced church split while they
were in junior high and senior high years, many of them more than once.18 At such impressionable
ages, church split may seem like a family divorce. They also experience the frequent change of
youth pastors and young adult pastors due to relationship breakdowns among pastoral staff.
Unfortunately, many second generations go through negative church experiences.

To recap, five main factors that impact the second generation Korean ministry have been
identified. Needless to say, their influences have given a negative outcome. However, knowing
these factors can help us reorganize our strategy. We need to be aware of the following: i) that the
experience of immigration ---being uprooted of one's familiar cultural setting and replanted in a
new environment--- prepares and exposes the first generation to a fresh encounter with God in the

16 Transforming Mission, p. 385.

17 Korean churches in North America seem to have a passion for world evangelization, but strangely pays little
attention to other ethnic groups right here in North America.

church, but that the same must not be assumed for the second generation, whose real need is in integrating two cultures and forming a healthy identity, ii) that postmodernism has had a pervasive influence upon the thought patterns of the second generation, iii) that presently there is a serious barrier for the second generation Koreans to overcome before they can assimilate successfully into the first generation-dominated church, and iv) that there exists an unclear direction for the second generation Koreans in terms of their outreach and mission to the society. These four facts, in my opinion, are largely responsible for the 'silent exodus' of the second generation Koreans from their mother church, and in turn shape the context for ministering to the second generation Koreans in North America.

A Local Theology for the Second Generation Ministry

In light of the above factors which shape the response of the second generation Koreans to the immigrant church, and, to a large extent, to the gospel, how shall we then map out a strategy for an effective ministry among the second generation Koreans? What kind of constructional material can we use in building a local theology for the second generation ministry? I would like to suggest that we think more clearly in the following three areas: radical discipleship, church structure, and church's mission.

1. Radical Discipleship:

Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote, "When Christ calls a man, he bids him come and die." I believe that Bonhoeffer has correctly captured in his phrase "costly grace" the true meaning of radical discipleship. It is what Jesus intended. Emphasis on radical discipleship is much needed in the immigrant church, especially among the second generation members. Many of them have never owned their personal faith. They come to church worship because their parents have brought them all their lives. However, as they assimilate into the postmodern culture and become more pragmatic and self-reliant, many of them see church membership as non-essential. The predictable outcome is that their "borrowed" faith is soon abandoned when there are other competing interests.

The church which looks forward to the contribution of the second generation must be built upon the strength of radical discipleship to Jesus, and not upon personal ties with the previous generation or ethnicity, for the radical discipleship to Jesus Christ always demands a personal faith. A person would not give his or her life to the lordship of Jesus Christ based on a "borrowed" faith. For those of us working with the faith issues of the second generation Koreans, teaching them how to own their personal faith ought to be the primary mandate before time runs out. The New Testament teaching on what it means to follow Jesus Christ wholeheartedly must be taught and demonstrated over and over again (Luke 9:23-26, 57-62; 14:25-33). When we are working with the second generation Koreans, we must have the mindset that we are essentially dealing with a secularized people living in a postmodern and urban setting. We must not make the fatal mistake of treating them as same as the first generation Koreans, faithful and committed to the Lord Jesus (as they have been in Korea) and also driven to the immigrant church with pressing social and emotional needs.

19 The Cost of Discipleship, New York: MacMillan, 1963, p. 47ff., "... Such grace is costly because it calls us to follow, and it is grace because it calls us to follow Jesus Christ. It is costly because it costs a man his life, and it is grace because it gives a man the only true life."
Insisting on radical discipleship may not win popular support with the second generation Koreans, but it is the only way to satisfy the intense hunger of the secular heart and to ensure the continuous life of the immigrant church. Hunter writes,

In the target for making Christians, secular seekers cross image, cultural, and gospel barriers to become Christians and then a "total devotion" barrier to become fulfilled Christians who are useful to the movement. While some churches ignore the fourth barrier and avoid extending the "life commitment" challenge, churches like Willow Creek are not content to leave people as mere Christians," because God requires and the world demands that Christians be totally devoted to God's Kingdom and because the deepest needs of their own souls will not otherwise be met.20

The future of the second and third generation ethnic churches depends not on the continuation of immigration, but on passing down the real faith of radical discipleship.

Teaching radical discipleship to the second generation is a serious challenge, perhaps even to be liken to an attempt to stop incoming waves. The second generation Koreans live with a tremendous pressure to succeed in life, particularly in school. Many of them feel that their lives are being vicariously lived by their parents, as it is really the case in many situations where first generation parents constantly remind their sons and daughters that their lives in the foreign land are being sacrificed for their children's success.21 The 'success' or 'failure' of their immigrant life is often judged by peers according to their children's achievement. One can imagine the kind of pressure this social game exerts upon both the first and the second generation immigrants. In many cases the second generation children receive quality education and become urban professionals. In trying to fulfill "the American Dream" for both themselves and their parents, they work hard to move up the social ladder of society. In the process, church or spiritual things are set aside as not so important.

When a worker focuses on radical discipleship, it will result in the painful but necessary process of separating sheep from goats. Nonetheless, I am convinced that the church of Jesus Christ in the immigrant setting will be stronger in the long run with a handful of radical disciples than a large multitude of secularized church-goers who refuse to own their personal faith. Radical discipleship alone can promise a strong foundation for ministry among the second generation Koreans.

2. Church Structure: If the immigrant church is to continue its presence down through the second, third and succeeding generations, its structure must be reformed. Various models have been proposed to accommodate the first and second generation members in the same church.22 "The church within a church" is a transitory model, one of several viable options for now.23 As


21 Hiebert & Hertig, p. 19.


23 For advantages and disadvantages of this model, see Minho Song, "Towards the Successful Movement of the English-speaking Ministry within the Korean Immigrant Church."
mentioned before, the key issue confronting the second generation members is ownership. In many immigrant churches, very little attention has been paid to the second generation Koreans as legitimate and contributing members of the church. Under such a church structure, they are left out in major decision-making processes, including the decisions which have direct bearing upon their lives such as the calling of English-speaking pastor.

Subsequently, many second generation Koreans feel alienated from the life of the church. Frustration from miscommunication, as well as distrust resulting from the lack of communication between the first and the second, often causes the second generation to leave the church. Tied with this reality is the question of commitment. Because there is little sense of ownership, commitment to the well-being of the church is often lacking among the second generation members. Many second generation pastors struggle with their members' lack of giving, both in funds and time.

What is the most promising form of church structure in the immigrant church setting? We must bring back the old adage, "reformed church always reforming itself." The second generation Koreans who hear the gospel need churches to be nurtured in. Unless the immigrant churches allow the second generation more opportunities to assume leadership in the church, the church will force this group of people to become marginalized and ultimately unreach ed.

3. Church's Mission: The second generation members tend to see either the immigrant church or their presence in the immigrant church as a dead end experience for two reasons. First, the new comers to the church are usually recent immigrants or transfers from other churches of same ethnicity. The church may grow, but the second generation can feel more alienated with the arrival of new immigrants with whom they have very little in common. Second, evangelism is usually understood to be reaching out to the same ethnic population in the city. Because choice is limited and artificial, evangelism does not become an spontaneous act at school or work. The result is that for the second generation members church life is a very compartmentalized and regressed experience. We must heed the words of Hiebert and Hertig concerning the future of immigrant churches:

In the long run, churches that remain tied to ethnicity die out. By the third and fourth generations, ethnic churches must de-ethnicize their emphasis and open their doors to outsiders if they want to survive.24

Not only the quality of church life is at stake, but the very issue of survival comes into question. Unless the immigrant church clearly thinks through its mission as it passes its torch from the first to the second generation, we are going to see "the silent exodus" to continue until there is none left to leave.

A case study on the life cycle of an immigrant church would be helpful at this point. Harvey Conn wrote about the unique ministry of one Dutch immigrant church in the '60's.25 The Madison Avenue Christian Reformed Church in Paterson, New Jersey, faced the question of staying in downtown and ministering to the growing black community or leaving for a secure location in the suburb where its members were moving to. They chose the former. A landmark decision was recorded in the minutes of the consistory on April 15th, 1953:

25 "Any Faith Dies in the City" Urban Missions May 1986, p. 18
The pastor stated the purpose of our meeting tonight, namely, to discuss the advisability and possibility of re-locating the church ... It was pointed out that our neighborhood is continually changing as to the type of families that live in our area --- Jewish, Catholic, Negro. ... It also was pointed out that we should not remove our Christian Reformed influence from this area ... The consensus of our opinions seemed to be that we try to make more of an impact upon our surrounding community ...  

Today, after hundreds of Black lives have been helped by such programs as "a Bread for the World" and a chapter of "Habitat for Humanity," the congregation consists of 40% White (some Dutch), 55% Black, and 15% Hispanic and Asian. The following chart shows how changes in ethnic composition took place in the last 30 years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chart shows that gradually the black members replaced the majority of the white members over the span of 30 years. I am not advocating that all Korean immigrant churches follow the exact footsteps the reformed church above. However, I am convinced that unless evangelism becomes the primary mandate of the second generation Koreans, the Korean churches will die out shortly. The Korean churches, and for that matter any other ethnic churches as well, can learn from the previous generations of other immigrant churches. Churches bent on maintaining and protecting their own ethnicity will not earn the hearts of their succeeding generations.

In light of many examples of previous immigrant churches available to us, the question confronting present Korean immigrant churches today can be summarized in question forms: How are the contexts of the first and second generation Koreans differ from each other? How do we construct a local theology which will help us effectively expand Christ's Kingdom here and now? I am afraid that the ultimate question will be existential in nature and that we must make a conscious effort to choose from the two: What is more important, ethnicity or the gospel? While we spend a great deal of time examining various options for the future of the Korean church in North America, one thing emerges from this study as abundantly clear: we must be open to God and to His ways of transforming His church. Can "a kernel of wheat fall to the ground and die"? (John 12:24).

In this paper, I have tried to pay attention to the context of the second generation Koreans in North America. The reasons for "the silent exodus" were explored and the possible causes discussed. A threefold strategy encompassing a radical discipleship, a structural reform of in the

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27 From the telephone interview with the pastor John Algera of the Madison Avenue Christian Reformed Church on September 30, 1994.

28 Documentation obtained from John Rivera.

immigrant church, and a clear direction of the church's mission was introduced. It is my heartfelt prayer that this paper will stimulate much needed discussions in the Korean churches and that they will in turn reach out to those who make up the silent exodus.
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