

Protestant Church and the Non-Religious Mode of Nation-Building in Colonial Korea

Effects of Theology, Native Autonomy and State Policy

Shin, Ki Young

Introduction

Theoretical Background

Theoretical Application To Protestant Church
in Colonial Korea

Indicators

Research Design And Method

Denominational Effect

Effects of Native Autonomy And State Policy

Summary And Discussion

한글초록

이 연구는 제도 종교가 민족 형성 과정에서 비종교적 양식을 사용하도록 유도하는 조건들을 확인하려고 시도한다. 이를 위해 일제시대 한국 개신 교회를 한 실증적 경우로 연구한다. 여기서 관심을 부른 개신 교회는 당시 가장 대표적인 교단이었던 장로교와 감리교를 포함한 것에 국한한다. 관련문헌에 따르면, 교단신학, 지도력 구조와 국가정책 등이 주요 조건으로 대두된다. 한국에서 신학과 교단 간의 동일시적 관계로 인해, 신학적 영향은 교단적 차원에서 뒤편에선 모델로 검증된다. 그리고 지도력 구조와 국가 정책의 영향은 민족전체적 차원에서 타임시리즈 뒤편에선 모델로 조사된다. 위의 분석에서 얻은 결과는 다음과 같다. 첫째, 장로교회는 감리교회보다 비종교적 행동을 덜 일으켰다. 이는 전자가 후자보다 상대적으로 더 보수적 신학을 가짐으로 비종교적인 행동양식을 소극적으로 선택, 사용했기 때문이다. 둘째, 교단의 총회조직에서 외국 선교사에 대한 한국인의 지도력이 증대되면서 교회의 비종교적 행동이 증가되었다. 이는 한국 민족문제에 대한 한국인 지도자들의 상대적인 진보성이 교회 행동 양식의 선택에 작용하고 있음을 보여 준다. 지도력 구조 차원에서 진보적 지도력으로서의 전환이 교회 조직의 급진화를 초래했던 브라질 교회와의 비교는 한국 교회는 진보적 지도력의 제도화가 교회 내에서 일어나지 않아 계속 보수적인 성격에서 머물게 됐음을 알게 한다. 세 번째, 국가 정책은 전반적으로 비종교적 행동에 큰 영향을 준 것으로 나타났다. 이는 국가 정책에 대한 종교의 대응적 행동은 제도 종교의 가치 또는 이해에 의해 간접받고 있음을 시사한다.

INTRODUCTION

Studies of religion's role in nation-building have been carried out

throughout the world and have shown its importance: the English Puritan Revolution in the seventeenth century(Walzer 1965), revivalism in the nineteenth century United States(Thomas 1989; Hammond 1974), contemporary Fundamentalist Islamic revolutions(Lincoln 1985), Liberation Theology in Latin America(Gutierrez 1973) and religious nationalism in Southeast Asia under colonial occupation(von der Mehden 1963; Anderson 1983) and Watchtower movement in colonial Africa (Fields 1985).

However, most of sociological studies in this area have been preoccupied either with religious people's role in nation-building or with an established religious institution's conventional religious actions such as revivalism. Only a few studies of unconventional actions organized by religious institutions evidence that religious institution often adopts non-religious actions(e.g., Morris 1981; Westhues 1976; Neuhauser 1989; Miller 1993). Under what conditions do religious institutions organize non-religious action? This study attempts to identify the conditions by examining non-religious action of Protestant Church in colonial Korea during 1910~1945.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Scholars have tried to identify conditions under which religious institution organizes non-religious action or unconventional modes of action. One group of scholars focuses on a religious institution's theology on non-religious action. This theological explanation has been

popular among the scholars studying the radicalization of the Latin American Catholic Church(e.g., McNamara 1969; Westhues 1973; Lernoux 1982; Foroohar 1986). Their common argument is that the new social teaching accepted officially in the Roman church through the Second Vatican Council(1962~1966) brought out the emergence of various types of non- religious actions by local churches. These empirical studies are supported by theoretical arguments that religious institution as normative organizations primarily serve value-oriented goals(Etzioni 1961), that goals and theology should be assigned to be causal priority in the analysis of church(Hinings and Foster 1973), and that due to some commonly held beliefs religious groups are fertile soil for social movement(Collins 1982).

However, this theological explanation is unable to explain the variation in an religious institution's non-religious stance. There are various group interests within an institution(Berger 1969; Mutchler 1971; Stewart 1973) and these groups vary in their willingness to become involved in worldly pursuits(Nelson 1979; Wuthnow 1983). This critique is developed into the idea of "religious infrastructure"(Zald and McCarthy 1987) and into the idea of "the preferences of dominant groups"(Westhues 1976). The former emphasizes the availability of organized groups developed externally from the established religion, while the latter focuses on leadership structure within the religious institution itself. This study will focus on the leadership structure of religious institutions and the internal structure's influence on the non-religious action.

The influence of dominant groups in a religious institution is an

undeniable fact tested by empirical studies(Winter 1968; Mutchler 1971; Takayama 1975). Subsequently, hypothesized effect of the preferences of dominant group on the non-religious action of the religious institution has been tested by many scholars. Westhues(1973) explained the anti-state activities of the Paraguayan Catholic Church with its bishops' decision of opting for modernization early and opposing the conservative Stroessner regime for the church's benefit in the long run. Neuhouster (1988), in his study of the radicalization of the Brazilian Church, highlighted the leadership transformation from conservative to radical through organizational establishment for radical groups of bishops and priests. From these studies, it is inferred that non-religious action may be more frequently organized by religious institution dominated by the leadership more concerning about the non-religious issues.

In addition to the internal structure of religious institution, cultural theorists strongly suggest that collective action organized by religious institution should be understood in the broader social environment because religious communities in general have an organic quality, a communal and moral dimension that binds people to one another and creates close dependencies between them and their environment(e.g., Wuthnow 1988; Thomas 1989). In modern society, the state is a significant institution that not only defines the social environment(Wuthnow 1989) but also monopolizes many of the resources in the environment(Fulbrook 1983; Robbins 1985) through which the state affects to the large extent religious institution.

The state's increasingly active role in providing for public welfare, promoting economic growth, and supervising a greatly large set of civil

rights often results in interfering with the traditional activities of religious institutions, and producing an increasing number of political actions in these arenas(Robbins 1985). The expansion of the welfare state into a broader range of the regulatory and service functions often facilitates religious institutions to organize various types of non-religious actions based on moral or ethical interests. Thus, religious institution meets the density of state penetration into the particularly interesting arenas with organizing reactive social movements(Tilly 1978). From this political explanation, it is derived that state policy related to the arenas related to religious institutions motivates the religious institution to increase non-religious action.

THEORETICAL APPLICATION TO PROTESTANT CHURCH IN COLONIAL KOREA

Beginning in 1885, the Protestant Christianity was introduced in Korea by the fundamentalist missionaries with conservative theology from West(Palmer 1967; D. Lee 1988; B. Yoo 1988; Cho 1990). The conservative missionaries' ecclesiastical influence in the early several decades made the conservative theology deeply rooted in Korean Church. However, a few scholars specialized in Korean theology point out the existence of multiple theologies, which are mainly reflected in different denominations.

For example, D. Yoo(1982), in his historical study of Korean theology, introduces three different theologies such as Conservative

fundamental theology of Yaesu'kyo Jangro'hoe(Presbyterian Church of Korea), Progressive Social-participation theology of Kidok'kyo Jangro'hoe(Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea) and Cultural liberal theology of Kamlee'kyo(Methodist Church of Korea).¹⁾ Focusing on the Presbyterian and the Methodist churches' theologies on nation-building, it he argued that the Presbyterian church developed apolitical policy and religious reaction to the nation's difficulty due to the theology based on God's absolute sovereignty and inerrability of the Bible. In contrast, the Methodist church pursued the salvation of Korean culture as a whole through the connection of Christian truth to national, cultural tradition, resulting from the theological movement of nativizing Christianity.

This theological effect along the line of denominational background on the church's involvement in non-religious action has been suggested and studied by scholars(e.g., M.Y. Yi 1984 1986; Kyun 1990). Particularly, comparative studies of the Presbyterian and the Methodist churches found that the Presbyterian church was less frequently involved in non-religious activism than the Methodist church because of the former's more conservative theology from the beginning of the denominational mission history in Korea throughout the colonial period. In related research I was able to document the Presbyterian church's conservative theology toward society through content analysis of the moderator's keynote speech in the annual meeting of General Assembly

1) His argument was built upon his content analysis of theological journals including denominational and independent publications, focusing the works of selected theologians representing denominational theologies such as Chi-Ho Yoon, Jae-Hun Choi, Sun-Ju Kil, Chang-Gun Song, Ju-Sam Yang, Hyung-Yong Park, Jae-Ryung Kim and Kyung-Oak Jung.

of the Korean Presbyterian Church(1912~1942). All the speeches were on themes such as “other worldly” and faithful relationship of individual believers with God and other people. None were on the political organization of goals.

From the literature, it is inferred that the Protestant theology in Korea developed along the line of the denominational churches, and the theological difference is well represented by the denominational difference. Of course, denominational differences include much more than theological differences. Thus, the denominational difference is not a good measurement for the theological difference. Yet, since this study is interested in general characteristics of the denominational theology regarding the conservativeness or liberalness in the nation-building rather than the detail content of it, denominational difference or background should be appropriate for this study. Thus, I focus on more general concept of the denominational effect on the church's involvement in non-religious action with extended interpretation to the denominational theology. Here, it is hypothesized that *the Presbyterian church has negative effect on the frequency of non-religious action, compared to the Methodist church.*

In addition to the denominational effect, the leadership structure of Korean Church has been viewed as another important factor for the development of the church's non-religious action among the scholars (e.g., Wells 1990; Cho 1990). Studies of the leadership structure of Korean Church commonly point out that church leadership was divided into two factions, the missionaries and the Korean leaders. They differed in their interests in nation-building. The missionaries were more

interested in evangelizing Korea, and they tried to limit the church's activities to the religious arena(Cho 1990). In the early years, their effort was built into the "Rules about relations between the church and the government" adopted by the Council of Presbyterian Mission in 1901. In contrast, the Korean leaders felt it necessary for the church to be actively involved in Korea's independence from Japan. Their efforts were manifested in the heavy involvement of the church in the March First Movement of 1919 - a massive wave of political activism for independence from Japan(S.T. Kim 1989).

Since the March First Movement, the conflict between missionaries and Koreans within the church intensified. The official concern of missionaries about the March First Movement was the deprivation of the human rights of Koreans by the Japanese, not about Korea's independence(G. Song 1976). The missionaries' indifference to independence became a main cause of the division (Cho 1990). During the whole decade of 1920s, this conflict was exacerbated by missionaries' cooperative relationship with the Japanese colonial government after 1919 and by racial issues(Welch 1920; S.J. Yi 1923).

The conflict between missionaries and Korean in the church was a major force moving the church toward native autonomy. Since 1919, the power balance between the two groups began to shift from missionaries to Koreans. For example, the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church in September 1919 decided that the missionaries were restricted to the right of speech in the meeting, and their right to vote was taken away(Rhodes 1934).

The trend toward the native autonomy was also manifested in the

Methodist Church, when the Methodist Episcopal Church of USA and the Southern Episcopal Church of USA in Korea were merged into the Korean Methodist Church in 1930(Sauer 1968). Although the official position of the unified Korean Methodist Church had the dual aspect of the Korean's autonomy and the missionary's financial support, the organization indicates the historical progress of the Methodist church toward native autonomy.²⁾

Thus, it is expected that this leadership transformation toward native autonomy may facilitate the church's active involvement in more extended non- religious issues. There has been no systematic studies of the relationship between native autonomy and the non-religious action, on which this proposition can be surely constructed. However, considering different views and strategies for nation-building by the missionary and the Korean groups of church leaders, it can be hypothesized that *greater native autonomy increases the church's non-religious action*.

Lastly, studies of collective action of the church in colonial Korea also suggest that the colonial policy be an important contributing factor to non-religious action of the Korean church. Han's(1987) historical study of Christian publications in colonial Korea attributed the increasing number of publications to the Japanese "Cultural Policy". It is interpreted that the church's cultural action was a reaction to Japan's effort to integrate Korean culture into Japanese culture. The cultural/moral arena was the only channel in the stateless nation through which

2) The Central Council of the Korean Methodist Church, which were consisted of 10 missionaries and 9 Koreans, was created in 1931 for governing the financial administration of the newly unified Korea Methodist Church.

the church could contribute to nation- building. The government's interference in this arena created conflict or competition between the two institutions, resulting in the church's increasing collective action in this arena.

The state policy's facilitating effect is also found in the economic arena. J. Shin(1987) documents a number of tax boycotts organized by the Christian community in 1909-1910 and analyzes the economic action as a reactive action to the government's aggressive economic policy. S. G. Kim(1986), in his historical overview of Christianity's Rural Movement in 1920s and 1930s, points out that the rural movement activism in Christian community was a reactionary movement to the long-term rural exploitation policies such as the "Land Survey and Reform" in 1910~1919 and the "Rice Output Expansion Plans" in 1920s.

However, considering both the church's conservative position to political and economic issues throughout the colonial period, resulting from the official effort for avoiding the conflict with the state in such highly politicized sectors, and the church's available values and strategies in the cultural/religious arena, it is more reasonable to expect that the church might organize more the reactive action to the state policy targeting the cultural/religious arena than to the state policy targeting the political/economic arena. From this reasoning, it is carefully hypothesized that *the state policy targeting the cultural/religious arena increase more the church's non-religious action than the state policy targeting the political/economic arena do.*

INDICATORS

Non-religious action of the church is defined as a non-routine non-religious effort organized by the church or denominational entity, by word or deed. By the church or denominational entity, I include a congregation(a church), a group of churches, synod/district(circuit), General Assembly/Conference, and a para-church. Because of limited resources, this study covers only church actors that are affiliated with two most influential denominations, the Presbyterian church of Korea and the Methodist Church of Korea.³⁾

By the non-religious effort, I means the collective actions with political, economic, and cultural goals, which are other than religious goal(see Appendix 1 for the detailed categories). This conceptualization includes gatherings(strikes, demonstrations, marches, and art/music exhibitions), external policy mainly against the government(negotiations and petitions), and publicizing efforts(delivering oral statements, distributing written statements, campaigns, movements and relief works). Among these actions, only non-routine actions are included in the sample. Thus, bureaucratically prescheduled routine actions such as regularly organized rural campaigns and seasonal events of exhibitions or relief works are excluded.

The minutes of national organizations are the best data sources for the church's non-religious action defined by this study. For the

3) Before 1930, there were two independent denominations of Methodist in Korea: one was operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church of the USA and the other was owned by the Southern Methodist Episcopal church of the USA.

Presbyterian Church, the *Minutes of Presbytery of Korea*(1907~1911) and the *Minutes of Korean Presbyterian Church*(1912~1942) are used. For the Methodist Church, the *Minutes of Korean Methodist Church* (1931~1939) is used. For the period preceding the creation of the unified Methodist Church, I use the minutes of the Methodist church of Korea owned by the Methodist Episcopal church of the USA(1894~1930) and the Methodist Church of Korea owned by the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church of the USA (1897~1930).

From the church minutes, I collected the non-religious actions and the occurrence years are collected, and then transformed them into time-series data of annual frequency of non-religious action(see Figure 1) Because of the termination of the Korean Church in the last decade of the colonial period, the minutes exist until 1942, and the time-series data is collected for 1910~1942.

Denominational Background is measured as a dichonomous variable since this study limits the population to the non-religious action organized by either the Presbyterian or the Methodist churches. Thus, the denominational background is coded either one or the other. The data sources are the church minutes, and the data is collected simultaneously with the data for the non- religious action.

Native autonomy of the church leadership is measured by the percentage of Koreans in the central organizations of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. The reason that the figure of committee members is selected for measuring the leadership structure is that most of collective actions reported in the church minutes are planned at the committee level, even though most of the actions are carried out by

other church actors such as local churches or synod/district. The number of Koreans and the total number of committee members are measured by the number of positions rather than by the number of people because the same person was often found to be on more than one committees in a year and the one person's leadership influence is better represented by the number of positions.

Due to the differences in the availability of data for the two denominational churches, the national percentage of Korean committee members was calculated differently for different periods. For 1907~1939, it was calculated from the data of both denominations, but for 1885~1906, it was calculated from the data of the Methodist Church only, and for 1940~1942, it was from the data of the Presbyterian Church only. Because the national percentage was composed of a different number of denominations over time, I standardize it by first calculating the annual percentage for each denomination, and then dividing a summed figure of denominational percentage for a year by the number of the participated denominations. Figure 2 shows the annual percentage of Korean committee members in the Korean Church during the 1910~1942. The sources are the same church minutes of the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches used for the data of non-religious action.

State policy of the Japanese colonial government is measured by legislative action. The content of state policy is well represented in the goals of legislative action because the Government-General incorporated both judicial and administrative power into its own jurisdiction (Baker 1977). It is evidenced by the legislative power that the Governor-General

in Korea had to issue Seirei and Furei.⁴⁾

For legislative action, only actions of the colonial central government (the government-general and departments in the central government) or the Japanese Government(the Japanese Emperor) that influenced all Koreans were included. The legislative action encompassed 1) the promulgation of a new law or regulation, that is, "promulgating", "issuing", and "enacting", 2) the revision of an old law or regulation, that is, "revising", "adjusting", "amending", and "modifying", 3) the abolishment of an old law or regulation, and 4) diplomatic agreement and protocol between Korea and other nations before 1910.

The governor-general's instructions to provincial governors were excluded from the sample of legislative action. This is because instructions only represent suggestions that do not necessarily involve legislative actions. The provincial governor's laws or ordinances and the Imperial Household Order were also excluded from the sample.

Legislative action was coded according to goals. The goals are categorized into four general types - political, economic, cultural and religious goals. According to substance interest of the study, the four general types are categorized into two different groups - political/economic and cultural/ religious. The number of types of policies are included as two separate variables in the analysis. The coding categories

4) Seirei were decrees which the Governor-General in Korea only was empowered to issue in order to regulate matters requiring the enactment of a law by Imperial Ordinance No. 324 which was promulgated in 1910(Chen 1970). The seirei carried the same effect as laws of Japan. Furei were the laws that the Governor-General in Korea could issue of a purely executive nature and was often used to regulate minor affairs in the colony. The maximum criminal penalties for violation of furei were one year in prison or a 200-yen fine(Baker 1977)

reflect the categorization of legislative action provided by the data sources(see Appendix 2 for the detail coding categories).

Data on legislative action were collected from the *Annual Report of Reforms and Progress in Korea*(1906~1923) and the *Annual Report of Administration of Chosen*(1924~1938), which were published by the colonial government of Korea. The data are collected for 1910-1938 of the colonial period. The data available from these sources are not exhaustive, but include the important laws and regulations enacted or revised in a particular fiscal year. The annual frequencies of the political/ economic legislation and the cultural/religious legislation are shown in Figure 3.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

This research assesses if the three independent variables such as the denominational background, the native autonomous leadership and the state policy explain the variation in the frequency of non-religious action organized by either the Presbyterian Church or the Methodist Church in colonial Korea during 1910~1938, has effects on collective action. Relating to the dependent variable, the main interest is in explaining the change in the annual frequency over the period at the national level. However, the denominational background cannot be measured in the yearly figure. Thus, I developed two separate models: one for the denominational effect and the other for the native autonomy and the state policy effects. The first model deals with the data collected at the

unit of action, while the second model with the data collected at the unit of year. Due to the distinct natures, I adopt different methods for each model. The denominational model that uses action as its unit takes ordinary regression analysis and the national model with years as its unit takes time-series regression analysis. The national time-series model does not violate the Ordinary Least Square assumptions according to the residual analysis, and the OLS estimation should be appropriate for it.⁵⁾

DENOMINATIONAL EFFECT

Table 1 provides OLS regression coefficients of denomination on non-religious action. There is significant negative effect(-.17) of the Presbyterian church compared to the Methodist church on the emergence of non-religious action. This finding supports the hypothesis predicting that the Presbyterian church is less likely to organize the non-religious action than the Methodist church. According to the literature, the denominational difference in the involvement in the non-religious action seems to be attributed by the theological difference in the church's role in nation-building. Based on it, it is interpreted that the Presbyterian Church has the conservative fundamentalist theology with a strong "otherworldly" view, and the church takes more apolitical approach to

5) Using the equation (N=29) including the annual frequency of non-religious action, the native autonomy and the state policy measurements, the Durbin-Watson test statistic value(1.19) lies between dl(.98) and dU(1.41), and it is interpreted by zero autocorrelation on the side of conservatism. The plots of autocorrelation functions and partial autocorrelation functions of the dependent variable also support the conclusion.

the nation-building, resulting less non-religious action than the Methodist Church with more liberal theology concerning about the Korean culture. However, since it is unknown how much denominational effects represents theological effects, this interpretation must remain tentative pending studies with more precise measurement of the denominational theology.

EFFECTS OF NATIVE AUTONOMY AND STATE POLICY

The next issue is to see if the changes in the leading group's preference through the leadership shift toward Korean dominance made differences in the Korean church's involvement in non-religious mode of nation-building.

Table 2 shows that the native autonomy is a good predictor of non-religious action with the moderately significant beta(.49; $p < .10$). It is interpreted that the leadership shift from the missionary with religious approach to the church's role in nation-building to the Korean with activist strategy for the nation-building really provided a better infrastructure on which the Korean church was able to involve more frequently in the non-religious mode of nation-building. Thus, this finding supports the hypothesis stating that the greater native autonomy facilitates the church to more frequently organize the non-religious action.

Regarding the effect of state policy, although the betas of both policy measurements are small and non-significant, comparison of the values

shows that cultural/religious policy has greater effect on the non-religious action than political/economic policy does. In other word, the Korean church organized more the reactive movement to the state's cultural or religious policy than to the political or economic policy. This discriminate reaction of the church to the state policy is explained by the Korean church's different level of interests in non-religious arena. The church's main concern was directed to the cultural and religious arenas of Korean society such as education and religious propagation which were important means for keeping the national identity alive. Thus, as the colonial government gradually penetrated into the cultural and religious arenas, the church tended to increase the non-religious action than when the state policy solely targeted the political and economic arenas.

In addition to the church's cultural and religious interest, it is undeniable that the Korean church continued to remain conservative. Content analysis of the Presbyterian church moderator's keynote speech demonstrates that the conservative theme continued even after 1919 when the church began to move toward the native autonomy(K. Shin, 1991). Thus, the Korean church's more sensitive reaction to the cultural/religious policy than the policultural/economic policy is understood in the church's avoidance of political involvement due to its conservativeness.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study explored several potential conditions that might make religious institution involved in the non-religious mode of nation-building through the case study of the Protestant Church's non-religious action in colonial Korea. Comparison between the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches in the frequency of the non-religious action shows the significant effect of denominational background on non-religious action. This denominational effect is interpreted to be possibly caused by the theological differences between the two churches.

At the national level, analyses of the effect of native autonomy and state policy provided interesting findings, too. First, greater Korean leadership compared to the missionary leadership within the central denominational organization increased the church's non-religious action. I interpreted it as meaning that, while still somewhat conservative, the Korean leaders adopted greater activism legitimizing non-religious interest and strategy in the church.

Compared to the effect of native autonomy, state policy does not affect much the non-religious action overall. But, I find that the cultural/religious policy effects are somewhat greater than the political/economic policy does. I interpreted this as a result of the church's greater interest in the cultural/religious arena and of the church's deeply rooted political conservativeness.

The results also provides me with two important implications for the study of religious institution's non-religious mode of nation-building. First, it is important to include internal organizational factors such as the leadership structure in this study. It is also found true for the radicalization of the Brazilian Church (Neuhouser 1989). However, the

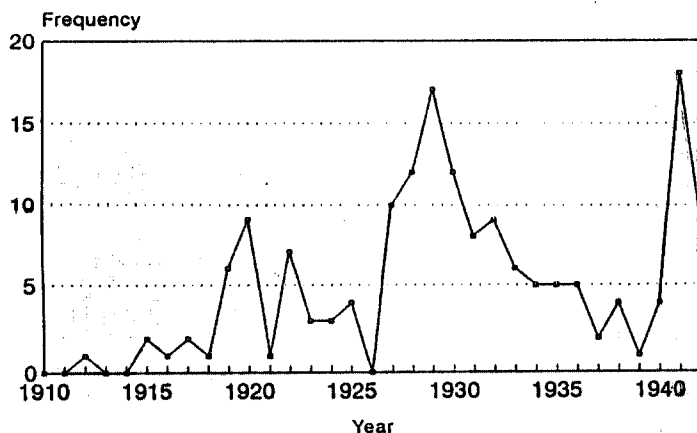
internal organizational change does not seem a necessary condition for the non-religious action of the religious institution because differing from the effect on the Brazilian Church, the change in the Korean Church did not transform the church into radical nature but the church rather remained conservative throughout the colonial period.

Then, what made the effect of the internal change different in the Korean Church from the Brazilian Church? I find a potential answer at the institutional influence of the progressive leaders on the church. Like the CNBB representing the progressive groups in the Brazilian Church, there existed many institutions established by the progressive church leaders in Korea - YMCA, Shingan'hoe, Gunwoo'hoe, Suyang'dong woo'hoe, and Hungyub'gurak'bu. However, compared to the CNBB's impact on the Brazilian Church, the Korean institutions' effect on the national church was very little because the progressive church leaders and their organizations in Korea were often alienated from the institutional church, and they have never been able to institutionalize their position within the church. For example, in the 1920s when the Korean Church began to shift from the missionary dominant to the native dominant, the progressive leader Manjip Yi and his followers' Jachi Kyohoe(Autonomous Church) were labelled as heretics and were expelled from the church due to the progressive approach to the nation-building (N. S. Kim 1985).

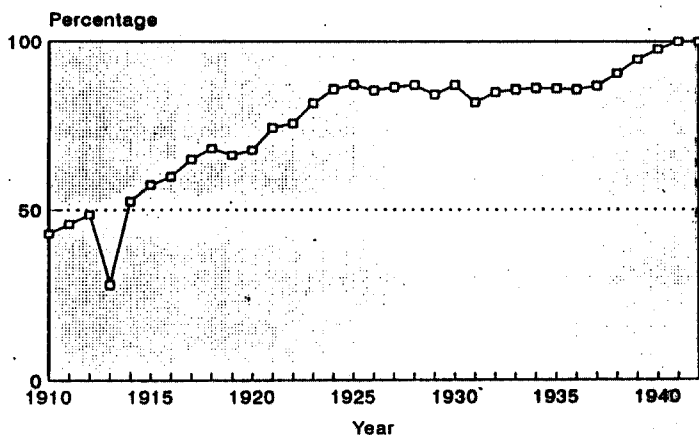
Due to the lack of institutional influence of the progressive leaders on the Korean Church, the leadership change toward native autonomy alone could not make the progressive leaders bypass conservative leaders, resulting in the continuity of the conservative nature in the

Korean Church. It gives us a perspective to why the Korean Church reacted selectively to the state cultural/ religious policy rather than to the political/economic policy, even under native leadership.

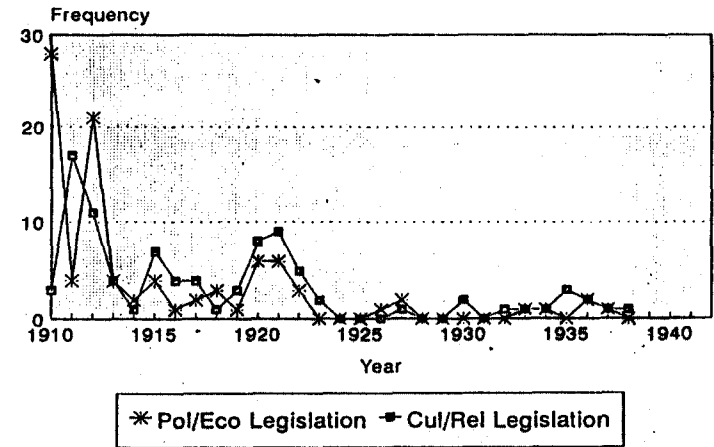
The Korean Church's selective reaction to the types of state policy provides another interesting notion that the religious institution's reactive action to the state policy is more complicated than the state's determining impact on religious group's action, which the state-centered theorists often assume. Although the religion's reactive actions is conditioned by the state policy through which the state influences the distribution of the resources upon which religion is dependent, the subjects to which religion reacts in the state policy tend to be determined by the religious institution's values or interests.



<Figure 1> Non-Religious Action of Korean Church, 1910-1942



<Figure 2> Percentage of Koreans to Total Committee Members in Korean Church, 1910-1942



<Figure 3> Frequency of the Political/Economic and the Cultural/ Religious Legislations, 1910~1938.

<Table 1> Effect of Denominational Theology on the Non-Religious Action, 1910-1938.

| | Non-Religious Action | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--------|-------|
| | B | b | Corr. |
| Denominational Theology | -.17 | -.29** | -.17 |
| (Presbyterian=1) | .03 | | |
| R2 | .167 | | |
| N | | | |

* P < .1; ** P < .05

<Table 2> Effects of Native Autonomy and State Policy on the Annual Frequency of Non-Religious Action(1910~1938)

| | Annual Frequency of Non-Religious Action | |
|-----------------|--|------|
| | B | b |
| Native Autonomy | .49 | .13* |
| Cul/rel Policy | .10 | .10 |
| Pol/eco Policy | -.21 | -.07 |
| R ² | .36 | |
| N | 29 | |

* p < .1; ** p < .05.

<Table 3> Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Variables used in Regression equation of Table 2

| | Frequency of Non-Rel Action | Native Autonomy | Cul/rel Policy | Pol/eco Policy |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Native Autonomy | .59** | | | |
| Cul/rel Policy | -.34 | -.64** | | |
| Pol/eco Policy | -.52 | -.75** | .63** | |
| Means | 4.48 | 73.94 | 3.17 | 10.00 |
| Stand. Dev. | 3.95 | 15.25 | 3.93 | 11.88 |
| N=29 | | | | |

* p < .01; ** p < .001

Appendix 1. Categories of Non-Religious Action

A. Political Goals

1. Government laws, policies, and administration
2. Supporting national defense and military forces : draft, war victory
3. Korean independence
4. War and peace
5. Prisoners
6. National commemoration
7. Korean immigrants in foreign countries
8. Political protection over the Christian population or institution
9. Membership rights

B. Economic Goals

1. Economic development of rural communities/ churches
2. Generating modern labor forces: teaching new techniques

C. Cultural Goals

1. Education/ school policies, administration and facilities
2. Temperance
3. Relief
4. Women and children
5. Public health: hospital staff training
6. Modern values: Scientific thoughts
7. Promoting War-time spirit
8. Membership promotion and training

Appendix 2. Categories of Legislative Action

A. Political Goals

1. Central Administration: Organization, Personnel, Diplomatic, Internal Management(documentation/ accounts), Budget, Military, Taxation
2. Local Administration: Organization, Personnel(pension), Municipalities, Budget
3. Justice: Law Courts, Barristers, Prison/ Punishment/ Amnesty, Registration/ Residences/ Foreign Settlement
4. Police: Peace and Order
5. Imperial House: Donations/Charity, Properties

B. Economic Sector

1. Finance: State Property, Government Monopoly, Banking, Currency
2. Industry: Agriculture, Sericulture, Stock-farming, Forestry, Fishery, Mining, Manufacture
3. Land/Building: Mortgage/ Certification
4. Civil Engineering: Road/Street/Railways, Harbors/River, Water-works, Public buildings
5. Trade/ Commerce: Official Organization, Customs, Light-houses, Weight-Measurements/ Patents, Companies/ Corporations/ Shops, Quality Control, Controlling illegal trade / commerce
6. Labor
7. Rural Development: Peasants
8. Transportation: Occupations related to Transportation

C. Cultural Sector

1. Education : School Administration, Private Schools, Students/ Teachers,
Text Books, Public Education: Exhibitions
2. Public Health, Hospitals, Sanitary administration/ Facilities, Medical Professionals/ Training, Patients, Drugs/ Medical Practices, Opium/ Narcotics/ Druggist Control, Other Sanitation
3. Social Work/ Charity, Welfare (excluding the program for government officials), Relief
4. Families/ marriages
5. Communication/ Transportation : Press, Publications, Writing Professionals
6. Traditions
7. Groups/ Associations
8. Leisure/ Sports
9. Crime Control

D. Religious Goals

1. Religious propagation/ teaching
2. Promoting Shintoism

Bibliography

- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 1983.
- Baker, Edward J., "The Role of Legal Reforms in the Japanese Annexation", 1977, pp. 17~42, in *Studies on Korea in Transition*, edited by David R. McCann, John Middleton, and

- Edward J. Shultz, Center for Korean Studies. Occasional Papers No. 9, Honolulu, Hawaii, University of Hawaii.
- Berger, Peter, *The Sacred Canopy*, Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1969.
- Chen, I-te, *Japanese Colonialism in Korea and Formosa: A Comparison of Its Effects Upon the Development of Nationalism*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1970.
- Cho, Youngrul, "Jaehan Sunkyosa-wa Hanguk Tongnip Undong", Missionary and Korea Independence Movement, Hanguk Kyodokkyosa Yongu 29, 1977, pp. 4~12.
- Chosen Sotokufu, *Annual Report of Reform and Progress in Korea*, Government-General of Korea, 1908~1923.
- , *Annual Report of Administration of Korea*, 1924~1938.
- Collins, R., *Sociological Insight*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Etzioni, Amitai, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organization*, New York, The Free Press, 1961.
- Fields, Karen E., *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa*, Princeton, N.Y., Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Foroohar, Manzar, "Liberation Theology: The Response of Latin American Catholics to Socio-Economic Problems" *Latin American Perspectives* 13, 1986, pp. 37~57.
- Fulbrook, Mary, *Piety and Politics: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Wurtemberg and Prussia*, Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Gutierrez, Gustavo, *A Theology of Liberation*, Trans. Sister Caridad Inda

- and John Eagleson. Maryknoll, N.Y., Orbis Books, 1973.
- Hammond, John L. 1974. "Revival Religion and Antislavery Politics"
American Sociological Review 39, 1974, pp. 175~186.
- Han, Youngjae, *Hanguk Kidokkyo Jungki Kanhangmul 100nun*(100-year
of Christian Periodicals in Korea), Seoul, Kidokkyomunsa,
1987.
- Hinings, C. R. and B. D. Foster, "The Organization Structure of
Churches: A Preliminary Model", *Sociology* 7, 1973, pp.
93~105.
- Kidokkyo Chosun Kamleekyohoe(Methodist Church in Korea), *Dongbu,
Jungbu, and Shubu Yonhap Yonhoe Hoeuirok*(Minutes of East,
Central, and West Annual Conference), 1931~1932, 1939, and
1941.
- , *Jungbu Yonhoe Hoeuirok*, Minutes of Central Annual
Conference, 1933~1934 & 1937.
- , *Shubu Yonhoe Hoeuirok*(Minutes of West Annual Conference),
1934 & 1937.
- , *Dongbu Yonhoe Hoeuirok*(Minutes of East Annual
Conference), 1937.
- Kim, Nam-Sik, "Ban'kyokyun Sojong'pa Undongdul'(Anti - church
Sectarian Movement), *Shinhak Jeenam* 207, 1985, pp. 70~81.
- Kim, Sung-Gum, "Nongshon Gaemong Undong'kwa Kidok'kyo"(Rural
Enlightenment Movement and Christianity), *Hanguk
Kidokkyo'sa*, 18-21, 1986.
- Kim, Syung-Tae, "Jongkyoyin'ui 3.1'undong Chamyu'wa Kidokkyo'ui
Yukhal"(Religious People's Participation in the March First

- Movement and Christianity's role) *Hanguk Kidokkysa Yongu* 25, 1989, pp. 17~24.
- Kyun, Jin-Kwan, "1920~1930nuntae Gubjinhui Sidae-e Yityusu-ui Minjung-kwa Kyohoe"(People and Church in the Radical Period of 1920s-1930s), *Kidokkyo Sasang* 383, 1990, pp. 106-121.
- Lee, Daniel Soonjung, "A Historical Study of the National Evangelical Movement of Korea", Ph.D. Diss. Fuller Theological Seminary, 1988.
- Lermoux, Penny, *Cry of the People*, New York, Penguin, 1982.
- Lincoln, Bruce, *Religion, Rebellion, and Revolution*, Hampshire, Macmillan Press, 1985.
- McNamara, P. H., "Priests, Protests, and Poverty Intervention", *Social Science Quarterly* 50, 1969, pp. 695~702.
- Methodist Episcopal Church, Official Minutes of the Korea Mission, 1893~1904.
- , Minutes of the Korea Mission Conference, 1905~1908.
- , Minutes of the Korea Annual Conference, 1908~1930.
- Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Minutes of the Korea Mission, 1897~1912.
- , Minutes of the Korea Annual Conference, 1926~1930.
- Miller, Jon., "Missions, Social Change, and Resistance to Authority: Notes toward an Understanding of the Relative Autonomy of Religion", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 32:1, 1993, pp. 29~50.
- Morris, Aldon, "Black Southern Student Sit-in Movement: An Analysis

- of Internal Organization", *American Sociological Review* 46, 1981, pp. 744~767.
- Mutchler, David, *The Church as a Political Factor in Latin America*, New York: Praeger, 1971.
- Nelson, H. M. et al., "Ministerial Roles and Social Actionist Stance: Protestant Clergy and Protest in the Sixties", *American Sociological Review* 38, 1973, pp. 375~386.
- Neuhouser, Kevin, "The Radicalization of the Brazilian Catholic Church in Comparative Perspective", *American Sociological Review* 54, 1989, pp. 233~244.
- Palmer, Spenser J., *Korea and Christianity*, Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1967.
- Rhodes, Harry A., *History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church USA: 1884~1934*. Vol. 1. Seoul, Chosun Mission of the Presbyterian Church USA, 1934.
- Robbins, Thomas, "Government Regulatory Powers and Church Autonomy: Deviant Groups as Test Cases", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 24, 1985, pp. 237~252.
- Sauer, C. A., *Methodists in Korea - the Autonomous Years 1930~1958*, Seoul, Suhmun, 1968.
- Shin, Ki-Young, "Content Analysis on the Keynote Speech of Moderators in Korean Presbyterian Church, 1912-1942", Unpublished research paper. Tempe, Arizona, Sociology Department, Arizona State University, 1991.
- Song, Gil Sop, "American Protestant Missionary Perceptions of the Korean Independence Movement of 1919 and Its Effects on the

- Churches of Korea", Th.D Diss. Boston University, 1976.
- Stewart, James H., "Values, Interests, and Organizational Change: The National Federation of Priests' Councils", *Sociological Analysis* 34:4., 1973, pp. 281-295.
- Taehan Yaesukyo Changrohoe Rohoe(Presbytery of Presbyterian Church in Korea), *Rohoe Hoeuirok*(Minutes of the Presbytery), 1907~1911.
- Takayama, K. P. 1975. "Formal Polity and Change of Structure: Denominational Assemblies", *Sociological Analysis* 36:1., 1975, pp. 17~28.
- Thomas, M. George, *Revivalism and Cultural Change*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Tilly, Charles, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Mass., Addison - Wesley, 1978.
- von der Mehden, Fred R., *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963.
- Walzer, Michael, *The Revolution of the Saints*, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Welch, Herbert, "The Missionaries' Attitude Towards the Government in the Present Crisis", *Korean Mission Field*, Mar. 1920, pp. 56~58.
- Wells, Kenneth M., *New God, New Nation*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1990.
- Westhues, Kenneth. 1976. "The Church in Opposition", *Sociological Analysis* 37:4, 1976, pp. 299~314.
- , "The Established Church as an Agent of Social Change",

- Sociological Analysis* 34, 1973, pp. 106~123.
- Winter, G., *Religious Identity*, New York, Macmillan, 1968.
- Wuthnow, Robert, "Towns, Regimes, and Religious Movements in the Reformation", in *Geographic Perspectives in History*, edited by Eugene Genovese and Leonard Hochberg. London, Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp. 34~56.
- , *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- , "The Political Rebirth of American Evangelicals" in *The New Christian Right: Mobilization and Legitimation*, edited by Robert C. Liebman and Robert Wuthnow. New York, Aldine, 1983, pp. 168~185.
- Yaesukyo Changrohoe Chosun Chonghoe (General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Korea), *Chonghoe Hoeuirok*(Minutes of the General Assembly), 1912~1942.
- Yi, Man-Yul, "Hanguk Kidokkyo Sahoe Undong"(Christian Social Movement in Korea), *Kidokkyo Sasang* 29, 1984, pp. 149~163.
- , "Hanmal Kidok Kyoyin-ui Minjok Uisik Hyungsung Kwajong" [The Formation of Christian's Nationalistic Consciousness in the Late Chosun Dynasty], in *Hanguk Kidokkyo-wa Minjok Undong* [Korean Christianity and Nationalistic Movement], edited by Man-Yul Yi. Seoul, Bosung, 1986, pp. 11~74.
- Yi, Sang-Jai, "What I would do if I were a Young Missionary", *Korea Mission Field*(December 19), 1987, p. 258.
- Yoo, Bong-Woo, "Korean Pentecostalism: its History and Theology",

Th.D. Diss. Fuller Theological Seminary, 1988.

Yoo, Dong-Sik, Hanguk Shinhak'ui Gwang'mak(Vein of Theology in Korea) Seoul, Gaemon'sa, 1982.

Zald, Mayer N. and John D. McCarthy, *Social Movements in an organizational Society*, New Brunswick and London, Transaction Publishers, 1987.



■ 신기영 ■

1961년 부산에서 태어나 성균관대학에서 사회학과 전공, 미국 아리조나 주립대학원에서 종교사회학으로 박사학위 취득, 현 학교법인인 복음학원 사무국장, '도서출판 동학' 대표, 저서 「본향을 소망하신 나그네」, 「한국 기독교 민족주의, 1885-1945」(1995) 등이 있음.