

Title: The Role of Patron as Father in Church Planting Efforts in Cambodia.

By: Robert Oh

Email: Oikosbishop@mac.com

For: The Patronage Symposium, Exploring the Gospel in Patron-Client Contexts

Date: October 3-5, 2018

1.1 Introduction

This paper is a portion of my PhD thesis. The primary research question of my thesis is: ‘How does the patron-client dynamic between Korean missionaries and Cambodian church planters offer an alternative understanding of aid dependency within the discourse of mission studies?’ While the patron-client relationship has been a popular concept in social anthropology studies, its value and effects have not been sufficiently explored within mission studies; specifically the issue of aid dependency particularly between Korean missionaries and Cambodian church planters has not been the subject of focused research. The key effects of patron-client dynamics are explored in this thesis through a case study methodology, examining the Cambodia Bible College¹ (CBC) church-planting projects in Cambodia.

Qualitative data was collected primarily through semi-structured interviews and participatory focused group discussions with the CBC founder and CBC church-planting pastors. From initial research data, the aid dependency issue – both healthy and unhealthy – was identified as one of the major effects in patron-client dynamics. In the CBC church-planting process, the findings show that the patron takes on three unique diachronic and progressive roles: first, the patron as a father; second, the patron as a sponsor, and third, the patron as a partner. Similarly, a client also takes on three roles:

¹ All the names are pseudonym to protect their identity requested by the research participants.

first, the client as a child; second, the client as sponsoree (client), and third, the client as a partner.

Although social studies currently express the patron-client dynamics primarily in material and political terms, in the case between the founder and the CBC pastors, intangible relational assets, i.e. ‘the patron as a father’, were observed. This paper argues that ‘the patron father’, plays a significant role in developing CBC pastors as church planters, helps them access the necessary resources to establish their churches at the initial stages, and offers an alternative reading of aid dependency as a relational concept rather than an economic one.

1.2 Patron as Father, *Banmal* and *Jondaenmal*, and *Gap* & *Eul*

The data from my interviewing the CBC church planters point to three different types of roles that Ted as the founder of CBC and the CBC pastors played. In this paper, I will discuss Ted’s playing the role of a father both with patron-client relationship literature and data – asymmetrical relationship, personal and enduring aspect, and resource base - and how these played out in the CBC context and underscored dependency. Then by using Korean *Banmal*² (반말) and *Jondaenmal* (존댓말), and Korean honorifics, I argue that the Korean hierarchical *Gap* (갑, 甲) & *Eul* (을, 乙) exists in the relationship between Ted and the CBC pastors, with Ted as the potential *Gap-jil*. The roles they play are complex, dynamic, and transitional. Both benefits and negative effects of the patron playing the father role are presented, highlighting the aid

² Korean to English converter was used in converting all Korean terms to English, developed by Sangeok Lee of Seoul National University and Information Technology Department of Busan University. <http://tinyurl.com/hhd73za>, accessed on 8 Feb. 2016.

dependency issue as the primary effect. I will discuss both healthy and unhealthy dependency aspects and also suggest that Ted's role had to transition from a patron as a father to a FOB to meet the demand of the growth and organizational changes of CBC students who transitioned from client to partners.

1.3 Ted as Patron Father

Ted playing a father's role was accepted, especially during the mission-house stage, and somewhat welcomed by overall CBC students (Int. 89, 94), but the hierarchical aspect of a patron-client relationship is negatively viewed by many scholars, both Cambodian and Western. For example, Sok Hach, a Cambodian scholar, defines the patron-client relationship of Cambodia as "a form of hierarchical, social relationships in which no one is considered equal to anyone else. They are all ranked by a combination of variables, including – but not limited to – age, sex, wealth, political position, and religious piety" (2005: 3).³ His emphasis and disapproval of the inequality reflected in the social ranking system indicated his position on patron-client dynamics in Cambodia. Ledgerwood also agrees that there is no equality in the Cambodian hierarchical social ranking, outside the family. Therefore, it is invariably determined by age, wealth, political position, religious piety, and gender (2002).

Similarly, according to another Cambodian scholar, Bit, in the Cambodian social context, "the support of both patrons and clients towards one another are seen by both sides as 'inherent obligations', and both parties try to maintain the social order in which the power-based relationship prevails" (1991: 22). He argues that the patron-client

³ Sok Hach is the President and the Founder of the Economic Institute of Cambodia (EIC). Since 2003, EIC has been developing research projects and yearly publications.

relationship is based on ‘power’, citing that the patron is the one with power and who has the upper hand. But not all power is inherently bad or unfair, as demonstrated between Ted and the CBC pastors.

In the case of the CBC, this hierarchical social ranking was observed not only between Ted and CBC pastors but also the CBC pastors among themselves based on the time of their entering the CBC and their age and gender, as indicated by scholars. However, the Cambodian pastors’ preference for hierarchical relationships between themselves and Ted was also observed (P74a, P74b, P79a, P82a, P89a, P89e, P94f). According to an American missionary in charge of Bible College in Phnom Penh, many of his Cambodian students felt uncomfortable when he approached them as a ‘friend’, and wanted to keep the social distance by calling him ‘teacher’ (Int. 86).

Ted himself is aware and accepts his role as a father when he wrote about the importance of a role of a father in mission in his book, *The Testimony Book*: “An elder from Korea gave him a testimony about how, in a dream, he heard the Holy Spirit in groaning say, ‘Can you be their father in place of me?’ So, he sold his medical clinic, against his family’s wish, and came to Cambodia and surveying for a ministry opportunity” (2013: 2). According to Ted, “Like the testimony of this elder, I realised that the Holy Spirit is grieved and in pain looking at my mission field and people whom I serve” (2013: 2), challenging him to become a father to his students. This attitude is reflected in interview sixty-seven, as Ted mentions his role as father and responsibility of a father eighteen times, stating that even the CBC church-planting plan was in part a way to provide employment for his graduating students - “When they graduate in three years, I had a plan for them to plant churches” (Int. 67, Macro; 1, 2). “At that time, they

were in their late twenties, as were my own children, so for me to expect them to be mature enough to be independent was not part of the plan” (Int. 67, Macro; 1, 10a).

Eisenstadt states that in the Southeast Asian context "there is an emphasis on reciprocity and mutually beneficial exchange rather than on personal commitment and personal significance as basic constitutive elements of clientelistic attachments” (1984: 122). However, in the CBC context, personal commitment is more emphasized at the first two stages. Then from the third stage, a mutually beneficial exchange is stressed. He also argues that in Buddhist settings, “There is ambivalence in attitudes towards authority – an ambivalence to be overcome only if superiors show merit, by being (however strong) benevolent and indulgent father-surrogates” (1984: 122). This is the case in CBC, as Ted plays a kind and indulgent father-surrogate to the first and the second stages of the CBC students.

1.4 *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal*, *Gap & Eul* and Honorific Issues

In this paper, I will discuss *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal* issues in detail regarding Ted’s playing the role of father to the CBC students. I will also examine how this observation led to identifying the Korean honorific usage to argue that *Gap & Eul* relationships exist between Ted and the CBC pastors as well as the possibility of *Gap-jil* taking place between them.

1.4.1 *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal* Issues in CBC

As I analysed interviews with Ted,⁴ I noticed that Ted used *banmal* in reference to his CBC students and ex-students. He used Korean terms like ‘*je-ne-deul*’ (재내들, those guys) or ‘*ye-ne-deul*’ (얘내들, these guys), which is impolite language, and if referring to pastors, the language would be insulting (Int. 81, Macro); he used the term 1 - *Banmal* - six times when referring to his Cambodian students). George Foster addresses the problem of patrons talking down to their clients, Mexican farmers, as unequal and calls it unacceptable behaviour. Foster also holds that patrons talk down to clients so that the “relative status of the two partners is never in doubt” (1963: 1284). However, I argue that, in case of Ted and the CBC pastors, Ted’s using *banmal* to refer to his students is appropriate. Harkness states that *banmal* is typically spoken to certain intimates or juniors (2010: 9), and makes the following observation about such language in Korea:

To Insu and other Korean speakers, the language they spoke seemed to code formally and thereby differentiated social relations at every turn. Korean’s elaborate system of deference and demeanor indexicality-sentence endings, honorific suffixes and infixes, various forms of address or avoidance, lexical substitutions, self-lowering first-person indexicals, and so on-formed a powerful linguistic emblem of South Korean society by crystallizing in its various forms the very qualities of normative social relations and the very tenets of normative social differentiation (2015: 4).

Similarly, Ted uses the term, *Ah-dul-Nuh-Suk* (아들녀석, my son) which is a self-lowering first-person indexical, referring to his sons, and that is the same term he uses when he refers to the CBC pastors. In that way, Ted compares the CBC pastors with his children using ‘*Banmal*’ – nuanced as a term of endearment. For example, when I am referring to my son to my older Korean friend, I would also use the self-lowering, first-person indexical, *Ah-dul-Nuh-Suk*, to indicate my intimacy with my older friend by using a less formal term with him.

⁴ Int. 1, 4, 17, 20, 25, 27, 34 and 35.

When Ted addresses his CBC students, especially the mission-house era students, as ‘kids’ – *Yae Nae Dul* - ‘these kids’ (2013 Macro; 1, 2), he uses the same term to describe his children, *Yae-Dul* – kids (2013 Macro; 1, 10a). Yet, in comparison, Ted states that the CBC pastors are more mature than his children: "Our kids are of same age of thirty, but financially having difficulties, but at least these guys (*Yae Nae Dul*) are married and have children and attempt to serve God by preaching the gospel in the remote countryside" (2013 Macro; 1, 10b). It seems that Ted has the heart of a father in comparing these two groups of CBC pastors and his children.

The term *banmal* also occurred in an interview with Hwang, a Korean missionary. Hwang (Int. 84, Macro; 3,1; 14a; 14b; 9) addresses his church-planting pastors as ‘my disciples’, but the nuance is clearly ‘parenting’, or he played the role of a father. For example, he adds that "(my disciple) tells me that he has been working with me for more than fifteen years, and he is reaching forty in age, so he should be able to do (or make decision) on such small things on his own." Hwang argues that because he has been with his disciple for more than twenty years, he feels he can treat him more informally, and this attitude is evident as he uses *banmal* seven times when referring to his disciples.

In an interview with S. Y. Lee, a Korean female missionary, I observed her usage of *Banmal* and the self-lowering first-person indexical, but in this case, she spoke as an older sister about her younger siblings (Int. 85, Macro; 1, 10). In the Korean context, an older sister of a woman is called *onni* (older sister), and as an *onni*, she can use *banmal* to other women younger than she. Harkness makes the following observation in Korea:

For example, one informant, a married man in his 30s, insisted that even if he was to call an older, grandfatherly man *hyongje-nim*, and follow with what has become the default sentence ending for

polite, respectful speech (-yo), all else remaining the same, he would nonetheless still feel compelled to use a self-lowering first-person indexical (*cho*, rather than *na*), and to replace unmarked lexical items with honorific ones (20).

For example, in an interview with Korean missionary, Lee K., I noticed that he used *Banmal* to me if I asked him a question in *Banmal*, but he used *Jondaenmal* if asked him a question in *Jondaenmal*.

For example, I was unintentionally mixing *Banmal* and *Jondaenmal* because I had left Korea when I was twelve years old, and my command of the Korean language is not as sophisticated as that of Korean missionaries. The transcription of the interview revealed that during the interview, Lee K. was switching from *Banmal* to *Jondaenmal* effortlessly. Similar to Harkness' observation, when I asked Lee K., “*Nu Ga?*” (누가, ‘Who’ in Korean *Banmal*), he answered me in *Banmal*. But when I asked, “*Kye-Sae-Yo?* (계세요, ‘Was he there’ in Korean *Jondaenmal*)”, then he properly responded to me in *Jondaenmal*, “*Ghe-Roht-Chi-Yo* (그렇치요, ‘Yes, you are right’ in Korean *Jondaenmal*)” (Int. 23; 3). Here I do not want to generalize the particularities of the Korean language and culture since there are different ‘registers’ of speech in many languages and cultures, and it is common for educated speakers to be able to switch from one to another as did Lee. The point is that, like Lee’s, Ted’s usage of *Banmal* and *Jondaenmal*, depending on the situation, is appropriate for the relationship he holds with his CBC pastors.

But this opens doors for possible abuse by Ted. By using informal language to refer to the CBC pastors, although it establishes the social hierarchy, it also leads to a *Gap* and *Eul* relationship, and possibly, *Gap-jil* in the process.

1.4.2 Korean Honorifics

Harkness, referencing another linguistic study, argues for the following regarding Korean's usage of honorifics:

Granting permission to address someone as something is a vital interaction ritual in Korea, as elsewhere. These titles are often specific invitations-or instructions-to assume a particular kind of enregistered behaviour with the addressee, behaviour that normatively co-occurs with specific linguistically coded honorifics or their omission, as well as other multi-channel signs, and indexes socially recognisable identities (2010: 18).

In the Korean language, honorifics are used in a direct address and generally, someone is superior in status if he or she is an older relative, a stranger of roughly equal or higher age, or an employer, teacher, customer, or the like. For example, in addressing a teacher, if he is one's friend, one has to use *Sun-Sang*, which is 'teacher' in Korean. But when addressing a teacher who is older and higher in status, one must use '*Sun-Sang-Nim*', adding an honorific ending to indicate his or her superiority. For Koreans, forms of personal address serve as privileged points of auto-ethnographic knowledge about social relations. To know what to 'call' someone is a guide to how to speak to someone and a guide to how to behave with someone. Harkness makes the following observation of Korean Christians' usage of honorifics:

Fictive younger siblings are addressed merely with given names, adding an intimate vocative or sometimes a relatively polite suffix. However, all Christians can, in principle, both refer to and address other Christians with the age-neutral, highly classificatory sibling terms, optionally with a given name, and combined with an honorific suffix (*-nim*), *hyongje-nim* ("brother") or *chamae-nim* ("sister"). Neither term marks relative age or speaker gender (2010: 10).

Chan states that even in the Khmer language, there is an apparent dichotomy between the 'higher' and the 'lower'. The Khmer language reveals the social differences between people talking to each other through the use of pronouns, nouns and verbs. There are words for the old, the young, laymen, monks, and royal family members. The appropriate word is chosen according to an individual's status, age, and sex. For example, the *Bang* (the elder in Khmer) is used to address someone who is older in age

or more knowledgeable or higher in rank. It is considered inappropriate to address someone in a more senior position by this name (2010: 7).

I noticed that Ted rarely used the term *mok-sa-nim* (Pastor in polite form) when he was referring to the CBC pastors; however, he uses the term to refer to P89c because he was not a CBC graduate and does not have a personal relationship with him (Int. 88, Macro; 1, 8b). He later joined the CBC church plant project introduced by CBC pastors.

Furthermore, Lee K. (Int. 93, 3) uses ‘*i-bun*’ (ㅇ|분), which means ‘this person, plus the Korean honorific ‘*bun*’, as he addressed a Cambodian with whom he did not have a personal relationship. This honorific depended on the speaker’s relationship with the other Cambodian in the conversation. Although it may not be the core intention for Lee, the *Gap* and *Eul* relationship was established in the process in that conversation.

1.4.3 *Gap* & *Eul* Concerns in the CBC

I will address the *Gap* and *Eul* relationship issues in the context of Ted’s playing the role of father to the CBC students. In interview eighty-one, Ted himself mentioned the *Gap* and *Eul* relationship issue seven times, using the exact terms. He stated that *Gap* and *Eul* represents and expresses "a dynamic which happens in the mission field (referring to Cambodia) quite well. I feel it is a good term. If there is another term, I will use it, but it would be true even in my case" (Int. 81; Macro; 4, 15a). He argued that “there are many other Korean missionaries who would agree with him (Int. 81, Macro; 4, 12), and even confessed that he has potential to become a “super-*Gap* since I personally taught them ever since they were young children - providing everything and even treated their physical illness” (Int. 81, Macro; 8, 15).

Ted admits that Korean missionaries playing *Gap* is "causing many problems in Cambodia and is a major source of irritation yet many are not aware of the issue" (Int. 81, Macro; 4, 27). He claims that "someone has to address this topic. I talk to them (other Korean missionaries) from time to time arguing that this has to be corrected" (Int. 81 Macro; 5, 12b).

Ted is aware of the Cambodian pastors' complaints (including those of the CBC pastors) about Korean missionaries playing *Gap*, but he states, "I wish it is only the part of the process, and without Korean missionaries recognizes this and sincerely change the problem with *Gap* will not end" (Int. 81, Macro; 8, 24). He feels that because Korean missionaries are conditioned to materialism and because Korea has "more material and education and national power that [they] are playing the role of *Gap*" (Int. 81, Macro; 8, 27).

A similar *Gap* and *Eul* relationship was observed in Japan as *oyabun-kobun* (Boss-follower) in Japanese. Eisenstadt states that within the Japanese patron-client relationship, "the *oyabun-kobun* link may be characterised as a highly emotional and diffuse dyadic arrangement. A 'superior' adopts an 'inferior', and the latter recognises the long-term authority of the former, both partners maintaining a long-term, personalised mutual concern with each other's public and private affairs" (1984: 146). This Japanese term is accepted and used in Korean society as well, especially describing the relationship between the boss and his followers in the Korean criminal world.

P73 explained his experience of *Gap* and *Eul*, saying that "Christians need the foreigner to be the partner and then the foreigner should behave that they are missionaries. Actually, they are call missionary, but they are not a missionary, they are the boss" (Int. 73, Macro; 1, 23). "Any foreigner comes they teach Cambodia to be the

leader and, then they are ready to go out. No, they come to be the boss!” (Int. 73, Macro; 1, 22b). P73 argued that foreigners, including missionaries, do not want to leave Cambodia even after Cambodian pastors have matured as leaders and they are ready to take over the ministries. “It is the formula - their formula that they come to Cambodia to be the boss and Cambodian is the slave to their work” (Int. 73, Macro; 1, 22c).

He addressed the problem he faced when his church’s name, JKL⁵, was determined by a Korean donor although it had no meaning for him and his church members. He added that “the worker cannot deny to the boss, I think how if you are the sponsor, they say how can I call *JKL* church can I say ‘no’ to you” (Int. 73, Macro; 1, 7). He argued that when the church-planting effort is not producing the kind of fruits missionaries demand, often only Cambodians are blamed, saying, "Cambodia still weak as a baby, immature baby, I say baby in Christ. We still weak and then you blame Cambodians. If the staff commits wrong, a boss also fifty percent wrong” (Int. 73, Macro; 1, 22a). P73 also argued that many times missionaries tried methods not conducive to the Cambodian culture, adding, “And the missionary come to help us, they bring their own culture and they practice their own culture so when they practice their own culture, we need to follow that culture depend on their boss and then the missionary or the foreigner that come to Cambodian” (Int. 73, Macro; 1, 21).

The Korean Christian C-Chanel observed similar examples in documentaries it produced. In this documentary, many Cambodian pastors were waiting for their turn to be paid by a Korean missionary Um, and he explained why such a practice was necessary: “This is ministry fund the mother church in Korea is giving to these Cambodian staff” (2014a, 2:14). "We planted churches in 148 villages and the reason

⁵ Not real name.

why we have to be accurate in keeping the record is that sometimes these pastors after receiving the fund claims that they never got their portion” (2014a, 3:27). He was indirectly admitting that their church-planting Cambodian pastors could not be trusted when it comes to financing.

Cho argues that "It seems to be a case of *Gap* and *Eul*, but a *Gap* and *Eul* relationship has existed in Korea from the *Joseon* Dynasty⁶ (Int. 85, Macro; 2, 12)” but these days, “depending on the shifting of power, sometimes *Eul* becomes *Gap*” (Int. 85, Macro; 1, 12). In his experience, he has observed that Cambodian pastors who played a role of *Eul* became *Gap* as they became more powerful, became the FOBs, and played the role of patron to their people (Int. 85, Macro; 2, 13)

Cho also holds that Korean missionaries are *Eul* to their sending churches, who play the *Gap*, that “the entire system is built on wishes of the individual church and its senior pastor or director of mission department, [and] they (Korean missionaries) have to follow their direction” (Int. 85, Macro; 3, 9b). As an example, Cho shared about a Korean missionary whom we both knew was treated as *Eul*. Cho explained “you know about him, including the name of the church from Korea, but fact is, when he refused to name the Cambodian church in Korean, identical with the Sponsor’s Korean church name, he was cut from the support at once” (Int. 85, Macro; 3, 10). The client’s powerless and voiceless dynamic is played out as *Eul*, which is similar to that of the CBC pastors as *Eul* when they could not confront Ted’s primary patrons, the *Gap* players.

⁶. The Joseon Dynasty ruled over a united Korean Peninsula for more than 500 years, from the fall of the Goryeo Dynasty in 1392 to the Japanese Occupation of 1910. [Http://tinyurl.com/ody9zo9](http://tinyurl.com/ody9zo9), accessed on 22 Sep. 2016.

Lee also experienced a similar situation. Lee was not doing church ministry, so she refused to receive \$20,000 from her sponsor church in Korea, money designated for purchasing land for church building. When she would not cooperate with their plan, the sponsor church cut her entire funding because of her disobedience. She also knew many Korean missionaries who had to build churches against their will simply because they did not want to get in trouble with their sponsoring Korean churches (Int. 85, 11). She explained, "I am not doing church ministry, and I did not need any land in that region, but that became the major problem for sponsoring a Korean church" (Int. 85, 11-12). It is observed here that in a more formalized *Gap* and *Eul* relationship between Korean missionaries as clients and Korean churches as their patrons, the relationship mechanics are transacted without much margin of grace by cutting the ties of a formal relationship.

Cho makes the following argument regarding the hierarchical patron-client relationship between missionaries and Cambodians:

Wouldn't it be better to keep the current hierarchical patron-client relationship of Cambodia, since it is already part of their social structure? Although Western missionary insists on 'friendship' but in reality, it isn't a relationship between friends. It is only in terms they use. Then why don't we use Cambodian patron-client relationship more positively so this form of *Gap* and *Eul* dynamic and abuse will not take place and it will not be entirely negative experience (Int. 85; 15).

In the case of the CBC, because *Gap* and *Eul* is based on a father/parent and child relationship, the relationship remains and endures.

1.5 Effects of Ted as Father and the CBC Pastors as Children

I observed both the positive and negative effects of Ted as father and the CBC pastors as children. As Chan argues, negative effects of patron-client relationship can occur when clients feel that the patrons benefit much more than the clients (2008: 9).

Accordingly, I examined data and compared and contrasted what both Ted said and the CBC pastors said during the interviews. By observing coded interview data and analysing the macro-file, I defined six beneficial effects of Ted's playing the role of patron father : 1) relational dependency; 2) basic provisions; 3) focus on study without worrying about finance or daily livelihood; 4) strong relational bond to Ted and the CBC as an institution; 5) understanding Christian unconditional love and Ted's acceptance; and 6) effective execution of church-planting. However, there also seems to be significant negative effects resulting from Ted's playing the role of patron father to the CBC pastors: 1) prolonged dependency; 2) lack of client motivation; and 3) clients' non-participatory decision-making inclusion. Many of these effects are mixed and a complex in range, so I will discuss in more detail each of the effects and factors involved in the relational dynamics.

1.5.1 Relational Dependency and Prolonged Dependency

The CBC was built on a parent and son relationship as Ted and his wife loved and cared for young people at the mission house, where they were relationally more like children to parents. Especially in the case of the mission-house stage, the majority of Cambodian boys living there had been displaced from their families. For example, P82b spoke frankly of his desperate situation at that time, saying, "I ran away from home and had no place to go" (Int. 82), and the mission house became his home, the mission house members his family, and Ted, his father. His tone of voice and facial expressions reflected his sincere feeling of appreciation and gratitude to Ted.

P71, another mission house student, also spoke frankly, "I was on the street when Ted shared the gospel with me and asked me to come to his house" (Int. 71). He had a

family, but they were not able to send him to school, so he spent the day wandering around the village. Walking down the main road of the village, he met Ted who was doing street evangelism. Once he moved to the mission-house, he was trained to become a pastor.

Next, P73, another mission-house student, shared, “I was a secondary (school) boy, and I was a poor boy” (Int. 73, Macro; 5). He initially joined the mission house to be educated in English and said he eventually finished his BA degree in Singapore, supported by Ted and his sponsors in Singapore (Int. 73, Macro; 5). However Ted later verified that P73 did not finish his BA degree in Singapore because of a visa complication, but he did complete his BA in Theology from the CBC. He and his wife are still involved with the CBC work as staff members.

As a mission-house student, P82a emphatically praised Ted and stated, “I respect him as my pastor, my teacher. I was born from him. He imparts me all these spiritual gifts” (Int. 82, Macro; 5, 8). He is now the president of an FBO in Cambodia which he began, feeding the poor children and educating them, similar to what Ted did at the CBC, and his way of expressing his gratitude for Ted is by saying that ‘I was born from him.’

Out of such a personal and long-term father and child relationship, the CBC students and Ted formed a dependent relationship in the beginning stage of CBC ministry and it resulted in the positive effects of Ted’s playing the role of a father. However, out of such a personal relationship, the tendency for prolonged dependency may develop. The definition of an unhealthy aid dependency is: “It is a psychological and financial situation where the church leader cannot set the agenda and plan for the church, and the church cannot provide for its staff and on-going ministry without

external assistance and continued funding. This difficult cycle appears not to contribute significantly to the church's becoming self-sustaining." As of 2016, none of the CBC's twenty-one church-plantings was self-sustaining, which Ted called a significant drawback in his church-planting (Int. 67).

Even for the mission-house students, a sign of prolonged dependency was observed. For example, after finishing a bachelor degree in Singapore and qualified to seek a career anywhere, P82b worked at the CBC to pay back his "debt." He was not legally responsible for it, but emotionally, he sought Ted's approval. This extra time that P82b spent at the CBC delayed his career advancement for several years. It stopped only when the CBC no longer could support his role as a professor there.

Moreover, although P71 was a pastor over a CBC church, he was pursuing an MA degree in English in the evening, and during the interview, it became clear that he did not want to be in ministry. When he moved into the mission house, everyone in that community was being trained to become pastors, and he, too, was taught, but he did not have any other choice. After graduating and being in ministry for several years, he realised that he was not cut out to be a pastor of a local church, so he trained himself, supported by another NGO, toward finding another job opportunity.

Next, P73 and his wife are still technically CBC staff because Singaporean churches through the CBC financial structure support his ministry. At the time of the interview, he was trying to become independent from the CBC but by using unethical means. He was trying to get support from others without going through the CBC, neither co-operating nor reporting this process to the CBC.

Ted is aware of this unhealthy dependency issue and stated, "In Cambodia, they are so used to just receiving, because we are poor we have to receive. From the leaders

to everyone, they have become expert at receiving” (Int. 67, Macro; 2, 16). At the same time, he was not accusing the CBC pastors, since self-sustainability was not part of church-planting objectives in the beginning stage of the CBC’s church-planting project. Ted is now tackling this unhealthy dependency with his CBC church planters.

Some CBC pastors are addressing prolonged dependency concerns as well, especially among the older and more established church planters. For example, P94f states in a group interview, “To get the support does not mean they will support a hundred years, the first they just teach us how to walk, but after we know how to walk, will they be able to build to support us more, to sustain or to check balance of walking? No, we have to walk by ourselves” (Int. 94, Macro; 2, 22c). Although he was emphatic about this point, many younger pastors in the group interviews avoided commenting on it or joining the conversation. They did not seem to be ready to participate in the discussion since it is unfamiliar to them because they have not reached P94f’s stage of church development.

In the same group interview, P94b first admitted his role as a child with Ted as his parent and stated the following with a bit of frustration in his voice:

We just like children always take the milk from mother one day the mother will stop the milk, how can you service your life? I still receive support from Singapore, but Singapore church will not support me for whole life, they will stop like one time, so we get the idea we just ready for one day, how can we do without support? I just depart from CBC like four or five years ago and how ministry is like it’s blessed by God, is going is a little bit also our church is like strong faith, also I think in the future with the elders also we can service in our church without any support (Int. 94, Macro; 4, 20b, 20c, 21).

P94b concluded that to overcome their financial dependency; he was preaching about tithing, “So I preach about the tithe, at least one month.⁷ Preach about the tithe, because we need to explain to the Cambodian how to do the tithe” (Int. 94, Macro; 3, 21). He

⁷ He meant “One month a year”.

and his wife, both CBC graduates, have a church in the L-8 area with over one hundred members in their church, yet due to a lack of giving by his congregation, his church still needs monthly support from outside. Both he and his wife were vocal and energetic about the possibility of becoming independent from any foreign aid in the future.

1.5.2 Basic Needs were provided

For all the CBC students, Ted provided all the basic needs, both for daily living and for their education: lodging, meals, books, pens, toiletries, clothing, and even musical instruments if they chose to learn. When the mission-house students moved to the CBC location, Ted hired several cooks to provide three meals a day, and Ted cared for the students as children. At the outset, this care seemed to be a natural way to provide for students; however, as Ken, the director of the Cambodia Bible Institute, pointed out, this method may have created a broad dependency for students from the beginning. Similarly, a few American missionaries have claimed that Korean missionaries control their followers with resources and money to influence their mission partners (Int. 53). Ken's argument can be validated theoretically, especially from a Western perspective, but what takes place in the CBC between Ted and the students seems genuine and without any other intentions. Most of the students were dislocated and had no support from their families, so early on, it ran more like an orphanage than like a school.

When P73 was ready to go abroad to Singapore and continue his education, he said that Ted and Sarah went out of their way to provide practical financial means for him by employing his wife at the Phnom Penh bookstore, which Sarah was running: "My wife stayed at the GHI bookshop" (Int. 73, Macro; 11). This provided lodging and

financial means for her to survive without her husband's support. Other missionaries may have criticized Ted's actions as an example of over-protection and going beyond the role of a patron, however, considering the personal relationship between Ted and P73, it is acceptable at this stage. When P73 is ready to become an equal partner, these past financial relationships may lead Ted to being too paternalistic, and without knowing, trying to make life decisions for P73. P73 complained that Ted does not include him in major CBC decisions (Int. 73).

Ted recalled that the basic living costs have fluctuated resulting from the Cambodian economic growth and the different stages of the CBC pastors, saying, "Even in the rural area, it was not enough, so I had to increase to \$150, then they start having children, so I increased to \$170. Now it's between \$150 to \$200 depends on the situation. It's simply about having basic living" (Int. 67, Macro, PAF; 1, 5c, 61). Ted's caring attitude seemed benevolent from the outset, but considering the ages of the CBC pastors, his care may have caused prolonged dependency. At a certain age, as many of them are in their late thirties and early forties, each has to be responsible for himself and his family, and when a patron accepts those responsibilities voluntarily, the motivation to be responsible diminishes. With good intentions to provide for the CBC pastors, Ted may have created an environment for dependency, and the CBC pastors became accustomed to not having to be responsible. More options like getting training for a second job and raising their funds may have been in order. Although it may not be a simple task, some effort should have been made so that the CBC pastors had been aware that funding is not automatic, nor will it continue unconditionally.

1.5.3 Focus on Study (Ministry)

As in many developed countries, Koreans value education as of primary importance for their children. In the same manner, Ted provided for all of the CBC students so that they could focus on their education without worrying about finances or their daily livelihood because in Cambodia, education, especially learning English, meant one could get a good job. Remember that P73 stated that although his own family could not send him to a school, Ted took him in to the mission house and provided for all of his education from 9th grade till college: “grade 9th, I came to him (Ted), so at that time because of no financial support from my family” (Int. 73, Macro; 17).

Once CBC students graduated and became part of the CBC church-planting pastors, Ted provided their basic needs so they could focus on their ministry. For example, Ted built not only church buildings, but also, eventually, the pastor’s parsonage.

Ted is concerned about the CBC pastors' daily livelihood, saying, "Now all these pastors have children, so they have to send them to school – the cost of milk is high, they have to buy diapers, and put gasoline to their motorbike” (Int. 67, 5). He does not want his pastors to become bi-vocational ministers insisting that he will provide for their basic living so they can just focus on ministry (Int. 67, Macro, PAF; 2, 17). Ted’s attitude stems from the Korean theology of not endorsing bi-vocational jobs for local pastors, which eventually causes a major problem in the CBC pastors becoming financially independent.

But emphatically Ted is of the opinion that "as seen in other cases, these bi-vocation pastors eventually do not do ministry. In that way, it would be better for me to support them and manage the churches fully. It seems they are not mature enough to do independent ministry” (Int. 67, Macro, PAF; 2, 9). Even in the case of starting a

Kindergarten in the church-planting sites, he seems to be firm on his conviction, “If we don’t manage the fund coming to kindergarten, they will end up just managing the Kindergarten and eventually give up on ministry” (Int. 67, Macro, PAF; 4, 11b). This opinion may be good for the CBC, but to use it as a major principle in church-planting may prevent the CBC church-planting project from moving forward.

As parents make sacrifices for their children, so also they study and help fulfil their dreams. Ted acts sacrificially, and to some, it is well accepted, but to those who are ready to become independent, e.g., P73 and P94f, it may be a burden. Especially when financial planning should, but often is not, be part of church-planting training, and when a pastor in training is not responsible from the beginning, aid dependency by default takes place. The CBC did not have a plan for the students to become financially independent but just gave an order to execute CBC church-planting project, all with an unwritten assumption that unconditional support will come from their primary sponsors as long as they are committed to the project.

1.5.4 Strong Relational Bond between Ted and the CBC as an Institution

The CBC students’ loyalty to Ted is based on a relationship and not on a contract. P74a, one who stayed with Ted for twelve years, stated that “they are like my parents, they love me also and even some time encourage us” (Int. 74, Macro; 1, 5b). Ted and Sarah provided a symbolic act of parenting when they assisted one or more of them with their weddings, helping them to a more affordable wedding ceremony. Here I am not arguing that an economical wedding is God’s way, but merely stating that for P74a Ted’s involvement was in knowing their financial difficulties, guiding their marriage process, providing the CBC campus as a wedding hall, involving CBC students, cutting

all the costs, and providing the couple CBC quarters for them to stay after their marriage. According to both P74a and Ted, the cost of their wedding was less than £150 when a traditional Cambodian wedding would cost more than several thousand dollars (Int. 74).

P74a expressed his loyalty to Ted by stating, "And many of my friends they go for mission field (meaning church-planting) but only I stay here. Then even they call when they visit me, "Oh! Longest people staying in CBC."'" (Int. 74, Macro; 2, 2). P74b, P74a's wife, expresses her reason for supporting and helping her parents, "Because of them, that we have today. He takes care of us also when we were young that's why suffer but we need to help them also, we pray for them also" (Int. 74, Macro; 2, 16b). This may be a reason why she and her husband stayed at the CBC even after all of their classmates had left.

According to P94f, Ted made a sacrificial journey to visit church sites, bringing their monthly support in cash. Since the banking system in the early days was not established, Ted sometimes travelled to the L-16, which required one whole day, one way by public bus, because he did not have a driving licence (Int. 94, P94f; Int. 67, Macro, PAF; 3, 6). These examples show Ted's personal sacrifices as a father figure, yet the CBC pastors returning their loyalty to him and the CBC church-planting-project are problematical. Although Ted did not so intend it, his control became evident in the CBC pastors, as they tried to please Ted by their involvement in projects that Ted is passionate about.

P82a states that he served the CBC after earning his BA degree from Singapore Bible College, "So after coming back 2007, I served. I have to teach CBC about two or three years – helping him (Ted) and teaching the students and organizing the school

(CBC)” (Int. 82, Macro; 5, 8b), out of his loyalty to Ted and the CBC. However, when Ted could not find him a further sponsorship, only then did he take another job outside the CBC projects; “So since I have to family, to be responsible for I have to take the matter on hand to look for a job to support my family – to serve the Lord at the same time” (Int. 82, Macro; 2, 4).

Similarly, P82b was defensive in his tone and mannerisms during the interview about his getting a job outside the CBC projects. He and his wife, also a CBC graduate, were part of the CBC church-planting projects: “I graduated and then, I was sent to serve in the rural area call L-7 for four years as a preacher, and also my wife was working as a Sunday school teacher” (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 2). But afterwards, although he was ‘very employable’ (he said this twice), for some reason, Ted did not find anything for him. He added, “I just had no opportunity for me, and I could not wait. I need to survive. I have two, three mouths to feed. My wife and my boys have to go to school as well. You know as a human being you know – worried. So I had to look for a job to work, and then after work, I still respect him for who he (Ted) is” (Int. 82, Macro; 2, 5a). However, according to him, he and his family expressed their loyalty to Ted and the CBC by attending CBC Sunday worship service from time to time (Int. 82, Macro; 5, 4d). Ted without intending it, helped create a clear *Gap* and *Eul* relationship, and this example may be one of many cases of *Gap-jil* by Ted and the CBC students.

1.5.5 Understanding Christian Unconditional Love and Ted’s Acceptance

Eisenstadt points out the importance of being a benevolent father, and some CBC pastors openly talk about Ted in that light. For example, at age 48, P78 is the oldest member of the mission house, yet he publicly calls Ted his spiritual father (Int. 78,

Macro; 2, 8a), without being asked, “Who is Ted to you?” According to Ted, P78 left CBC and joined other mission works and sometimes travelled out of Cambodia, but time after time, he either failed in his work or was rejected by the agencies, yet Ted accepted him back at the CBC and provided a place for him to stay and do ministry in CBC church plants. P78 states, “Reverend Ted, because when I lived in New Zealand, I also contact him by letter, same go and come go and come with him” (Int. 78, Macro; 2, 9a), meaning he left and came back to the CBC several times. However, according to Ted, in a later interview, there was more need than workers to handle it, and since P78 was older, he was qualified to do ministry, so that Ted’s apparent benevolence may be somewhat exaggerated (Int. 88).

P94f is thankful to Ted for allowing her to join the CBC although at 16, she was too young. By the time the CBC was established as a school, rules and regulations were formed, yet her relationship with Ted allowed her to join the CBC. She stated, “Because at that time I was very young, some teachers they don’t want to take me, but Reverend Ted, he is really kind, he still gives me the chance to learn English” (Int. 94, Macro; 2, 15a,b). In 2007, she finished her CBC diploma in four years, although it was a three-year programme. She was given a favour to complete with an extra year of study. Also, since she demonstrated gifts in music, Ted sponsored her to study music in Korea for three months. She is married to P94b, a fellow CBC graduate, planted a CBC church in the L-8 area, and raised her children. Ted is playing the patron father role in an authentic way to many CBC students.

In one case, one of his church planters stole \$4,000 from the ministry fund, but instead of making it a legal issue, he was forgiven privately, and Ted made a plan for him to pay it back each month, keeping him in ministry during which he even earned a

bachelor level education in Phnom Penh. In another case, one of the key CBC staff continually stole from the CBC general fund, however, even upon discovery, he was allowed to study and finish, and he still is part of the CBC ministry. Sarah, Ted's wife, shared these stories during our private conversation, but Ted did not mention these stories, all in line with a Korean father's role as a benevolent leader who forgives his children over and over again, and not acting like a boss of a company.

1.5.6 Lack of Motivation

Although there are some exceptions, as I stated in the cases of P94f and P94b, the interview data indicate that there are CBC pastors who without explicit orders or instructions from Ted, undertake no significant actions. From the research data, I observed this lack of motivation in many of the CBC pastors (P 76, P77, P79a, P80, P89b, P89f, P94c and P94e). We need to ask, "Is it due to the relational dynamic structure between the CBC pastors and Ted?" Martin argues that in Cambodia, questioning the local authorities has yet to be transformed into reality due to the deeply embedded structure of the hierarchy, which remains sacrosanct (1994: 11). Most of the major decisions about church-planting – location, timing, staffing, and even naming the church - were decided by Ted as their sponsor or by a FOB of either Korean or Singaporean churches.

According to Ledgerwood, understanding the patron-client relationship in Cambodia provides a useful insight into decision-making dynamics between a community's leader and his/her people in the country. "Like other Southeast Asian countries, Cambodia is a society embedded with a very strong patronage system regulating all social relationship" (Ledgerwood and Vijhen 2002: 143). Chan also

agrees with Ledgerwood and argues that understanding this Cambodian patronage model explains how people in Cambodian villages reach a decision (2008: 4).

P79a is an example of a CBC church planter with a lack of motivation. He is pastoring one of the original seven churches in the L-1 area. In my view, based on visiting all seven church sites, this church has the best quality building as the entire church building materials were shipped from Korea in a container and assembled in that village. It is located in one of the best parts of a large village on a large plot of land. From the beginning of the interview till the end, however, he seemed discouraged and complained about everything, from the lack of a fence to not having enough funds to give to newcomers (mostly little children), who were not even part of the CBC church-planting strategy. During the interview, when I asked, noticing the land the church was built on, the possibility of growing mango trees to support his church, he immediately stated that there were no funds to build fences around such a large property. He argued that when mango trees are young, neighbourhood cows and other animals come and eat the leaves and subsequently kill the tree (Int. 79, Macro; 2).

However, I noticed that other Cambodian neighbours overcame such problems by just putting up localized screen fences around the mango trees, an inexpensive method that does not require imported materials. Furthermore, since he graduated from the CBC, he should be aware that that is how pastors and church members protect all the fruit trees in CBC's school compound from cows and that the CBC is raising the trees to become self-sustainable. Since students built most of these localised fences, he should be very familiar with such a method of protecting fruit trees. However, I had an insight into a possible cause of such lack of motivation was when P79a stated that it was not his choice to be in that church location but that Ted solely had made the decision,

and he has moved around to many church plant projects (Int. 79, Macro; 1, 4a). In this case, the lack of motivation may stem out of not being able to make his own decision about the location and method of doing his ministry.

Similarly, in interview seventy-one, P71 stated that all decisions regarding his church ministry and kindergarten business were made "all under Ted and his wife, Sarah" (Int. 71, Macro; 1, 5b), emphasizing the word 'all'. He argued that Ted and Sarah make all the outreach events and financial decisions and that he does not take part in any decision making process. Once again, this evidence for the lack of motivation and reluctance in initiating his own ministerial was because he did not feel that he had control over these matters (Int. 71).

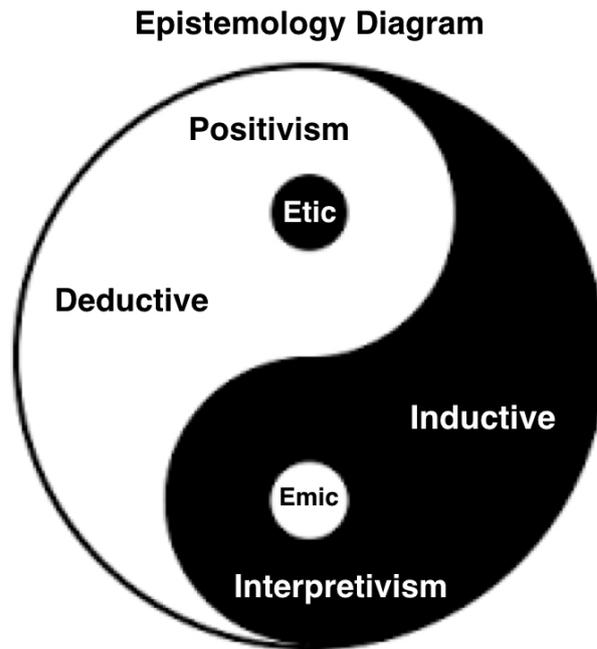
Ted also stated that once the CBC was established and the student body went beyond one hundred, Ted no longer could get intimately involved with the lives of his students (Int. 88). Since the CBC has established twenty-one churches all over Cambodia, the task of Ted's playing the father figure seems implausible and unrealistic, and yet when he imposes such authority on the CBC pastors, it becomes problematical and affects the overall church-planting project. Ted's role needs to shift from a patron as a father to a sponsor or a FOB to meet the demand of the growth and organizational change of the CBC church-planting project.

1.6 Summary

In this paper, I first discussed Ted's playing the role of father from patron-client relationship literature – asymmetrical relationship, personal and enduring aspect, and resource base - and how these play out in the CBC context and also underscore dependency. Then I discussed Ted's playing the role of patron father, but in three

distinctive stages, i.e., mission-house stage, early CBC stage, and established CBC stage. I discussed *Gap* and *Eul* issues in the context of relational dynamics between a father to children and explained *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal* differences in the same context. Specific Korean honorifics issues were also introduced in this context to describe Ted's appropriate usage of *Banmal* and Korean honorifics in referring to his CBC pastors. I presented, out of the research data, the overall effects of a few of the patrons playing the father role and defined healthy relational dependency versus unhealthy dependency. I noticed that once the numbers of the CBC student body grew and the CBC church-planting reached a different stage, Ted no longer could play the role of father, his involvement and personal care were insufficient, and this combination resulted in the CBC pastors' lack of motivation.

Appendix A Epistemology Diagram



Positivism	Interpretivism
Philosophy: Plato – Values are within, objective	Philosophy: Aristotle – values are given, subjective
Concepts: Need to be operationalized so that they can be measured, quantitative	Concepts: Should incorporate subjects’ perspective, qualitative
Explanation: Must demonstrate causality	Explanation: Aim to increase general understanding of the situation
Research progress: Deductive – starts with hypothesis or principles to specific cases	Research progress: Inductive – gather rich data from which ideas are induced or specific case(s) to principle
Research sampling requirement: Large number selected randomly, e.g., Survey	Research sampling requirement: Small number of cases chosen for specific reason
Etic observation	Emic observation

Bibliography

- Ahn, K. S. (2015). *Korean Church, God's Mission, Global Christianity*. W. Ma, ed. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock.
- Baeq, S. (2007). Understanding Religious Context and Short Term Mission Safety Guide in Cambodia, Paper presented in seminar in Phnom Penh for Korean Missionaries Association (written in Korean) in July 2007.
- Bonk, J. (Ed.). (2011). *Accountability in missions: Korean and Western case studies*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers.
- Bonk, J. (2015). Forward 2, eds. W. Ma & K. S. Ahn. *Korean Church, God's Mission, Global Christianity*. Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series, vol. 26. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, xiv-xvi.
- Bosch, D. J. (1994). *Transforming Mission*. Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books.
- Brautigam, Deborah. (2000). *Aid Dependence and Governance*. EGDI, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm.
- Brazys, S. R. (2012). *Aid dependency: What does it mean? When does it matter?* University College Dublin School of Politics and International Relations.
- Buber, M. (1970). *I and thou* W. Kaufmann, trans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Burnside, C., & Dollar, D. (2004). *Aid, Policies and Growth*. Macroeconomics and Growth Division, Policy Research Department, World Bank.
- Byon, A. S. (2008). *Basic Korean: A Grammar and Workbook*. Routledge.
- Byun, C. U. (2011). The Dependency Problems and the Self-supporting Mission of the Korean Church: In pursuit of the Self-supporting Mission. *Mission and Theology*, 27, 239-278. (In Korean).
- Chan, R., & Chheang, V. (2008). 'Cultural challenges to the decentralization process in Cambodia.' *Ritsumeikan Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*, 24, 1-16.
- Chandler, D. (1996a). *A History of Cambodia, Second Edition*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books.
- Chandler, D. (1996b). *Facing the Cambodian Past*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books.
- Chandler, D. (1999a). *Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Chandler, D. (1999b). *Brother Number One: A Political Biography of Pol Pot, Revised ed.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Chandler, David P., William R. Roff, John R. W. Smail, David Joel Steinberg, Robert H. Taylor, Alexander Woodside, and David K. Wyatt. (1971). *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*. Ed. David Joel Steinberg. Rev ed. Sydney, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin.
- Chang, O. I. (2011). Issues of Self-supporting Cambodia Presbyterian church and leadership transfer. In *Self-sustaining church plants in Indochina region: Thailand, Myanmar, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia*. Indochina Korean

Missionary Association Theological Research Department, Phnom Penh: Salt & Light Publishing, 184-203.

- Cho, B. K. (2011). Response to Ted Kim's Paper (6-9). In *Self-sustaining church plants in Indochina region: Thailand, Myanmar, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia*. Indochina Korean Missionary Association Theological Research Department, Phnom Penh: Salt & Light Publishing, 230-234 (In Korean).
- De Neui, P. (2012). *Complexities of money and mission in Asia*, vol. 9, SEANET series, Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.
- De Neui, P. (2013). *Family and Faith in Asia: The Missional Impact of Social Networks*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.
- DeSilva, D. A. (1996). 'Exchanging Favor for Wrath: Apostasy in Hebrews and Patron-Client Relationships.' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 115, 91-116.
- DeSilva, D. A. (2000). *Honor, Patronage, Kinship Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic.
- Dredge, C. P. (1983). 'What Is Politeness in Korean Speech?' *Korean Linguistics*, vol. 3, 21-32.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (1956). 'Ritualized Personal Relations: Blood Brotherhood, Best Friends, Compadre, Etc.: Some Comparative Hypotheses and Suggestions.' *Man*, 56, 90-95.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (1995). *Power, Trust, and Meaning: Essays in Sociological Theory and Analysis*. University of Chicago Press.
- Eisenstadt, S. N., & Roniger, L. (1980). 'Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22 (01), 42-77.
- Eisenstadt, S. N., & Roniger, L. (1984). *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ek, C., & Sok, H. (2008). *Aid Effectiveness in Cambodia*. Wolfensohn Center for Development, Working Paper 7, December.
- Foster, G. M. (1963). 'The Dyadic Contract in Tzintzuntzan, II: Patron-Client Relationship.' *American Anthropologist*, 65 (6), 1280-1294.
- Foster, G. M. (1965). 'Peasant society and the image of limited good.' *American Anthropologist*, 67 (2), 293-315.
- Foster, G. M. (1968). Tzintzuntzan Mexican peasants in a changing world. <http://tinyurl.com/zf3xckp>, accessed on 18 April 2016.
- Harkness, N. (2010). 'Words in Motion and the Semiotics of the Unseen in Two Korean Churches.' *Language & Communication*, 30 (2), 139-158.
- Harkness, N. (2014). *Songs of Seoul: An Ethnography of Voice and Voicing in Christian South Korea*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Harkness, N. (2015). 'Basic Kinship Terms: Christian Relations, Chronotopic Formulations, and a Korean Confrontation of Language.' In *Anthropological Quarterly*, Spring 2015. George Washington University Institute for Ethnographic Research.
- Hofstad, G. (1980). *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hwang, J. R. (1990). 'Deference' Versus 'Politeness' in Korean Speech.' *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, (82), 41-56.
- Hyde, S. (2007). *Portrait of the Body of Christ in Cambodia*, Phnom Penh: Antioch Institute Research.
- Hyde, S. (2011). *Portrait of the Body of Christ in Cambodia, Revised*. Phnom Penh: Antioch Institute Research Publication.
- Johnson, J. (2010). 'The 'Thinning' Revisited Dependency and Church-planting in Cambodia.' *International Journal of Frontier Missiology: The Economics of Partnership*, 27:2, 69-72.
- Kettering, S. (1986). *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*. Oxford University Press.
- Kim, H. S. (2007). 'Cambodia mission – yesterday, today, and future.' In *Open Door*, Special ed. vol. 2. Seoul: Open Door (In Korean).
- Kim, J. (2010). 'Cambodian political structure and it's implication for mission work in Cambodia.' In *Indochina Research Journal*, vol. 3. Seoul: Research Centre for Mekong Development (In Korean).
- Kim, S. C. (1998). 'Kinship in Contemporary Korea: Normative Model Versus Practice.' *Korea Journal*, 38(3), 128-147.
- Kim, T. (2011). Church-planting in Cambodia (Not real title), 224-229 (In Korean).
- Kim, T. (2013). *My Testimony Book* (Not real title) (Self-published in Korean in Cambodia).
- Kim-Renaud, Y. K. (1986). 'Speech Styles in Korean and Their Translation Equivalence.' In *Studies in Korean Linguistics*. Seoul: Hanshin Publishing Company, 153-168.
- Kim-Renaud, Y. K. (1990). 'On Panmal in Korean.' In Eung-Jin Baek, ed. *Ickl 7: Papers from the Seventh International Conference on Korean Linguistics*, 232-255. Osaka: International Circle of Korean linguistics and Osaka University of Economics and law.
- Kim-Renaud, Y. K. (1999). 'Pragmatic Embedding for Honorification and Politeness.' *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics*. Seoul: Hanshin Publishing Company, 419-435.
- Kim-Renaud, Y. K. (2001). 'Change in Korean Honorifics Reflecting Social Change.' In Thomas McAuley, ed. *Language Change in East Asia*. London: Curzon, 27-46.

- Kitschelt, H., & Rehm, P. (2006). 'New social risk and political preferences' in K. Armingeon and G. Bonoli (eds) *The politics of post-industrial welfare states: Adapting post-war social policies to new social risks*, London: Routledge, 52-82.
- Kitschelt, H., & Wilkinson, S. (2007). 'Citizens-politician Linkages: An Introduction.' In: Kitschelt, Herbert/Wilkinson, Steven (eds.): *Patrons, Clients, and Policies. Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-49.
- Lande, C. H. (1973). 'Networks and groups in Southeast Asia: Some observations on the group theory of politics.' *American Political Science Review*, 67 (01), 103-127.
- Lande, C. H. (1977). [Introduction:] 'The dyadic basis of clientelism.' In *Friends, followers and factions: a reader*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: XIII-XXXVII.
- Lande, C. H. (1983). 'Political Clientelism in Political Studies Retrospect and Prospects.' *International Political Science Review*, 4 (4), 435-454.
- Ledgerwood, J. (1998). 'Rural development in Cambodia: the view from the village.' In *Cambodia and the International Community: The Quest for Peace, Development, and Democracy*, Brown, Frederick Z and David G. Timberman (eds.). Institute of Southeast Asian Studies/ Asia Society. 127-147.
- Ledgerwood, J. (2007). *Understanding Cambodia: social hierarchy, patron-client relationships and power*. Department of Anthropology and Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University. A course syllabus available at <http://www.seasite.niu.edu/khmer/Ledgerwood/patrons.htm>, accessed on 21 June 2018.
- Ledgerwood, J. (2012). 'Buddhist ritual and the reordering of social relations in Cambodia.' *South East Asia Research*, 20 (2), 191-206.
- Ledgerwood, J., & Vijghen, J. (2002). 'Decision-making in rural khmer villages.' In *Cambodia emerges from the past: Eight essays*, 109-150.
- Lin, A. C. (1998). 'Bridging positivist and interpretivist approaches to qualitative methods.' *Policy Studies Journal*, 26 (1), 162-180.
- Ma, J. (2011). 'A Critical Appraisal of Missionary Work.' In *Korean Diaspora and Christian Mission*, eds. S. Hun Kim and Wonsuk Ma. Oxford: Regnum, 131-145.
- Ma, J. (2015). 'Evangelism and Church-planting: A Strategy for the Growth and Mission of the Korean Church.' In *Korean Church, God's Mission, Global Christianity*, eds. W. Ma & K.S. Ahn. Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series, vol. 26. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 254-269.
- Ma, W., & Ahn, K. S. (eds.). (2015). *Korean Church, God's Mission, Global Christianity*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Moyo, D. (2009). *Dead Aid: Why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa*. New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

- Muno, W. (2010). 'Conceptualizing and measuring clientelism.' In *Paper presented at the workshop on Neopatrimonialism in Various World Regions, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg.*
- Painter, D. (N.D.). *English/Khmer Dictionary.*
- Phan, P. C. (Ed.). (2011). *Christianities in Asia* (vol. 1). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Ravasco, Gerard G. (2004). "Towards a Christian Pastoral Approach to Cambodian Culture." South Africa Theological Seminary, Masters Thesis.
- Schwartz, G. (2007). *When Charity Destroys Dignity: Overcoming Unhealthy Dependency in the Christian Movement.* Lancaster, PA :: Author House.
- Scott, J. C. (1972a). 'Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia.' *American Political Science Review*, 66 (01), 91-113.
- Scott, J. C. (1972b). 'The Erosion of Patron-Client Bonds and Social Change in Rural Southeast Asia.' *Journal of Asian Studies*, 32, 5-37.
- Scott, J. C. (1972c). *Comparative Political Corruption.* Eaglewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.
- Scott, J. C. (1975). *How traditional rural patrons lose legitimacy: A theory with special reference to Southeast Asia.* Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Scott, J. C. (1977). *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia.* New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.
- Sok, H. (2005). 'The Political economy of development in Cambodia: How to unite the Gordian knot of poverty.' *Economic Review*, 2 (4) (Oct-Dec).
- Stanley, B. (1992). 'Planting Self-Governing Churches: British Baptist Ecclesiology in the Missionary Context.' *Baptist Quarterly*, 34 (8), 378-389.
- Sunquist, S., Sing, D. W. C., Chew, J. H. C., Chea, C. H., & Wu, D. C. (Eds.). (2001). *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity.* Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.
- Wolf, E. R. (1956). 'Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico.' *American Anthropologist*. 58, 1065-1078. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wolf, E. R. (1964). *Honour, Family, and Patronage.* Oxford : Clarendon Press.
- Wolf, E. R. (1966). 'Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-client Relations.' In Michael Banton, ed., *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, Association of Applied Social Anthropology.* London: Tavistock Publications, 16-17.
- Wolf, E. R. (1969). *Peasant wars of the twentieth century.* Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Wolf, E. R. (1980). *Anthropology.* Rev. ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Wolf, E. R., & Silverman, S. (2001). *Pathways of power building an anthropology of the modern world.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Wright Jr., J. J. (1991). *The Balancing Act: A History of Modern Thailand*. Oakland, Calif.: Asia Books, Ch.1.

Yukiko, Y. (2000). 'Partnership for Whom? Cambodian NGOs' Supporting Schemes.' *IDS Bulletin*, 31 (3), 35-47.

Secondary Sources (Korean Mission Report / Documentary Video in Korean)

Um, T. (2014a). (C-Channel Christian Broadcast) Vision! World Mission, 12th Edition - Shining Hope in Cambodia, Part 1, <http://tinyurl.com/jx4p2bo>, accessed on 21 Aug 2015.

Um, T. (2014b). (C-Channel Christian Broadcast) Vision! World Mission, 12th Edition - Shining Hope in Cambodia, Part 2, <http://tinyurl.com/z4zt6gq>, accessed on 21 Aug. 2015.