

**Patron-Client Relationship in Cross-cultural Church Planting:
A Case Study of Cambodia Bible College,
1998 - 2015**

Sukhwan Robert Oh

Abstract

The primary research question of this study 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 College (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. The macro-function of Microsoft Word-processing was used as the primary data analysis. Once the interview transcriptions, both in English and Korean, were complete, by coding the key terms and key ideas emergent patterns of primary and series of sub-categories were observed. 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: 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 thesis 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. Unfortunately, although unintended by both parties, the CBC pastors have become aid-dependent, which is hindering their churches from becoming self-sustaining and which makes an equal partnership in the future difficult, pointing to a conceptual relationship between aid dependency and the patron-client relationship. The future research on aid dependency in the church planting effort, and especially in the context of *Gap & Eul*, will prove that “partnering” their culturally diverse perspectives can contribute to mission studies for the next generation of transnational workers.

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1998 - 2015**

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Oxford Centre for Mission Studies

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

 Signed 

Date 30th August, 2018

STATEMENT ONE

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by midnotes or footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

 Signed 

Date 30th August, 2018

STATEMENT TWO

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if approved, to be available for photocopying by the British Library and for Inter-Library Loan, for open access to the Electronic Theses Online Service (EthoS) linked to the British Library, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations.

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Date 30th August, 2018

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to

my wife Jenny

and my children –

Elisa, Stephen, and Patty

for their love and support

and prayers.

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ACRONYMS

AOG	Assemblies of God
ADR	Aid Dependency Ratios
BERA	British Education Research Association
CBC	Cambodia Bible College
CPM	Church-planting Movement
FBO	Faith Based Organization
FOB	First Order Broker
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GP	Global Partner
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KRIM	Korea Research Institute for Mission
NGO	Non-Government Organization
OBI	Open Budget Index
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OMF	Overseas Missionary Fellowship
PAF	Patron as Father
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
USD	United States Dollar

GLOSSARY

- Ah-dul-Nuh-Suk* (아들녀석): My son
- Banmal* (반말): Informal language
- Dang-gi-da* (당기다): Pull up
- Gap & Eul* (갑 & 을): Gap and Eul (as role)
- Gap-jil* (갑질): Doing Gap
- Gap Nam Eul Yhue* (갑남을래): Male is *gap* and female is *eul*
- Ghe-Roht-Chi-Yo* (그렇지요): Yes, you are right
- Gu-won* (구원): Salvation
- Gu-won-ha-da* (구원하다): To save
- Hankook Kyungjae News* (한국경제뉴스): Korean Economics News
- Hu-won-ja* (후원자): Patron
- Hu-won-ja wa ui-loe-in-ui gwan-gy* (후원자와 의뢰인의 관계): Patron-client relationship
- Hwu-kyen-phi-hwu-kyen* (후견-피후견): Patron-client relationship
- I-bun* (이분): This person
- Jab-da* (잡다): Hold or grab
- Je-ne-deul* (재내들): Those guys
- Jeondeanmal* (존댓말): Formal language
- Jung* (정): Affection
- Keul-la-i-eon-teu* (클라이언트): Client
- Kye-Sae-Yo?* (계세요?): Was he there?
- Mae-dal-li-da* (매달리다): Hang on
- Mok Sa* (목사): Pastor – Informal address
- Mok Sa Nim* (목사님): Pastor – Formal address
- Nu Ga?* (누가): ‘Who’ in Korean *Banmal*
- Sin-loe* (신뢰): Trust

Top-ta (돕다): Help

Ui-loe-in (의뢰인): Client

Ye-ne-deul (얘내들): These guys

Chapter One Introduction

1.1 Research Background

The impetus for this research began with wanting to understand why Cambodian churches planted by Korean missionaries in Cambodia are not becoming self-sustaining unlike in my prior church-planting experience in Siberia, Russia. As a mission mobilizer, I had an opportunity to be part of a church-planting project in Russia, with graduating students of Moscow Grace Bible College.¹ In 1998, Oikos Mission International,² supported some of the twenty-seven Russian graduates of Moscow Bible College with their church-planting effort in Siberia by supporting financially - \$ 200 USD³ per month for two years and by creating on-going training for them by meeting them every six months for the subsequent four years. After ten years of our mission work there, ninety percent of these church plants have survived and become self-sustaining, and they are planting their churches without foreign aid.

Korean missionaries are engaged in church-planting as their primary mission work. Todd Johnson (2015: 82) points out that “more than half of all Korean missionaries are involved in church-planting, while only about 5% are involved strictly in social work,” and Korean missionaries in Cambodia are not an exception. The church-planting and church growth went hand in hand in Korea. Korean Protestants planted churches in Korea and consequently grew in both numbers and membership. Ma (2015) states that the exponential growth of the Korean church from the 1970s

¹ Grace Mission International and Grace Church of Fullerton, USA, sponsors this Bible College. It is a one-year programme of intensive Bible learning and spiritual formation for students endorsed by church leaders from Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and other former Soviet Union countries.

² It was a Faith-Based Organization I founded in the USA to promote mission work in Russia and Mongolia. Five Oikos churches I founded and supported in planting in Southern California financed this mission effort.

³ The currency figure will be based on United States Dollar (USD) throughout unless otherwise specified.

through the 1990s critically affected church life and its strategy of foreign missions. The core of this phenomenal growth of Korean Christianity was an aggressive church-planting programme by almost all the denominations. The number of Protestant Christians in Korea grew from 623,072 in 1960 to 8,760,000 in 1995, a fourteen-fold increase in thirty-five years (2015: 261).

Donald A. McGavran, the founding dean of the School of World Mission and Church Growth at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, developed a model of church growth based on his own missionary experience in India, which is a church-centred mission strategy – of which evangelism and church-planting represent its highest priority. According to McGavran, the goal of the evangelization of the world can be accomplished only through the multiplication of local churches (1980: 5-8). The mantle of this movement was transferred to C. Peter Wagner of Fuller Theological Seminary, and he emphasized the crucial role of church-planting in the church growth movement by arguing that, “it is easier to give birth to a church than try to raise the dead one.”⁴ According to the Fuller Theological Seminary report, 1,500 Korean students are in their programme, and 600 graduates are working in theological institutions in Korea, North America, and mission fields all over the world.⁵

Seongho Kim⁶ states that during the 1970s and 1980s, Donald McGavran and his followers influenced Korean churches profoundly, as McGavran introduced the church growth principle as a mission strategy. Korean churches accepted the church growth scholar's concept, i.e. that ‘churches must set their priority and make their goal for the numerical grow’. Moreover, as a result, Korea witnessed a phenomenal growth in

⁴ I was a student at Fuller Theological Seminary from 1986 until 1989 and attended C. Peter Wagner's class on church growth.

⁵ <http://fuller.edu/korean-center/>, accessed on 12 Nov. 2017.

⁶ <http://www.christiantoday.co.kr/news/296062>, accessed on 12 Dec. 2017.

Korean churches, but both in Korea and in the mission field, the adverse side effects and problems were also quite evident.⁷ Although various contentious issues and challenges are present, both in Korea and in the mission field, the passion for church-planting among Korean missionaries resulted in establishing a large number of local congregations.

The primary mission strategy for Korean missionaries in Cambodia is church-planting, but reports that its church-planting efforts are slowing down due to aid dependency – mainly financial – were addressed at a mission symposium in 2009 at Phnom Penh, Cambodia.⁸ Thyu makes the following reports on Cambodian aid dependency to the World Council of Churches in *The Ecumenical Review*:

The average monthly offering given by the members to their churches in Cambodia is US \$8.06. This may be compared with a Bible sold by the United Bible Society at about US \$7 and the average costs for an official church permit granted by the Ministry of Religion in Phnom Penh at around US \$2,000. Looking at these figures it is obvious that the church in Cambodia would not be able to function without substantial funding from outside the country or from overseas organizations working within the country. On the other hand, this dependency is also seen as one of the most significant challenges to the Cambodian church today (2012: 110).

Since 2009, as I believed that the church-planting strategy to be one of the best mission practices, I have treated aid dependency as a problem to be solved and have approached my initial research in that light. However, following subsequent research, I have concluded that aid dependency is one of the by-products of the relationship dynamics between Korean missionaries and Cambodian church planters – which I have identified as a patron-client relationship, one more relational than financial.

At the Phnom Penh Symposium in 2010,⁹ Jinsup Song, a mission superintendent

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Vision to Reality Foundation organized this mission symposium in 2009 at Phnom Penh, and papers were published as one volume in 2011: *Self-sustaining church plants in Indochina region: Thailand, Myanmar, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia*, ed. Chang, O. I. & Kim, M. et al. Indochina Korean Missionary Association Theological Research Department, Phnom Penh: Salt & Light Publishing.

⁹ Jinsup Song received his Doctor of Ministry degree from Fuller Theological Seminary, USA, in June 2008: 'Strategy of Self-sustaining Methodist Church-planting in Cambodia'. He shared part of his thesis

of Korean Methodist Churches of Cambodia, pointed out the problematical dynamics in church-planting efforts as he was sharing financial data from his denomination's annual report. He stated that by 2011, after more than fifteen years of mission work, the financial support of 150 Cambodia church plants by Korean Methodist missionaries had reached \$16,000 per month, including salaries and facility-renting fees. However, none of these 150 churches is financially self-sustaining, and he reported that the monthly budget is increasing at the rate higher than the next Methodist seminary graduates can plant. As a result, their church-planting project is on hold, and they are reorganizing their future mission strategy to include the development of self-sustainable components such as capacity building and leadership training.

1.2 Research Problems

One interview in 2011 changed the direction of my research. During the interview, the director of an established Bible college in Cambodia, an American missionary and one of my key informants, shared a story: he was hosting their annual pastors' meeting with around 300 Cambodian pastors, most of them were graduates of this college. In that meeting, the attending Cambodian pastors were asked to share some of the difficulties they faced in their ministry, and the majority of them stated that the most difficult problem they face is engaging with 'Korean missionaries'. At the end of their meeting, they decided to write a formal letter to the Cambodian government requesting the expulsion of Korean missionaries from Cambodia. However, after more discussions and persuasion, which involved the director's intervention, their plan did not materialise.

at our Phnom Penh Symposium in 2010.

As a Korean American¹⁰ I was surprised to hear such news. I was born in South Korea but raised and educated in Los Angeles because my family emigrated to the USA when I was twelve. I have lived in the USA for more than forty years in a bi-cultural setting. As a bi-cultural and bi-lingual person, I thought I could better understand the conflict between Korean missionaries and Cambodian pastors. Thus, I asked for more specific reasons and asked the director for more detailed information. He then shared how one of his Bible college graduates, ministering at a remote village in Cambodia for more than ten years, had a Korean missionary visiting his church who wanted to help out with the poor members of the church with monthly rice distribution. Thinking that the Korean missionary was merely engaging in mercy ministry, he allowed the rice distribution. However, after several months, the Korean missionary built a church building next to his church and announced to the members that if they wanted to continue to receive the rice, then they would have to come to the new church. According to my informant, his former student sat before him, started to weep, and reported that most of his church members left to join the Korean missionary's church. He asked, "Why are Korean missionaries here? (Int. 53)," expressing his frustration and insinuating his disapproval of Korean missionaries in Cambodia.

This was a turning point in my research. Up to that point, the focus of the research was merely on the aid dependency issue between Korean missionaries and Cambodians, but at that moment, I realised that I had to research more deeply into the social, cultural, and relational issues between them which cause this dependence.

¹⁰ This is the term used in the USA to indicate ethnically Korean immigrants and descendants living in America.

Similar complaints were already made against Korean missionaries at L-3,¹¹ according to the focus group interview I had in 2010 (Int. 12). During the discussion about the possibility of doing self-sustaining ministry, one of the Cambodian pastors complained, “Korean missionaries treated us like employees and acted like our boss from the beginning, so why do you want us to become financially independent now? Do you work for your company for free? (Int. 12).”

On another occasion, at a Cambodian pastors’ meeting, which I was attending as an observer, one young Cambodian pastor approached me realizing that I was Korean, and complained in English with visible anger, “Why are Korean missionaries here? They are taking my church members by bussing them out of my village?” It was part of the ‘Mission Kampuchea 2021’¹² regional meeting held in Phnom Penh in 2013. At the end of the meeting, some young Cambodian pastors demanded floor time for two issues on the agenda regarding the ‘problem with Korean missionaries,’ and they showed their emotions of anger and frustration.

However, one of the founding leaders of that organization, Pastor Hen.¹³, intervened and requested that they postpone that agenda for the next meeting, being aware that there were several Korean missionaries present at that gathering. These episodes informed me that my research focus on aid dependency alone, especially on

¹¹ Ted requested that the names of all locations be kept anonymous. Location is indicated by capital ‘L’ and followed by a numerical number.

¹² Mission Kampuchea 2021 is a co-operative effort among all Christians with a heart for Cambodia. Its goal is stated as the following: Together we can facilitate growth to ensure that we fulfil Jesus’ mandate to make disciples. If you share this vision, you are a part of the movement. MK2021 is a way for the Body of Christ to use His many blessings, God-given talents, and resources to build the Church. Their vision is to see a group of Jesus’ disciples in every village throughout Cambodia by 2021, whose changed lives make their communities a better place for all to live. <http://tinyurl.com/za69wvj>, accessed on 29 April 2016. I utilized ‘tinyurl.com’ service to shorten the long internet address to save space. However, if the internet address itself is important data, I have kept the original internet location address.

¹³ Names of Cambodians involved in this research are abbreviated by the first three characters of their name unless I received their permission, either orally or written, from them in advance.

financial dependency, would not adequately address the relational and emotional problems between Korean missionaries and Cambodians.

Based on these experiences, I placed the research in the field of Korean mission studies in Cambodia and proposed the following conjectures: 1) The conflict between Korean missionaries and Cambodians is not primarily financial 2) There is an undergirding cultural, social, and relational issue behind the conflict 3) The research data and the literature inform and suggest that the aid dependency issues between Korean missionaries and Cambodians can be better understood by investigating the patron-client dynamic between them.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The primary research question 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?’^[1]_[SEP]The secondary questions are: 1) What is the aid dependency in the context of Cambodia? 2) What is the role of patron-client relationship in Cambodia? 3) What is the role of patron-client relationship in Korea? 4) How does the patron-client relationship differ from Cambodia to Korea?

In answering these research questions, this research will make a significant contribution to Mission Studies in Southeast Asia with a particular reference to social anthropology in general and patron-client dynamics in particular.

The patron-client relationship has been a popular concept in socio-political studies. Although there is evidence to show that a patron-client network and co-operation among small informal groups are prevalent in Cambodia (Ledgerwood 1998), its role is not clear because it has not been sufficiently explored within the context of Korean missionaries and Cambodians.

In this case study research, I aim to analyse the patron-client relationship between Ted Kim¹⁴, patron and founder of Cambodia Bible College¹⁵ (CBC) and CBC pastors as clients. I will focus specifically on the tripartite roles of patron and clients in various church-planting stages to learn more about the problem of aid dependency. Research shows through the life cycle stages of a father, supporter, and partner – through protection, provision, and equality - the dependency level between these two groups corresponds to the life stages of the relationship.

The significant contribution of this thesis is in its offering a new interpretation of aid dependency in the context of Korean missionaries and Cambodian church planters within the scope of CBC, by researching relationships as Ted acted as a patron/father. Also uncovering new data through receiving narratives at the grassroots level of CBC pastors contributed different and fresh insights to the on-going debate on aid dependency in missiology.

1.4 Summary of Chapters

This thesis is organized into eight chapters which study the patron-client dynamic between Ted Kim (hereafter Ted) and CBC pastors in their joint church-planting projects with particular reference to the issue of financial and social dependency.

After the introduction, chapter two provides a discussion of the relevant literature on aid dependency and a patron-client relationship study to develop a conceptual framework for the analysis that follows in later chapters. Within that chapter, the first section gives an overview of aid dependency and its working definition for the thesis. I hold that the findings from the data show both positive and negative aspects of

¹⁴ Ted Kim is not his real name but a generic name for anonymity, which was requested by Ted.

¹⁵ CBC is not a real name but generic name for anonymity, requested by Ted Kim.

dependency depending on the different stages of the CBC church-planting project. For comparison, the second section presents the patron-client relationship as understood in social anthropology, the patron-client dynamic in Cambodia, and the patron-client dynamic in Korea. The third section explores the formulation of the tripartite role of Ted and CBC pastors. Therefore, this case study attempts to contribute to the debate on patron-client relationships by examining the tripartite role of patrons and clients diachronically between 1998 and 2015 and offers an alternative understanding of aid dependency within the discourse of mission studies.

Chapter three describes the research methodology in detail and illustrates how the qualitative method was primarily used with two short quantitative surveys at the beginning of the research process. The first section covers the epistemology of my thesis. It also discusses the design of the case study in CBC and its progress from the first phase field research in 2010 to its fourth field research in 2015. Within that chapter, I described the case study research methods I adopted to collect data. This chapter also reviews the patron-client relational dynamics between Ted and the CBC pastors in the context of the CBC church-planting project. For this research, other than one simple quantitative survey, I chose a qualitative method consisting of participatory focus group discussions, Cambodian pastors' surveys, and semi-structured interviews.

Chapter four examines the patron-client relationship and aid dependency issues in CBC. The main argument of this chapter is that the hierarchical nature of a patron-client relationship, although observed only between Ted and CBC pastors, is not necessarily negative, rather it is an outcome of a typical relational aspect of the patron-client relationship in the context of Southeast Asia. This aspect of the research was expanded to three parts that examine the tripartite role of Ted and CBC pastors: 1) father and children 2) sponsor and clients 3) partner and partner. Unfortunately,

although unintended by both parties, the CBC pastors have become aid dependent, which hinders their churches from becoming self-sustaining and makes an equal partnership in the future difficult. The last section of this chapter dealt with diverse types of aid dependency in Cambodia, and then in the different stages of CBC, it identified both healthy and unhealthy dependency aspects by analysing the primary data.

In chapters five to seven, the empirical analysis focused on the dimensions of tripartite roles of patron-client relationships in the context of the CBC church-planting project. In chapter five, Ted's playing the role of a father will be discussed through patron-client relationship literature and data – an asymmetrical relationship, with a personal and enduring aspect, and resource base — to better understand how they play out in the CBC context and underscore dependency. I used data to present a self-perception of the father's role by Ted and the children's role by CBC pastors. While social studies consider the hierarchical dimension of the patron-client relationship to be a negative one, this study shows that CBC pastors see Ted's fatherly, hierarchical role as a cultural norm and accept it with gratitude.

Then I present Ted as a patron father in the Korean context - *Gap & Eul* concepts, *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal* concepts, and Korean honorifics concepts. Ted as father and the CBC pastors as children, are discussed in three stages: 1) mission-house stage (1998-2002); 2) early CBC stage (2003-2007); and 3) established CBC stage (2008-2015). This study also presents both positive and negative effects, which identify the need for the role change from both parties, which is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter six present the concepts of the patron as a first order broker (FOB) in the patron-client relationship literature – with reciprocal, voluntary, and duration of bond aspects — and discusses how these play out in the CBC context as it examines Ted's role as a FOB and CBC pastors as clients. This chapter identifies the convergence of

three factors that encourage Ted to take on the role of FOB, and analyses in what ways CBC pastors play the role of clients. This analysis provides direct and indirect access to the resources needed in the church-planting process. Within this chapter, both positive and negative effects are presented, which identify the need for role changes in a partner to partner relationship. By presenting Ted's unilateral decision-making process, I held that his role as a FOB in the CBC church-planting project context had to transition into that of a partner.

Chapter seven discusses the concepts of the patron as a partner in the patron-client relationship literature – the scope of exchange and differentiation aspect — and it discusses how these play out in the CBC context and form multiple dependencies. Although only a few examples are presented here, since only few church plants are at this mature state, this chapter argues that when Ted and CBC pastors form a genuine partnership of trust, there is a reduction of uncertainty of ownership, and this facilitates independence. This chapter analyses pastors as partners in their decision-making and funding, indicating that they are starting to prepare for independence by seeking autonomy to start a real partnership with Ted.

I analysed the partnership dynamics between Ted and the CBC pastors in the decision-making process and funding concerns and observed that the CBC pastors were starting to prepare for independence and seeking autonomy to start a true partnership with Ted. I observed that one of the major concerns for the CBC pastors is their equality in making decisions and implementing their own decisions in their churches. I stated that Ted's role of a sponsor needs a transition to that of a partner because a true partnership requires two autonomous bodies sharing complementary gifts, abilities, and resources to achieve the common goal of a church-planting set by both parties. The roles of Ted and the CBC pastors as partners can help both parties assure self-sustaining

church plants.

In the concluding chapter, I present the critical research outcome, its contribution, and its research impact. This chapter also offers suggestions for a future inquiry, reflecting on the implications of the further research of the patron-client relationship in a missional study in Cambodia and Southeast Asia. This thesis demonstrates that the patron-client relationship played an essential role in CBC church-planting projects, especially as their roles changed from father and children, FOB and client, and finally to partner to partner, thereby setting the stage for achieving self-sustainable church plants in Cambodia in the future and overcoming aid dependency.

1.5 Summary

This chapter introduced the research background of the primary mission strategy for Korean missionaries in Cambodia which is church-planting, while recognizing its church-planting efforts are slowing down due to aid dependency. The research problems arose when I realised that I had to research more deeply into the social, cultural, and relational issues between Korean missionaries and Cambodians which cause the dependence and not merely focus on the aid dependency issue of finance. Out of this background, the following primary research question was developed, '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?' and then the four secondary questions: 1) What is the aid dependency in the context of Cambodia? 2) What is the role of patron-client relationship in Cambodia? 3) What is the role of patron-client relationship in Korea? 4) How does patron-client relationship differ from Cambodia to Korea?

Chapter Two Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

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 resulting issue of aid dependency particularly between Korean missionaries and Cambodian church planters. This research investigates the patron-client relationship between Korean missionaries and Cambodian church planters and analyses its tendency to dependence. It also compares and contrasts social anthropological literature and findings by other researchers. What underlies the view and position on aid dependency largely depends on the concept of patron-client that one holds. The patron-client relationship can be viewed in many different ways but the central theme I want to look at is through aid dependency. The concept of aid entails at least two parties, one who gives aid and one who receives, which is the primary dyadic relationship characteristic of patron-client dynamics.

Aid dependency is an essential theme within mission studies, and this theme has been used against nationals in a transnational mission situation. In other words, within missions and mission studies, there is a growing concern about the dependency of those evangelized in the mission agency. Thus, it leads to important questions about the sustainability and continuity of the mission work done when the mission agency and missionaries withdraw from the mission field.

To clarify the key terms of this thesis, I took the following steps to review the terms 'aid dependency' and 'patron-client relationship' and then identified their different usages in different countries and different contexts: 1) I reviewed aid dependency in aid literature and created a working definition of aid dependency in

Cambodia specifically at the refugee camp, in economic systems, in poverty, and in mission practices; 2) I reviewed the patron-client relationship in the social anthropological context; 3) I reviewed and identified the problems of patron-client relationship in Cambodia as well as that in Korea; 4) I identified the patron-client dynamic and problems in CBC between Ted and CBC pastors; 5) I reviewed and tried to identify the tripartite role of Ted as father, sponsor, and partner, and CBC church planters as children, clients, and partners 6) Finally, I reviewed and analysed the effects of different roles played in patron-client relationships diachronically and the patron-client tendency to dependence based on the different roles each party played.

2.2 Aid Dependency Issues

The term 'aid dependency' was coined as early as 1968 by Chester Crocker and has since become a standard term in the development literature (Brazys 2012: 1). The aid dependency issue is neither new nor Cambodia specific, but it is believed to act as an impediment to self-sustained development in Cambodia. Seongho Kim states that the success of Korean indigenous church plants was due to missionaries implementing John Nevius' three-self principle.¹ So, it is ironic that Korean missionaries are now establishing aid dependent church plants in their mission field.

In Korea, a *Christianity Today* news article by Jeongpyo Im explains that about seventy percent of Korean missionaries are engaged in church-planting as their primary work and that the funding for the church building is the sole responsibility of the missionaries themselves.² While the funding is likely difficult to come by but successful, Im criticizes that in this process, Korean missionaries make indigenous

¹ The three-self principles of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating are associated with John Nevius in Korea.

² <http://www.christiantoday.co.kr/news/296062>, accessed on 12 Dec. 2017. It is a Korean article.

people dependent on them from the initial stage of mission work by planting ‘missionary dependent churches’.³

2.2.1 Aid Dependency in Cambodia

Vickery states that in Cambodia, "the relations among royalty, officials, and peasantry, which did not begin to change under colonial impact until after 1884, were organised in forms of dependency. Everyone below the king had a fixed dependent status which served to determine his obligations to the next higher level and also provided protection" (Vickery 1984: 3). Similarly, Hill states that, "Cambodia historically is a feudal society where an autocratic leader bestows benefits on his loyal subjects to ensure their support" (Hill 2005: 6), and "unfortunately because of the past, the Khmers are used to hand-outs from their patrons – be it the King or the Prime Minister or senior government official. So, they have a tendency not to have to take charge of their own lives but to ask for help from some more powerful person" (Hill 2005: 73).

Judy Ledgerwood states, in her paper, *Understanding Cambodia: Social Hierarchy, Patron-client Relationships and Power*, that the patron-client relationship in Cambodia is an unequal exchange between the wealthy and powerful and the poorer and dependent (2007). Kuhonta argues that patron-client relationship is not by nature an unequal exchange, but theoretically a fair exchange of power and labour. According to him, when both parties break this balance, it then becomes a problem. Kuhonta points out that the peasant rebellion started in the Philippines was due to an industrialized form of agricultural practice enforced on farmers and that "sharecroppers... were treating them (farmers) unjustly and reneging on earlier traditions of patron-client relations"

³ Ibid.

(2011: 208-209). In other words, what had been a balanced patron-client relationship in an agricultural period was “imbalanced” or offset by demands of an industrialized era.

David Chandler also argues that the socio-economic structure of the Burmese delta, based on a patron-client relationship, broke down because of an industrialised form of social structure:

We refer to the breakdown of the various forms of patron-client ties which formed the basis not only of peasant economics but also of government and other forms of social life in the pre-colonial world ... Industrial agriculture, based upon profit and loss rather than usage and consumption, undermined many of the patron-client ties of the peasants in the Burma delta, for example, and led to the establishment of a peasant economy based upon cash and market value. (1971: 457)

About eighty percent of Cambodians are still farmers who have a patron-client relationship embedded in their social structure as their traditional and current way of life. When missionaries came to Cambodia, instead of recognizing and redeeming its value, they categorized the patron-client situation as a cultural problem, immediately connecting it to a dependency issue. The weakness of this missional practice stems from not fully understanding yet still intentionally working against the patron-client cultural norm of Cambodian society rather than working within their cultural context.

2.2.2.1 Aid Dependency in the Refugee Camp

Vickery states that the million Cambodians who had escaped from peasant and village life and found shelter at the nearby Thai refugee camp saw the United States as a patron they can depend on:

The prosperous West became a golden paradise to which all wished to go. Traveling to the West was a goal which few of them could attain, however, and as second best, reverting to old patterns in their culture, they saw salvation in dependency on a powerful western country, preferably the United States (Vickery 1984: 24).

Himm states that even for Cambodian Christians, the culture of dependency was introduced in refugee camps (2007: 35). Maher also holds that it is in these refugee

camps that many Cambodians met Christian missionary groups, and many Cambodian Christians became familiarized with and accustomed to an aid-dependent life (2002). Furthermore, Ong states the following regarding the Christian work in the refugee camp in Cambodia:

The modern-day Christian work began at the refugee camp during and after Pol Pot time, which inevitably started focusing on mercy ministry. Through the refugee camp experience, Cambodian Christians learned dependency on the institutions that helped them sustain their families and reorganise their daily lives. They learned the significance of registration and correct labelling as means for gaining access to resources necessary to their survival. Through such daily calculations and strategies, refugees were resocialized into a position of dependence on institutions and officials, a process of clientelism that echoed the patron-client networks of pre-Pol Pot Cambodia (Ong 2003: 64-65).

Many current Cambodian pastors became Christians at the refugee camp and Christian ministry in the refugee camp thrived. At the refugee camp, Cambodian Christian leaders learned that American institutions and foreign NGOs gave aid and services. They learned that if they wanted to receive such support, they had to submit to the value systems of American and foreign NGO norms. In the process, they also learned to depend on the institutions that helped them sustain their daily lives and their families.

2.2.2.2 Aid Dependency in the Economic System

Pointing to the dependency culture beyond the refugee camp, Grant Curtis states that the more significant issue is in the Cambodian national economic system that covers almost half its budget expenditures from external financing:

The dependency culture may have been a factor in refugees' rejection of Buddhism in favour of Christianity, noted above. The latter provides an outside source of aid and salvation and obviates the need to rely on oneself as in strict Buddhism or Pol Pot-ism. That Cambodia, in the post-UNTAC⁴ Period demonstrated many of the characteristics of aid dependency is hardly surprising.

⁴ United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia: (February 1992 - September 1993). UNTAC was established to ensure implementation of the Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, signed in Paris on 23 October 1991. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/untac.htm>, accessed 15 Jan. 2011.

As noted by Facing a Complex Emergency, SIDA's⁵ 1995 evaluation of external assistance to Cambodia, "Various forms of dependency become inevitable in a situation where a country covers almost half its budget expenditures from external financing." (Curtis 1998: 102).

Courtney reports that "between 1994 and 1999, more than 50% of Cambodia's education budget was funded by external contributions. By the end of the period approximately \$420 million had been invested in education reform, of which \$244 million came from external donors and NGOs" (Courtney 2007: 625).

Furthermore, according to the Economic Institute of Cambodia (EIC), the Cambodian banking system is dependent on the US dollar, since the US does not accept Cambodian currency, Riel, for deposits. It is an entirely 'dollarized economy' at this point. 'The amount of US dollars circulating through the banking system accounted for 73% of total recorded money supply in June 2006' (EIC 2007: 6).

2.2.2.3 Aid Dependency and Poverty

In a 2005 EIC report, Michael E. Porter of Harvard University states that based on the ranking of the Business Competitiveness Index for 2005, Cambodia is ranked 109th out of 116 countries surveyed (EIC 2005: 26). This ranking reflects in Steve Hyde's findings about Cambodian Christian life:

Surveying the average monthly income of church leaders' families highlights the extreme poverty among Cambodian Christians. The average monthly family income, across churches, is \$19.70. This income level corresponds directly with the occupation of most church leaders. Being a rice farmer in Cambodia is a subsistence level, almost default, occupation for those who have no alternative employment. Most farms in Cambodia are small-scale family farms. The national average income is \$321.00 per year, which correlates to \$26.75 per month which makes the church leader's family income only slightly lower than the national average (Hyde 2008: 13).

According to Steve Hyde's survey, "99.56% of church leaders consider themselves

⁵ Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA): It is a government agency of the country of Sweden. SIDA channels its resources through NGOs, multilateral cooperation, and the EU, among others and is interested in promoting the idea of "international development co-operation" to replace the one-sided giving indicated by the term "assistance." <http://web.mit.edu/urbanupgrading/upgrading/resources/organizations/Sida.html>, accessed on 15 Jan. 2011.

average or poor” (Hyde 2008: 15). In the case of this survey, we had to define each category in a way that Cambodians understand. Based on the survey, ‘poor’ was defined as living a tough life and being dependent on hard work and help from others just to survive. The ‘average life’ was defined as having enough income to survive, have a home (even a grass hut), and some land in which to produce rice or other agricultural products (Hyde 2008: 15).

Cambodian pastors hold that one of the primary reasons for dependency is that Cambodia is a poor country and the offerings by church members cannot support their ministry. According to Hyde, the average monthly offering given by the members to their churches in Cambodia is \$8. However, an official church permit granted by the Ministry of Religion in Phnom Penh is around \$2,000 (2011: 9). The Cambodian government makes such a charge presumably as part of pressurizing Christian communities. In any case, comparing these two figures, the churches in Cambodia cannot function without substantial funding from outside the country or from overseas’ organizations, as Hyde states in the following:

Already in the short amount of time (less than 15 years), numerous senior church leaders and even whole churches have vanished. Each of them had serious dependency issues with foreign money, foreign control, or self-promotion with foreign backing. They may not have even realized it, but everything they did was further creating a dependency. Once the source was gone, the church and leaders rapidly declined. This dependency model continues to be repeated time and time again. Denominational connections, church connections, and even theology are far more dependent on financial ties and dependencies rather than personal conviction (2011: 71).

Similarly, Glenn J. Schwartz, in his book, *When Charity Destroys Dignity: Overcoming Unhealthy Dependency in the Christian Movement*, holds that for many poor churches in the global South, aid dependency has become a way of life (2007: 31).

2.2.2.4 Aid Dependency and Mission Practice

Both the research data and the literature informed me of the aid dependency issues in Cambodian mission practices. For instance, Thyu states in his paper, “History of

Christians in Cambodia,” that “Most Cambodian Christian ministries currently depend on outside financial support” (2012: 107). Juergensen also observes that for many Cambodian pastors, “Relying on God often means becoming dependent on support from foreign missionaries” (2012: 120).

There are hundreds of Christian Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in Cambodia. Often, major Christian denominations have their own NGOs as part of the denominational structure as well. Hyde reports that “66% of the churches said they have a partnership with a Christian NGO” (Hyde 2008: 25) which inevitably involves a financial transaction. Caroline Hughes argues that once financial support from NGOs is received, the dependent party is required to fulfil the NGO’s objectives:

NGOs emerging in Cambodia in the 1990s thus faced similar problems to political parties with respect to promoting the empowered political participation of citizens in Cambodia's rural villages. NGOs were significantly more successful in securing international aid and assistance for their projects; however, this was a double-edged victory in that dependence upon international resources also entailed subordination of local imperatives and objectives to international ones (Hughes 2003: 140).

In 1881, John Nevius stated six reasons why mission agencies should not pay the local pastors or church planters in the mission field (Nevius 1881): 1) It will harm the mission agency itself; 2) It will eventually harm the person who gets support; 3) You won’t be able to tell the difference between the genuine converts from the fake ones; 4) The number of Christians who work for money will increase; 5) It will discourage Christians who want to work purely for their Christian calling; 6) It will lower the overall influence in the mission field. Nevius’ insights are almost prophetic in the Cambodian missional context as the most of what he forewarned has become a reality in Cambodia.

According to Steve Hyde, “nearly 35% said they did receive foreign funding while a substantial 56% said they received no foreign financing for their church” (Hyde 2008: 19). However, of that 56%, based on the interviews, it was not a choice to

receive aid or not. They lacked the opportunity to receive the aid.

Once Cambodian Christian workers are in the dependent mode, they will seek better agencies that provide either greater support or a more extended support. Hyde further explains, “It has long been observed that the political factions often change very rapidly, and Cambodian churches are also difficult to tract⁶ because of many changes in loyalty and associations. Nearly a quarter of churches have changed denominations or associations since they were formed” (Hyde 2008: 20). In interview nine, Pastor Taing shared that five directors of New Life orphanages, who had served with him for more than ten years, resigned simultaneously in one month and one month later joined other orphanages as directors started by another Western NGO. The bottom line was that in the new director positions, their salaries more than doubled. However, within one month, they all came back to Pastor Taing asking him to transfer orphans as the Western NGO had built facilities but had no orphans in residence.

This culture of dependency had deep roots in Cambodian social practice and still strengthens the grip of those in leadership now – both in the context of NGOs and Christian missions. According to Chandler, the Cambodian phrase translated as ‘exploit’ (*Chi-Choan*) means "ride on and kick", which depicts the lopsided relationships involving masters and servants that is still played out in modern day Cambodian life (1999a: 149).

2.2.2.5 Aid Dependency Issues in Aid Literature

In the economics aid literature, many opinions and positions dispute the effectiveness of aid and aid dependency. In recent years, many researchers and economists from the

⁶ Here Hyde means by ‘tract’ identifying Cambodian pastors within given denominations or groups because frequent changes they make during their ministry duration.

anti-aid camp have questioned the effectiveness of foreign aid. Doucouliagos and Paldam (2008) outline the aid history in *'The Sad Results of 40 Years of Research History'*, and Kjackov et al. (2008) find a 'curse of aid' wherein increasing levels of aid lead to a decline and deterioration in the quality of institutions. Also, Robinson et al. (2000) show how foreign aid can induce 'Dutch Disease' effects by appreciating that the real exchange rate leads to lower export and higher imports which results in resource-induced competitiveness loss. Easterly claims that such unintended consequences of foreign aid (2007) are a result of the development agencies that assume they know (1) what to do, (2) how to do it, and (3) who the 'development community' is.

However, from the pro-aid camp, Jeffery Sachs of Harvard, in his 2005 book - *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for our Time*, holds not only that foreign aid works, but that we will see the end of poverty in our time if we can significantly give more, i.e., doubling the aid. In 2009, Dambisa Moyo of Oxford, who was once Sachs' student at Harvard, argues against such optimism and claims that foreign aid is doing more harm than good. In her book *Dead Aid* she argues for the following:

One of the most depressing aspects of the whole aid fiasco is that donors, policymakers, governments, academicians, economists and development specialists know, in their heart of hearts, that aid does not work, hasn't worked and won't work... A study, after study, after study (many of them, the donors' own) have shown that, after many decades and many millions of dollars, aid to developing countries has had no appreciable impact on development (2009: 46).

Associated with the notion that countries may be negatively influenced by foreign aid is the concept of 'aid dependency'. Based on the preliminary interviews in 2010, I realized that most Faith Based Organizational (FBO) leaders⁷ studied in issues of Cambodian Evangelical Churches (CEC) self-sustainability placed the blame on Cambodian churches and their leadership, but at the same time Cambodians⁸ interviewed in the same year blamed FBO leadership and its policy for keeping them

⁷ Appendix A, Int. 10, 14, 15, 18, 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 and 43; Audio Record of Int. 2-4, 7, 8, 11, and 13.

⁸ Appendix A, Interview # 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29 and 31; AR# 1, 5, 6, 15, 16 and 20.

from becoming self-sustaining. To understand this opposing view objectively, I need to substantiate and make a more rigorous analysis of the preliminary interview data and other primary sources on CEC and FBOs of Cambodia.

William Easterly writes that a starting place for the history of foreign aid is with the Point Four programme of Harry S. Truman, which he announced in his inaugural address on January 20, 1949:

We must embark on a bold new program for ... the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery... For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people (Easterly, 2002: 13).

In 2000, the United Nations adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), and 189 nations made a promise to free people from multiple deprivations: One, eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; Two, achieving a universal primary education; Three, promoting gender equality and empowering women; Four, reducing child mortality rates; Five, improving maternal health; Six, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; Seven, ensuring environmental sustainability; Eight, instilling a global partnership for development. The set date was by the year 2015, and the opening sentences of the UN Resolution stated, "We will spare no effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for pursuing all of these priorities. We resolve, therefore: To ensure that the Organization is provided ...with the resources it needs to carry out its mandates" (Easterly, 2002: 15).

By 2001, James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, challenged the world leaders to increase their foreign aid by doubling the current ODA (Official Development Assistance) to \$50 billion a year (Easterly, 2002: 14). According to 2007 World Development Indicators, a total net ODA to low-income countries was more than

doubled from US\$ 18.7 billion in 2000 to US\$ 40.3 billion in 2005. Similarly, ODA per capita almost doubled from US\$ 9 in 2000 to US\$ 17 in 2005 (Ek, et al. 2008: 6).

What is the result of doubling the aid? As economists Rajan and Subramania in their International Monetary Fund (IMF) working paper, "Aid and Growth: What Does the Cross-Country Evidence Really Show?" state, they found "little evidence of a robust positive impact of aid on growth, and this despite the fact that our instrumentation strategy corrects the bias of conventional estimation procedures against finding a positive impact of aid. To be more concrete, in the cross-sectional analysis, we find some evidence for a negative relationship in the long run – 40-year horizon" (Rajan, et al. 2005: 6). Their central conclusion is that there is no robust positive relationship between aid and growth in the cross-section (Rajan, et al. 2005: 19).

In the same light, the critics of foreign aid such as Milton Friedman, Peter Bauer, and William Easterly have charged that "aid has enlarged government bureaucracies, perpetuated bad governments, enriched the elite in poor countries, or just been wasted." (Radelet, 2006: 3) They argue, according to Steven Radelet, that aid programmes should be dramatically reformed, substantially curtailed, or eliminated citing the widespread poverty in Africa and South Asia despite three decades of aid. They point to countries that have received substantial aid yet have had disastrous records such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, Papua New Guinea, and Somalia." (Radelet 2006: 3).

According to William Easterly of the Centre for Global Development, the foreign aid bureaucracies have engaged in obfuscation - carefully hedged diplomatic language to cover up and misinform the donors:

Rich country aid efforts to anarchic warlords such as in Liberia are "difficult partnerships" (OECD 2001)... Countries whose presidents loot the treasury experience "governance issues." When government officials do not want what the aid agency insists upon, there are "differences in priorities and approaches {that}... need to be reconciled." (Easterly 2002: 31).

He argues that the tragedy of foreign aid is not that it did not work but that it was never really tried. A group of well-meaning national and international bureaucracies dispensed foreign aid under conditions in which bureaucracy does not work well. Moreover, regarding foreign aid to Africa, he concludes the following:

The foreign aid foundered in a sea of bureaucracy, despite the good intentions, altruism, and genuine professional dedication of the individuals involved. The aid community responded to its difficult environment by organising itself as a cartel of good intentions, suppressing critical feedback and learning from the past, suppressing competitive pressure to deliver results, and suppressing the identification of the best channel of resources for different objectives. The bureaucracy controlled foreign aid, with the result that foreign aid lost support in the rich countries and liberal political and economic ideals lost support in the poor countries (Easterly 2002: 64).

Easterly offers the following suggestion:

Foreign aid should try harder to harness the decentralized genius of the market in order for aid to really reach its intended beneficiaries. Rather than trying to fix a pothole for one poor person in Ethiopia through an arsenal of international goals, frameworks, and bureaucracies, let aid marketplaces and aid vouchers work to match a donor with that recipient. Rather than imposing processes, strategies, and wish-lists on the poor, let the poor make their own choices. If aid vouchers and other market mechanisms were more effective at getting donor funds to the poor, support in rich countries for foreign aid would likely increase - maybe even double! (Easterly, 2002: 64).

Jeffrey Sachs, Joseph Stiglitz, Nicholas Stern and others, who are foreign aid supporters, counter these arguments by stating that while these findings are partially correct, they are overstated. They have argued, "although aid has sometimes failed, it has supported poverty reduction and growth in some countries and prevented worse performance in others" (Radelet 2006: 3).

Belonging neither to the pro-aid or the anti-aid camps, Burnside and Dollar, from the policy department of World Bank, in 2004, published a paper, 'Aid, Policies and Growth' which examined the relationships among foreign aid, economic policies, and growth of per capita GDP. They considered the conditionality of foreign aid and its recipient country, as they concluded, "We find that aid has a positive impact on growth

in developing countries with good fiscal, monetary, and trade policies. In the presence of poor policies, on the other hand, aid has no positive effect on growth” (2004: 1).

From these arguments, four broad views have emerged regarding the relationship between foreign aid and its effect on growth: 1) Aid has a positive effect on growth - Jeffrey Sachs, Joseph Stiglitz, Nicholas Stern, James Wolfensohn; 2) Aid has a conditional effect on growth, helping to accelerate growth under certain circumstances – Burnside, Dollar; 3) Aid has no effect on growth – Rajan, Subramania; 4) Aid actually undermines growth – William Easterly, Dambisa Moyo, Milton Friedman, and Peter Bauer.

Whether one holds Moyo’s and Easterly’s or Sachs’ position on the effectiveness of aid, the importance of the aid dependency issue within the aid effectiveness discourse is evident.⁹

2.2.3 Working Definition of Aid Dependency

Despite the term's widespread usage, there appears to be little consensus on the definition and how it operates especially in the context of an aid-receiving country such as Cambodia. More precisely in the context of the research group CBC, Lentz defines ‘dependency’ as two types - positive and negative. Positive dependency is a case where “an individual or community exhibits dependency when [the case] cannot meet [their] immediate basic needs without external assistance and helping them to meet their basic needs when they otherwise could not: (2005: 10). For example, during the monsoon flooding in Cambodia, 2012, many villages were cut off from the main roads and required a massive rescue operation. Stav Zotalis reported on that crisis:

⁹ Appendix C Van Diagram on Aid Effectiveness Quadrant was made based on the literature review.

Over a million people have been affected; the death toll has increased. It is now 247 people, and also an extra 10,000 hectares of farmland have been... The number of deaths is a very concerning issue and the extent of the damage is alarming. Seventeen of Cambodia's 24 provinces are considered emergency areas and floodwaters are expected to remain high for the days ahead.¹⁰

Massive amounts of emergency food and clean water had to be transported by small boats reaching these isolated villages, and funding from Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) was instrumental in this humanitarian effort. Many Cambodian villagers depended on this resource, and as a consequence, many lives were saved. Although its death toll was at 247, if not for this timely aid, the death toll could have reached thousands since floodwaters remained high for many days. As these Cambodian villages could not meet their immediate basic needs without external assistance, helping them to meet those needs and saving lives is an example of positive dependency.

However, the negative dependency is the result of continuous outside assistance meeting the current needs at the cost of reducing the recipients' capacity to meet their basic needs in the future without external assistance. The following are three aid scholars and their definition of this negative dependency: First, Brautigam (2000: 2) defines aid dependency as "a situation in which a country cannot perform many of the core functions of government, such as operations and maintenance, or the delivery of basic public services, without foreign funding and expertise." Second, according to Riddell (1996: 40-41), "aid dependency should be understood as that process by which the continued provision of aid appears to be making no significant contribution to the achievement of self-sustaining development." Further, chronic aid dependency is "the process by which the provision of aid creates new and/or reinforces existing

¹⁰ Stav Zotalis is country the director of CARE Cambodia. <http://tinyurl.com/h43cku5>, accessed on 14 Oct. 2016.

impediments to the achievement of self-sustained development thereby reducing or, at the extreme, nullifying the positive outcomes anticipated." Finally, third, Siobhan (1996: 122) more broadly defines that "aid dependence is not just a set of macroeconomic figures but a state of mind where the aid recipient countries lose their capacity to think for themselves and thereby relinquish control over the direction of state policy."

At the macro-level, these three negative definitions of dependency seem operational in Cambodia. Many fields of study observe this expected adverse effects of aid dependency on the course and the pattern of the country's development. For example, in 1998, foreign aid as the percentage of government revenue in Cambodia was 134 percent (Godfrey 2002: 360), which is one of the highest among developing countries. In 2003, Dararith reports that even after receiving more than five billion (US\$) in aid, "Cambodia is still ranked 130th out of 177 on the UNDP Development Index; and still qualified as a Least Developed Country" (2006: 28). Also, based on 2007 World Development Indicators, Ek and Sok found that an official aid dependency ranking for Cambodia rose - ODA per capita (US\$) increased from 31 to 38. Then the Open Budget Index (OBI), which measures foreign aid and budget transparency, found Cambodia with aid dependency index averages more than ten percent over the years from 2000-2006.

In the case of Cambodian monsoon flood victims, had their dependency on the international food and clean water aid not stopped after the flood and the beginning of the dry season, it might have developed into a long term aids initiative so that lives might be lost without the foreign aid. At that point, it all becomes a harmful dependency. In other words, the aid did not contribute to the long-term capacity building but created a long-term, on-going dependency on the aid itself.

According to Riddell, “Aid dependency should be understood as that process by which the continued provision of aid appears to be making no significant contribution to the achievement of self-sustaining development: (1996: 40). Further, chronic aid dependency is “the process by which the provision of aid creates new and/or reinforces existing impediments to the achievement of self-sustained development thereby reducing or, at the extreme, nullifying the positive outcomes anticipated” (1996: 41).

Given these scholarly definitions, the working definition of aid dependency in this research - especially in the context of CBC church-planting – for both healthy and unhealthy aid dependency is the following:

Healthy aid dependency is a psychological and financial situation where the church leader’s immediate basic needs are met with external assistance to provide for his family. Church planters set up the initial ministry and make a contribution toward helping the church become self-sustaining.

Unhealthy aid dependency is a psychological and financial situation where the church leader cannot set the agenda and plan for their church and church cannot provide for their staff and on-going ministry without external assistance, and continued funding appears to not contribute to becoming a self-sustaining church.

In later chapters, I use these definitions to identify and analyse the opportunities or dangers of aid dependency, areas of aid dependency, and factors affecting aid dependency – observing and assessing either healthy dependency or unhealthy dependency formation between Ted and CBC pastors. My first working hypothesis, based on my interaction with Korean missionaries, Cambodian pastors and initial interviews in 2010 and 2011, was that those Cambodian church plants started with Korean mission aid, without the exit plan, left the Cambodians in aid-dependency.

2.3 Patron-Client Relationship in Social Anthropology

This research relates to mission studies of Southeast Asia with reference to social anthropology in general but the patron-client dynamic in particular. Therefore, defining

the patron-client relationship in a social anthropological context is necessary. Although Western European feudal societies rotated around what one could term patron-client relationships, and there may be some examples in other civilizations, the patron-client relationship was first studied and published in sociology by Eisenstadt in 1956 as an article entitled 'Ritualized Personal Relationship'. In the analysis of the patron-client relationship, he was convinced that "such relations are sign not just of underdevelopment, but of special types of social formations closely related to specific types of cultural orientations" (1984: ix). From 1975 onwards, a few scholars such as Luis Roniger and R. Pain started to concur with Eisenstadt in the comparative study of patron-client relationships, publishing several papers on the subject. In his seminal book, *Patrons, clients and friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (1984), supported by a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation, Eisenstadt states that the themes of his research brought his study close to some of the significant works of his teacher at Hebrew University, i.e., Martin Buber, especially his work on *I and Thou*, and its 'relationship-based' understanding of interpersonal relations versus 'social contract' based relations. However, in subsequent social and anthropological studies, the patron-client relationship is used as the primary construction units of an interpersonal aspect of the broader social order. Eisenstadt explains the development of patron-client relationship studies in the context of social anthropology:

It was above all in the anthropological and – to a smaller degree – in the sociological literature that, already in the late forties and early fifties, some types of rather exceptional interpersonal relations, such as different types of friendship, of ritual friendship and of patron-client relationship, were noted. But until late fifties and early sixties, the study of these kinds of relations was in most of the social sciences – anthropology, sociology, and political science – in a rather marginal position (1984: 2-3).

According to Lindquist, the significant anthropological interest in the patron-client dynamic and brokers "does not emerge until the post-colonial era during the 1950s and

60s (2015: 2).” Eisenstadt also argues that from the late fifties patron-client relationship studies became more central to sociological and anthropological analysis because of the growing awareness that patron-client relationships were not destined to remain on the outskirts of society or to disappear with the development of democratic governments, economic developments, and modernization, “but new types of patron-client relationship may appear seemingly performing important functions within such more developed modern society” (1984: 4).

The articles by Eric Wolf (1956) and Clifford Geertz (1960) explicitly developed the idea of the cultural broker to describe changing forms of political authority and the transforming relationship between villages and cities following decolonization in Mexico and Indonesia. F.G. Bailey identified patron brokers as "agents of social change" (1963: 101) that allowed for the integration of villages into a broader society in India. These papers attempted to explain the development of new forms of political and social relationships through the figure of the patron as a broker.

The terms ‘patron’ and ‘client’ originated when the common people of ancient Rome, plebeians (*clientem*), were dependent upon the ruling class, patricians (*patron*), for their welfare (Marshall 1998). At that time, the client was a person who had a lawyer speaking for him or her in a trial. In court, this meaning still exists today. At the same time, ‘clientela’ was a group of people who had someone speaking for them in public, the ‘patronus’ (Muno 2010: 3).

The patron-client relationship is not unique to Cambodia but is fundamentally an issue related to levels of development, and so unsurprisingly it appears also in references to South America, Africa and Europe - especially in agricultural society. Until recently, the use of patron-client analysis has been the domain of anthropologists who found it particularly useful in penetrating communities where interpersonal power

relations were most noticeable. “Terms which are related to patron-client structures in the anthropological literature-including “clientelism,” “dyadic contract,” and “personal network” (Scott, 1972: 92).

Since there are no formal terms in Khmer, identifying the characteristics of the patron-client relationship in other fields of study is essential. Muno suggests the following five essential characteristics of the patron-client relationship in social anthropology (2010: 4).¹¹ The strategy here is to propose critical characteristics of the patron-client relationship and thereby identify the existence of the patron-client relationship between Korean missionaries and Cambodian Christians in Cambodia in general and between Ted and CBC church planters more specifically: 1) The patron-client relationship is dyadic; 2) The patron-client relationship is asymmetrical; 3) The patron-client relationship is personal and enduring; 4) The patron-client relationship is reciprocal; 5) The patron-client relationship is voluntary.

James Scott states that the typical patron in traditional Southeast Asia was a petty local leader. Unlike the representative of a corporate kin group or a corporate village structure, the local patron owed his local leadership to his skills, his wealth, and occasionally to his connections with regional leaders - all of which enhanced his capacity to build a personal following. In this way, patron-client systems have survived - even flourished - in both colonial and post-independent Southeast Asia (1972a: 105).

However, Scott argues that there have been important changes, i.e., "New resources for patronage, such as party connections, development programs, nationalised enterprises, and bureaucratic power have been created" (1972a: 105), which is the case in Cambodia. Scott makes the following observation as seen in Table 1.

¹¹ The word Muno uses is ‘Clientelism’ which is used interchangeably with the patron-client relationship.

Quality	Traditional	Contemporary
1. Duration of bond	More persistent	Less persistent
2. Scope of exchange	Multiplex	(Increasingly) simplex
3. Resource base	Local, personal	External links, office-based
4. Affective/ instrumental balance	Higher ratio of affective to instrumental ties	Lower ratio of affective to instrumental ties
5. Local resource control	More local monopoly	Less local monopoly
6. Differentiation between clusters	Less differentiation	More differentiation
7. Density of coverage	Greater density	Less density

Table 1 Secular Trends in the Nature of Patron-Client Ties in Southeast Asia (1972a: 106)

Regarding James Scott's observations on the seven qualities of the patron-client relationship shifting from traditional to contemporary, five qualities seem to be applicable in the research context:¹² 1) The duration of the bond is less persistent in Cambodia; 2) The scope of exchange is increasingly more simple; 3) The resource base is more grounded in external links; 4) Local resource control is less to the point that oligopoly is taking place; and 5) There is more differentiation between clusters.

Both Muno's five characteristics of patron-client dynamics and Scott's five natures of patron-client dynamics in Southeast Asia, a total of ten, will now be presented in more detail beginning with Muno's characteristics.

2.3.1 Dyadic

The patron-client relationship is a social relationship between two persons, patron and client and is, therefore, dyadic (Lande 1977). A patron is someone who controls specific resources, money, goods, access to jobs, and services. These resources are available for the client under certain circumstances. The client has to give his resources such as work or support. Nevertheless, he or she has a close personal relationship with the patron

¹² Due to the social anthropological scope of this research, an affective/instrumental balance quality is not analysed due to its primarily political nature.

(Muno 2010: 4). The patron is always at the top of this dyadic network and the client or clients are at the bottom.

James Scott calls this ‘the patron-client pyramid’ - enlarging on the cluster but still focusing on one person and his vertical link. This is simply a vertical extension downward of the cluster in which linkages are introduced beyond the first order (1972: 96) as shown in Diagram A below.

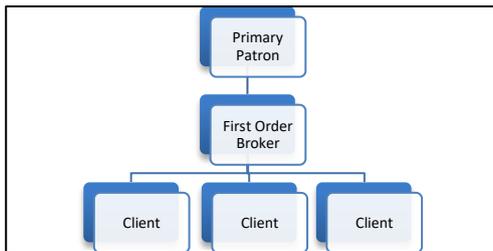


Diagram A Patron-Client Pyramid

In reality, the First Order Broker (FOB) performs as both patron and client. The FOB receives resources from the primary patron and, in that sense, they are clients. However, these resources are often managed and distributed quite independently, and practically the FOBs control these resources, so they become patrons for other clients. The remarkable aspect of this patron-client pyramid is that there is always a dyadic relationship between patron and client at its core (Muno 2010: 6).

In the context of Korean missionaries and Cambodian Christians, there is another patron (the Primary Patron) on top of the patron (Korean missionaries). In this way, Korean missionaries become the broker to the primary patron. Practically, there may be several levels of brokers. The sending denomination agency, e.g. Methodist Church of Korea, may be the primary patron, but then there are the brokers, and at the end are the clients. Brokers with direct contact with clients are the first order of brokers. Korean missionaries play the role of the FOBs to Cambodian Christians, their clients.

This pyramid type of patron-client clusters is one of several ways in which Cambodians who are not close kin come to be associated. James Scott states that "most alternative forms of association involve organising around categorical ties, both traditional - such as ethnicity, religion, or caste - and modern - such as occupation or class - which produce groups that are fundamentally different in structure and dynamics" (1972: 97). The patron-client pyramid is observed in many of the Korean missionaries' mission structure. The primary patron is either a church or denomination from Korea, and Korean missionaries take the role of the FOB, and become the connector to Cambodian Christians for finance and other resources coming from Korea.

2.3.2 Asymmetrical

Muno states that one significant aspect of the relationship between patron and client is that it is always asymmetrical - resulting in a vertical or hierarchical relationship (2010: 6). George Foster, in his research on the dyadic contract in Tzintzuntzan, Mexico, finds the hierarchical level of speech used to separate patron from client:

It is especially apparent in linguistic usage. Compadres of the same status, as is well known, are incredibly formal with each other in theory at least dropping the familiar second person singular personal pronoun "tu" in favour of the formal "Usted." ... patron compadres, almost without exception, address their village compadres with the familiar "tu," so that the relative status of the two partners is never in doubt (1963: 1284).

It is marked by an asymmetrical distribution of resources, of power, money, goods, prestige etc. The patron, not the client, controls material or immaterial resources.

2.3.3 Personal and Enduring

The patron-client relation is personal. This means that it is a "face-to-face" relationship (Mainwaring 1999), not a sporadic or spontaneous acquaintance or a mere business connection. Patrons and clients know each other and trust each other. According to

Kitschelt and Wilkinson, patrons must be confident about the reciprocity of the exchange from clients (2007: 9). It is not based on a social contract, but on a personal relationship. They argue that out of this personal relationship there are expectations of patrons about appropriate behaviour from clients (2007: 18). Since Korean missionaries come from a similar Asian cultural background, their expectations of Cambodians' appropriate behaviour, as clients, are culturally similar.

2.3.4 Reciprocity

The Argentine sociologist, Javier Auyero (2000), holds that such expectations are deeply rooted in reciprocal feelings of loyalty and obligation. The clients also expect reciprocal loyalty and obligation from their patrons. Since there is no written contract or legally binding statements, there is always a momentum of uncertainty in patron-client relationships. In many cases, Westerners, who have been taught equality and the virtues of independence in their culture, are not prepared to understand the intricate rules and expectations of patron-client relationships (Dahl 1999: 101). They are not conscious of their expected role as patrons. This lack of awareness may in turn cause misjudgements by both Westerners and Cambodians.

2.3.5 Voluntary

The patron-client relationship as a voluntary relationship is highly debated. Scott states that there are distinct and essential differences in the degree of coercion involved in a patron-client relationship: At one end are the clients with virtually no choice but to follow the patron who directly controls their means of subsistence – "one might place a tenant whose landlord provides his physical security, his land, his implements and seed, in a society where land is scarce and insecurity rife" (1972a: 100). However, in

Cambodia, in an urban setting, Lee argues that Cambodian Christians as clients have the freedom to choose a different Korean missionaries patron if he or she does not adequately fulfil their role as a patron because, primarily, it is a relationship based on practical need.¹³

2.3.6 Duration of Bond

Scott (1972a) points out that the duration of bond of contemporary patron-client relationships in Southeast Asia seems to be less persistent than the traditional one because the “patron's resource base became even more vulnerable to the actions of outside forces over which he had little or no control” (1972a: 106). Traditionally, for the patron-client relationship in Cambodia, the duration of bond was based on personal and long-term loyalty if not a lifetime commitment. However, as Scott points out, the contemporary patrons in Christian mission engagement, NGOs and Faith Based Organizations (FBO) in Cambodia, are primarily financed by foreign aid and thereby controlled by those outside of Cambodia. It follows that the contemporary patron-client relationship seems to be less personal, loyal, and persistent.

2.3.7 Scope of Exchange

Scott (1972a) holds that the scope of exchange between patron and client tends to be increasingly simple and narrow in contemporary Southeast Asia:

Traditional patrons could serve as all-purpose protectors, but the newer patron's effectiveness tended to be more specialised in areas such as political influence, modern sector employment, or administrative influence. Although patron-client ties remained flexible and personal, the more limited capacities of the patron tended to make relationships less comprehensive and hence less stable in control (1972a: 106).

¹³ From Lee Kyouk, e-mail dated 9 Sep. 2013.

This seems to be the case in Cambodia as well, as client fidelity is no longer exclusive to one patron or an organization, and there can be multiple patrons, as different types of patrons meet different needs. The scope of exchange for the client is increasingly simple and is based on diversified and yet more specified patron roles and resources.

2.3.8 Resource Base

In the contemporary Cambodian patron-client relationship, the resource is based more on external links than within Cambodia. The traditional patron, for the most part, operated with personally controlled local resources. The growing role of outside resources, in most cases, led to competition among patrons. The particular resources at his command as a broker determined the recruitment of followers. This created an oligopoly in Cambodia, which is a new sociological phenomenon because there are more patrons than clients.

Medina and Stokes emphasize this power of control by a “monopoly” of a patron, which seems exaggerated (Medina/Stokes 2007) in the case of Cambodia. The monopoly situation may exist in certain remote rural areas in the world and in Cambodia, but contrary to the situation of a monopoly, in the Cambodian urban setting, oligopoly is prevalent in that Korean missionaries as patrons compete for the same Cambodian Christians as clients (Muno 2010: 6):

An oligopoly can be explained in economic terms – where there are different types of market structures, "monopolies are at one end of the spectrum, with only one seller in monopolistic markets, and perfectly competitive markets are at the other end, with many buyers and sellers offering identical products."¹⁴

In the case of Cambodia, many Korean missionaries as patrons can approach an individual Cambodian Christian at once. Most common by order of frequency are the

¹⁴ [Http://economics.about.com/od/Oligopoly/fl/Introduction-to-Oligopoly.htm](http://economics.about.com/od/Oligopoly/fl/Introduction-to-Oligopoly.htm), accessed on 30 Jan. 2015.

following: 1) Korean missionaries act as FOBs for their denomination's mission board in Korea and offer church plant pastoring positions; 2) Korean missionaries' seminary staff seek to enrol Cambodian Christians and guarantee full tuition, lodging, and future pastoral position within their church-planting effort; 3) Korean missionaries seek Christian staff for their FBO projects in Cambodia.¹⁵ During interviews,¹⁶ a missionary from India shared how several Cambodian Christians in the city of Svay Rieng were offered church-planting positions from major Korean denominations such as Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians. They were approached by individual Korean missionaries and offered different salary scales. However, during this process, mistrust and infighting resulted in fist-fights between Cambodian Christians on the street of Svay Rieng and he was called to become a mediator.

Scott argues that because the new patron-client ties were weaker and less comprehensive, and because the new patrons were often from outside the local community, the rules and mode of the exchange became more complicated. The patron-client relationship usually involves some calculations of advantage but some of its traditional legitimacy was weakened and it became more based on social contracts:

Patron-client exchanges became more monetized, calculations more explicit, and concern centred more on the rate of return from the relationship rather than on its durability. This trend meant that newer patron-client clusters were likely to have a comparatively large "fair weather" periphery, a comparatively small core following, and a less "constant" patron as well (1972a: 107).

Thus, the patron-client relationship in Cambodia has become based more on a contemporary social contract model than on the traditional, relational one. Today, the terms and condition of 'give and take' are discussed and put into formal agreements or contracts because external patrons now require more formal, impersonal, legally

¹⁵ Int.3 at Mondolkiri; Int. 12 at L-3 (Group interview: Four Cambodian Christians and one Philippine missionary); Int. 31 at Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

¹⁶ Int. 47.

contractual ties of the marketplace model with their clients.

2.3.9 Local Resource Control

Eisenstadt holds that in societies in which the patron-client mode is predominant, for example in Southeast Asia, “all these social actors evince a relatively low degree of autonomous access to the major resources which they need to implement their goals or, in broader settings, to the control of their own resources” (1984: 205). He holds that with the establishment of Western patterns of administration and rule, clientelistic networks in Southeast Asia emerged between peasant populations and political, office-holders and rural bosses, and that “resources were mainly those which were provided by or attained through the administration, and the contacts of brokers and patrons with the ruling coalitions and the bureaucracy became salient” (1984: 121).

In the past, local landowners or traditional leaders in Southeast Asia maintained a local monopoly and dominated the local resources without much competition, but Scott argues that, in the context of contemporary Southeast Asia, “factional strife which reflects this competition was most common in villages where socioeconomic change [took place]” (1972a: 107). In the context of contemporary Cambodia, a local leader now faces foreign competitors with substantially more resources. Scott’s argument seems to hold for the Cambodian case as he states that “even this supple traditional protective mechanism [of patron-client relationship] has had to pay a certain price to survive in the midst of a nation-state with a commercialised economy” (1972a: 107).

2.3.10 Density of Coverage

There is less density of coverage in a contemporary patron-client relationship. More and more people on rice farms who live on small plots they rent from absentee landlords

are no longer attached to patrons. Patrons are also covering larger areas with quantifiable results, not committing to a local area or to the particular people group in a particular region. Although the patron-client ties of NGOs and FBOs have become more instrumental, less comprehensive, and hence less resilient, they still represent more personal bonds of affection when compared to the impersonal, contractual ties of the marketplace model.

2.3.11 Patron as a Broker

In anthropology, the cultural broker appeared as a starting point for considering social change more broadly and Wolf defined brokers as the following:

Groups of people who mediate between community-oriented groups in communities and nation-oriented groups which operate through national institutions.... (They) stand guard over the crucial junctures or synapses of relationships which connect the local system to the larger whole (1956: 1075-6).

According to Lindquist, the broker of a patron-client dynamic is a classic figure in anthropological literature, particularly with regard to the study of low-level political and economic relationships, with the following characteristics: 1) The broker is a specific type of middleman, mediator, or intermediary; 2) The broker is a human actor who gains something from the mediation of valued resources; 3) The broker who does not directly control is distinguished from a patron who controls valued resources; 4) The broker is a go-between or a messenger, who do not affect the transaction (2015: 2).

2.3.11.1 A Broker in the Patron-Client Relationship Literature

In the 1950s to 1960s, in the field of social and cultural anthropology, Eric Wolf (1956) and Clifford Geertz (1960) saw brokers as ‘cultural brokers.’ Noah Eisenstedt (1956) sees the patron-client relationship as ‘ritualized personal relations’ and George Foster

(1963) as 'dyadic contract relationship'. Silverman (1965) saw brokers as necessary but temporary actors arguing that the model of brokerage is based on inequality. Bailey (1969) saw brokers as 'agents of change' who bridge a gap in communication in a situation of encapsulation (1969: 167). In the field of political science, more specifically in the study of Southeast Asia, James Scott (1972b), argues that Carl Lande was the first to apply the patron-client model to Southeast Asia politics explicitly, and found it a useful way to explain the voting process without its class-based groupings (1972b: footnote 1). Carl Lande (1973) mentions the rising importance of Clientelism in Southeast Asia, stating that the patron-client relationship issue and its study were of central importance.

Paine (1971), studying Canada, *Patrons and brokers in the East Arctic*, argues that brokers' roles were situational and that they regulated the circulation of values, which is based on roles they played at particular time and situation rather than status and inequality. Boissevain in his book, *Friends of Friends*, sees brokerage as a business and argues that a broker is "a professional manipulator of people and information who brings about communication for profit" (1974: 158). He holds that a centrality of location in networks, adequate time to deal with social relations, and control over first-order resources were all critical to become successful brokers (1974: 158). A broker's capital lay in the communication channels he controlled, while others believed his capital lay in his connections (1974: 159).

In the late 1970s, the patron-client relationship study was not active, and Jonathan Spencer (2007) calls the disappearance of the broker relations a 'strange death of political anthropology'. Wolfgang Muno also (2010) states that 'Clientelism lost its importance in 80s and 90s. Vincent reasons that there was a shift from persons, patron and brokers, to particular situations that allowed for new forms of relations and

brokerage (1978: 186).

In 2011, Deborah James, from South Africa, argues that "Neoliberalism has increasingly problematized state-centred models of power and pushed for a reconceptualization of the relationship between state and market. In this context, there was great potential for the return of brokers with neoliberal reform and economic and political deregulations; the broker appeared as an ideal anthropological informant" (2011: 318)." Muno (2010) brought the concept of patron-client relationship and its dynamic back to the study of socio-anthropology by presenting a paper entitled "Conceptualizing and Measuring Clientelism."

2.4 Patron-Client Dynamic in Cambodia

There are at least four types of patrons found in Cambodia for Cambodian Christians: Korean missionaries, Western missionaries,¹⁷ FBOs, and NGOs. Almost all patrons, except for a few local NGOs, are organizations from outside Cambodia because status and resource difference are essential for a patron-client relationship to form in Cambodia. However, for Cambodians, the patron is always an individual or an individual representing the organization, connected through a personal relationship.

Also, from the Cambodians' perspective, both Korean missionaries and Western missionaries have their benevolent patrons overseas. In 2008, American Protestant overseas missionaries raised a total of \$5.7 billion that they distributed among 800 US agencies and 47,261 US personnel served overseas in their mission projects (Weber 2010, 166). However, many missionaries convinced themselves that their sponsors and churches back home are not like patrons of Cambodians. De Neui argues that the

¹⁷ I am categorizing 'Western Missionaries' as non-Korean missionaries, from both Europe and North America.

Western missionaries view the relationship with their supporters as task-oriented and not necessarily personal, so this kind of fund is depersonalized, and it is called 'support' (2012: 110). Reese argues that Western churches are the bankers of world missions and 'the rest of the world takes the role of negotiating for those funds through 'partnerships.' World mission becomes the relentless search for donors to finance the workers of other nations on the frontlines (2010: 165). In other words, from the Cambodians' perspective, regardless of how missionaries identify their 'support' or 'supporters,' the missionaries play the role of clients to their primary patron outside Cambodia.

The next step is to define the nature and identify the kind of patron-client relationship taking place in Cambodia between Korean missionaries and Cambodians.

2.4.1 Working Definition of the Patron-Client Relationship

My working definition of the patron-client relationship is based on the social anthropological literature presented so far, particularly that by Eric Wolf, Carl Lande, and George Foster:

The patron-client relationship, in both its formal and informal setting, is an arrangement between an individual of higher socioeconomic status or some other personal resources (patron) who provide support to another person of lower socioeconomic status (client) who give assistance or service in return, which is mutually obligatory and beneficial.¹⁸

The Cambodian patron-client dynamic is observed in both formal and informal settings; it is an arrangement, in either written or verbal (or both) form, between an individual or a group of higher socio-economic status with resources (patron) and another person or group of Cambodians of lower socio-economic status (client). The patrons provides

¹⁸ Some of the most useful sources referenced in making this definition are: Eric Wolf, "Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-client Relations," in Michael Banton, ed., *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies*, Association of Applied Social Anthropology Monograph #4 (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), pp. 16-17; Carl Lande, *Networks and Groups in Southeast Asia: Some Observations on the Group Theory Politics*, University of Kansas, p. 1973. George M. Foster, "The Dyadic Contract in Tzintzuntzan: Patron-client Relationship," *American Anthropologist*, 65 (1963), 1280-1294.

support to the client who give assistance or service in return. The arrangement is mutually obligatory and beneficial.

2.4.2 Khmer Term for the Patron-Client Relationship

There are no words that describe the patron-client relationship in Khmer. Several Khmer proverbs and sayings, however, reflect and reinforce the influence of patron-client relationships in this society; the underlying meaning of those proverbs and sayings implies that inferiors must not go against superiors, and it is the duty for the strong to look after the poor. A few examples of these proverbs/sayings are *Don't hit a stone with an egg*, meaning that it is pointless for the weak to oppose the strong; *Don't throw the fishing line across the mountain*, meaning that proper behaviour towards and complete obedience to superiors are always necessary; *The rich should take care of the poor like the cloth which surrounds you*; and *The wise should watch over the ignorant like the ships do a sampan*¹⁹ (Chan 2008: 5).

So, I had to consult with several Cambodian scholars²⁰ to identify the following three descriptive terms:

First '*Cchaeubai – Bau*'²¹: *Cchaeubai* (Patron) - *Bau* (Client), suggested by Lee Kyouk, the academic dean of Phnom Penh Presbyterian Seminary. Since most of the scholarly documents were destroyed during the Pol Pot era,²² he drew this term from

¹⁹ Most familiar type of small boats in Chinese waters, constructed in a variety of designs.

²⁰ Three Cambodian pastors; Professor Kyouk Lee, a Korean missionary who is the head academic dean at Presbyterian Seminary of Phnom Penh; Three members of Cambodia Research and Resource Centre; The national learning coordinator for Tear Fund UK - Cambodia and Steve Hyde, who received his Ph.D., 2014, from Singapore Bible College, researching extensively on the state of Cambodian churches.

²¹ '*Cawnai-bauphrai*' in Thai, which is phonetically very similar to Khmer. Email from Kyouk Lee of Phnom Penh Presbyterian Seminary, 9 Sep. 2013.

²² It was suggested by an OCMS scholar that the major libraries outside Cambodia like the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris would contain significant Khmer sources, but I did not have the resources of time, funds, or French language skills to access such information.

two scholars writing about Thailand patron-client relationships, Joseph Wright (1991) and Akin Rabibhandana (1969).

Second, '*Boribal - Neak kraom omnaott boribal*': *Boribal* (Patron) - *Neak* (Person) *kraom* (depending on) *omnaott* (Power of or patronage of) *boribal* (Patron). Hwang, a member of Cambodia Research and Resource Centre, using Davis Painter's 'English/Khmer Dictionary'²³ as well as consulting his Cambodian team members, formulated this term.

Third, '*Neak Tver Kun Doem Bey ToToul Pra-yoach*': *Neak* (person), *Tver* (do), *Kun* (favour), *Doem bey* (to), *ToToul* (gain or get), *Pra-yoach* (benefit). Gil, another member of the Cambodia Research and Resource Centre, consulted Ponloeu Ea,²⁴ a National Learning Coordinator for Tearfund UK - Cambodia, and formulated this term. The consensus is that this particular term is easiest to understand and describes the patron-client relationship in the Cambodian context most accurately.²⁵ Jean Johnson²⁶ states, "No one word will capture the complexity of the patron-client relationship, but Gil's terms do capture the essence." Therefore, the Cambodian term '*Neak Tver Kun Doem Bey ToToul Pra-yoach*' is used throughout this thesis.

2.4.3 Patron-Client Relationship in Cambodian Belief Systems

Since this research is in mission studies, it is necessary to analyse Cambodian belief

²³ Davis Painter is an Australian missionary who compiled a 'Khmer/English' dictionary. However, it is not circulated outside of Cambodia, nor is there an ISBN for this publication.

²⁴ Ponloeu Ea, Tearfund UK-Cambodia, National Learning Coordinator, Email on 23 Jan. 2015.

²⁵ Steve Hyde argues that Gil's term is 'easier to understand than what Hwang came up with.' E-mail received on 22 Jan. 2015.

²⁶ Jean Johnson, author of *We Are Not The Hero: A Missionary's Guide for Sharing Christ, Not a Culture of Dependency*, published by Deep River Books in Oregon, 2012. The quote is from her e-mail on 29 Jan. 2015. She served in Cambodia for 16 years before taking a post in World Mission Associates, a non-profit mission agency that 'promotes local sustainability in global mission.'

systems, i.e., animism, Brahmanism, and Buddhism, to understand to what extent this system affects the patron-client relationship and dynamic within its culture.

From the earliest dates of Cambodian history, the influence of animism, a nature-based spirituality, was Cambodia's religious underpinning (McCann 2011: 1, Ebihara 1968). The Cambodian culture, extending at one time from the Bay of Bengal to the China Sea, shows evidence of Chinese, Hindu, and Mon influences, but it was a distinctive culture as revealed in its ruins and art objects. Brahmanism and Mahayana Buddhism were introduced in the 1st century B.C.E. (Morgan 1956: 123). By the end of the 13th Century C.E., Theravada Buddhism became the national religion of Cambodia (Bhattacharta 1997) and remained so except for the Khmer Rouge period, from 1975 to 1979, when religion was not only banned but also, in large part, deliberately and systematically destroyed.

Ravasco argues that one consequence of the Cambodians' belief systems "is a kind of endless search for spiritual protection with conflicting cultural norms guiding the search" (2004: 50). This effect overflows into the Cambodian society today as it did in the past. Ravasco further comments, "What results is a society characterised by a system of reciprocal relationships between patron and client, which offers another source of implied protection for them" (2004: 50).

Protection, which is one of the major components of a patron-client relationship, is also the central theme of Cambodian belief systems. As each religion has patron saints who protect them, Cambodians believe spiritual beings of nature are their patron spirits who provide protection.

2.4.3.1 Animism

According to *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity*, "To catalogue "Animism in Asia"

would fill an encyclopedia. Since animistic beliefs and practices are diverse in form and expressions (Sunquist 2001: 34).” Animism is derived from the Latin word '*anima*', which means "breath" or "soul." The term "animism" was coined by Sir Edward Burnett Tylor in his 1871 book, *Primitive Culture*, associated with anthropology, though the definition he established was earlier described by David Hume in *A Natural History of Religion* (1757), without actually using the word “animism” (Graham 2005). Tylor defined animism as a belief in spiritual beings and considered it “a minimum definition of religion.” He held that primitive people, defined as those without written traditions, believe that spirits or souls are the cause of life in human beings because “they picture souls as phantoms, resembling vapors or shadows, which can transmigrate from person to person, from the dead to the living, and from and into plants, animals, and lifeless objects” (Ravasco 2004: 23).

According to Ravasco, Robert Marett criticised Tylor by arguing that primitive people could not have been so intellectual, and that religion must have had a more emotional, intuitional origin. He held that the ancient concept of aliveness was not sophisticated enough to include the notion of a soul or spirit residing in the object (Ravasco 2004: 24). Harvey Graham holds that "new animism names worldviews and life ways in which people seek to know how they might respectively and properly engage with other persons” (2005: xiv). McCann argues that the “persons” to whom Graham are not always human; neither are they necessarily spirits. They can also refer to trees, rocks, and thunderstorms. (2011: 9).

McCann, observing animism of the minority people of Ratanakiri and Mondulkiri provinces of Cambodia, argues that their communities and lifestyles of living respectively and harmoniously with one's surrounding are concepts of bio-regionalism:

The term bioregionalism can be interpreted and explained in many different ways; there is, to date, no concrete definition of the word... In *Dwellers of [sic] the Land*,²⁷ Kirkpatrick Sale (2000) defines bioregionalism as knowing and appreciating the place where you live concerning its flora and fauna, its carrying capacity for human impact, and the history of man's activities in that area (McCann 2011: 9).

Ravasco argues that Khmer people are animists because they must appease the forces of nature to live and survive as farmers. These forces of nature or "spirits" are part of their everyday life. For Cambodians, there is the 'spirit of music' that musicians invoke before playing an instrument as well as 'the spirit of dance' that is venerated before performing on stage. Furthermore 'the spirit of the house' rules over the destiny of the people living in it (2004: 27).

The spirits of the land (*neak ta* means "person or grandfather" in Khmer) are the first spirits or the initiators of the particular cult of a village. These '*Neak Ta*' are the real masters of the land. These 'spirits' have a small shrine (a miniature house) usually at the entrance of the village or the individual houses they control. Hill states that "every house will have a shrine called "*Neak Ta*" or "*uncle Ta*," and every time people go into the house, they pray, "Oh, please, Neak Ta, protect me and this house, and forgive me if I unknowingly do something wrong" (2005: 19).

Other spirits are called 'Protectors' (*arak*):

According to native beliefs, supernatural entities govern aspects of Khmer social life. There are various categories of spirits in Khmer cosmology. In general, spirits are categorised into two types, benevolent and malevolent. These dual aspects of the supernatural spirits (*arak*) are linked to the context in which they reside, *arak sruk* (of the village) and *arak prei* (of the forest). In Khmer society, the forest is considered to be a wild and dangerous place, and thus a source of disaster and illness. Sudden illness, misfortune, and epidemics occurring within the community are often attributed to malevolent forest spirits (Men 2002: 224).

As stated earlier, protection, one of the major components of a patron-client relationship, is also the central theme of Cambodian Animism.

²⁷ The full title is '*Dwellers in the Land: Bioregional Vision*'.

2.4.3.2 Brahmanism

Brahmanism was introduced by Hindu traders who settled in Cambodia in the 1st century B.C.E., and it became the favourite choice of the early Cambodian kings. Early images of both Vishnu and the Buddha indicate that Buddhism was established in Cambodia by at least the 1st century B.C.E. (Ravasco 2004: 20, Morgan 1956: 123). Bit states, “Cultural and religious influences derived from India have indelibly shaped Cambodian society. Brahmanism, the earliest version, brought concepts of fixed social classes, status consciousness, aggressiveness, and the importance of rituals in religious ceremonies” (1991: 16-17). In *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity*, it is stated that, Brahmanism was introduced to Cambodia, “More or less in symbiosis with Buddhism, the belief in Siva “King of the Gods” (*devaradja*) favouring the royalist ideology and the expansion of the Angkorian empire” (Sunquist 2001: 101).

In 5th century C.E., Karnatak Indians, under the leadership of Kauṇḍinya, a Brahman, came to the north of Malacca. By military force, Kauṇḍinya introduced Śaivism²⁸ to Cambodia, and cast all laws on the basis of Indian laws. However, he was sympathetic to the Mahayana Buddhist communities that were flourishing in his realm, and a Buddhist monk, Śākyā Nāgasena, headed the Embassy to China. Cambodian Mahayana Buddhist scholar-monks were sought after in China for translating texts from Sanskrit into Chinese (Anacker 1994: 172).

It appears that during this period, Hinduism and Buddhism intermingled and

²⁸ Śaivism: “An esoteric Śaivism prevalent in Kashmir, N. India, from the 8th to the 11th centuries. CE. It comprises a number of related Śaiva and Śākta systems, namely the Kaula (‘relating to the family’), Krama (‘gradation’), and Trika (‘threefold’), though the term often refers only to the latter school, which is the most important, in that it integrated the Kaula and the Krama.” John Bowker in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*. 1997.

formed a kind of a “Khmerization,”²⁹ meaning that they were heavily integrated into mainstream Cambodian society. According to Ravasco, only in the 12th century, C.E., the time of Cambodian King Jayavarman VII, did Buddhism make a stronger mark upon the Cambodian civilization (2004: 20-21).³⁰ Then by the end of 13th Century and the beginning of the 14th Century C.E., under Thai influence, Theravada Buddhism became the national religion of Cambodia (Bhattacharta 1997, Ravasco 2004: 48).

Ravasco argues that one such Khmerization way of life in Cambodia is having many gods to implore for protection – not just one god. He states the following:

"Tevoda" are kinds of deities in the Brahmanist Pantheon and are regularly worshipped. The word "tevoda" has the same root as "Theos" in Greek, "Deus" in Latin, and "Divine" in English. The first line of the Cambodian national anthem implores their protection as the song starts with the "Som Puak Tevoda," which means "Please heavenly deities protect our king" (2004: 37).

The importance of protection within Brahmanism is highlighted by Cambodian religious practices.

2.4.3.3 Buddhism

The Cambodians’ right to religious freedom appears in article forty-three of the constitution, but Buddhism is the state religion:

Khmer citizens of either sex shall have the right to freedom of belief. Freedom of religious belief and worship shall be guaranteed by the State on the condition that such freedom does not affect other religious beliefs or violate public order and security. Buddhism shall be the State religion.³¹

According to this article, although the Constitution provides for freedom of religion, it is clearly stated that the Buddhism is the state religion. Therefore, the government

²⁹ The term is explained by Ovesen and Trankell, “Foreigners and Honorary Khmers: Ethnic Minorities in Cambodia.” In *Civilizing the Margins*, edited by Christopher R. Duncan. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2004, 254.

³⁰ Examples of Gupta art from northern India have been found, “dating back to the eleventh century after the Buddha (6th century C.E.). The peak of the culture in Cambodia was reached in the days of Angkor, the great city which existed from the fifteenth century after the Buddha (9th century C.E.) until it was abandoned in 1976 B.C.E. (C.E. 1432)” (Morgan 1956: 123).

³¹ <http://tinyurl.com/o75yw32>, accessed on 6 Feb. 2016.

promotes national Buddhist holidays, provides Buddhists training and education to monks and others in pagodas (Hoerschelmann 2012: 108).

Many of the inhabitants of Cambodia practised Theravada Buddhism, as did many in “Thailand, Burma, (and) Laos” (Akira 1990: 123). Ravasco holds that for Cambodians, Buddhism offered a gentler religion with a prescription for a humble life, in contrast to elitism and the politically powerful priestly class of Brahmanism. Buddhist teaches living simple lives, and Buddhist monks are supported daily by the voluntary contributions of Cambodian people which exemplifies the moral values of the religion (2004: 49). However, in *A Dictionary of Asia Christianity*, it is stated that, “The early missionaries did not know much about Buddhism. Very often, they discounted it by referring to it as the religion of the devil” (Sunquist 2001: 102).

Nancy Smith-Hefner writes, “To be Khmer is to be Buddhist... Khmer defined themselves as Buddhists” (1999: 32, 37). According to Sokeo, ninety-eight percent of Cambodians think it essential that children should understand their own ethnic identities and their own Buddhist cultures, and the Cambodian way is derived both directly and indirectly from Buddhism (2007: 17).

However, Ravasco holds against such an exclusive view. He states that the spread of Theravada Buddhism "added new and more numerous 'gods' to the belief systems (enhanced their existing belief system) to offset the perceived declining power of the traditional gods and engender new possible sources of protection” (2004: 49).

Men observed similar attitudes from Cambodian immigrants to the United States:

Another important aspect of the changing Khmer religious belief in the United States is evidence of new non-Buddhist elements being added to the old system. For instance, I found pictures of Jesus Christ in the houses of my Cambodian informants. One Khmer healer placed a statue of Jesus on his altar among many images of Buddha. In my conversations with Lok Ta (His informant), he often made comparisons between Buddhism and Christianity when he tried to explain Buddhist beliefs (1956: 227).

Bit, a Cambodian scholar, describes Buddhism as “a system of thought, a way of understanding life, an analysis of mental processes, and a series of well-constructed arguments which point towards the adoption of certain attitudes and values and practices which may create the conditions for a new vision of human life and purpose” (1991: 19).

Ravasco states that a Buddhist understands human life fundamentally as social, and it is life connected through interlocking and reciprocal relationships. Social inequalities in Cambodia are accepted as the consequences of the ‘merits or demerits’ of previous lives (2004: 49). Some are born poor because of the bad deeds (demerits) they committed in previous lives, and some are born rich and powerful because of the good deeds (merits) in their previous lives, as based on the doctrine of karma.

In the following, Bit explains reasons for the passive attitude of Cambodians:

Life in the present incarnation cannot be changed, but the measure of man's emotional development is his reaction to his circumstances. Such an attitude stifles the desire to succeed at the expense of another and encourages the Cambodian to accept his situation, whatever that may be (1991: 23).

Because of this passive attitude, Ravasco argues that Buddhism in Cambodia is more tolerant of other religions and that Cambodians can easily merge Buddhist concepts with animism and Brahmanism. Because of this, Cambodian cultural and social patterns produced through the centuries are not typical of Buddhism practiced elsewhere (Ravasco 2004: 50).

Bit gives a more in-depth argument in the following:

Cambodian society is inherently conservative, reflecting its historical positions as an agriculturally based folk society and its religious heritage. The constant theme that runs throughout its cultural history has been a search to mitigate the fear of unseen powerful threats to the sense of security of peasants which stemmed from (1) the unrestrained authority of personal cults (embodied in the role of the elite) to determine the fate of their subjects, and (2), the constellation of numerous spiritual gods with awesome power to inflict retribution should they be ignored (1991: 19).

In agreement with Bit, Ravasco states that this effect overflows into the Cambodian culture and society today as it has in the past. He holds that the results are a Cambodian society characterized by a system of relationships, which offer another source of implied protection for them (1991: 50). According to Ledgerwood, the establishment of the patron-client system in this predominantly Buddhist society is partly attributed to Buddhist values and Buddhist consequences of personal merits and karmic acts from the previous life (Ledgerwood and Vighen 2002: 144).

2.5 Patron-Client Dynamics in Korea

To compare and contrast the patron-client dynamic in Cambodia and Korea, we now need to understand the patron-client dynamic in Korea. There are several ways to translate the term patron-client relationship in Korea, and different translations are based on the different fields of study, but not exclusively. First, in the legal field, Nam Oyeon, in his book *Public Enemy*, applies the Sino-Korean term for patron as *hu-won-ja* (후원자). *Hu-won-ja* is a combination of Chinese characters 后 (*hu*) 援 (*won*) 者 (*ja*).

Hu (后) means 'behind', and *won* (援) has several meanings 1) help (돕다, *top-ta*); 2) pull up (당기다, *dang-gi-da*); 3) hold or grab (잡다, *jab-da*); 4) hang on (매달리다, *mae-dal-li-da*); 5) save (구원하다, *gu-won-ha-da*). *Ja* (者) simply means 'a person'.

Therefore *hu-won-ja* could mean 'one who helps, pull up, hold, hang on, and save from behind'.³²

³² Korean dictionary, Naver: <http://tinyurl.com/ybdog5j7>, accessed on 20 June 2017.



Diagram B Pictograph of *Dang-gil won* (源, 𠂇)

However, according to Park Hongkyun, the meaning of the base pictograph text of *won* (𠂇) is (𠂇), *Dang-gil won* (당길 원, 𠂇), which means ‘pulling’. *Dang-gil won* (𠂇) as a pictograph in Figure 1 shows a hand *sohn* (손, 𠂇) on top and another hand *sohn* (손, 𠂇) below, and adding a pictograph of a vine in between depicts someone in a pit being saved by others. By adding another hand *soo* (수, 𠂇)³³ on the left side later evolved into the word *won* (源) which means ‘salvation’.³⁴ The Korean word for salvation *Gu-won* (구원, 𠂇 𠂇) also uses this *won* (源). Ted uses the term *Gu-won* in the interview describing CBC when he states, “In one sense, CBC became a place of salvation (*Gu-won*) for those who join us” (Int. 88, Macro; 1, 3b).

Oyeon Nam uses the term client as *keul-la-i-eon-teu* (클라이언트). Since this book deals with legal issues and since the reader may be familiar with the term ‘client,’ he simply Romanizes the term, but this is an exception, especially when it is used along with the term ‘patron.’

³³ This is another way to write ‘hand’ in Chinese characters.

³⁴ <http://tinyurl.com/ycj8lfn>, accessed on 19 June 2017. Park Hongkyu is the author of *The Principle of Understanding Ten Chinese Character by Knowing One Character*, Eh-Bee-Rak Publishing House, 2011.

In Latin of the ancient Romans, there is the word 'Clementes,' This Korean language is the word that is the origin of the client in English. The relationship between 'Clementes' (*keul-la-i-eon-teu*) and 'Patroness,' the etymology of 'Patron' (*hu-won-ja*), already existed when Rome was founded.³⁵

Second, Sin Eunjong, in his book, *Another Choice for Co-existence: Critical Analysis of Non-union Management*, in the field of business and economics, translates patron as *hu-won-ja* (후원자) and client as *ui-loe-in* (의뢰인), as he explains the patron-client relationship in the Roman era:

Shiono Nanami's study of the history of Rome includes a good relationship between Patron and Clients. The two words that have become the root of the client and patron, which means English patron *hu-won-ja* (후원자), and client *ui-loe-in* (의뢰인), are networks that link ancient roman relationships.³⁶

Ui-loe (의뢰, ㄱ ㄱ) has two meanings, first *sin-loe* (신뢰, ㄱ ㄱ), which means 'trust firmly and depend on'³⁷, and second 'requesting from others'.³⁸

In religious studies, Park Gyeongmi, a professor in the department of Christianity of I-Hwa Women's College, also uses the term patron as *hu-won-ja* (후원자) and client as *ui-loe-in* (의뢰인) in her journal article, 'Against Globalization by Egalitarianism of First Century Church'.³⁹ Moreover, in political science, Lucian W. Pye's book, *The*

³⁵ *Public Enemy. Nam Oyeon.* (gong-gong-ui jeog, nam-o-yeon, haeng-bog-e-neo-ji: 공공의 적, 남오연, 행복에너지). <http://tinyurl.com/ybn5qq4w>, accessed 1 June 2015.

³⁶ *Another Choice for co-existence: Critical analysis of non-union management.* (gong-jon-eul wi-han tto ha-na-ui seon-taeg: bi-no-jo-gyeong-yeong-e dae-han bi-pan-jeog tong-chal, 공존을 위한 또 하나의 선택: 비노조경영에 대한 비판적 통찰), 신은종, 가디언, Apr 5, 2012. <http://tinyurl.com/yavbpml7>, accessed on 19 June 2017.

³⁷ Definition in Korean and its romanization: 굳게 믿고 의지함, gud-ge mid-go ui-ji-ham.

³⁸ Korean dictionary, Naver: <http://tinyurl.com/yew4j6j3>, accessed on 20 June 2017. Since this Korean term is a romanization of Chinese characters, I have included Chinese texts in the thesis for clarification, and its definition in Korean and Romanization -남에게 부탁함, nam-e-ge bu-tag-ham.

³⁹ Jung, Tae Hyun. Se-gye-hwa-e maj-seon cho-dae-gyo-hoe-ui pyeong-deung-sa-sang, *Theological Projection*, Volume 167, Kwangju Catholic University Theological Research Center, Electronic Journal, 56

Dynamics of Chinese Politics, into Korean, was translated as a relationship between *hu-won-ja* and *ui-loe-in* (후원자와 의뢰인의 관계, *hu-won-ja wa ui-loe-in-ui gwangy*).⁴⁰ Patron as *hu-won-ja* (후원자) and client as *ui-loe-in* (의뢰인) were the dominant choices of translation into Korean literature.

One unique way of translation was found in Segye Daily's⁴¹ article by Rah Jongil of Segye Daily who uses the Korean word *hu-won-ja* but puts the English word 'sponsor' next to it:

The Korean War is a unique form of armed struggle during the Cold War. The role of this war consists of *hu-won-ja* 'sponsor' and 'client'. The goals of both are in the same direction, but there are differences in their scope. The client's goal is limited to his or her area, but the sponsor has a broader or global perspective. If the situation goes wrong, most of the victims have to take care of it, but the patrons have to shake their hands. Stalin actively avoided a confrontation with the United States, but it was a good thing to touch the edge of the United States with an agent.⁴²

Third, in translating Bruce Cummings' book on *Korean Modern History*,⁴³ patron is translated as *hu-won-in* (후원인). However, both -*Ja* (자, 丿) in *hu-won-ja* and -*in* (인, ㄷ) in *hu-won-in* means 'person' in Korean, taking the root meaning from Chinese characters. Therefore, both *hu-won-ja* and *hu-won-in* mean a person who is engaged in the act of *huwon*, i.e. 'saving'.

December 2009, 78-83. (세계화에 맞선 초대교회의 평등 사상, 신학전망 167 호, 광주가톨릭 대학교신학연구소, 전자저널). <http://www.dbpia.co.kr/Journal/ArticleDetail/NODE01844885>, accessed on 15 June 2017.

⁴⁰ *The Dynamics of Chinese Politics* by Lucian W Pye. Oelgeschlager Gunn & Hain, 1982-3. <https://book.douban.com/annotation/15050415/>, accessed on 20 April 2017.

⁴¹ Korean daily newspaper.

⁴² *Was Korean War Internal War? – The Unending War of Patron and Client* (han-kwuk-cen-cayng-un nay-cen-i-ess-nun-ka - hu-won-ja-wa ui-loe-in-i yeokk-eun jeon-jaeng: a-jig geu-chi-ji anh-neun jeon-jaeng-i-ya-gi, 한국전쟁은 내전이였는가 - 후원자와 의뢰인이 엮은 전쟁: 아직 그치지 않는 전쟁이야기. By Rah Jongil Colum of Segye Daily, 26 December 2010. <http://tinyurl.com/y9bzjhx1>, accessed on 23 April 2017.

⁴³ Bruce Cummings' book *Korean Modern History* (*beu-lu-seu keo-ming-seu-ui han-gug-hyeon-dae-sa*). Changbi Publishing House, translated by Kim Dongno, 1997. 587-598.

Fourth, in a few cases, in political studies, the patron-client relationship was translated as *hwu-kyen-phi-hwu-kyen* (후견-피후견). The Korean word for patron was translated as *Hwu-kyen* (후견, □ □) meaning ‘supporting those who lack ability and power’.⁴⁴ The Korean word for client *Phi-hwu-kyen* (피후견, □ □ □) means ‘one who is attached to *hwu-kyen-in*’.⁴⁵ However, when this term is used in the court, *hwu-kyen-in* indicates a legal guardian who is in charge of and protecting minors (*phi-hwu-kyen-in*).⁴⁶

In all cases of translating of the word patron-client to *hu-won-ja*, *hu-won-in*, and *hwu-kyen-in* suggests a vertical or hierarchical relationship. This became evident in observing Korean missionaries’ usage of *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal* to Cambodian pastors or when referring to them.

2.5.1 *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal*

Korean missionaries’ usage of *Banmal* (a non-polite form of speech) and *Jeondeanmal* (a Polite form of speech) in reference to and speaking to Cambodians shows the hierarchical dynamics of the patron-client relationship.

There are seven speech levels in Korean, and each level has its own unique set of verb endings that indicate the level of formality of a situation. The names of the seven levels are derived from the non-honorific imperative form of the verb ‘do’, *hada*, in

⁴⁴ Korean dictionary, Naver: <http://tinyurl.com/y95fj375>. 역량이나 능력이 부족한 사람의 뒤를 돌보아 줌, yeog-lyang-i-na neung-lyeog-i bu-jog-han sa-lam-ui dwi-leul dol-bo-a jum, accessed on 20 June 2017.

⁴⁵ Korean dictionary, Naver: <http://tinyurl.com/y784j6a9>. ‘후견인 이 붙여진 사람’ (*hu-gyeon-in i but-yeo-jin sa-lam*), accessed on 18 June 2017.

⁴⁶ Korean dictionary, Naver: <http://krdic.naver.com/search.nhn?query=후견-피후견>, accessed on 5 May 2017.

each level, plus the suffix *che*, which means ‘style’:

Speech Level	Present Indicative of "hada"		Level of Formality	When Used
	Non-Honorific	Honorific		
1. Hasoseoche [SEP]	<i>hanaida</i> _[SEP]	<i>hashinaida</i> _[SEP]	Extremely formal and polite	Traditionally used when addressing a king, queen, or high official; now used only in historical dramas and the Bible
2. Hapshoche [SEP]	<i>hamnida</i> _[SEP]	<i>hashimnida</i> _[SEP]	Formal and polite	Used commonly between strangers, among male co-workers, by TV announcers, and to customers
3. Haoche [SEP]	<i>hao</i>	<i>hasho</i> _[SEP] <i>hashio</i>	Formal, of neutral politeness	Only used nowadays among some older people
4. Hageche [SEP]	<i>hane</i> _[SEP]	<i>hashine</i> _[SEP]	Formal, of neutral politeness	Generally, only used by some older people when addressing younger people, friends, or relatives
5. Haerache [SEP]	<i>handa</i> _[SEP]	<i>hashinda</i> _[SEP]	Formal, of neutral politeness or impolite	Used to close friends, relatives of similar age, or younger people; also used almost universally in books, newspapers, and magazines; also used in reported speech ("She said that...")
6. Haeyoche [SEP]	<i>haeyo</i> _[SEP]	<i>haseyo</i> (common), <i>hasheoyo</i> (rare)	Informal and polite	Used mainly between strangers, especially those older or of equal age. Traditionally used more by women than men, though in Seoul many men prefer this form to the Hapshoche (see above)
7. Haeche [SEP]	<i>hae</i> (in speech), <i>hayeo</i> _[SEP] (in writing)	<i>Hasheo</i>	Informal, of neutral politeness or impolite	Used most often between close friends and relatives, and when addressing younger people. It is <i>never</i> used between strangers unless the speaker wants to pick a fight.

Table 2 Seven Speech Levels of Korean⁴⁷

The highest six levels are grouped as *jondaenmal* – polite forms of speech - whereas the lowest level 7; *haeche* is called *banmal* in Korean. It is informal, of neutral politeness or impolite level of speech, and used most often among close friends or when addressing younger people. It is never used between strangers, according to the chart, "unless the speaker wants to pick a fight."

Sok Nhep states that the Khmer language is also built on a hierarchical system, as he explains in his paper, 'Indigenization of a national church: A reflection on Cambodian church structure':

It (Khmer language) is built upon a hierarchical system. Thus, there are at least four levels of vocabulary. One cannot talk to God, to the king, to monks, teachers, parents, or friends, using the same vocabulary. Each set of vocabulary is used for each level of society (2001:107).

Both Korean and Cambodian societies are aware of and use different levels of language based on differences in their hierarchical structures.

2.5.2 Korean Honorifics

Another indicator identifying hierarchical dynamic within a patron-client relationship is the usage of honorifics. In the Korean language, honorifics are used in direct addresses, as in Chinese and Japanese. Koreans, when referring to or addressing someone superior in status, use honorific endings that indicate the subject's superiority. Someone is superior in status if he or she is an "older relative, a stranger of roughly equal or greater age, or an employer, teacher, customer, or the like. Someone is equal or inferior in status if he/she is younger, a stranger, student, employee or the like."⁴⁸ For example, if

⁴⁷ <http://www.lingvozone.com/Korean>, accessed on 22 Jan. 2015.

⁴⁸ <http://www.lingvozone.com/Korean>, accessed on 22 Jan. 2015.

I am addressing a pastor, who is my friend, I will use ‘*Mok Sa*’, which is ‘pastor’ in Korean. However, when I address a pastor who is older and higher in status, I will use ‘*Mok Sa - Nim*’, adding the honorific ending to indicate his or her superiority.

However, in all the interview reports on Korean missionaries, I noticed that most of them rarely used the term ‘*Mok Sa Nim*’ when they were referring to Cambodian Christians. Similar to Foster’s observation, Korean missionaries as patrons address their clients, Cambodian Christians, with the *banmal*, so that the “relative status of the two partners is never in doubt (1963: 1284).”

2.5.3 *Gap & Eul*

One aspect of the Korean hierarchical patron-client dynamics can be observed by *Gap & Eul* relationships of Korea. *Gap & Eul* is a general term used to indicate ‘first’ and ‘second’ in the order of priority. It is also used to indicate the first of the list of ten – *Gap, Eul, Byong, Jung, Moo, Ki, Kyong, Shin, Im, Kye*, as in the list alphabetical order of a, b, c. Its formal usage was in the legal arena. For example, in Korean legal documents, *Gap* is a term describing the first party in order and *Eul* as the subsequent group. Then its usage spilt over to the business sector. Now as a part of Korean business culture, *Gap* is a synonym for a person or a company hiring or giving the work to the other party. Also, it found its way into everyday language in Korean society.

Even gender is viewed this way. In a male-dominated Korean culture, people would say, ‘*Gap Nam Eul Yhue*’, which means ‘Male (*Nam*) is *gap* and female (*Yhue*) is *eul*.’ Also, one’s age determines *gap and eul* order in Korea. So, if someone is older, then he or she becomes *Gap*. If they are the same age, they will use the term, ‘*Dong Gap*’ (In Chinese, 同甲), which means ‘Same Gap’. *Eul* is a term used to indicate

second to the first in its order and priority.⁴⁹

I have experienced this *Gap & Eul* dynamics of patron-client relationships in Korea. I was treated as a client involuntarily, and when I did not play the role of a client, I was informed on the spot that I was not acting appropriately to the hierarchical structure of their church culture. A few years ago, I was in Kang Nam, Korea, presenting my mission work in Cambodia to a group of elite and financially successful businessmen. They were representing the mission department of a prominent church in that area. After my presentation, the leader of the mission department half-jokingly and half-seriously said, "We are supposed to be *Gap*, and you are *Eul*, but you are talking like you are *Gap*!" When I asked for clarification, he said, "We expected a missionary from Cambodia to come and tell sad stories and ask for funding, but you have not done any of that. All throughout your presentation you acted like *Gap* telling us what we should do as *Eul*." In his mind, as a patron, he has to play the role of *Gap*, and as a client I have to play the role of *Eul*.

In 2014, highlighted by the 'Peanut Rage' incident in New York, *Gap & Eul* has become one of the major social issues in Korea. According to *The Washington Post* on 9 December 2014, Heather Cho, the eldest daughter of Korean Air Chairman Cho Yang-ho, had been forced to resign from her position as vice president with Korean Air after an unfortunate case of managerial misconduct went viral over the weekend involving 'macadamia nuts':

According to Yonhap News Agency, the 40-year-old Cho was at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport on Friday. Sitting in first class aboard a Korean Air due to fly to Seoul, Cho was handed some macadamia nuts by a flight attendant, though she had not asked for any. Worse still, the nuts were handed to her in a bag, and not on a plate, as per Korean Air rules... Cho was

⁴⁹ National Language Institute, Standard Korean Dictionary, http://stdweb2.korean.go.kr/search/List_dic.jsp, accessed on 29 Jan. 2015. Introducing Chinese character for *gap* (甲) & *eul* (乙) is vital because the Korean word for *gap & eul* can have many different variation characters in Chinese. Both in Korean and Chinese, there are many homophones, so for specificity, one needs to use the written character.

upset over a serving of nuts she was given on a flight and reportedly had the plane on which she was travelling return to the gate to expel a crew member... Witnesses told the Korea Times that she shouted during the incident. The flight, with 250 people aboard, was delayed by 11 minutes as a result.

Most of the reports condemn Heather Cho and her inappropriate action as *Gap*, and some are even pursuing criminal charges against her, in case of any physical misconduct. The concerns people raised were not necessarily against her role as *Gap* but that her behaviour was inappropriate for a *Gap* who should have been more benevolent.⁵⁰

The working definition of *Gap & Eul*, for now, is same as the working definition of the patron-client relationship, with *Gap* as Patron and *Eul* as Client:⁵¹

Gap and Eul relationships, in both formal and informal settings, is an arrangement between an individual of higher socioeconomic status or some other personal resources (*Gap*) who provides support to a person of lower status (*Eul*) who gives assistance or service in return, an arrangement which is mutually obligatory and beneficial.

Kang Joonman, the author of '*Gap and Eul Nation*', points out that Korea is facing difficult *gap and eul* problems because conglomerates as franchiser oppress the franchisee to maximise immediate profits but ultimately face the downfall of their industries. He poses the question, "Is true partnership between *gap and eul* possible?"⁵² Here I am raising the same question, "Is true partnership between Korean missionaries as *gap* and Cambodian Christians as *eul* possible?" Jun Eun Hae of *Brain Media World* magazine, comments in her article entitled, '*Gap*' Controversy? We can all be *Gap* or *Eul* to someone.'⁵³ She points out in the Korean social context how one can play the role of a *gap* in one situation and *eul* in the other, depending on the circumstances. This dual ability is true for Korean missionaries, as they play the role of *eul* to the primary

⁵⁰ http://academic.naver.com/search.nhn?field=0&sort=acc&dir_id=1&query=갑과%20을%, accessed on 25 Jan. 2015.

⁵¹ I am using the working definition of a patron-client relationship due to similar dynamic and features. Exchanging '*Gap*' as 'Patron' and '*Eul*' as 'Client'.

⁵² Ref: <http://tinyurl.com/hxubywx>, accessed on 27 Jan. 2015.

⁵³ <http://tinyurl.com/hcawvnu>, Title in Korean, accessed on 30 Jan. 2015.

patron and then *gap* to Cambodian Christians.

The abuse of power by *Gap* is known as *gap-jil* (갑질), which means ‘doing the *Gap*’ in Korean. Independent UK news report this abuse of *Gap* by Korean politicians in Korea:

An abuse of power is known as *gapjil*, and in September 2016, there were 1,289 recorded cases of *gapjil* in South Korea with men inciting 90 percent of incidents. Men in their 40s and 50s made up more than half the cases.⁵⁴

Being a *Gap* does not automatically lead to abuse, so *Gap* and *Gap-jil* have to be addressed separately. Functioning as a *Gap* does not necessarily mean or lead to an abuse of power, but when a *Gap* abuses power, we can address the issue as *Gap-jil*. From the data of CBC church-planting projects, observations include both terms: the role of *Gap* played by Ted and other patrons, and *Gap-jil* by Ted as FOB and other primary patrons.

2.6 Summary

This chapter explored the concepts of aid dependency and presented both a literature review and research data on aid dependency in Cambodia and a working definition of aid dependency. I identified the relationship dynamic between Ted and CBC pastors as a patron-client relationship, in ten characteristics of patron-client relationship found in social anthropology: 1) Dyadic 2) Asymmetrical 3) Personal and enduring 4) Reciprocal 5) Voluntary 6) Duration of Bond 7) Scope of Exchange 8) Resource Base 9) Local Resource Control 10) Density of Coverage. Based on the data and literature, I suggest a working definition of the patron-client relationship in the context of

⁵⁴ <http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/south-korean-politician-kim-moo-sung-suitcase-push-viral-video-entitled-middle-aged-men-a7753041.html>, accessed on 5 July 2017.

Cambodia and in Khmer terms. Also, the patron-client relationship in the context of Cambodian belief systems was observed in three areas: 1) Animism 2) Brahmanism 3) Buddhism. To understand the patron-client dynamic in Korea, three areas of patron-client dynamic issues were presented: 1) *Gap & Eul* 2) *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal* 3) Korean honorifics.

In observing the tripartite role of Ted and CBC pastors, I hold that only when Ted as patron goes through the life cycle stages of father, supporter, partner – through protection, provision, and equality - the client has a chance to progress from the role of a dependent child to an equal partner, setting stage for possibly achieving a self-sustainable church plant.

Chapter Three Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology in detail and illustrates how I use the qualitative method. The first section covers the epistemology of this thesis. It also discusses the design of the case study in CBC and its progress from the first phase field research in 2010 to the fourth field research in 2015. Within this chapter, I present detailed information about the data collection method, management, and analysis; I also state the ethical guidelines and an explanation of how these guidelines are established.

Since not enough is known or researched about such a phenomenon in the Cambodian context, I conducted an empirical and exploratory investigation by observing CBC church-planting projects. This research seeks a holistic and in-depth investigation of the contemporary phenomenon within CBC church-planting projects, in real life and within its regional context. The primary data, I gathered from 1) Interviewing Ted as a patron 2) Interviewing CBC Cambodian church planters as clients 3) A book and papers written by Ted, and 4) Interviewing others – namely Cambodians, and Korean missionaries who are familiar with CBC church-planting and, additionally, some Western missionaries.

3.2 Epistemology

This qualitative case study research encompasses two epistemological paradigms - both positivism and interpretivism. Michael Myers states that "there is considerable disagreement as to whether these research 'paradigms' or underlying epistemologies are necessarily opposed or can be accommodated within the one study" (1997: 4). I hold that qualitative research can be either positivist, interpretive, or both. The word

'qualitative' is not a synonym for 'interpretive' - qualitative research may or may not be interpretive, depending upon the underlying epistemological paradigm. Therefore, the choice of a specific qualitative research method, such as the case study method, is independent of the underlying philosophical position adopted. For example, case study research can be conducted from both a positivist paradigm (Yin 2003) and an interpretive paradigm (Walsham 1993).

Positivists argue that reality is objective and can be described by measurable properties which are independent of the researcher and which attempt to test the theory and to increase the predictive understanding of phenomena. On the other hand, according to Ann Chin Lin, interpretive work seeks to combine data into belief systems whose manifestations are specific to a case, and "While both, in the end, can comment about general principles or relationships, positivist work does so by identifying general patterns, while interpretivist work does so by showing how the general pattern looks in practice" (Lin 1998: 163).

My epistemological position is both. I combine hearing the voices of both Ted and CBC pastors. The combination of my both/and approach makes more sense and disagrees with the absolutists' claim that one has to choose an either/or approach. Interpretivists hold that truth is relative and that it is dependent on one's perspective. This paradigm "recognises the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning but doesn't reject outright some notion of objectivity. Pluralism, not relativism, is stressed with a focus on the circular dynamic tension of subject and object" (Miller & Crabtree 1999: 10). According to Miller, one of the advantages of this approach is the close connection between the researcher and the participant, which enables the participants to tell their personal stories, and through these stories they can describe

their understanding of reality and thereby better understand reality in their own terms.

According to Lin, the differences in interpretivist and positivist qualitative work are in the questions one asks of the data and the types of conclusions one wishes to draw. The qualitative work looks for details about preferences, motivations, and actions that are not readily made. Positivist work can identify the existence of causal relationships that are present in data, with some degree of probability. What it cannot do is to explain how the mechanism implied by particular causal relationships works. Lin argues that an interpretivist work, in contrast, can produce detailed examinations of causal mechanisms in the specific case, explaining how particular variables interact, which is often of particular interest to students of social anthropology. However, without positivist work, he holds that one does not know how widespread the existence of similar cases might be (1998: 163).

In this research, the accommodation of both paradigms was evident in the following areas: research data collection, e.g., sampling requirement, research progress, philosophical basis, conceptual level, and mode of explanation. For example, within the positivistic view, concepts need to be measured in a quantitative manner whereas within the interpretivistic view, concepts should incorporate the subjects' perspective in a qualitative manner.¹

In positivist paradigm data collection, I randomly selected samples from a survey, using the quantitative method.² Its research progress was deductive in that I started with a hypothesis, using a deductive coding method, e.g., counting the frequency of the word 'church' used by Ted in the context of 'building' versus 'concept'.

¹ See Appendix D Epistemology diagram.

² Int. 22, Number of participants: 23.

Philosophically, I took the Platonic view that values are within and objective. Conceptually, I was looking for measurements and trying to explain and demonstrate causality. This initial stage of research gave me an ethical view of patron-client dynamic issues between Korean missionaries and Cambodians.

From this point, I incorporated an interpretivism paradigm, pursuing more of an emic view and using an inductive coding method - the rich data I gathered by deductive coding, and the applied case study as my methodology of my research. In this way, I examined the subjective aspects of patron-client dynamics, siding with Aristotle's view that values are given and subjective, and instead of looking for causality, I sought to increase the general understanding of the patron-client dynamics between Ted and CBC pastors.

3.3 Case Study Method

Initially, I reviewed four methods for my research: case study, action research, ethnography, and grounded theory, although they are not mutually exclusive. After a literature review and after reviewing the first and second phase of field research data, I chose 'case study' as my primary research method because it requires a holistic, in-depth investigation (Feagin 1991) and an "empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence (Robson 1993: 146)" The case study method is the best option to answer the primary research question of this study, '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?'

Yin, Stake and others have developed robust case study procedures and Tellis

holds that when these procedures are followed, the researcher will be following well developed methods that are tested in their scientific fields (1997). Yin has identified some specific types of case studies: Exploratory, Explanatory, and Descriptive. Exploratory cases are sometimes considered as a prelude to social research. Explanatory case studies may be used for doing causal investigations. Descriptive cases require a developing a descriptive theory before starting the project (1993). I chose the exploratory type because 'not enough is known' about the patron-client dynamic between Korean missionaries and Cambodian church planters. My research will focus on church-planting (as an event) and roles and relationships between Korean missionaries and Cambodian church planters.

At the first and second phase of my research, I investigated the effects of Korean mission aid on selected Cambodian evangelical churches, primarily focusing on aid dependency issues. The first and second phases of research revealed that there are broader relational concerns such as patron-client dynamics taking place. Moreover, from the third phase of my field research, especially after interviews sixty-seven and sixty-eight, I focused my research on aid dependency in patron-client dynamics between Korean missionaries and Cambodian Christians. Once I had decided to use the case study method and as I moved into the fourth and final phase of my field research, I chose Ted Kim and the CBC church-planting projects as my primary case study subject. I considered both synchronic and diachronic time in temporal variation: I observed both church-planting at the time of church-planting (synchronic) by interviewing church planters, and I observed the progress over time (diachronic) by visiting the church plant sites.

Case studies are multi-perspectival in that the researcher considers not only the

voice and perspective of the Korean missionaries, but also the voices of the relevant groups of Cambodians and the interaction between the groups. This is a salient point in the characteristics that case studies possess - they give a voice to the powerless and voiceless. Feagin states that when sociological investigations present many studies of the homeless and powerless, they do so from the viewpoint of the 'elite' (Feagin 1991). In line with Feagin's criticism, in the first three stages of my research, I focused too heavily on interviewing Korean and Western missionaries even though my research aim is to examine patron-client dynamics between missionaries and Cambodians. My bias for Korean sources and for excluding the local Cambodian voices weakened my overall thesis at the initial three stages of my research. After reviewing the literature on subaltern studies and consultations, I have designed my fourth and final field research visits to hear Cambodian voices, including lay people and Cambodian Christians associated with Ted.

3.4 Methods

3.4.1 Qualitative Approach

Strauss and Corbin define qualitative research as, "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (1990: 17). Carvalho and White define it as a research method that typically uses purposive sampling and semi-structured or interactive interviews to collect data, and data collected relating to people's judgments, attitudes, preferences, priorities, and/or perceptions about a subject (1997). The main advantage of this method is that as the researcher becomes progressively familiar with the social environment of that particular context, more reliable and in-depth answers can be

obtained by questions asked. Many times, they are answered through observations made on site or during both formal and informal conversations. It yields a depth of information about relationships and processes.

However, the downside to this qualitative method, in a case study, is that it tends to take a long time to produce meaningful and robust data, and the data lack generalization – that is to say, it may be difficult to verify information in particular as a result of the subjective role of the researcher in interpreting and representing reality (Carvalho and White 1997).

I used participatory methods such as semi-structured interviews, open interviews and focus group discussions to collect qualitative data, perceptions and individual stories. I needed a method that would involve people from various backgrounds and produce an environment where participants could share their stories. The focus group discussion method seemed fitting to achieve this goal.

First, I used a participatory method to interact with the Cambodian Christians and build a relationship with them. However, I used caution to introduce myself to their communities only as a researcher, and not as a sponsor or a supporter. For example, since I had no contacts with Cambodian Christians before arriving in L-3, I needed an occasion to break the ice with Cambodian Christian leaders and to build a relationship with them. I was told by my key informant, in the first phase of research, that many from L-3 area had a low level of trust of foreigners, especially Koreans.³ On hearing this, I wanted to make it clear from the beginning who I was and why I was there. A

³ In the past, some Korean people came to L-3 under various names to educational institutions to teach the Korean language and collected substantial fees from the villagers, around \$500 per person, guaranteeing them jobs in Korea upon graduating from their programmes. However, none of the projects materialized; the Koreans left one night and never returned, and all the villagers lost their money.

luncheon organised by a local leader was an excellent opportunity to introduce myself as a researcher, to clear any suspicion, and to build some level of trust before engaging in a focus group interview.

I used the focus group discussion method to increase the depth of the data. Although I asked them questions and they answered, the discussion process was participatory in a way that they discussed among themselves what were their best answers. Also, I had my local assistant and external guest from Europe sit through the focus group, and we also discussed our findings among ourselves after the interview. Based on the previous experience, when conducting interviews with Cambodians to collect background information, I found that they said what they thought I wanted to hear rather than the facts or their actual feelings. So, in this focus group meeting, we sat in a circle, had food and drink available, creating a more informal setting, so they were more relaxed and, therefore, more likely to share what was in their hearts.

3.5 Data Collection

In the first stage, I used three primary methods: semi-structured individual interviews, focus group discussions, and two survey questionnaires. These methods were supported by other methods such as key informant interviews and limited participant observation. The research objectives laid out in the introduction drove the choice of the specific methods most appropriate for answering the research questions. I used key informant interviews to introduce myself as a researcher wanting to conduct participatory focus group discussions. Once I secured access to various Korean sponsored church plants as potential research sites, I used one of the major qualitative methods, participatory focus group discussions, to gather information and stories to select my primary case study.

The quantitative survey data collections were a simple survey of a representative sample of twenty-three pastors in Cambodia. By collecting data on years in ministry, some congregations, their affiliations, a percentage of members tithing, monthly offering amounts, and support from outside sources, I used the deductive approach to test the guiding hypothesis of the aid dependency issue of my initial research question (Appendix B).

Also, I conducted follow up in-depth interviews of these two survey participants, compared the data, and triangulated it for validity. However, as I took an inductive analysis of the data gathered, a sketch of a nuanced picture of the much more personal relationship between Ted and CBC pastors emerged. I realised that 'aid dependency' was not the primary issue, but rather patron-client dynamics presented itself as the key factor in the relationship between Korean missionaries and Cambodian Christians. What I learned provides a helpful differentiation between expressed ideal practices of the patron-client relationship from the predominant narrative of Ted on relational solidarity versus what CBC pastors want patron-client dynamic to move toward – i.e., the partnership.

Second, my Khmer skills were not proficient enough to facilitate interviews with Cambodians. Most CBC pastors speak English of varying degrees of fluency, and their English skills are higher than my Khmer skills. I recognised that English, not their mother tongue, is their functional language. Therefore, they may have felt the limitations of expressing themselves entirely in English. On the other hand, conducting the interviews in Khmer has its own challenges; either I had to involve a translator or have a Khmer person to conduct the interviews. Regarding the language issue, I had

three options for conducting interviews: (1) all in English; (2) all in Khmer, involving a translator; (3) some in English and some in Khmer.

I chose option one and conducted my interviews in English only, but I gave interviewees the option to speak any keywords or phrases in Khmer. That plan worked because I recorded the interview and could retrieve and translate it later with the Cambodian assistants as needed. I felt option two would decrease the reliability since I did not have access to reliable translators. I also had some concerns about option three, since it is not only logistically challenging but also CBC pastors might be uncomfortable with a non-CBC Cambodian translating their interview. However, I still worked with local Cambodian research assistants, who were there, not to translate, but to confirm what I understood or to explain the answers given by the participants and help me interpret nuances and read between the lines after the interview.

Another concern was the location of the interview. To ensure reliability, I asked participants to choose the location they were comfortable in, and many chose their church site. Most of the non-Khmer interviewees preferred to meet at a neutral place like a coffee shop or a restaurant.

Yin (1994) identified six primary sources of evidence for case study research. The use of each of these might require different skills from the researcher. Not all sources are essential in every case study, but the importance of multiple sources of data to the reliability of the study is well established. The six sources identified by Stake and Yin includes documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artefacts (Stake 1995 and Yin 1994).

These primary sources are complementary and, since one single source does not have a complete advantage over the others, a case study should use as many sources as

are relevant to the research. I tried to incorporate these six primary sources as much as possible for the case study.

3.5.1 Sampling

Out of the preliminary data, there are three reasons I chose Ted's mission work as my case study. First, during my first two phases of interviews, Ted was one of the most honest participants – willing to share about not only his successes but also failures in his mission efforts. Second, he was accessible, since he was willing to spend time in the interview and made it possible for me to interview his CBC pastors. Third, Ted had already published his testimony as a book in Korean, covering his first fifteen years of mission work in Cambodia, which provided me with rich documented data for robust analysis.

From the first phase interview, Ted was the first to indicate his frustration regarding financial dependency, including his own, concerning his sending churches. At the conclusion of our focused group meeting, he challenged the participants (mostly Korean missionaries) by asking, "How can we tell our Cambodian pastors to become financially independent, if we, too, are completely dependent on our sponsors for all that we do here in Cambodia?" It was the *Eureka* moment in my research, and I was able to identify Korean missionaries both as patrons (to Cambodian Christians) and clients (to their sponsors in Korea) in the church-planting projects in Cambodia.

Between 1998 and 2000, Ted and his wife Sarah planted seven Cambodian churches near the L-1 district and also established the CBC. Then, by 2013, CBC graduates planted fourteen more churches throughout Cambodia. None of these twenty-

one churches is financially independent, and all the pastoral staff members receive from \$150 to \$200 per month depending on their life situations of being single, married, or married with children.

Yin (1993) states that there are at least three types of sample cases: the typical case, the critical case, and the extreme case. A critical case (or test case) is based on a well-developed theory, and an extreme case (or unique case) is common in a clinical study. To better understand the unique cases as compared with typical cases, I chose the 'typical case' sampling of 'church-planting' since the majority of Korean missionaries are involved with church-planting.

In the fourth research stage, I visited all of Ted's seven church plant sites near the L-1 district. These churches were the training grounds for his CBC students to practise their ministry skills during their residential study (average three to four years). They had morning classes from Monday to Thursday, and they were dropped off in seven local farming villages during the afternoons to conduct Christian services such as Bible study or Vacation Bible School⁴ activities for children. Eventually, to accommodate their work, the ABC Church of Singapore helped finance wooden structure buildings as outreach posts for the CBC. Within three years all of these structures became registered churches with the local government, and all of them used BP as part of their church name, for example, L-13 BP church, L-20 BP church and L-22 BP church.

3.5.2 Data Collection Methods

⁴ History of Vacation Bible School in America, "The year was 1894. A Sunday school teacher, Mrs. D.T. Miles felt she was too limited in her time to teach the Bible to children, so she began a daily Bible school during the summer. This school lasted four weeks." According to a Barna study commissioned by Gospel Light, more than two out of three churches in America (68%) offered VBS last summer in 2012. <http://tinyurl.com/h685gtz>, accessed on 21 Sep. 2015.

The qualitative data was collected primarily by interviews in four phases: In the first phase of field research in 2010, I conducted forty-four interviews from March to December. In the 2011 second phase, I conducted eighteen interviews from August to October. In the 2013 third phase, I conducted eight interviews from June to August. In the 2015 fourth phase, I conducted twenty-four interviews from July to August.

I made and recorded direct observations and also participant observations, especially during the fourth phase of data collecting. Some archival records and physical artefacts were reviewed and examined and photographed throughout the four phases of data collection.

3.5.2.1 Interviews

In the fieldwork, I discovered that interviews are one of the most critical sources of gathering case study information. I incorporated several forms of interview methods: open-ended, focused, and semi-structured.

First, in an open-ended interview, I asked for the informants' opinions on events, their story and facts, often starting the interview with a question, "Could you tell me your story?" In the case of Ted, I listened, recorded, and then transcribed the recordings, and the data gathered from his narratives served to compare and corroborate previously gathered data from his biographical book, reports, and my field notes.

The open-ended interviews lasted on average forty-five minutes to an hour. Some interviews lasted longer and went up to almost two hours. The length of the interview entirely depended on the respondents' willingness and enthusiasm. One of the downsides to this approach is that since most of my respondents had many other responsibilities, it was difficult for them to sit through the interview without

interruptions. This approach turned out to be quite time-consuming, not only for me as a researcher, but also for participants.

Moreover, several Cambodian respondents seemed nervous at the sight of a voice recorder unit being placed in front of them, although they permitted me to record the interview. I overcame that nervousness by using my iPhone voice recording application with its light turned off, so it did not look like a recording unit, and I put it on the side, not in the centre of the table or front of them. Their discomfort seemed to stem from a sight of a recording machine itself and not the fact that it was being recorded. Since it is common practice for people to put their phone in front of them during conversations, using an iPhone recording application proved to be an effective and acceptable way to record. All the participants were informed that interviews would be recorded, and they gave their permission. Although all the interviews were voice recorded, I took handwritten notes as well.

I usually had informal conversations after the interview ended, and it was during this time that the respondents, who were more relaxed, provided pertinent and essential information. Then I asked for permission to use the information they shared as the 'official' interview data. In most cases, it was permitted.

Second, in a focused interview and discussion, the respondents were interviewed for a relatively shorter duration, since the questions asked came from the case study interview samples. From these respondents, I was able to identify topics and concerns for future, more in-depth and open-ended interview candidates, based on their openness and accessibility.

After conducting the first phase focus meetings, I realised that many of my first set of participants, already exposed to foreigners, and who had done similar interviews

and surveys before, gave me standard answers. To overcome this fact, I talked about non-research related topics until participants became more relaxed and open to me. Then I conducted a series of subsequent interviews with that group of participants. While I was glad that I spent much time with them, it took a lot of effort, planning, time, and finances to hold these participatory meetings.

Third, I used semi-structured interviews to examine patron-client dynamics between Ted and the Cambodians of his mission networks. First, during the first and second phase of research, I interviewed Ted and his wife, Sarah. Then I interviewed Cambodian pastors and leaders of their church plants during the third and fourth phase research. The participatory focus group interviews and discussion meetings were essential in gathering qualitative data on patron-client dynamics between Ted and his church-planting team members.

3.5.2.2 Direct Observation

I gathered data for my case study through direct observation as well by visiting the DEF⁵ church of Phnom Penh on Sundays and the L-1 Bible School Sunday worship services. As the reliability of the observation is the primary concern in direct observation, and because my literature review suggests that having multiple observers are one way to guard against this problem, I attended the events with both of my assistants and my translator. Afterwards, we met to review our experiences. I then wrote a report of this direct observation data and analysed it to compare it with the in-depth interviews and data from Ted's book.

⁵ This is not an acronym but the name of a church.

3.5.2.3 Participant Observation

In July 2015, I taught a three hours' class at CBC in English, on *Blood Gospel*, a GHI⁶ publication, by Pastor Pang Jiil of Korea, and interacted with the students. It was their Junior and Senior class, so I was advised to teach in English. I observed the level of their education and took notes on their responses and observations regarding the class and incorporated them into my overall data.

I had several chances to participate in the CBC community as their guest and interacted with CBC students in the celebration banquets after the projects, through fellowship after the church service, and by joining their weekday meal during CBC school time. These gave me an opportunity to observe as a participant but unfortunately many of these events occurred before I had chosen Ted's mission work as my case study, so I had only made causal observations, not formal observations, recordings and reports.

3.5.2.4 Archival Records and Physical Artefacts

I was not able to find significant archival records at Ted's church plants or the CBC. His church did not even print Sunday worship bulletins or an official pamphlet, so, I relied on an Internet search. First, I accessed both the CBC's and Ted's official web pages and downloaded their contents, searching the internet using the key Korean terms like 'L-1 Bible School' and Ted's Korean name. Second, I located their mission reports to sponsoring churches through Google. These were mission reports they sent to Koreans in Korea, Singapore, and USA and which they posted on their organization or church websites. Third, I found few blog entries about them either from those either

⁶ Ibid.

who had participated in their short-term mission work or who were part of sponsoring organizations trying to promote Ted's work through their networks.

I collected twenty-one pages of archival records data, and these became the basis for my first open coding source. I was able to identify key terms for Ted by the frequency they were used. For example, the word 'Church' was used seventy-one times in Korean and seventeen times in English (total 88 times). From this data, I was able to code themes, for example 'Church as building', 'Church as a concept,' and 'Church as location.' Then I could cross-reference them with the data I had gathered from interview transcripts.

Both at the DEF church of Phnom Penh and at the CBC, I took photos of physical artefacts and gathered all the printed materials for review and analysis. Due to the Westernization of both the CBC and the DEF churches of Phnom Penh, the majority of artefacts in both places were not Cambodia specific, which also became essential data.

3.5.2.5 Four Phases of Data Collection

I divided my research in Cambodia into four phases from 2010 to 2015: First, in 2010, I sought connections between Korean missionaries' support and dependency. Second, in 2011, I conducted interviews focusing more on patron-client relationships. Third, I focused more specifically on Ted and his mission work. Fourth, I conducted my case study interviews with Ted and his church-planting team members at the L-1 and the church plant sites.

3.5.2.5.1 First Phase Field Research in 2010

According to Stake, the research question will determine the method applied. He states, "Better, first, to ask what do you need to know; then, how to go about finding it. Better to organise by content" (Stake 2010: 72). So, in 2010, I started my field research with the first research question: "What are the effects of foreign financial aid on Cambodian evangelical churches in last twenty years from 1992-2011?" I have to confess that at the beginning phase of my research, I prematurely assumed that 'financial aid' was the cause of dependency. I directed my first research to prove that initial hypothesis, but after much processing and by receiving academic advice and corrections, I found my research question itself was not fundamentally sound – primarily because of my assumption on 'financial aid' as the cause of dependency.

I conducted forty-four qualitative interviews from June 2010 to December 2010 – focusing mainly on Cambodian church leaders and covering a large geographical area of Cambodia. During the interviews, I started a 'snowball sampling' method⁷ Moreover, I used several key informants. In the case of identifying key Cambodian informants, I asked, "Who is the key player in Cambodian Christian community?" After many interviewees' referrals and triangulating the data, I selected and interviewed Vandeth Nou⁸ of the Evangelical Fellowship of Cambodia (EFC) Children Commission and Glenn Miles of Chab Dai Cambodia.⁹ Their insights were informative and critical in shaping the next phase of my research.

⁷ Bill Prevette of OCMS explained this concept and showed me how it was done in his thesis. The 'snowball sampling' was effective in identifying the key informant because during my interview many referrals will be made to him or her on a given topic.

⁸ Int. 55, Vandeth Nou at EFC headquarter in Phnom Penh was conducted as a result of snowball sampling. EFC is one of the prominent Cambodian group in Cambodia representing the majority of evangelical churches.

⁹ Chab Dai, which means 'together' in Khmer, on their website states: "Chab Dai aims to see member organizations lead the way forward in raising the standard of care for survivors and those at risk of being exploited." <http://www.chabdai.org/home.html>, accessed on 25 Feb. 2012.

Additionally, in September 2010, Dongkyu Kim, our research associate, using the quantitative research survey, surveyed seventy-one Cambodian leaders from four different regions of Cambodia – Svey Rieng, Takeo, Kendle, and Kampong Cham area. After reviewing the survey data, which was too broad and too general, I concluded that cultural and social attitudes of Cambodians could be best observed in qualitative interviews in more personal and intimate settings.

3.5.2.5.2 Second Phase Field Research in 2011

The second phase interviews began in August 2011 and concluded in October 2011. I applied a qualitative method and formulated my interview questions accordingly – open-ended questions using research notes and personal notes. Using ‘notebook layout view’ in Microsoft Word template enabled me to have two modes of notes and recording capability available in one setting, so I was able to focus on the interview and discreetly typed notes if needed.

Interviews are one of the most important primary sources of the qualitative research method. First, in an open-ended interview, I asked open-ended questions of my informant asking for his or her opinion on events or facts. Especially as a follow-up interview, I was able to corroborate previously gathered data and information. In case of interview fifty-nine (Int. 59), following up on a previous structured group interview, my informant was able to speak freely and explain questions and ambiguities raised from the previous interview.

Second, the focused interviews were useful when my informant only had a short period of time for the session. I asked questions from a pre-written questionnaire. For example, Int. 62 met me between his own meetings, yet I was able to get crucial data

from him by using a questionnaire already formulated. The focused interview was an excellent tool for verifying some of the data shared by other informants using the same questionnaire.

Third, the structured interviews were useful in gathering precise and general information in a group interview setting. In my structured interviews, for example, Int. 12 at the L-3 with Cambodian pastors and Int. 53 in Phnom Penh with Western missionaries, I requested permission to record the meeting and asked individuals some pre-written questions and asked everyone a few open-ended questions. A synergetic effect took place within the interview, including many self-corrections occurred. These included correcting a date of a particular organization's being formed. It had been misquoted by one, but the other intervened and corrected it on the spot, with the majority's approval.

By using multiple types of interview methods, I was able to 'triangulate' the data. According to Prevette, 'triangulation' is used in navigation to describe a process where at least two reference points are marked about the observer to determine a position on a map (2008: 342). Yin also states that triangulation arises from the need to confirm the validity of the processes. In case studies, this can be done by using multiple sources of data such as interaction with participants, interviews, and observations (2003).

3.5.2.5.3 Third Phase Field Research in 2013

As I was leaning toward the case study method for my research, I considered missionary Ted and his church-planting projects as my subject for this for the following reasons: first, Ted was very reflective and sincere in his responses during our focused group meetings. Second, Ted was willing to identify his church-planting strategy and allowed

me to interview CBC pastors. Third, Ted has planted many types of churches in different locations of Cambodia through his Bible College ministry. Fourth, Ted has been in Cambodia for an extended period, since 1997, making diachronic research possible. Fifth, interviews of many of the CBC pastors were in English, although not fluently because they had been trained in English for only three to four years at the CBC. In 2013, I interviewed Ted in Phnom Penh and his church-planting staff at the DEF church of Phnom Penh.

At this stage, it was crucial for me to use various qualitative or participatory methods to answer the "how" and "why" questions of patron-client dynamics. I used a participatory exercise during this stage of fieldwork to gather more information and to formulate the right questions to ask in subsequent follow-up interviews.

In 2014, due to personal issues at home, I interrupted my studies academic year, as granted by OCMS and the University of Middlesex.

3.5.2.5.4 Fourth Phase Field Research in 2015

After the third phase of field research, I decided on a case study method as my research methodology and chose missionary Ted's church-planting as my case study. I conducted the fourth phase field search in 2015 from 11 July to 9 August in Cambodia.

I conducted twenty-four interviews. Of forty respondents (thirty-six males and six females), thirty-one respondents were CBC alumnae or staff; thirty-three were Cambodians, six were Koreans, and one was American. I conducted sixteen in-depth individual interviews and three focused group discussions: The first group included eight Cambodian church planters from all over Cambodia; the second group had six Cambodian church planters of the L-9 region; and third was a group of three Korean

missionaries. Also, there were three Cambodian married couples involved in church-planting, and two separate interviews involving two people, non-married Cambodians, but involved in a similar church-planting or NGO work.

3.5.2.6 Data Management

I gathered three significant data sources for the case study: Interview data, Ted's book, and Ted's paper, published for a mission conference in Cambodia (in Korean).

The first primary source was the interviews and documentation in five categories: transcriptions, audio-files, coded files, macro-files, and interview notes. First, I hired a professional transcriber from Korea and an intern from Cambodia and had all my interviews transcribed, thus turning my audio-files into Word document files. Once I received the file, I first reviewed the accuracy of transcription. I listened to the audio file and read along with the manuscript, and if it was to my satisfaction – other than a few misspelt Khmer words, i.e. locations and the name of city, due to unfamiliarity, I considered that most of the transcript was accurate as document data.

The first category is a transcription file with marked key points in the margins, printed and kept in a separate notebook. I have identified this file in this thesis by giving it an interview number and page number or numbers, separated by a comma – e.g., (Int. 88; 4, 10). I reviewed the Korean interview transcription and kept it in the Korean language, but I have translated quotations into English.

The second category is the audio-file. Kept in the interview file, it matches the uniform interview number throughout the four phases of research, separating a lengthy interview into two or three parts if necessary.

The third category is the coded file, which is an edited version of the transcription using the 'review' mode in Word processing. Coding the transcription, I identified the key ideas, words, concepts, repetition of words and contrasting ideas, and produced a complete coded file of transcription. Then I printed the entire file in colour so as to locate highlights or keywords in their correct columns and to make further analysis. This step was necessary to create the next macro-file.

The fourth category is the macro-file, which I created in the macro-function in Word processing, sorting the coded keywords into sections, and showing both the sections of words I had highlighted and the page numbers. In the case of multiple entries in the same page, I gave an alphabetical value for easier referencing – e.g., (Int. 88, Macro; 3a, 6b). In the case of indicating a significant concept in a macro-file, I created and printed a new file. For example, in the coding of the concept 'patron as a father', the sheer volume of data required me to create a separate file and indicated it as 'PAF' – e.g., (Int. 88, Macro, PAF; 1, 5c, 61).

The fifth category is interview notes, which were kept in separate files for future reference in the case of discrepancies or clarifications. Accurately documenting and filing the interviews data, the primary source, was time-consuming, expensive, and tedious, but in the end, it paid the highest return for my research.

The second source of documentation was Ted's book - on his first fifteen years' experience in Cambodia entitled, *The Testimony Book*.¹⁰ This book gave extensive reports on his church-planting and recorded his successes and failures in the mission field. I had Ted send me his book in a Microsoft Word document format, so I can use my codes and run a macro-sort function for analysis.

¹⁰ Ted requested that the real title to be withheld so his work can stay anonymous.

The third source was Ted's paper (in Korean) entitled 'Church-planting in Cambodia (224-234).'¹¹

3.5.2.7 Data Analysis

The data analysis in my research investigates patron-client relationships from a social anthropology perspective and demonstrates its applicability in Cambodia at large, but more specifically in the CBC church-planting. In this case study, I do not aim to generalize from a single case study, but rather to integrate and analyse the case study data by using a social anthropological lens of patron-client relationships.

Robert Yin argues that the analysis of a case study is one of the least developed aspects of the case study methodology. The analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise re-combining the evidence to address the initial propositions of a study (1994).¹² As statistical analysis is not necessarily used in all case studies, I had to rely on my experience and the literature to present the evidence in various ways, using various interpretations. Yin suggested that every investigation should have a general analytic strategy that helps the researcher decide what to analyse and for what reason. He presented some possible analytic techniques: pattern-matching, explanation-building, and time-series analysis (1994). I applied the first two techniques in my research analysis.

First, Trochim considered pattern-matching as one of the most desirable strategies for analysis (1989). This technique compares an empirically based pattern with a predicted one. In my first phase analysis, I conducted the five characteristics of patron-

¹¹ This title is also not the real title because of Ted's request.

¹² [Http://tinyurl.com/j9xle17](http://tinyurl.com/j9xle17), accessed on 27 May 2015.

client dynamics data from all twenty-four interviews from the fourth phase interview transcripts.

Second, came coding the key ideas and terms and emergent patterns observed. I indexed all field notes and transcripts of interviews (both Korean and English) by each topic. I created a database whose variables were grounded in both open-ended questions and structured responses to relevant questions in the interviews. Interview transcripts were coded, and their content analysed for primary categories of meaning. First, I established a series of sub-categories and a filing and retrieval system. Then I displayed blocks of text in matrices according to subject content, for example, focusing on Ted's usage of the term 'Church' - as 'building', 'Concept' or as a 'location'. Then I analysed these databases by using a pattern-matching method.

Next, I reviewed these key term table matrices for emergent patterns and congruent themes and assigned them different codes (sometimes colour) to indicate different categories of frequencies. Then for the next level of matrices, I built and organized around thematic categories such as their usage of the term.

3.5.2.7.1 Computer Software

I debated between using NVivo or Atlas.Ti for computer software. After surveying each of the programs and consulting with some who had used each, I downloaded a free NVivo version and tried my research data. Then I decided to use my Word processor built in macro-application to sort and then transfer data to an Excel programme for further organization and analysis. There are two significant reasons for this decision.

First, I considered the software too late in the research process. Stake states that qualitative data analysis is an iterative and reflexive process that begins as data are

being collected rather than after data collection has ceased (1995). To analyse my findings through NVivo, for example, I would have had to spend time inputting all the codes, matching the NVivo criteria, which at the time of my research was not realistic, especially without help from research assistants. The next research project I will be involved in, most likely will attempt to incorporate NVivo from the planning stage with research assistants so that they can input my codes for the analysis.

Second, my data did not require such sophisticated software for analysis. The strength of NVivo was that it could sort and recall from different and extensive data and merge to show the multi-level and complex relationships between them and also make them graphically attractive. However, my primary case study data, especially after most of my preliminary research interview data analysis was done manually, only required sorting through key terms in an open coding process and theme coding from the text data, for example, interview transcripts, books, internet blog texts and research notes.

3.5.2.7.2 Macro-Function in Word Processing

I used the macro-function of Microsoft Word processing as my primary data analysis. After the interview, I made transcriptions. By reading through the transcriptions and coding the key terms, concepts, patterns, and themes of each interview, I turned them into separate categories. Then, using the macro-function, I sorted by categories, thereby creating files alphabetically based on each category. For example, once I coded the usage of term 'father' in the transcription, I was able to give its sub-categorical value, 'father' used by Ted versus 'father' used by CBC pastors. From the data, I was able to observe that in the mission house stage, the CBC pastors almost exclusively used the term 'father' when they referred to Ted, but others used the term 'teacher'. In this

method, I compiled many sub-categories of patron-client dynamics of CBC, which gave me the platform to compare and contrast the data more efficiently.

Overall, the analysis results using the Microsoft Word process embedded macro-sorting application and the Microsoft Excel programme was efficient and sufficient for my research.

3.6 Ethical Guidelines

During the fourth phase of research, concerns about anonymity became a significant hurdle. Ted reviewed the rough draft in 2015, and he requested that all the names be kept anonymous. After a discussion with Ted, we have kept all the names, including Ted's name, his wife's name, the school name, and the title of his book and all the names of the location anonymous, due to sensitive interview information. This process made the reading of my thesis difficult and not smooth, but it was a necessary step to keep the anonymity of the participants.

3.6.1 Ethical Guidelines established for this Research

In my case study research, five extracted core ethical elements governed the methods of collecting and keeping data: information, permission, rights of participants, confidentiality, and anonymity.

3.6.1.1 Information

I informed the participants, both in survey sessions and interview sessions, of my research purpose and ways of collecting data, e.g., recording and photographing. If participatory observation had been necessary, I informed them before the event, either

by phone or in writing, explaining my purpose of participation and methods of collecting data. All participants were informed of my research purposes and reasons for my presence there. I asked to be an invisible participant so I could ensure an etic view during the event at the initial stage of my search.

3.6.1.2 Permission

Having the participants sign a written permission was not culturally acceptable in Cambodia, so I verbally asked for their permission and recorded their consent in an audio format, and then I began data collection and archiving their response. I did not exert pressure on them to consent to my research, especially for the interviews. Those who felt uncomfortable about participating in this research were not chosen for interviews. I informed the CBC pastors and Ted and received permission from them orally. I recorded their permission as part of the entire recording and kept them in the research file.

3.6.1.3 Rights of Participants

I informed all the participants that they had a right to ask any questions regarding the research process at any time. Similarly, the participants could also choose to remove any information they had given during the interview or from the interview itself. However, the data, which already have been collected, will be retained as part of the overall data because they were collected under the person's consent and have already been part of the research process, but will not be used as part of the thesis.

3.6.1.4 Confidentiality

I will treat the collected data confidentially and not share any with others without permission, and I will safely store any form of digitalized data in my personal computer, and any written or printed data in a binding format in a non-public setting. [11] [SEP] Finally, I shred the unused research data.

3.6.1.5 Anonymity

After reading the first rough draft of my research, Ted requested that all the names and locations be replaced with codes to keep the anonymity. So, I used a capital letter 'P' (Person) and the interview number to indicate a participant in the data so that the [11] [SEP] identities of subjects are unrecognizable – e.g. P.88. However, for participants in a group interview, for example, in interview eighty-nine, I have separated them by lower case alphabet in order, e.g., P89a, P89b and P89c. The locations go by a capital letter 'L' (Location) and a numerical number, e.g., L-1, L-2 and L-3. For other names in the CBC related organizations, I used three capitals, e.g. DEF church and GHI publishing. I listed the titles of Ted's two publications under different names. All of the Non-CBC participants gave their consent for their names to be used in the research reports and the thesis.

3.7 Summary

The decision to use a quantitative questionnaire survey in the beginning phase of research gave me a general overview of pastors and their ministries. The findings contributed to a larger picture, but it could not capture the nuances and relationships variables between Korean missionaries and Cambodian Christians. Applying a qualitative method was useful in my subsequent phases of research because it helped me

to understand the patron-client dynamics between Korean missionaries and Cambodian Christians, and based on the qualitative data collected, I was able to build a framework of the field research in terms of questions asked in the interviews and information to keep in mind throughout the fieldwork.

During the second and third phases of research, qualitative-participatory approaches yielded much more in-depth, holistic information about relationships between Korean missionaries and Cambodians as well as questions about the generalization of the findings, but my role as the researcher in interpreting and presenting such a social reality was to embrace both etic and emic perspectives. At this phase, I decided to use a case study as my methodology and chose the CBC as a subject to learn its key effects of patron-client dynamics between Ted and Cambodian pastors in their joint church-planting project. Finally, in the fourth phase, I conducted individual and focused group interviews by visiting the locations and interviewing pastors on site, which was an important step, since I was able to gather robust data, which was far beyond simple information about their church-planting method, but yielded layered nuances and contemporary realities of their ministries.

Chapter Four Patron-Client Relationships and Aid Dependency

4.1 Introduction

At the beginning stage of the research, I conducted a few surveys and completed subsequent interviews with Korean missionaries and Cambodians to understand aid dependency topics. However, from subsequent researches, I have learned that patron-client dynamics between Korean missionaries and Cambodian Christians are more foundational components, which moved my research focus from economic concerns to relational ones in Southeast Asian social anthropology and mission studies.

James Scott suggests another term to explain this dynamic in Southeast Asian politics. He refers to Carl Lande's work, as 'vertical solidarity' (1972b: 5), focusing on the hierarchical aspect of a relationship. However, in social anthropology, the term 'patron-client' is a more fitting term for my research. Through this process, the primary research question has evolved into: '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?' I chose the CBC church-planting project as the case study to examine relationship dynamics between Ted and the CBC pastors.

4.2 Misreading of Patron-Client Relationships in Cambodia

Patron-client relationships existed in Cambodia before any foreigners came to this country, and patron-client dynamics can be observed in all areas of life, as people relate to one another in that social structure. Therefore, judging the patron-client relationship as a social evil itself becomes problematical. It was observed that many missionaries

had misread the patron-client relationship as a social ill and something that had to be removed from Cambodian society. This sort of simple solution to a complex and long-lasting social way of life is virtually impossible, especially when foreigners and outsiders impose it.

4.2.1 Western Misreading of Cambodian Patron-Client Relationship

In my Western literature review of mission studies on aid, I noticed that most Western writers view the patron-client dynamics solely as a negative financial concern but fail to explain why they think so. For example, Cormack states that the "patron-client dynamic in Khmer culture became a weakness in the Cambodian church, stunting its true indigenous growth, distorting its perception of Christian discipleship and service" (Cormack, 2001: 100). He argues that many Cambodian pastors entered ministry primarily because they saw ministry as a secure job in which they could always rely on financial support from stable foreign organizations and donors. However, in so thinking, he applies a double standard. For example, if Western seminary graduates seek an ordination through a Methodist denomination because of the lifetime salary guarantee, they will suffer being viewed as engaging in a patron-client dynamic with their denomination.

As stated in Chapter two, Judy Ledgerwood makes a similar observation in her paper stating that the patron-client relationship in Cambodia is "an unequal exchange between the wealthy and powerful and the poor and dependent" (2007). Theoretically, a patron-client relationship is a fair exchange of power and labour, and it becomes a problem for those who are engaged in patron-client relationships only when power is exploited against the weaker partner.

Cambodians do not seek the patron-client mode of life as it is already ingrained in their culture because of the 7.9 million people in Cambodia's labour force, where fifty-six percent are farmers¹. Moreover, "Eighty-five percent of Cambodia's population lives in a rural village."² When missionaries came to Cambodia instead of recognizing and redeeming its patron-client value, they categorized it as a cultural problem and called it a harmful dependency.³ The weakness of this mission practice arose from not fully understanding and not engaging with this cultural and social Cambodian norm.

They were unaware of this senior-junior relationship, so they interpreted that Cambodians are simply opportunists without any pride or honour.⁴ It did not/may not occur to them that Cambodians were/are only playing the expected role of a junior toward their senior, which is an expected form of a patron-client relationship. In many cases, current missionaries will refuse financial aid requests with displeasure and explain that the Cambodians must assume responsibility for their personal affairs without expecting support from foreigners.

For example, in Interview 10, Nel., the director of a Christian mission agency that trained more than 3,000 pastors from 18 countries, holds that Cambodia is one of the most dependent countries. He shared that after his first teaching session in Cambodia, many of Cambodian pastors ended up at the same restaurant he was dining

¹ Cambodia; agriculture labour force: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cb>, Accessed on 23 July 2013.

² *Rural Development in Cambodia: The View from the Village In Cambodia and the International Community: The Quest for Peace, Development, and Democracy*, Frederick Brown and David Timberman, ed. New York, NY: Asia Society, 127-147, 1998.

³ Evidence of this claim is presented and discussed at length in Chapter 4, 'Aid Dependency Issues of Cambodian Evangelical Churches.'

⁴ Int. 40, 16 Nov. 2010. Interviewing a long-term missionary from Australia who stated that basically, Cambodians have a beggar's mentality.

in, and because he did not pay for their meal, about fifty percent of them did not return to the afternoon session. According to him, Cambodian pastors were upset that as an organizer of the seminar he did not provide meals for them. Nel. interprets that Cambodians are financial opportunists, but for Cambodians, in this senior-junior relationship, he is not playing the expected role of a senior toward his juniors, which is an expected form of a patron-client relationship.

One Western missionary, who was upset at Cambodian pastors, said, “‘*Chab dai*’ means ‘partnership’ in Khmer – but to them, it is still “We know our country and culture, we are the poorest country in the world, and we do not have money. You find us the money!”⁵ However, in the same interview, another Western missionary, who was more empathetic to Cambodian pastors, expressed his struggles about refusing the Cambodian’s financial aid request in this way, “We are driving our \$30,000 Land Cruisers and telling Cambodian church planters ‘No, we are not going to help you build the building, because you have to raise the money yourself.’”⁶

These seemingly selfish Western perspectives puzzle Cambodians because they have made their petitions for financial support based on their standard practice of ‘*Neak Tver Kun Doem Bey ToToul Pra-yoach*’ relationship, which means that to ask for support in a Buddhist cultural context is to honour the patron (De Neui 2012: 110). The other missionaries testified that in their experience in organizing seminars or conferences, Cambodian Christians would not attend their meetings unless everything was paid for and they were given financial stipends afterwards (Int. 4, 6, 14, 15, 20, 26, 38, 40, 41, 47, 51, 52, and 53).

⁵ Int. 53, at Phnom Penh on 14 September 2011.

⁶ Ibid. He works in the same mission organization, but his previous work was at L-1.

Cambodian pastors, also in the interview, countered that it had become a regular source of income with informally set standard expectant amounts, typically about \$25 to \$30 per person per conference (Int. 9, 12, 23, 28, 31, and 49). Therefore, as stated earlier, problematizing the Cambodian patron-client relationship from a Western perspective becomes difficult especially when Westerners view the patron-client relationship as a social ill and something that has to be removed from Cambodian society.

4.2.2 Korean Misreading of Cambodian Patron-Client Relationship

The first Korean missionary came to Cambodia twenty years ago.⁷ By 2013, according to the director of Korean Presbyterian association of Cambodia, there were close to 450 Korean missionaries,⁸ and around twenty Korean American missionaries from the USA.⁹ One of the significant disadvantages of Korean missionaries is that they do not have access to literature resources about Cambodian culture in the Korean language.

In 2010, to find Korean books about Cambodia, I visited the Kangnam Kyo-Bo bookstore in Korea, the largest Korean bookstore chain. I found only eight Korean books on Cambodia and more than half of them were Angkor-Wat guidebooks. But using the bookstore's website, however, I located twenty-one books on Cambodian tourism; eighteen books on the Khmer language; three books published by Korean

⁷ Int. 64 at Phnom Penh on 13 June 2013. Chang Wanik is the editor of *Korean mission history of Cambodia*. Salt & Light, Phnom Penh: 2013. (In Korean)

⁸ It was 350 based on Int. 64 at Phnom Penh on 13 June 2013. However, since then it increased to 450 as of Aug. 2015.

⁹ Most of them have personal relationships, and many of them are teaching at seminaries at Phnom Penh or are part of an FBO or NGO from America.

government; two books by a Korean trade-investment promotion agency¹⁰ three guidebooks on development and investment ; and three research publications.

My particular interest lay in the development and research publications, a mere six books, which means that Korean missionaries have fewer than six books in Korean to learn about Cambodia in their mission training.¹¹ Furthermore, to my disappointment, the majority of this available research was mainly conducted in Southeast Asian countries such as Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, and Indonesia, and in the research, the sections about Cambodia were just a part of the overall study. This data suggest that most Korean missionaries came to Cambodia without much information about the country.

One Korean missionary who came to Phnom Penh in the early 1990s shared that he “had no one waiting at the airport and knew nothing about the country and did not speak Khmer.”¹² He shared his experience in the spirit of bravery and demonstration of faith but it taught him nothing when it came about Korean/Cambodian cross-cultural differences. Due to his ignorance about Cambodian culture, he negatively characterized Cambodians as unfriendly and unhelpful. This missionary came from South Korea, a nation transformed by ‘*Saemaul Undong*’ (New Community Movement) and its slogan of “Diligence, Self-help and Cooperation.” Because of his own national transformation, he may have used its mission discourse and measurement to characterize Cambodians as ‘lazy and dependent.’¹³

¹⁰ The Korean trade-investment promotion agency is in 82 countries and has 120 over sea centres: <http://english.kotra.or.kr/#none>, accessed on 7 August 2013.

¹¹ I found several more books published independently but most of them were translations of English books on Cambodia.

¹² Int. 20 at Phnom Penh on 11 August 2010.

¹³ In many interviews, both Korean and Western missionaries would say in their language, "Cambodians are lazy!" or words that describe 'laziness' and stated it as a Cambodian's character.

South Korea today is a benchmarking model for many developing countries and is the only country in the world that has achieved rapid economic growth and democratization in the wake of colonial rule and war. Saemaul Undong marked the first step in this remarkable journey. During 1970–1979, Korea’s average farm household income jumped from \$825 to \$4,602, setting a milestone in poverty reduction. The spirit of “Diligence, Self-help and Cooperation” spread widely among the rural population.¹⁴

Furthermore, most Korean missionaries I interviewed spoke neither Khmer nor English very well. Since Western mission work started ninety years ago in Cambodia,¹⁵ networking with these established agencies required English. In the recent interview with a Philippine missionary about Korean missionaries, he made these comments: “Korean missionaries whom I met at the L-3 do not speak English well, so they never talked to any other missionaries. For that matter, they do not even talk to other Korean missionaries. Moreover, they never do research about the area they are going to minister. They come and just start planting churches and building church buildings. Sometimes right next to another Korean missionary’s church building.”¹⁶

At a group interview in the L-3, Cambodian pastors shared that they use a new slang term, ‘*srauv-sakta-nou-pol*’, meaning ‘rice pot’, to talk about Korean missionaries. They were referring to a certain Korean missionary as a big ‘*srauv-sakta-nou-pol*’ and others as stupid ‘*srauv-sakta-nou-pol*’ who give support without any discretion. In this patron-client dynamic, it seems that Korean missionaries became a means of providing for Cambodians and their ministry but without building or honouring a relationship between them.

¹⁴ New Community Movement, http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/mow/Korea_Saemaul_Undong.pdf, accessed on 13 September 2013.

¹⁵ Int. 64 at Phnom Penh on 13 June 2013.

¹⁶ Int. 66 at Phnom Penh on 12 July 2013. He serves at L-3 area and works with close to 10 units of KA in that area for more than 15 years.

Korean missionaries also experience this ‘rice pot’ mode of relationship and it produces different reactions. One Korean missionary shared his experience with church-planting, “I trained one of my top leaders of my church for four years in Phnom Penh and planted a Presbyterian church in Mondolkiri and built a church building; the budget was approximately \$20,000 supported by a Presbyterian church from Korea, and we supported him with \$80 per month. After six months, when he visited, the church had become a Four Square church.¹⁷ The Cambodian pastor said that an American missionary bought the church building from him for \$5,000 in cash and offered him \$120 per month salary to join the Four Square church.”¹⁸

However, Professor Kyo-Uk Lee of the Presbyterian Seminary at Phnom Penh points out the following:

Cambodian patron-client dynamic is like a pyramid, similar to patron-client in Thailand, ‘*cawnai-bauphray*’: I am a client to someone but at the same time a patron to others. When my patron does not fulfil their responsible role, then it is not unethical for me to find another capable patron. So, one should not take it personally or call it a betrayal. It is not beggar's mentality, but a social practice which stems out of their tradition and actual need of social dynamic of Cambodia.¹⁹

As Lee stated, when a Korean or Western missionary changes his or her patrons because the patrons cannot fulfil their responsible roles, it is not considered unethical, but when the table is turned, and the clients find another sponsor or patron, the general tendency is to criticize the client and consider it as an unethical practice, as in the case of accusing Cambodians of having a ‘beggar’s mentality.’ This misunderstanding of

¹⁷ One of the denominations in the USA.

¹⁸ Int. 20 at Phnom Penh on 11 August 2010. The distance from Phnom Penh to Mondolkiri is about 8 hours by bus, and due to the distance, close mentoring or monitoring was not done according to Korean missionaries. Missionary competition is an issue that needs further research. A book by Herbert Kitschelt & Steven I. Wilkinson; *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, was suggested for me to follow up on this topic.

¹⁹ From an Email from Professor Kyo-Uk Lee of the Presbyterian Seminary of Phnom Penh, on 9 September 2013.

Korean missionaries is widespread. In an interview 37, Paek, the U. S. director of Global Partner (GP),²⁰ stated that GP conducted a two-year research in Southeast Asia, and the agency has decided not to do mission work in Cambodia because of the Cambodians' dependence tendencies. GP sent missionaries to China, India, Myanmar, and Malaysia but not to Cambodia.

4.3 Aid Dependency

According to Jean Johnson, already in the 1950s and early 1960s, a key foreign missions board made a vital decision addressing the aid dependency topic (Johnson 2010: 69). Cormack describes this situation and what it revealed:

It was at this time that the foreign mission board announced it was phasing out its monetary aid to the churches in order to encourage them to become self-supporting. This action was received with considerable dismay and reluctance by the Khmer workers and their congregations. For a few difficult and testing years, it appeared that practically every worker might be lost to the church, as one by one they left their ministries to accept more lucrative employment elsewhere (Cormack 2001: 100).

By 1989, Christianity was legal once again in Cambodia, and since then many Christian mission organizations have entered the country, and many churches were planted, primarily aided by mission agencies. Mission agencies have been able to build national churches using gifts, labour, community services, financial assistance, salaries, grants, and building projects. These national churches grow but many of them grow in the midst of all the ill effects of dependency - "dysfunctional growth." (Johnson J, 2010: 72)

In 1995, the Evangelical Fellowship of Cambodia (EFC) was acknowledged by the government as an official religious entity. It is recorded that in 1999, there were

²⁰ Global Partners is the first Korean mission agency founded in Korea. Since GP started in 1999, GP has sent 279 missionaries to 31 countries and has worked for world mission. 273 Korean missionaries are sent out through this group.

over 300 evangelical congregations and more than one church plant starting each week (Johnstone 2001: 138). By 2001, the EFC had become the largest umbrella of national churches with seventy-five percent of Cambodian churches under its control in twenty provinces and four cities (Maher 2002). According to the Antioch Institute research conducted in 2011, there are more than 2,000 churches in Cambodia at present (Hyde 2012: 8).²¹

The modern missionary tradition which nurtures aid dependency display the following five common factors.

First, money, supplies and gifts are shared generously from missionaries and foreign Christian workers among those they consider poor and needy. Although the assistance does alleviate some people's needs, a deeper mind set is being formed within the people that they are weak, helpless, and will need further support (Johnson 2010: 71). One Cambodian Christian leader in my interview (Int. 28), a dentist, makes the following observation about his friends who are attending the Bible College and some of his encounters with Cambodian pastors:

Cambodian pastors work like workers hired by missionaries. Even in Bible Colleges, it seems that students are 'looking for jobs' from missionaries after they graduate. Missionaries are good, but they have to be careful! When missionaries get out of the country, their churches in villages will die! When I was studying at dental school, I was planning to set up my dental clinic, but I was not looking for someone to hire me and help me set up the clinic. However, it is different in the Christian world.

Second, foreign funding is supplied to provide income for local Cambodian church planters and while this assistance seems useful for maintaining the mission work, the local people view these foreign-funded local leaders as hirelings from a foreign

²¹ The EFC of Cambodia reports similar figure of 2,300. The Antioch Institute defines a 'church' in terms of regular worship, a defined leadership, self-identification as a congregation, receiving tithes and offerings, and conducting the ordinance of baptism and the Lord's Supper. They also likely perform weddings and funerals (although the legal wedding in Cambodia does not require the presence of "church leaders" because the legal aspect of marriage is strictly a civil one).

organization which diminishes the local church planter's credibility and his support to the church.

In 2010, a Korean missionary (P1) shared the following:

At a church in Kampong Cham area, which I supervise, a monthly offering is about \$5 per month by Cambodian members of the church. However, including short-term missionaries' offering on Sunday, the total is about \$500 per year. That breaks down to \$60 by Cambodian Christians per year and \$450 by outside offering.

One of the Cambodian pastors (Int. 12, group interview at Battambang) also shared that a Singapore church paid him. Since 2002, he has received \$400 for his family and \$100 for church rent but he said it was only after the Singapore support ended in the 6th year that people started to give to the church. By 2009, after seven years, their church became financially independent – paying for both church facilities and salaries to the church leaders. However, the problem remains that when a pastor receives a salary and subsidy from an FBO, the Cambodians form the mind-set that the missionaries are responsible for supporting their leaders and that they themselves can never give to the degree that the missionaries supply.

According to Cormack, many Cambodian Christians ‘entered the ministry’ primarily because they have seen it as a secure and respectable career in which they could always rely on the patronage of wealthy foreigners for support or social perks (2001: 100). One Cambodian pastor (Int. 31) makes the following observation:

Cambodia pastors do ministry as business and not as a calling. They will change church affiliation and even denomination based on support or lack of it. Many are not called to be pastors. Many of them are relatives of Cambodian Americans who support their church work. One man who worked at Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC) before, his aunts and cousins from America now support him to plant churches in villages. He moved from Phnom Penh to villages and claimed that he planted 40 independent churches all over Cambodia. They are cell groups, not necessarily churches. However, he is supported by a fund from America.

This patronage syndrome, so entrenched throughout Khmer social, political, and military culture, has become a fundamental weakness in the Cambodian church,

stunting its true indigenous growth, distorting its perception of Christian discipleship and service (Cormack 2001: 100).

Third, relief aids which accompany the introduction of Christianity are intended to show Christian love in action, yet when a church is formed from that group, the members give little and continuously come to the church for money and help, treating the church as if it were their patron. Johnson, in her tenure at Cambodia, observed that many people stop coming to church when their needs are not met as they had been before during relief aid (Johnson 2010: 72). One Korean missionary interviewed shared a case about how a noodle factory was built and operated within the church compound, supported by Korean missionaries. The Cambodia pastor who runs the church, also supported by Korean missionaries, says that village people now come for noodles but not to learn about God (Int. 1).

I also observed that the attendance of a village church we support could fluctuate anywhere from 20 to 200 depending on the hosting team. If a foreign team is coming to lead worship, the place will overflow with people, mostly children, but during the regular services, the number decreases dramatically.

Fourth, donors come both to visit and to do short-term mission evangelism in Cambodian villages. They naturally use Western forms and styles and bring resources from their country to help the local churches' outreach to their community. These local churches, of which eighty percent or more are without electricity or running water, in due time, adopt these Western forms and styles. These forms of mission work rely on Western finances and cannot be duplicated by them. So, when the local believers conduct evangelism on their own, they become discouraged as they cannot reproduce what was modelled by the FBOs. Jean Johnson states that importing foreign forms and

modelling non-reproducible methods of ministry has led to creating psychological and financial dependency among those [she] worked with (Johnson 2010: 72).

Fifth, a Western missionary wants to model pastoral leadership. Thus, he or she starts to serve as a senior pastor of a local church. However, when the missionary transfers the pastoral role to a local leader, the local pastor struggles to gain respect and is unable to deliver to his or her congregation with Westernized sermons, access to jobs, and financial help as did the founding missionary pastor. A Korean missionary (Int. 1) stated that as he has travelled throughout Cambodia for the last seven years, he has found out that ninety percent of Korean missionaries are the senior pastors over the churches they have planted with Cambodian leaders. He stated that this situation is one of the significant problems for mission work in Cambodia today.

In Chapter two, I identified aid dependency in a socio-anthropological and Cambodian mission context. This section will deal with different types of aid dependency in Cambodia, then in the different stages of the CBC, and I will attempt to identify both healthy and unhealthy dependency aspects by analysing the primary data.

Ek and Sok in their paper, 'Aid Effectiveness in Cambodia', for the Wolfensohn Centre for Development, argue that 'Cambodia remains one of the developing world's most heavily aid-dependent countries' (2008: 3). Does this fact apply to Cambodian churches? That was my background question of the first phase research in 2010²² as well as for my second phase research in 2011.²³

Since 2002, as a mission mobilizer in Cambodia, I have witnessed many church plants by Korean missionaries in Cambodia. Many Korean missionaries whom I

²² Out of 44 interviews - sixteen were Koreans, fourteen Cambodians and fourteen other nationals.

²³ Out of 18 interviews – twelve were Western missionaries, three Cambodians and three Koreans.

interviewed in Cambodia listed ‘church-planting’ as one of the major emphases of their mission strategy. It is reported that 45.25 percent of 19,798 Korean missionaries sent out from Korea are involved with church-planting as of 11 January 2013.²⁴ Also, in Cambodia, of 450 Korean missionaries, a majority are involved with church-planting and are also senior pastors of their church plants.²⁵

Dennis Kim, a Korean American Southern Baptist Missionary to Cambodia, reports a similar problem with aid dependency. He shared that although Garrison in his book, *Church-planting Movements*, reports “by the spring of 1999, (Southern) Baptists counted more than 200 churches and 10,000 members in Cambodia (Garrison 2007: 28),” he holds that as of 2010, fewer than twenty Southern Baptist churches are holding Sunday worship services in Cambodia. Although the initial financial support built many church buildings, once financial aid for ministry ended, Cambodian pastors left the ministry, people stopped attending these churches, and the church buildings stand empty without any activities.²⁶

From the interviews conducted with the FBO leaders and sixteen Korean missionaries²⁷ in 2010, four major issues emerged from the data as the key factors – the patron-client relationship, poverty mentality (dependency), lack of education, and leadership quality, in that order of importance. These factors were selected based on the frequency of the word or concept mentioned in the interview.²⁸ At the same time,

²⁴ [Http://tinyurl.com/jlubt8n](http://tinyurl.com/jlubt8n), researched from 31 Oct 2012 till 11 January 2013 on 167 mission agencies in Korea, accessed on 3 August 2013.

²⁵ Int. 1 with Joonsoo Kim of Harvest Mission International on 17 June 2010.

²⁶ Int. 4 at Mondolkiri, 12 July 2010.

²⁷ Appendix A, Int. 10, 14, 15, 18, 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 and 43; Audio Record (AR) # 2-4, 7, 8, 11, and 13.

²⁸ Based on the case study methodology on pattern matching.

Cambodians²⁹ interviewed in the same year blamed the FBO and Korean missionary leadership and their policies for keeping them aid dependent.

In March 2009, the U. S. Embassy in Phnom Penh requested the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization³⁰ to make an Interagency Conflict Assessment on Cambodia to understand the conflict dynamics currently at play and they reported, “The current resilience and stability of Cambodia (from a political, economic, and social perspective) is founded on a culturally rooted, but modern version of a patron-client relationship.”³¹ However, there is a difference between the Western perception of the patron-client relationship and Cambodians’ understanding (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nonetti, 1993: 119, 146).³² I stated in the previous chapter that dependency between father and child could be natural and healthy, however, in my literature review on aid, I noticed that most Western writers view the patron-client relationship as a negative element in a mission, but without qualifying the reasons.

At the conclusion of the Phnom Penh Forum on self-sustainability issues, a consensus among Korean missionaries was that Cambodian pastors were too dependent on their funding. Missionary Ted asked all the participants, “If I am currently dependent on my home church’s support to do my mission work in Cambodia, how can I ask my Cambodian students to develop self-sustaining ministry?” His question raised more self-critical questions among the participants: Do our missionary methods cause

²⁹ Appendix A, Int. 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29 and 31; AR# 1, 5, 6, 15, 16 and 20.

³⁰ Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization is a United States Department of State Office that coordinates United States' governmental reconstruction and stabilisation efforts in developing countries before, during, and after armed conflict.

³¹ Cambodia Interagency Conflict Assessment: <http://global.wisc.edu/peace/readings/supplemental-ricigliano-cambodia.pdf>, accessed on 8 Sep. 2013.

³² Int. 12 at L-3 on 19 July 2010. Four Cambodian pastors and one Philippine missionary were interviewed. I noticed that when they were referring to ‘sponsors’ of their ministry, they were, in fact, referring to them as their ‘patrons’ of a patron-client relationship without using the term.

dependency? Is our effort to help Cambodian producing dependency? Is our definition of and practice of church-planting simply a one-way flow of funding? This episode prompted me to ask a broader question than about aid dependency in church-planting projects by Korean missionaries: How does Cambodia as a nation deal with aid dependency?

Ibrahim reports that Cambodia is one of the single biggest recipients of foreign aid in the world, based on per person amount, and the vast flow of development funds has created a culture of dependency (Intellasia 2008). However, how can aid dependency be measured at a national level? Ek states that one method of evaluating aid dependency is by the aid dependency ratios, which can be acquired by calculating the percentage by which of the gross national product exceeds gross domestic investment. Although it is a simple formula, ADR assists researchers in analysing the extent of a country's reliance on foreign aid over an extended period.

From 1991 to 1996, the Cambodian ADR rose dramatically from 5.6 percent to 14.5 percent, despite Cambodia's GDP going up because it received 5.5 billion dollars of foreign aid.³³ Also, from 2000 to 2005, Cambodia's net official development assistance (ODA) has increased from \$396 million to \$538 million and ODA per capita from \$31 to \$38, which is one of the highest among developing countries (Ek 2008). Thus, aid dependency is one of the leading agendas in the aid discourse for Cambodia as a nation. What Korean missionaries are observing is not independent of what Cambodia as a nation is experiencing.

³³ In 2016, GDP of Cambodia is 20 billion dollars. <https://tinyurl.com/ydhwgftd>, accessed on 17 Dec. 2017.

However, according to Hughes, aid dependency goes beyond just financial concerns for Cambodia, since she is undergoing a triple transition - from a government-controlled economy to the free market; from war to peace; and from authoritarian rule to democracy (2003). At the initial stage of aid coming to Cambodia because there were so many essential and immediate needs, the Cambodian government could not prioritize its spending. Cahill argues that foreign aid donors and foreign consultants took charge of Cambodia's reconstruction process, and the loss of local and national control made her overly dependent on foreign aid (2004: 116).

Similarly, although she researched Zambia, Chisala holds that aid dependency has an adverse effect on the course and the pattern of a country's development. She considers the role of power in the donor-recipient relationship in the historical context of foreign aid (2006). Although on a much smaller scale, similar implications of ownership and sovereignty issues were observed in church-planting projects by Korean missionaries, the dominance of Korean missionaries in the aid relationship, especially in finance, compromised the ability of the Cambodian pastors as recipients. .

For Cambodian mission work, the dependency issue has been in the forefront. Cormack argues that from the beginning when Catholics introduced Christianity in Cambodia, those who were initially drawn to the church were needy and dependent people. The term 'rice Christian' refers to people who convert to Christianity out of a need for survival, rather than from a genuine desire to embrace the Christian faith. Some missionaries offered rice and other resources to people who agreed to convert to Christianity or at least appeared to convert. Cormack states that "Those who were suffering from leprosy, demon possessed, orphans, the very poor and ex-prisoners were some of the earliest members" (2001: 61).

Regarding Korean missionaries, Park argues that they “need to avoid paternalism and missionary methods that depend on paid agents (2015: 30),” and also states the following:

Korean missionary work in the last four decades (1980-present) has been characterised as a mission from the position of strength – a mission from affluence. This fact has been both good and bad. Korea's economic affluence has enabled the Korean churches to support missionaries, but in recent years both the church and its missionaries have tended to depend on material resources rather than on the power of the Holy Spirit. Economic affluence nurtures a dependent spirit in the minds of national workers (2015: 23).

Unfortunately, there is much evidence of this influence as it affects Korean missionaries. Such mission practice is also currently promoted as a means to grow their church plants in Cambodia.

For example, B. Kim, in a documentary produced by the C-Channel Christian Broadcast of Korea, states with pride, “The M.S. Church (his sponsor church from Korea) already planted 29 churches near Phnom Penh (3:50)³⁴, and starting from November, because we provide rice to poor people suffering from lack of food, our churches grew” (5:56).³⁵ He refers to Korea in the 1960s and explained that Koreans needed rice to survive through the cold and harsh winter. However, it seems that his principal focus was on church growth more than on ‘mercy ministry’ because current Cambodian economic conditions are not comparable to the severe starvation time of Korea’s 1960s winter.

Also, T. Um, in a C-Channel Christian Broadcast documentary, states, "Churches drill wells, give a scholarship, give bread to give a good impression to people so they

³⁴ This indicates minutes and seconds in the documentary.

³⁵ Kim, B. (2014a). [C-Channel Christian Broadcast] Vision! World Mission, 8th Edition - Myung Sung Church, Part 1, <http://tinyurl.com/zmcpy52>, accessed on 21 Aug. 2015. Numbers in parenthesis are time and seconds indicators of the video footage.

can come to church” (2014a).³⁶ This documentary shows children receiving a loaf of bread after the Sunday service (1:16), and T. Um explains, "For some children, this may be the only meal they will have” (13:34).³⁷ He explains that his church provides bread for all participants each Sunday. However, based on the location of this church, which is near Phnom Penh where the children are well dressed and healthy looking, that is likely not the case. He seems to over-emphasize the poverty of Cambodia, although the video itself does not portray any signs of poverty or of poor children in the location of his ministry.

In another documentary, E. K. Kang, explains his medical mission, "After the medical treatment, in order to express their appreciation, Cambodians will come to church a few times. That is when we make sure to give them items like bread, soap or rice, so they will continue to come to church. As time passes, they eventually become church members. Our church members are all the same – they first came to receive bread and to get medical treatment, but they trust in Jesus now” (5:10).³⁸ Kang does not seem to endorse his practice per se in his tone of voice and mannerisms of his presentation, but he seems to argue that the result that "they trust in Jesus now" justifies his practice of giving household items and providing medical treatment.

The missionary methods depending on paid agents that Park criticized are precisely those practised openly by E. K. Kang and even shared on a public

³⁶ Um, T. (2014a). [C-Channel Christian Broadcast] Vision! World Mission, 12th ed. - Shining Hope in Cambodia, Part 1, <http://tinyurl.com/jx4p2bo>, accessed on 21 Aug 2015.

³⁷ Um, T. (2014b). [C-Channel Christian Broadcast] Vision! World Mission, 12th ed. - Shining Hope in Cambodia, Part 2, <http://tinyurl.com/z4zt6gq>, accessed on 21 Aug. 2015.

³⁸ Kang, E. K. (2015). [C-Channel Christian Broadcast] Vision! World Mission, 52nd ed. – Lord, do as you will – Cambodia mission, Part 1. Published on 30 June 2015. <http://tinyurl.com/gt8uyej>, accessed on 22 Aug. 2015.

documentary to gain converts. Here, aid dependency is not an obstacle to overcome, but the very means to sustain and increase their mission work in Cambodia.

In a church-planting case in Phnom Penh, M. H. Im bluntly states that "most of our church members have been evangelised by dry milk distribution" (14:30).³⁹ Since his ministry is located near the slums of Phnom Penh, and most of the mothers do not have the means to buy milk for their children, this mode of 'dry milk distribution' evangelism has become a standard way of conducting church outreach ministry.

However, such mission practices of using rice or money as a means of converting needy people have been noticed and criticised throughout Asia. In the case of Sri Lanka, Buddhists viewed missionaries as "vultures nurtured on foreign funds and driven to hunt for the poor mortal souls of the gullible and poverty-stricken non-Christian" (ACBC 2009: 141). Perera points out that new converts were won over by economic incentives (Perera 1998: 21). A subtle proselytising campaign was carried out through insidious methods of giving money and other inducements to innocent and poverty-stricken Buddhists into changing their religion. Ultimately, they worried that the operations of evangelical groups would eventually bring their religion to a minority status in their country, following the example of South Korea (Somaratna, 18).

Initially, interviews with Korean missionaries and collecting and analysing data from their perspectives gave me the impression that the responsibility of aid dependency, especially financial dependency, relies more on Cambodian pastors than on the missionaries. However, upon interviewing the CBC pastors with open-ended questions via the case study method, I found evidence of dependency as a natural part of

³⁹ Im, M. H. (2015). Cambodia Phnom Penh Slum Hope School, Missionary Im, M. H. and Kim, Y. S., Published on 5 Mar. 2015. <http://tinyurl.com/zyxtzg3>, accessed on 24 Aug. 2015.

the relationships between patron/father and client/child. I realised that CBC pastors' financial dependency was not primarily economic but relational - since they play the role of children as client and Ted as the role of father. In this relationship, dependency is an expected norm and not an exception.

4.4 Tripartite Roles of Ted and CBC Pastors

As I stated before, the CBC goes through three distinct phases, and I observed that the roles that Ted and the CBC pastors play actually change according to each distinctive stage. First, during the mission house stage (1998-2002), Ted plays the role of a father, and the CBC pastors play roles as children. Second, during the early CBC stage (2003-2007), Ted starts his role as a sponsor or FOB and CBC pastors as clients. Third, during the established CBC stage (2008-2015), Ted continues his role as the FOB but transitions himself from father to partner and the CBC pastors from client to partner. This diachronic observation was possible after eight years of research and focusing on one group of people applying the case study method.

First, in the period between 1998-2002, the CBC was not a formal organization, but a community of Ted's family and seven boys, in Ted's flat. However, eventually by renting a larger flat with several rooms, the mission house phase of the CBC began, accommodating around 20 Cambodian young people who lived and studied the Bible together daily. Most of these 20 Cambodians became pastors and part of the CBC church-planting (Int. 94).

Then came the second phase from 2003 to 2007 in which the CBC became a formal Bible School, primarily resulting from an increase in the number of students and

the need for more formal teaching. Ted bought a large piece of land, sponsored by the Singapore ABC Church, his patron, on the outskirts of the city, and started building a dormitory and classrooms. By personal referrals of the mission house phase students and other Korean missionaries, the student body grew to more than one hundred. Classes were more organized and taught by Bible teachers from Singapore, Korea, the Philippines, and other neighbouring countries (Int. 81).

Finally, during 2008-2015, the third phase, the established CBC stage, all of the mission-house students and some of those who had helped formalize the CBC graduated from the CBC and started planting churches for the CBC. Meanwhile, the next groups of entering freshmen studied together in a large campus with several student dormitories, classrooms, and two open-air auditoria which can seat several hundred students (Int. 81, 94).

According to Silverman (1965), there is a historical and cultural relationship between the position of the patron and the client, which stems from deep-seated relations of inequality that become brokerage opportunities. In the case of the CBC, as Silverman argues, the relations of inequality existed during the mission-house stage where Ted played the role of a father and the CBC pastors as children. However, unlike Silverman's view, this inequality is not necessarily a negative dynamic but a natural one between Ted and the CBC pastors.

Paine (1971) attempted to move beyond a model of brokerage based on inequality, such as that outlined by Silverman, to one that considered the nature of the transaction as a starting point of the different roles. According to Lindquist, Paine attempted to develop a theory of patronage and brokerage that focused on roles rather than statuses based on inequality. He argued that roles were situational, and that brokerage should be

understood as the regulation of the circulation of values (Lindquist 2015: 4). Likewise, Ted's role as a father was situational and it should not be viewed from statutes based on inequality.

4.4.1 Father and Children

Although Lindquist argues that “historians influenced by or trained in anthropology have considered brokers as a starting point” (2015:7), in the first stage, Ted played the role of a father, instead of a broker, as he lived with seven Cambodian teenage boys in his flat in L-1 downtown. It was a close community that functioned more like a family than an academic institution, and Ted states, "I spent three to four years with these guys, in the beginning, eating together, more like a family than a school” (Int. 81, Macro; 7, 2c). "Some guys came at age sixteen or seventeen, and since they could not graduate in three years, we lived together for four or sometimes four and half years. We became very close, and in a sense, we have built lots of *Jung* (정)” (Int. 88, Macro; 3, 3a). The Korean term *Jung* is translated as ‘affection’ or ‘attachment’⁴⁰ which describes an intimate relationship between close friends or family.

I argue that in the case of CBC church-planting project, Ted, as a broker, takes on the role of father temporarily during the mission-house stage (Int. 81, Macro; 8, 23a). He plays a critical function which connects both patron and client, and he is accepted by both patron and clients. When functioning as a father, Ted’s actions are not necessarily or primarily based on hierarchy or inequality but on the temporary needs of the situation for which he is the regulator of the circulation of values, both financial and mission

⁴⁰ <http://endic.naver.com/search.nhn?sLn=en&isOnlyViewEE=N&query=정>, accessed on 5 July 2017.

goals.

Recalling his experience during the mission-house stage, P94f described the role Ted played, saying, "Because living together if we do not have patience and love for the giving heart and to love God, it would be so difficult... For me Reverend Ted, I could say he is like a spiritual father" (Int. 94, Macro; 1, 9d and 12a). During the same group interview, P94c, who was also part of the CBC's mission-house stage, explains, "For me, Ted is my best teacher and also he teaches me everything. Yes, and teach me and help me to know God, and he is like my real father" (Int. 94, Macro; 2, 5).

Even P94f, who joined the CBC at the early stage, expresses the role of a father Ted played in her life stating, "Because at that time I was very young, some teacher they don't want to take me, but Reverend Ted, he is really kind, and he still gives me the chance to learn English at the CBC" (Int. 94, Macro; 2, 15a and 15b).

4.4.2 FOB and Clients

In the second stage, Ted transitioned into his role of a FOB because church-planting projects are launched more formally and officially supported by foreign patrons and because the CBC building was completed, and the majority of students had moved into the dormitory, with the student body count reaching over one hundred. Lindquist points out that "the broker is a necessary but temporary actor who would disappear with the rise of new rational, organisational forms" (2015: 4). It seems, however, that more relational problems occurred when Ted transitioned from the father role to the FOB role and that is likely because he still had to distribute financial and other resources to the CBC based on their needs. It was difficult for him to "wear two hats."

Boissevain negatively argues that "brokerage is business" and that the broker is "a

professional manipulator of people and information who brings about communication for profit" (1974: 148). This business brokerage was not the case in the CBC. It is obvious that the dynamics between Ted and the CBC pastors are strong. The CBC pastors do not view Ted as a manipulator, and Ted does not treat his ministry as a business. Boissevain holds that the centrality of location in networks, the time to deal with social relations, and the control over resources were all critical in becoming a successful broker (1974: 154), and that the broker's capital lay in the communication and resource channels he controlled (1974: 159). In the case of the CBC, more than controlling issues, the decision-making process by Ted on distribution seems to create tensions and dissatisfaction for CBC pastors.

Ted provides CBC church planters a monthly salary and funds for their church building construction. Furthermore, once these pastors are married and have children, he provides for their children's education and increases their salaries based on the number of children. He knows the intimate details of their needs even to the price of rice in that region and fuel costs to perform ministry even as they have to travel each month (Int. 91).

Interviewee P78 points out the financial difficulty in ministry, but states that because of Ted's sponsorship he can continue the work (Int. 78; 4,7). P75 also mentioned that Ted's sponsorship goes beyond the CBC church planters to help their friends. For instance, "If they need the people for work, then Reverend Ted introduces them (to other sponsors) (so) they can go for work" (Int. 75; 8).

The CBC pastors openly expressed that they volunteered to come to CBC. One of the major drawing factors for them was an opportunity to learn English. In fact, P79a told Ted, after only a few days of studying there, "I want to study here. I want to stay

here” (Int. 79; 2). Joining the CBC meant two to three years of free lodging and free education in English, which were attractive proposals especially for poor students who could not afford to attend school. As P74a stated, “Because at that time to learn English, we get (have) to pay” (Int. 74; 5).

In 1979, in Cambodia, knowing English meant job opportunities as P73 stated, “That time Reverend Ted he came and he allow the English class, so I just take this opportunity to learn English. Because I think that at least I listen to the foreigners two hours or three hours a day, and we learn good English” (Int. 73; 5).

According to P80, he later had the freedom to choose where he planted his church, and he volunteered that, “nobody told me to stand by (stay here) or serve here, so I change. I ask the pastor (Ted) to stand by (stay) here” (Int. 80; 1).

P75a stayed at the CBC after graduation as a staff member, and he remembered, “Many of my friends they go for mission field but only me stay here. Then even they call (or) visit me – ‘Oh! Longest people staying at CBC’” (Int. 75; 5). During the interview, he explained how Ted’s kind heart touched him in Ted’s outreach to poor Cambodian people forced out from their land by the government, He, too (P75a) took part in that mercy ministry as a CBC student, as a CBC driver, and said, “First time we start with the small group of children, then around 2006 that time the children from the village was chased by the government from the one land nearby the sea” (Int. 75; 6). P74a is now the principal of a CBC school for the children.

Both P83a and P83b (Int. 83) volunteered to come to the CBC Sunday worship service, desiring to listen to Ted’s teaching and wanting to connect with Ted, although both of them were not officially part of the CBC church-planting. As I stated at the beginning of this section, Boissevain’s argument that “brokerage is business” and the

broker as “a professional manipulator of people and information who brings about communication for a profit: (1974:148), is not the case in the CBC, a fact readily observed by knowing the dynamics between Ted and the CBC pastors. Even during the early CBC stage, Ted played a more relational role than a ‘professional’ broker role. However, Scott’s argument regarding the balance between volunteerism and coercion over time (1972a: 107), has to be examined, since although Ted may not have intended, and few CBC pastors claimed that they made a choice of location for their church plants, others state that they were not part of the decision-making (Int. 73, 75, 76, 79, 89e, and 91). This concern becomes more problematic when CBC attempts to enter the third stage, partner to partner, which I will discuss at length.

4.4.3 Partner to Partner

In the third stage, Ted attempted to transition from his role as a FOB to the role of a partner. Relevant to this topic, Silverman, in her historical account of central Italy, showed how certain patrons came to dominate a wide range of mediating functions between the rural communities, “but that after World War II, many of these functions were taken over by the state, as the expansion of literacy and education allowed for locals to engage directly with bureaucracy” (Lindquist 2015: 4). In the context of the CBC, Ted’s role as a broker emerged in its early stage of the development and, at this point, his goal was to transition from FOB to the role of a partner.

However, some CBC graduates expressed their frustration at Ted’s role as a partner, pointing out his micro-management and unwillingness to share the responsibilities in making decisions for the CBC. Several CBC pastors spoke openly against some other Korean missionaries as being manipulative, saying their primary

commitment was to maximise their gain. The CBC pastors deemed them untrustworthy. According to Lindquist, if manipulation rather than the resolution of conflicts was at the centre of the broker's skill, it was not surprising that he was often despised and considered dishonest (2015: 5). The research data shows that Ted and the CBC pastors had many hurdles to overcome to become equal partners.

In the interview, Ted expresses that he has attempted to become partners with some CBC pastors and has succeeded in a few cases. However, after interviewing those pastors, I found out that they had a different understanding of what partnership should be. First, Ted stated, , "The talk of a partnership is a recent event since we did not even have the concept of partnership at the beginning" (Int. 88, Macro; 3, 6).

However, eventually, Ted realized that he had to go toward the partnership because "there was too much financial burden on me to continue, and after certain period, they had to learn to run the church independently" (Int. 88, Macro; 5, 7) but, at the same time, he felt that "generally and most CBC churches were immature, and even my patrons advised me to be cautious with partnership" (Int. 88, Macro; 3, 4b).

However, Ted claims that a few CBC churches are now in partnership with him personally and with CBC as an organization. "This church in this location⁴¹ is like our partner" (Int. 88, Macro; 3, 5b). But the pastor from that church, P94b, in interview ninety-four states that, "For me if we work like the partnership with him, and the one that we are thinking in the future that we want to serve at our church, so with our people that we just prepare already that everyone we want like independent church" (Int. 94, Macro; 4, 20a). In the context of other statements he made, he believes that his church has to become independent before he/it can form a true partnership with the CBC.

⁴¹ Ted requested that the name of the location to be withheld in the thesis.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, I first presented a misreading of the Cambodian patron-client relationship , then discussed both Western and Korean aid dependency from the literature and data from both the Cambodian and the CBC contexts. Finally, I detailed the tripartite role of Ted and the CBC pastors from three different stages of the CBC: 1) Father and Children 2) FOB and Client, and 3) Partner to Partner.

I suggest that although the Cambodian patron-client relationship has become more impersonal and contract based on the contemporary marketplace model than the traditionally relational one, emerging from the CBC church-planting project data, evidence shows that a more personal model of patron-client can be developed when a patron functions as a broker who assumes the tripartite role of father, sponsor, and partner. Then a client can progress from the role of a dependent child to that of an equal partner. A deeper investigation and analysis of the first tripartite role of the patron as a father and client as children is in order.

Chapter Five Ted as Father and CBC Pastors as Children

5.1 Introduction

As it is stated in Chapter four, the data from my interviewing the CBC church planters point to three different types of roles that Ted and the CBC pastors played. In this chapter, I will further 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*¹ (반말) and *Jondaenmal* (존댓말), and Korean honorifics, I argue that the Korean hierarchical *Gap* (갑, □) & *Eul* (을, □) 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 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.

5.2 Asymmetrical Relationships in CBC

Muno states, "The relation between patron and client is always asymmetric, resulting in a vertical or hierarchic relationship" (2010: 5), and this emphasis on asymmetry

¹ 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.

underscores the dependency of a client: “In this perspective, the patron has a position of power. Not the exchange of goods, the vertical power relations are crucial for the patron-client-relationship” (2010: 6), which may result in patrons’ dominance over their clients and their exploiting these clients. Scott also states that one significant aspect of asymmetry is the higher societal rank or status, giving a patron authority and power (1972c: 92).

In the CBC church-planting project, this thesis observes the two-tier hierarchical relationship between Ted as patron and CBC pastors as clients and between Korean/Singapore churches as patrons and Ted as a client. Moreover, it observes patrons exploiting and dominating their clients, first between the primary patrons from Korea and Singapore to Ted and then Ted to the CBC pastors.

In his book, *My Testimony*², Ted states that he sees himself as a client to his primary patron (*hu-won-ja*), while at the same time being aware that he is playing the role of *hu-won-ja* to Cambodian pastors. During the fourth phase of the research interview, most CBC church planters stated that their support does not directly come from Ted but through Ted’s patrons - either from Korea or Singapore, which recognizes the two-tier hierarchical, relational dynamic (Int. 71, 89, and 94).

During the coding stage of my research, I found Ted mentioning either Korean churches (or major Korean donors) or Singapore churches as his patron (*hu-won-ja*) thirteen times as ones who have control over the resources, power, and money. For example, he states that at L-9, a Korean church financed one of the CBC church buildings in that city. At the completion of the building, the elder and his wife of that sponsoring church travelled from Korea to celebrate at L-9 and told Ted to name the

² This is not the real title of the book. Ted Kim requested that all of this information be kept anonymous.
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church in the Korean word ‘XYZ’³ because that word represents his life principle.⁴ Ted states that he had no power to object to this suggestion, since the elder and his Korean church had funded the cost of constructing the entire church building. This domination of the Korean patron over Ted duplicates Ted’s over the CBC pastors. Although Ted stated that he consulted with the L-9 CBC church planter, it is clear that Ted’s patron had already named the church, and Ted agreed to that name with or without CBC pastors’ consent (Int. 88).

However, from Ted’s perspective the hierarchical relationship is not entirely negative, as he openly expressed in his book his gratitude to the Singapore ABC church for being his patron by stating, “The Singapore church commissioned a Korean like me to Cambodia,” which means that “Korean churches will not commission a Singaporean as a missionary to Cambodia” and “No Korean churches wanted to commission me.” He also wrote, “They even supplied ten containers full of mercy goods in my first three years in Cambodia.”⁵ Ted expresses his gratitude throughout his book and also in the interviews as a client to his patrons (Int. 88 and 90).

Ted is grateful to his Singapore patrons for their material support in his first phase mission work, including sending him several containers full of practical goods. Along with establishing the CBC, Ted and his CBC students distributed these items from village to village, which made his relief work prominent in the area and gathered great multitudes at the initial stage, which gave momentum to his mission work. However, as he stated earlier about his powerlessness to his patron, the villagers felt a similar dynamic of powerlessness: they cannot object to how a patron’s relief work is

³ Ted requested that all the names of the churches be kept anonymous.

⁴ Ted, Book Macro list 1:6b. I translated a portion of the Korean text and transcription into English.

⁵ Ted, Book Macro list 2:2b & 1:7b quotes on asymmetrical relationships.

conducted in this asymmetrical relationship. Muno argues that the patron controls material or immaterial resources, and since the client does not, this power of control “monopoly” of a patron may exist in remote rural areas (2010: 5).

Baeq reports that the Cambodian government passed a regulation for Christians not to use material means to gain converts on 17 July 2007, and complaints against Korean missionaries were being reported through local governments pointing out the method of distributing candies and balloons to attract children to attend their church (2007: 1). Baeq explains that since 2002, many anti-Christian sentiments were observed in Cambodia: First, in 2002, the Cambodian Independent Teacher's Association requested that all the mentioning of the Christian God be removed from their textbooks. Second, in 2003, at Prey Krang and Pichirath, several hundred village people gathered and rioted against Christians in their village. Third, in 2004, in Kok Pring, one hundred village people came into a local Christian church, stopped the worship service, destroyed the part of the building, took all the Bibles in the church, and threw them in the mud outside, shouting, 'Let's kick out Christians from our village'. Fourth, in 2006, at a village near Phnom Penh, in front of a Christian teacher's house, several hundred-village people surrounded the house and shouted, "Long live Buddhism! Destroy Christians!" Baeq states that this demonstration resulted from a Cambodian Christian teacher's using food and candies to convert their children to the Christian faith (2007: 2-3).

In his book, Ted also openly shares his dependency on his patrons, saying that without support from the foreign countries, his own family could not have sustained

their livelihood in Cambodia.⁶ His gratitude was similar to that of some of the CBC pastors who appreciated Ted's support for their livelihood so they could focus on their ministry (P74a, P77, P89a, P89b, P89e, P94b, P94f, P94h). Muno's observation that the emphasis on asymmetry underscores the dependency of a client is also observed from both Ted and CBC pastors.

In a 2013 interview, Ted explains how his first seven churches in the L-1 area were built in just three years all because of the expedient and abundant funding from his eager patrons, who said, "The price of land was cheap at the time, and since we only built wooden structures it cost just five million *won* to seven million *won* per church,⁷ Therefore we 'quickly and simply'⁸ built our first seven churches."⁹ As Ted's patrons (*hu-won-ja*) were willing to pay for the church buildings, he was empowered to build seven church buildings quickly.

However, Ted states that Korean churches, as patrons, in most cases, provided funding only for the church building construction,¹⁰ which was problematical, since it inevitably forced him to support these church planters after the church constructions and provide the pastors' salary and ministry funds. Ted had to recruit more *hu-won-ja* from Korea and Singapore to keep up with ministry budget increases and the increase in the cost of living. This dependency became more problematical as the CBC planted more churches all over Cambodia – both Ted and the CBC church planters became dependent on their patrons as clients in this hierarchical financial relationship.

⁶ Ted, Book Macro list 1:8.

⁷ *Won* is the Korean currency unit, approximately £3,000 to £4,000.

⁸ Ted used the Korean term *Gandan Gandan*, which only means 'Simply Simply', but in the context of a sentence, 'Quickly' is implied.

⁹ Ted, Book Macro list 3:2a.

¹⁰ Ted, Interview 2013 Macro list, 2:4b. In this coding list, Ted identified himself as a client six times out of twenty-five times in asymmetrical relationships.

The Korea Research Institute for Mission (KRIM) found similar data researching on the Cambodia Presbyterian Theological Institute in Phnom Penh. Sangchul Moon, the director of KRIM, in his article, “How Effective are 810 Mission Schools Established by Korean Missionaries all over the World?,” states that most of these schools had plans to achieve financial independence in ten years. However, none have achieved this goal, which questions such a possibility in future mission strategies. Moon observed that in many cases, Cambodian churches’ dependency on missionaries for aid was a problem.¹¹

Chang Uk Byun, in his article, “The Dependency Problems and the Self-supporting Mission of the Korean Church: In Pursuit of the Self-supporting Mission,” states that the Protestant missions in Korea employed self-supporting mission methods from the beginning and were good examples of self-supporting churches (2011: 259).

Regarding Korean Christians in 1909 Byun reports the following:

The Koreans have shown remarkable generosity and strength of self-supporting spirit and character in the way they have met the financial needs placed upon them. They have built their church buildings and primary school buildings. Korean Christians constructed almost all of the church buildings. Only a few of the very large buildings have received foreign aid to the extent of not more than one-third of the total construction cost. Nearly all chapels or churches were built with contributions of the Korean Christians. Scriptures and tracts were sold, not given away. No native evangelists or pastors should be on foreign funds. In 1909, it was reported that 94% of the 1,052 native workers were supported by the Koreans. (Byun 2011: 239).

In the CBC, a few more internal problems with the hierarchical relationship were observed between Ted and the CBC pastors regarding the church-planting process. For example, although Ted states that he and the CBC pastors discussed the church-planting

¹¹ http://newsmission.net/news/news_view.asp?seq=58011, accessed on 12 Dec. 2017. KRIM began their initial research on the mission school established by Korean missionaries in March 2014, and from September to December, the research team visited six countries: Mongolia, Bangladesh, Nepal, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Cameroon. Cambodia Presbyterian Theological Institute in Phnom Penh was one of the schools in the research. I conducted a total of 112 interviews: Fourteen mission schools were visited and interviewed 71 students, 20 professors/teachers, and 21 administrators.

sites, the CBC pastors did not feel part of the decision-making process. According to one CBC church planter, "After study (CBC), Pastor Ted sent me here." To that response, I asked, "But did you decide to come here or did Pastor Ted say you needed to come here?" and he replied, "Yes, Pastor Ted"¹² implying that Ted made the decision and that he (church planter) did not partake in the decision-making process. During the interview, I noticed that he was not motivated or enthusiastic about his ministry, which may be the result of his not being part of decisions for the location of his ministry.

Another CBC church planter openly complained about the decision-making process, claiming that foreign missionaries act like a 'boss'. P73 spoke with anger in his voice, "Everywhere in Cambodia, Cambodian people (are) just hired by a foreigner" (Int. 73, Macro; 1, 5 and 7). Although he stated that his complaint was not directed to Ted, he still expressed his negative feeling toward Ted: six times about not having enough finance for his family, and twenty-one times about not having adequate funds for his ministry, all in the seventy-seven minute interview.¹³

Scott states, "Although a boss may often function as a patron, the term itself implies (a) that he is the most powerful man in the arena and (b) that his power rests more on the inducements and sanctions at this disposal than of affection or status" (1972a: 96). Therefore, P73 as a client in this asymmetrical and hierarchic relationship with Ted feels powerless and blames his financial problems directly on Ted, who is his 'boss' in his mind. During the mission house and early CBC stage, when Ted played a father role of affection, they did not seem to have negative feelings toward asymmetrical relationships between them and Ted, even though their role was

¹² Int. 79, Macro-list 1: 3, 4c.

¹³ P73 complained about Ted in Int. 73, Macro; 5:12a, 11, 16a, 12b, 16b; 6: 3, and complained about financial need, Macro; 1-3.

dependent. However, in a separate interview, both P74a and P74b also complained that only Ted decided the amount of their salaries, which is inadequate in their opinion, without any discussion with them (Int. 74, Macro; 1, 15).

Muno, using Max Weber's terms, "patriarchal" and "patrimonial" rule, states that "the master is designated through the power of traditional rules," and that "the "servants" obey because of "their self-dignity, assigned through tradition (2010: 6)." During both the mission-house stage and the early CBC stage, an unwritten rule of obedience was part of the patriarchal control of the CBC, but as they began entry to the partner stage of the patron-client dynamic, which is post established CBC stage (2008-2015), they spoke their wanting to participate in decision-making (Int. 73, 74) in this transitional stage as they seek interdependence and transparency, and the hierarchical and dependent relationship between them and Ted becomes problematical.

5.3 Personal and Enduring Relationship in CBC

The patron-client relationship between Ted and the CBC pastors, especially at the mission-house stage, was very intimate and personal - for they lived together as a community under one roof. Ted states in his book that during the mission-house stage, "About twenty of us lived together at the mission house and studied the Bible together."¹⁴ Ted states that after "We ate together for three to four years, we became like a family" (Int. 81, Transcription; 2). One of the Korean words for 'family' is *Sik-Ku* (식구),¹⁵ Which means 'eating' (*Sik*, 식) and 'holes or mouth' (*Ku*, 구) are both

¹⁴ Ted's book Macro-list 5:10.

¹⁵ This phonemic transcription is converted by Korean Romanization Converter at http://roman.cs.pusan.ac.kr/input_eng.aspx, accessed on 5 Dec. 2016. This romanization converter follows the three 134

words derived from Chinese characters (秘境). In the context of *Sik-Ku*, father or the head of the household is responsible to bring food to the table and feed the mouths of family, and depending on that provision is not considered negative.

It seems that in Ted's mind, the mission-house stage students became part of his family, which is based on a personal and enduring relationship, and he took on the responsibility of providing for his *Sik-Ku*. Most of these students are now CBC church-planting pastors and still in a close relationship with Ted and his wife, conducting regular meetings and participating in family celebrations together. As an example, on his Facebook posting on 5 Dec. 2016, Ted wrote the following entry with a photo:

I have known elder Ma.¹⁶ From the beginning of my ministry in L-1. He has four girls and a boy, and all of them have grown up well in Christ. Now eldest son, Ch.¹⁷, married and brought his wife to Cambodia for school holiday of Singapore. We had good dinner with their family and with pastors and their wives from CBC.¹⁸

In the photo, several of the mission-house stage students, now CBC church-planting pastors and some of their children, were present, and the CBC pastors' response entries written on this page, demonstrated a personal and enduring relationship aspect of patron-client dynamics.

Muno states that this personal and enduring aspect of a patron-client relationship is based on 'face-to-face' relationship:

It is not a sporadic or spontaneous acquaintance or a mere business connection. Patron and client know each other and trust each other. Sometimes, patron-client-relationships are inherited. The patron turns his patronship to his heirs, usually his son or nephew, and the clients pass the clientship to heirs, too. This was typical for the old and medieval clientelism. Modern variants do not necessarily imply the inheritance, but still, there is an element of personality and endurance (2010: 7).

schemes: 1) 'Revised Romanization of Korean' (Republic of Korea standard, Ministry of Culture and Tourism) 2) 'McCune-Reischauer Romanization', and 3) 'Yale Romanization'.

¹⁶ Not his real name.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/CBCbp?fref=ts>, accessed on 5 Dec. 2016.

The relationship between Ted and the CBC pastors, especially at the mission-house stage, is personal and trusting because it was based on a 'face-to-face' community, and Ted's relationship continues with those CBC pastors and their children in this 'face-to-face' events.

However, from the second and third stages of CBC, since there is no formal and written quid-pro-quo, there is always a sense of uncertainty in the patron-client relationship, especially when roles of patrons and clients are not well defined. According to Kitschelt and Wilkinson, the actors in a patron-client relationship have to be confident about the reciprocity of the exchange (Kitschelt/Wilkinson 2007: 9). This sense of reciprocity became evident as I interviewed pastors from the second and third stages of CBC.

During the fourth phase interview in 2015, the majority of the CBC pastors from the mission-house stage indicated that they considered Ted as their 'spiritual father' (Int. 74, Macro; 1:5, 13 and Int. 82, Macro; 3:8b, 8c). However, after the number of students grew and the CBC built a large school building and dormitory for students nearby to accommodate for the growth, only a few Cambodian students lived in the mission house with Ted's family. At its peak, the number of CBC students reached more than one hundred. From that period, CBC students primarily identified Ted as their 'teacher' or 'pastor', and Ted took the role of FOB to CBC students. Munro also observes that the informality of the relationship and the number of clients [made] monitoring the patron-client relationship difficult (2010: 9). Ted no longer could play the role of a father, since it is impossible to be intimately involved with more than one hundred students who live in a dormitory and do not share a meal, which is important

part of being a ‘family’, *Sik-Ku* (식구), and do not regularly experience ‘face-to-face’ moments.

Kitschelt and Wilkinson describe that the personal relationship, sustained over time, is the self-enforcing group equilibrium, which is a part of “widely held cognitive expectations about appropriate behavior” (2007: 18). Auyero also argues that the cognitive expectation is deeply rooted with reciprocal feelings of loyalty and obligation (Auyero 2000). The changed roles of Ted and the CBC pastors resulted in changed cognitive expectations of loyalty and obligation, and it happened primarily because of the increase in numbers of CBC students. The students of the CBC’S established stage did not expect Ted to play a father role to them and did not feel obligated to return reciprocal feelings of loyalty which were expected from the mission-house stage students.

5.4 Resource Base of CBC

According to Scott, traditional Southeast Asian patrons operated with personally controlled local resources (1972a: 106). However, for the CBC church-planting project, Ted relied entirely on resources outside of Cambodia – either from Singapore or Korea. One of the significant problems with relying on the external resource base is the tendency to create dependency for clients. As Ted explains, "I only have been sponsoring them with resources I have gotten from foreign countries all these years” (Int. 88, Macro; 2, 6b) but this made a pathway for two-tier dependency to form in CBC church-planting projects.

Scott also holds that the characteristics of contemporary Southeast Asian patron-

client dynamics are "office-based" external links, pointing out that the majority of goals and objectives are made outside, and their links are based on a more impersonal, contractual marketplace model (1972a: 106). However, Ted's relations to his patrons in Singapore and Korea were personal, so he was given freedom to choose the goals and objectives for the CBC church-planting projects, other than the major decisions like church buildings and church names. CBC pastors, as Ted's clients, in observing the dynamics between Ted and his patrons, became dependent more on Ted than on the primary patrons.

Other Korean missionaries in Cambodia, as patrons, are in similar situations, but with more "office-based" external links, where large mission agencies or major denominations made their goals and objectives. For example, one of the major denominations in Korea demands that a certain number of churches be planted in a certain timeframe, often in the spirit of competition with other denominations, without considering or consulting the local Cambodians (Int. 85). More Korean missionaries are willing to hire Cambodian Christian workers than Cambodian workers are available, which has caused the competitive hiring of Cambodian pastors as their clients to be part of their mission projects. Scott points out that the "patron is also likely to keep his followers if the scope of reciprocity that binds them is greater" (1972a: 100). In Cambodia, Korean missionaries with more financial funding or resources can secure a more substantial number of Cambodian workers in their mission work (Int. 87).

This situation has caused divisions among Korean missionaries in Cambodia. The collective evidence points to the existence of a sizable divide separating those missionaries who have foreign partnerships from those without access to the outside sources (Int. 84).

The resource base from one mega-church has also created tension and problems in Cambodia. Priest points this out in the following:

There appears to be a widespread pattern of church-to-church partnerships, supervised or monitored by highly mobile mega-church mission pastors, enabled by field missionaries and national Christian leaders, funded from the U.S. congregational base, linked through short-term mission trips, and carried out as an extension of the U.S. mega-church and its vision for ministry. (2010: 100)

However, in the case of the CBC, this competition is not problematical primarily because the CBC is graduating more church planters that they can sponsor. Therefore, other than the twenty-one churches the CBC is currently sponsoring and overseeing, the rest of CBC graduates are encouraged to work for other Korean missionary agencies or work for the other FBOs and NGOs in Cambodia. I observed that many CBC graduates complained about an impersonal and contractual relationship between them and FBO and NGO leaders.

5.5 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).¹⁹ His emphasis and disapproval of the inequality reflected in

¹⁹ 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.

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 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.

Eisenstadt 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.

Chan also observes that Cambodia, as in other countries across Southeast Asia, has a hierarchical social relationship - even in the family environment. The birth order and gender determine the family social rank, and family is where children first learn and experience such social classes. Cambodian children, Chan argues, “are expected to be obedient to their parents and teachers without any questions” (2008: 6). The current

system of patron-client relationships in Cambodia, Chan further states, “is identical to kinship” (2008: 4), indicating that the father role Ted played may not be extraordinary in the Cambodian cultural context.

Muno states that one significant aspect of the relationship between patron and client is that it is always asymmetrical - resulting in a vertical or hierarchical relationship (2010: 6), and during a 2013 interview, Ted referred to an asymmetrical aspect of patron-client dynamics twenty-five times (Int. 63). Out of them, the word ‘father’ was mentioned fifteen times and ‘personal’ aspect of patron-client dynamic was mentioned thirteen times. It seems that the vertical and personal relationship was similar to the ‘father’ relationship with Ted. Out of patron-client dynamics, Ted played the role of father, especially for students from the mission-house stage, and as I noted in Chapter two, in the Cambodian belief system, the element of ‘protection’ is one of the major concerns in their social interactions at this stage. This is a significant factor considering that the students were minors at that time.

By analysing the interview data, I observed that Ted was aware of his role as ‘father’ and that both he and the CBC pastors communicated this awareness in three ways: First, the term ‘father or spiritual father’ was used by CBC pastors; second, the CBC pointed out actual examples of how Ted played the role of a father; and third, Ted’s choice of a particular Korean word reflected his assuming the role of father.

First, Ted himself makes a direct reference about some of his CBC pastors calling him their ‘spiritual father’. I analysed and deconstructed their usage of the term to identify any hidden internal assumptions or contradictions aside from its apparent meaning or significance. First, in the interview eleven, Ted’s mentioning ‘patron as a father’ was coded twenty-three times, which indicates that he is clear on his role as a

father, especially during the mission-house stage. For example, one of his students left the CBC several times in conflict but later pastored a CBC church either with Ted or with other CBC students, and Ted explains, “Because of my unconditional acceptance of him and his mistakes, P78 refers to me as his ‘spiritual father’.”²⁰

At age 48, P78 is the oldest member of CBC students, and at the time of the interview, and regarding both the Korean and Cambodian cultural contexts, the ten year age gap between Ted and P78 makes such a claim more exceptional than usual. As I stated earlier, Eisenstadt holds that a patron plays the role of benevolent father-surrogate (1984: 122), therefore, when Ted played a kind and loving father role, P78 could go beyond his cultural norm and justify himself in calling Ted his ‘spiritual father’.

Second, in interview eighty-eight, Ted refers to his role as ‘patron as father’ eleven times (Int. 88, Macro; 2-3). In the course of explaining the CBC recruitment process, especially in early stage of the CBC, he states, “Many came when they were only 16 and 17 years old” (Int. 88, Macro; 3, 3a), and “We had to accept all students without any condition, because they were poor and unqualified, yet they had the desire to learn. Therefore for them, without being intended, I played the role of a father” (Int. 88, Macro; 2, 3c). Although Eisenstadt argues that in patron-client dynamics, the emphasis is on reciprocity and mutually beneficial exchange rather than on personal commitment (1984: 122), Ted as a patron emphasized a personal commitment to his students. The CBC students reciprocated Ted’s benevolent behaviour by calling him their ‘spiritual father’ - P72a, P94f, P74a (‘like a parent’), P74b (‘like a parent’), P77, P89a, and P89e.

²⁰ In an interview seven-eight, to my question, “Who is Ted to you?” P78 responds with an enthusiastic voice and body language, “He is my spiritual father” (Int. 78, Macro: 2, 8a).

However, Ted's role-playing, i.e., father, becomes problematical in the later stage of the CBC. A Cambodian staff of the CBC, P73, complained that Ted accepted 'unqualified' students based on their need and, therefore, lowered the standard of the CBC as a school (Int. 73). To his complaint, Ted argued that the CBC was never meant to be an academic school, but instead, a place where young people can be equipped to serve the Lord as long as they have a heart to learn and grow (Int. 90). The CBC is not a private institution, so when the CBC accepts incoming students, its staff should have a voice in the decision. Without such procedures, CBC staff cannot own the school, and their participation is mechanical and without personal conviction.

Third, in interview ninety, Ted's mentioning of 'patron as father' was coded ten times (Int. 90, Macro; 2-4), and it was noted that during our interview in Korean, he actually used the term 'father and son' in English twice describing his relationship with some of his CBC students and graduates – "Since when they came to CBC, they were late teens and early twenties, so naturally 'father and son' relationship was formed between them and me" (Int. 90, Macro; 3, 6b), but "After ten years of graduating from the CBC, they became father, and so instead of being just a 'father and son' relationship, it seems they wanted to become more independent" (Int. 90, Macro; 3, 6a).

Fourth, Ted tries to explain why the CBC students readily accepted him as a father figure: "Cambodia has an Asian social structure based on age and family as its basic frame" (Int. 90, Macro; 4, 6a) and "there was adult male vacuum due to mass killing from 1975 to 1979, which put Cambodia in the unique situation at that time" (Int. 90, Macro; 3, 6c). P75a (Int. 75, Macro; 2,) stated that 'teacher Ted' is a more intimate term to him than 'pastor Ted' - "teacher is like friendly like a parents" (Int. 75, Macro; 12c) but "Cambodia 'pastor' seems like, he's very high like that, and very

respected like that” (Int. 75, Macro; 12d) and all of the L-9 pastors in interview eighty-nine also agreed (Int. 89, 12). Furthermore, in interview ninety-four, P94g said, “Pastor Ted he's very kind, love and humble... for Korean missionary, many that not like.”²¹ He implied that Ted is unlike other Korean missionaries he has encountered in Cambodia. P94b also mentioned Ted’s nurturing role, “We just like children always take the milk from a mother” (Int. 94, Macro; 4, 21), referring to Ted’s provision for his ministry and family – like a parent, playing both a mother and a father role.

However, a parent role and its personal relationship has the inherent danger of becoming a controlling or even manipulating factor, and because CBC pastors were obligated to follow Ted’s agenda regardless of their opinions or wishes.

According to P74a and P74b (couple), Ted got involved with their wedding plans from the beginning and convinced both of their parents to hold a Christian wedding, instead of a traditional Cambodian marriage that would have cost more than £4,000 and would have lasted two or three days. P74a said, “If we married follow them (parents) then we spend more, we don't have money. And it take(s) long time, take(s) around two days – more than two days. Then I try to persuade them (Cambodian parents). Please follow us; we want God's way.”²² P74a was grateful to Ted that he lowered the cost of their marriage to around £150, conducting the ceremony at the CBC campus, and all the CBC students helped out with the ceremony. Both P74a and P74b express their

²¹ This statement is my understanding of P94g's comment in the context of his description of other Korean missionaries.

²² P74a and P74b in Int. 74, Macro list 2:4b. Since an interview was conducted in English, I am reporting it verbatim.

gratitude to Ted in their interview, “They (Ted and Sarah, his wife) are like parents, they love me also and even some time encourage us.”²³

As I stated earlier, Ted as a father figure, decided on a Western-style wedding and rather than their parents’ option for an expensive Cambodian wedding that they could not afford. Ironically, although they are grateful, Ted exercised his power to control the mode of their marriage, and they felt obligated to follow Ted’s agenda without cultural convictions of their own.

Fifth, during the L-9 pastors interview, P89a, P89c, and P89e indicated that Ted was ‘my spiritual father’, and P89e explained, “Not only pastor but all the student from Reverend Ted... as our father” (Int. 89, Macro; 4, 13c). The emphasis is that Ted surpassed playing the role of pastor for a father who provides and protects in a real life context.

Sixth, Ted’s use of a Korean word reflected his assumed role as father in their relationship. In referring to P78’s purchasing a bicycle for a poor student as a ‘commendable and praiseworthy behaviour’, Ted uses the Korean term ‘*gi-teug-han*’ to P78 (Int. 81, Macro; 7, 2a). This word is used in a relational context of someone who is a father, mother, or a much older family member such as an uncle or aunt. Despite being only ten years younger, Ted spoke about P78 from a spiritual father’s position, and he was aware of it.

P82a also mentions the sacrifice Ted made for them in the context of a father and son relationship – “I would respect him... and call (him) as my spiritual father for his sacrifice” (Int. 83, 8). P82a ran away from home and found his way to the CBC, and Ted eventually sent him to Singapore for his bachelor’s education. He later became a

²³ P74a and P74b in Int. 74, Macro list 1:5b, 13b.

leader in an FBO, translating Martin Luther's work from English into Cambodian, a significant achievement.

Regarding practical needs, Ted provided living quarters, food, and necessities for all CBC students. As a father figure, he provided not only for his students but sometimes for a student's family as well. P71 in Phnom Penh states that his entire family was able to stay at the CBC church plant site (Int. 71; 4). P71's younger brother was able to graduate from college and is now teaching at a Kindergarten run by the church. His younger sister also attends college while helping out with Kindergarten, and his mother works as an administrator at the school. The combined income was enough for them to live in Phnom Penh.

Sometimes Ted helped provide for CBC student's friends' needs. P78 states that Ted even allowed his friend, who had no place to go, to stay at the church as a 'church keeper' (Int. 78, 7), providing the means for his friend to make a living until he could find other ways to become independent.

Ted displayed a role of a benevolent father who forgives and unconditionally accepts someone even after discovered misconduct. For example, when one couple was found stealing from the school fund. In a social contract with an FBO or NGO context, they would have been fired, their relationship terminated, and in some cases, legal action would be taken. However, when I asked him about the incident, Ted responded by arguing that he could not kick out his children because they had done something wrong (Int. 91). His action was to forgive them and give them a chance to correct themselves, and they are still working with Ted and the CBC.

5.5.1 Mission-House Stage (1998-2002)

During the mission-house stage, 1998-2002, when Ted and his wife lived with seven young Cambodian boys in their flat in a Christian communal lifestyle, Ted’s role as ‘father’ was the initial perception by the CBC students (Int. 94; P94b, P94f, P94h). No formal classes were given, nor any teacher and student roles defined at this stage. The early CBC stage students who considered Ted their spiritual father, i.e., P74a, P74b, P77, P89a, and P89e, came to the CBC at the end of 2002 or early 2003, when the CBC was still operating as community-based instead of an organizationally based Bible school (See Table 3).

Title	Mission House Stage (1998-2002)	Early CBC Stage (2003-2007)	Established CBC Stage (2008-2015)
Spiritual Father or Parents	1. P78 2. P72a 3. P94f	1. P74a 2. P74b 3. P77 4. P89a 5. P89e	
Teacher	1. P71b 2. P77	1. P82b *	1. P75a 2. P79a 3. P92 4. P94c 5. P94d ** 6. P94e **
Reverend or Pastor		1. P82b * 2. P80a 3. P91 4. P94f	1. P76
Leader		1 P94b	
Boss	1. P73		

Table 3 Roles of Ted and CBC Stages²⁴

* Some addressed Ted in multiple terms, e.g., P82b used both ‘teacher’ and ‘Reverend.’
 ** Graduation dates were not sure – but by cross-referencing other interviews and their ages, I placed this person in the Established CBC stage.

The Cambodian pastors who joined Ted’s ‘mission house’ were young – most of them were below twenty years old or in their early twenties.²⁵ A few of them had run away

²⁴ All the participants are identified by interview number, and in the case of multiple interviewees, a lower case alphabet was assigned.

from home, and many of them did not have families to go back to. As Chandler observes, Cambodian people who are placed in weaker positions are very likely to pay loyalty to those in relatively higher positions in exchange for protection (1992: 105). Similar dynamics were taking place between Ted and the mission-house stage students.

In 1998, Cambodia needed financial help. When the Singapore delegation visited Cambodia to see Ted's work, they concluded that it should start as a mercy ministry as quickly as possible, and the delegation began sending him containers full of clothing and household items. CBC students were in a dire situation and needed a father figure, and what CBC offered and Ted's identity has fit both categories. The relational exchange between Ted and the CBC students was much more than merely economical. One Khmer said, "If you sow good, you will get good; if you sow evil, you will get evil." 'Sowing' here refers to investing in keeping up with good relationships in the Cambodian cultural and social context. Ledgerwood and Vijghen argue that "the bond between a patron and a client becomes one of 'moral responsibilities and obligations rather than mere economic change'" (2002: 115).

The mission-house for the CBC students was their home, and everyone in it became a family. Chan argues that in Cambodia, individuals are required by the "norms and duties" to give priority to the interests of families, co-workers or nations over their own (2008: 9). Hofstede holds that an individual living in a collectivist environment is expected to show "unquestioning loyalty" to his/her group, which offers him or her life-long protection and support (1980: 51). Moreover, Triandis states that collectivism can be identified either when the interest of one's own extended family or kin is placed over

²⁵ P71a, P77, P78, P82a, P94f, and P73.

that of an organization or when collective and individual goals are compatible (1995: 43).

The CBC students, who came predominantly from peasant villages, put a high value on the mutual bond of relationships in the everyday life at the CBC. They seemed to possess a sense of collectivism, and the group worked for a collective good of the CBC. This observation aligns with that of Ledgerwood and Vijghen who hold that “the idea that the group is the focal point for Khmer ways of protecting one’s interests seems very valid in the rural Khmer context” (2002: 128).

There is an expectation that one should protect the interests of his family or her group, as a Khmer proverb points out, “Don’t throw away the meat and keep the bone”, which best describes the strong kinship in Khmer society. In this proverb, Chan explains that ‘meat’ refers to a family member or a friend while ‘bone’ implies those who do not belong to a family or group or in the larger context, ‘meat’ refers to Cambodians while ‘bone’ implies to ‘foreigners (2008: 9)’.

Another factor was Ted’s misguided eschatological urgency – the impending coming of Jesus - to plant as many visible churches as possible, although not necessarily by 1999. He wanted to build churches preferably by the road so that people could see the cross as they entered the village. Although he did not quote the exact date, he held on to the imminent return of Jesus within a decade. Therefore, all the church buildings were built of wood designed to last only around ten years. The first phase of the CBC church-planting had urgency about it and the speed in which the first seven churches were built around L-1 reflects that urgency.

The last factor was that financial support from Singapore and Korea was abundant. Ted stated that ten forty-foot containers full of goods came from Singapore,

and most of his first ministry was to distribute the goods from village to village. Out of this abundance, the ministry of the mission-house and subsequent CBC ministry began. Although a successful mode of conducting mercy ministry, once churches were built, the CBC pastors could not duplicate such a pattern of distributing of goods using only local resources.

5.5.2 Early CBC stage (2003-2007)

During the early CBC stage, 2003-2007, the CBC building and dormitory were built, and most of the mission-house students relocated into the dormitory. At this stage, Ted's role as teacher and pastor seemed to stand out. Finally, when the CBC student body reached more than one hundred, it entered its third stage, the established CBC stage, 2008-2015. By this time, students did not see Ted as a father but as teacher to the most students and as a sponsor (FOB) to CBC graduates who now engaged in church-planting efforts with Ted (See Table 3).

The early CBC stage is marked by several major shifts from the mission-house stage, in the context of church-planting projects. First, the mission-house stage students relocated to a mountain site, where a school building and a dormitory were built. They played the role of older siblings to new students joining the CBC. The number of students is below one hundred, and a sense of mission-house family spirit was still evident at this stage. Students began inviting their friends primarily for recruitment to the CBC. For example, P73 invited P89b from his home village to L-9. For P73, the primary goal of coming to the CBC changed from learning English to becoming a church planter (Int. 73).

Second, due to the inflation in Cambodia, the land price and building material costs started to go up drastically, making it difficult to plant churches and build for the CBC graduates. According to Ted, it only cost \$3,000 to \$4,000 to build a church in the first stage, but eventually, the cost went up to \$20,000 per unit, which made it difficult to raise funds.

Third, after ten years, the wooden churches built started to deteriorate, and Ted had to remodel most of them with concrete. His teaching on eschatology to CBC students shifted. Furthermore, by this time, the CBC was formalized as a Bible school with a government issued licence, and more teachers from other countries were teaching at the CBC.

Fourth, the Singapore and Korean financial support base changed. After church buildings were built, Singaporean patrons wanted to be involved more in managing the churches, whereas Korean churches did not want to get involved. This change meant Ted had to raise more funds from other sources to maintain the on-going ministry of already established churches. Planting more churches had slowed down and is now based on the funding allocated per project.

5.5.3 Established CBC Stage (2008-2015)

Once the CBC was established as a formal school and entered an established stage, Ted's role as a father transitioned into that of a sponsor who provides funding for church-planting pastors and finds positions in NGOs for CBC graduates.

By 2015, mission-house stage students were pastors and reaching their mid-thirties to early forties; they had been in church-planting for several years and also had their own families. They needed continuous support for their ministry and their

families. Also, they required church buildings since their ministry was established and growing. Although the cost of living does not necessarily rise when an economy improves, in Cambodia, the food and lodging costs increased drastically. The pastors needed scooters for ministry transportation and support for their children's higher education, preferring private education, since the quality of Cambodian public education was substandard.

After earning his CBC diploma, P92 joined another Korean missionary's church-planting project. He was recommended by Ted and he served in the Siem Reap area. To compare ministries between the CBC church-planting project team and those who left the CBC, I travelled to Siem Riep and conducted an interview. To my question, "Would you say that when you came to CBC, he (Ted) was more about a spiritual father?" P92 responded, "Maybe about for me in CBC, I think the best teacher," and added, "Because we don't have much time to stay with him" (Int. 92, Macro; 1, 6). He later explained that by the time he joined CBC the student body exceeded one hundred, and he did not have a personal relationship with Ted.

Second, I investigated the Singaporean and Korean financial support base changes. The Singaporean patrons cut the funding to the CBC, claiming that the CBC had not become independent even in the ten years of support, but the real holdup was that Ted refused to become a Cambodian citizen and take over the CBC property under his name (Int. 88). Ted's Singaporean patrons also had another mission project in the same city. The leader of that mission project followed his instruction and became a Cambodian citizen, and that support continues. Moreover, Ted claimed that the Korean patrons' mission fervour also decreased substantially during that time, which reflected in the decrease in funding for CBC projects (Int. 88).

5.5.4 Other Examples of Patrons as Father

Other examples from Cambodia show that Korean missionaries are addressed as their parents. A Cambodian pastor, who works under Kang of Battambang in the documentary of C-Channel of Korea, calls missionary Kang his ‘father’ as well (Chung, S.T. 2015a). Furthermore, in another C-Channel documentary about Cambodia missions, missionary S. T. Chung and his wife were addressed as parents to the Cambodians they ministered to. It seems that portraying a Korean missionary as ‘father/mother’ or ‘parent’ is acceptable and that this form of personal relationship is not exclusive to CBC and Ted.

Cho²⁶ stated, "Because we are working in the Asian context, the hierarchical relationship seems unavoidable, but I try to make it more relational on my part" (Int. 85, Macro; 1, 4a). Cho felt that the general Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF) sentiment of equality or being Cambodian’s friends seems more idealistic than real, as he argued that “even the Cambodians feel more secure in hierarchical relationships by calling missionaries ‘teacher’ instead of ‘friend’” (Int. 85, Macro; 1, 5). In that line of argument, Kelly, an American missionary, argues that if a Western missionary treats a Cambodian pastor as his friend, then that Cambodian pastor turns around and becomes a patron to other Cambodians. He argues that having a hierarchical relationship is not something evil or wrong in the Cambodian context (Int. 86).

²⁶ Cho is a Korean missionary working for OMF in Cambodia. His contribution to this study was unique in that he worked with a Western agency and was able to present his view as a Korean working within a Western agency.

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

In Chapter two, I discussed *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal* usage in the context of Korea, but in this section, I will discuss these issues in more 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.

5.6.1 *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal* Issues in CBC

As I analysed interviews with Ted,²⁷ 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*' (애내들, these guys), which is impolite language, and if referring to pastors, the language would be insulting (Int. 81, Macro); he used the term *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:

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

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.

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* (그렇지요, ‘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.

5.6.2 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*’ (이|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.

5.6.3 *Gap & Eul* Concerns in the CBC

In Chapter two, I discussed the *Gap* and *Eul* relationship in the context of identifying a patron-client relationship in Korea, but in this section, I will address this topic 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, JKL, 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 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* Dynasty²⁸ (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

²⁸. 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.

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.

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.

5.7 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.

5.7.1 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 explained in Chapter two: “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.²⁹ Preach about the tithe, because we need to explain to the Cambodian how to do the tithe” (Int. 94, Macro; 3, 21). He 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.

5.7.2 Basic Needs were provided

²⁹ He meant “One month a year”.

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.

5.7.3 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.

5.7.4 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.

5.7.5 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.

5.7.6 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.

5.8 Summary

In this chapter, 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. Although I presented *Gap* and *Eul* issues in the larger context in Chapter three, I discussed this more 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.

In the next chapter, I will examine Ted's role as it shifted from a patron/father to a sponsor or a FOB, to meet the demands of the CBC's growth and organizational changes.

Chapter Six Ted as FOB and CBC Pastors as Clients

6.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I discussed the patron as a father to the CBC pastors and described the difficulties that arose when the CBC student body grew in number causing Ted to lose his ability to play the role of a father. The goal of this chapter is to present the concepts of the patron as a FOB through the patron-client relationship literature – i.e., reciprocal, voluntary, and duration of bond aspects – and discuss how these play out in the CBC context. Specifically, this chapter will discuss 1) the patron as a FOB in the CBC; 2) the decision-making process as the core of tension, and 3) a participatory observation made at the DEF Church of Phnom Penh worship service as a sample mini-case study.

6.2 Reciprocal Relationships in the CBC

Muno argues that the reciprocal exchange of material or immaterial goods is an essential feature of patron-client relationships (2010: 9). In the case of the CBC church-

planting project, Ted's giving materials and resources and the CBC pastors' reciprocal giving of the immaterial goods of loyalty and obligation is an essential feature of their patron-client relationship.

In a given patron-client dynamic, a particular patron will retain his clients as long as he continues to supply the resource clients' needs. The clients need assurance that they can become dependent without the patron's continued provision. In the case of the CBC, however, the more Ted met the CBC pastors' vital needs above and beyond the basic living costs and ministerial support, for example, by providing school fees for their children, the greater the patron-client tie and its long term relationship. This dynamic was true of Ted and the CBC pastors, especially with the mission-house stage pastors, as Ted provided for them and their families for more than ten years. The CBC pastors now depend on Ted for their children's education, but Ted is now a sponsor who is financing their church-planting project.

If Ted, as a patron, expects loyalty from the CBC pastors without providing for them, the exchange would be a hurtful exploitation. However, on the other hand, if the CBC pastors as clients receive resources without reciprocity, the exchange could be a harmful paternalism. In the case of the CBC, both seem to mutually benefit from their exchange, although much of the CBC pastors' reciprocity involves an immaterial aspect, for example, CBC pastors give honour to Ted by calling him their spiritual father, and they expressed their gratitude by being part of the CBC church-planting project.

Also, they give loyalty, even if they have a chance to get a higher salary from other FBOs or NGOs, they are faithful to the church-planting projects and stay with the CBC church-planting effort (Int. 79; 24). However, P82a, returned to the CBC from Singapore with a bachelor's degree, and intended, "helping him (Ted) and teaching the

student organizing the school” (Int. 82; 8), although he had other opportunities to work at an FBO or an NGO that promised him a higher salary. His act might be considered a reciprocal material exchange of the patron-client dynamic, since his loyalty to Ted cost him financial loss. However, P82a sought partnership with Ted, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

6.3 Voluntary Relationships in the CBC

Muno argues that the voluntary criteria of the patron-client relationship is highly debatable because future expectations of goods make the clients also stick to their commitments (2010: 10). Additionally, because of the asymmetrical power relation of patron-client dynamics, the client has no choice but to stay loyal:

This medieval form of clientelism is still prevalent in some agrarian societies or regions, resembling more, as mentioned, slavery or bondage. Therefore, it may be necessary to talk of restricted voluntariness, with the degree of restrictions depending on the circumstances of clientelism (2010: 11).

Scott also states that there are distinct and essential differences in the degree of coercion involved in a patron-client relationship: At one end are the clients with virtually no choice but to follow the patron who directly controls their means of subsistence – “one might place a tenant whose landlord provides his physical security, his land, his implements and seed, in a society where land is scarce and insecurity rife” (1972a: 100). Scott argues that in the absence of choice, the term voluntary does not represent the reality of clients within the patron-client relationship.

CBC pastors, in the mission-house stage, did not have a choice because they depended on Ted for all of their livelihood needs. However, as they enter the FOB and client relationship at the next stage, they begin to have a choice, although it is difficult to cut the family ties they established in the first stage. It is like a young adult who now

has a choice to leave home and become independent and would not have to depend on parents' provision but who fears doing so.

Especially for clients wanting to leave the current patron-client relationship, Muno holds that “because all kinds of obligations do not allow a simple exit; credits, for example, imply high costs in case of early exit” (2010: 10), and he concludes that exit is not easy. Such is true for the mission-house stage pastors, for they are not terminating their patron-client relationship with Ted, however, most of later stage CBC graduates found work other than with the CBC church planting project (Int. 81).

As stated earlier in Chapter two, Lee argues, especially in an urban setting, that Cambodian Christian workers, as clients, have the freedom to choose from different FBOs and NGOs as their patrons if their current patrons do not adequately fulfil their patron roles of meeting their practical needs.³⁰ Muno also agrees that contrary to the situation of a monopoly, in urban, “multiparty settings, we often find situations of oligopoly, where several patrons have a certain amount of power of control, sometimes even competing for clients” (2010: 6).

As stated in the last section, many CBC pastors have had job opportunities from FBOs and NGOs, which gives them the freedom to choose. For instance, Ted stated several times in interviews that he had no control over his established stage CBC (2008-2015) students and that they have taken opportunities with other employers: “Many of my students opt out of ministry and try different opportunities, but many of them came back to ministry” (Int. 88, Macro; 7, 2c).³¹ “Some of them choose a medical field of

³⁰ From Lee Kyouk, e-mail dated 9 Sept. 2013. He is the head of Korean Presbyterian Bible School of Phnom Penh.

³¹ This is the interview reference code. There are three separate documentation files for the interviews: 1) Transcription file of interviews. 2) Coded file of transcriptions. 3) Macro-file of coded files based on the 184

humanitarian NGOs” (Int. 88, Macro; 7, 1a). “There is even a German-based NGO promoting cell groups in Cambodia that some of my students joined” (Int. 88, Macro; 7, 2d). “If they want to go to that location, we send them. If they choose not to go, then we cannot send them there” (Int. 81, Macro; 11, 21). “Many of them choose that new field of work now” (Int. 88, Macro; 7, 1b).

Ted claims and the CBC pastors hold that they had the freedom of choice. In interview eighteen, Ted spoke highly of P89e, one of the CBC graduates, by complimenting that, “He even chose to go to area L-23³² voluntarily, which is the most remote place in Cambodia” (Int. 88, Macro; 7, 7). However, during the interview, when P89e was asked about the decision to go to the area L-23, whether it was voluntary or not, he responded: “That is not volunteer... I still do not know about volunteer... Ted, he told me to go after two weeks we visit here. Moreover, we saw something that as the Spirit comes to our heart to serve” (Int. 89, Transcript, 10). Although he claims that he was convicted by the Spirit later to relocate and he made a decision, it definitely would not be in the category of a voluntary act. Although, as stated earlier, Munro holds that clients imply a high cost in case of an early exit, i.e., breaking of the patron-client relationship. However, for P89e, the concern is not necessarily the high cost, but an emotional one.

During the group interview, P89e shared publicly that he considers Ted as his spiritual father, and he owes his present state of being as a pastor to him:

My life so poor... after my family are spread out, have no parents or mother, I just looking for the place the very comfortable for my life. I do not know, I just thinking if the will of God I want to

key terms. (Int. 88, Macro; 7, 2c) This entry can be found at the interview number 88, macro-file, page seven, section 2c.

³² Ted requested for me to remove all the location names from the thesis so that locations will be indicated by capital letters L-1, L-2 and L-3. The master file will be kept in the computer files for reference only.

learn the bible and then still praying for one year, and then God opens the way for me to K, I do not know anybody at school, they just come directly to K. when I first met him, I thought he's the one, not the same as what I'm thinking, and pray... however, I still looking for him and what so ever he is spiritual father example and what so ever I realise that similar to my mind that I want to be a ...very close father to my heart. When I have nothing, God uses him to provide me supporting me also until the day of my marriage. This is my heart (Int. 89, 13).

He was frank, and his tone of voice indicated that he was also serious about his statement. Most interviewees were his schoolmates, and they also agreed with him in facial expressions and small comments like 'Yes' during his talk. After the interview, in a private talk, P89e told me that Ted took him to that location before the trip he mentioned in the interview and shared his desire to start self-sustainable farming in that area, and he needed someone to oversee the project.

Also, P89a shared that at age twenty-two, he chose on his own to go to a remote island in Cambodia for his first ministry field:

The first time there's only brother Jason³³ moreover, then after that, I went there too. I went there just stay with him for a while, maybe ten days or sometime like that, 15 days and then I just stay with him for temporary just went out to check out. Then I found that island and I gathered some children and taught them some songs then, I think maybe two weeks later I decided to stay on that Island (Int. 89, Macro; 4, 9a)³⁴

However, by cross-examining the interview data, it was discovered that P73, a former CBC graduate, was already pastoring an anchor CBC church in that area, and Ted's church-planting policy was to go to the remote places where there was no Christian church. Ted preached a whole sermon during one of the CBC Sunday worship services I attended, and he shared the CBC strategy to plant churches in places that had none, like the cities of refuge in the Old Testament.

³³ This is not his real name.

³⁴ This is a transcription of the interview, which was in English. I did not edit the grammar or even the misuse of certain words. This would be the case in all of the interview citations of quotations by Cambodian pastors.

Therefore, although at the outset, both Ted and the CBC pastors state that they had the freedom of choice, in retrospect, both P89e and P89a were obliged to participate ‘voluntarily’ because of their relationship with Ted. Although it is not coercion as Scott argues, there are apparent degrees of influence in their dynamics, and the term ‘voluntary’ does not represent the reality of P89e and P89a within their patron-client relationship with Ted, primarily because of its aid-dependent elements which still exist today.

6.4 Duration of Bond in CBC

Scott states that in Southeast Asia’s transition from a traditional way of life to a contemporary lifestyle, the duration of bonds, traditionally based on long-term loyalty if not lifetime commitments, are changing and becoming less persistent (1972a: 100).

This transition is also occurring in the CBC. Most of the students from the mission-house stage display their long-term loyalty (some lifetime commitments) to Ted and the CBC. However, the durability bond is less persistent as most of the graduates from the established CBC stage, unlike those of the mission house stage pastors who became part of the CBC church-planting project, leave the CBC and do not keep formal relationships with either Ted or the CBC. Out of 120 graduates, only twenty-one CBC pastors are part of the church-planting project at this point. This is problematical for future CBC church-planting since from the beginning, the long-term duration of bonds has been the basis of their church-planting strategy.

Eisenstadt argues that on the whole, Southeast Asian followings became less exclusive, and there were instances of multiple allegiances because “individual patrons and brokers had less control over resources than the traditional patrons had once had”

(1984: 121). Similarly, the durability mode between Ted and the CBC pastors is more centred on the rate of return than on the traditional mode of personal relationships.

Scott holds that a patron will retain his clients as long as he continues to dominate the supply of services clients need (1972a: 100), and argues for the following contemporary patron-client relationship dynamics of Southeast Asia:

Patron-client exchanges became more monetised, calculation more explicit, and concern centred more on the rate of return from the relationship rather than on its durability. This trend meant that newer patron-client clusters were likely to have a comparatively large "fair-weather" periphery, a comparatively small core following, and a less "constant" patron as well (1972a: 106-107).

During the interview, Ted verified Scott's arguments that patron-client dynamics have become more 'monetized' and 'calculation more explicit'. Ted shared his experience with his church planters regarding the possibility of his support ending to them and their ministry:

From about ten years ago I gathered all the pastors and explained to them that I might not be able to support them financially forever, but at a certain time, the support for them and their church may come to an end. So I told them to be prepared for that time by having a plan to become a self-sustaining church. They were shocked. Some left the ministry claiming that the future for them is uncertain at CBC. I guess the news about the possibility of no support was very shocking to them (Int. 81, Transcript, 19-20).

The pastors whom Ted mentioned in this interview were the graduates of the early CBC stage, who demonstrated more of the contemporary durability mode of the patron-client dynamics in Southeast Asia as mentioned earlier, in which their concern is centred more on the rate of return from their relationships with Ted and the CBC rather than on their durability. However, the mission-house stage pastors, who shared closer relational bonds and experienced community with Ted and his family, held and displayed more the traditional mode of durability, which is a long-term if not a lifetime commitment. Impersonal and contractual ties of the marketplace are eroding their more traditional characteristics.

Regarding the CBC, Scott's claims are valid, only in a broader sense. By analysing the data of the mission-house stage over time, I found that when initial relationships started at a personal level between Ted and the CBC pastors, the durability did not change. However, as Scott validates, when data from the second and third stages of CBC are examined diachronically, the patron-client dynamics have become more 'monetized' and 'calculation more explicit'.

Also, Scott's claim seems to hold when the concern is more centred on the rate of return in their relationships with each other. For example, according to P92, a former CBC graduate who is not part of the CBC church-planting project, although they are not formal, the relationships among the CBC graduates continue either through personal or social networks. For example, they formed a CBC graduates' group on Facebook with a list of more than 120 members, although Ted is not part of this group.³⁵

A Cambodian proverb states, "The boat sails by, but the shore remains" describing the temporal connection to an outsider versus the inevitable lifetime connection to his or her own family and other Cambodians. Overall, in the case of the CBC, the third stage CBC students have a lesser bond with Ted and the CBC (boat), but a more durable bond to each other (shore).

6.5 Ted as FOB

This section examines definitions of a broker that have been used in social anthropological studies. In the context of Ted and the CBC pastors, there is another patron (the Primary Patron) on top of the patron. In this way, Ted becomes the FOB to

³⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/soeu.visai?lst=859795531%3A100001483051398%3A1514488958>, accessed on 18 Dec. 2017.

the primary patron. Practically, there may be several levels of brokers. The sending denomination agency, e.g. the ABC Church of Singapore, may be the primary patron, the CBC may be the client, but between are the brokers, and at the end are the Cambodian pastors as clients. Brokers with direct contact to clients are FOBs. Ted plays the role of the FOB to CBC pastors, his clients. Similarly, during the interview, Korean missionaries of Cambodia recognise their role as FOBs, without using the term, as those who go between the resources given by the patron to their clients (P84, P 85a, P85b, P85c, P87, and P 93).

In the Cambodian context, a FOB performs as both a patron and a client. FOBs receive resources from the primary patron and, in that sense, they are clients. But they often manage and distribute these resources quite independently, so practically, because they control these resources, they become patrons for other clients. According to Munro, the remarkable aspect of this patron-client pyramid is that there is always a dyadic relationship between the patron and the client at its core (2010: 6). For example, the Singapore church is patron to Ted, and as an FOB, Ted becomes a patron to his clients, the CBC pastors. In both relationships – Singapore church to Ted, and Ted to the CBC pastors – a dyadic relationship is intact.

The key assumption of this approach is that this pyramid patron-client cluster is one of a number of ways in which Cambodians who are not close kin come to be associated. The patron-client pyramid is obvious in many of the CBC mission structures, sometimes the CBC pastors have to play the role of the FOB, but not permanently. The primary patron is either a church or a denomination from Korea or Singapore, and the FOBs become the connectors to the primary patrons, for finance and other resources.

In the case of the CBC, Ted receives resources from both the Korean and Singapore churches, and so he is a client to them. He reports to them and follows the direction given by both sources. However, he plays the role of the FOB to his CBC students and church planters, his clients. During interviews, the Cambodian church planters identified the source of their support, as either Koreans or Singaporeans, which indicates that they are aware of their primary patron.

6.5.1 Convergence of Three Factors

The relational role change between the CBC students and Ted was evident, especially between the CBC pastors (post CBC graduates) and Ted – from Ted’s playing the role of father to that of a FOB or as a sponsor. Muno defines a broker as the following (2010: 4):

The broker usually is the client of the patron, but himself performs the function of a patron for the clients at the bottom of the pyramid. The difference between a patron and a broker is that the broker has no control over resources, he only gets some resources from the patron which he can distribute to the clients.

Ted has three primary patron groups – Singaporean churches, Korean churches, and individual donors. Regarding the patron-client pyramid, these three groups are at the top, and Ted is below them as a broker who has performed the function of a patron to his CBC students. As Muno points out, the difference between a patron and a broker is that the broker has no control over resources either in terms of allocation or the amount of funds, but he distributes these funds to the clients. Scott suggests the terms ‘broker,’ ‘middleman,’ or ‘boss’ (1972a: 95), but for this thesis, I will use the term ‘FOB’ interchangeably with ‘sponsor’ because that is the term used by the CBC students, pastors, and Ted to describe the function and role of a ‘broker’.

During the initial seven church plants, 1998 to 2000 (Int. 67, Macro; 7), Ted took

on the role of a sponsor to these church-planting projects and treated the CBC pastors as his clients. CBC pastors received resources from their primary patron, Singaporean or Korean churches through Ted. Muno makes the following observation about the role of a broker:

Brokers with direct contact to clients are brokers of first order brokers. Brokers of second, third or higher order are theoretically brokers, too. Practically, they perform as patrons and clients. They receive resources by the high patron, in that sense they are clients. But these resources are often managed and distributed quite independently, practically they control these resources and become patrons for other clients (2010: 5).

In a 2013 interview, Ted mentioned his role as a CBC sponsor twenty times,³⁶ which was the most frequent account compared to other roles he played, i.e., father, teacher, and pastor (Int. 67, Macro; 2-5). He played a nurturing role of father at the beginning stage of CBC formation in the mission-house stage, but once church-planting became the major part of the CBC ministry, his role shifted to ‘sponsor’ who refers and connects his students, his clients, to the resources of Singaporean and Korean churches, his patrons.

At the CBC’s initial seven church plant stages, 1998 to 2000, a convergence of three factors occurred. First, on a practical level, the CBC graduates needed jobs. Ted claims that he did not start the CBC’s vision to plant churches but only to raise up Christian workers, but he also stated, “As CBC formally began, I realized after they graduate in three years, we can then begin to plant churches” (Int. 67, Macro; 1, 2), thereby creating pastoral positions for the CBC graduates. This is problematical because from the beginning, Ted and his primary patron initiated the church-planting idea; it did not come from the CBC pastors. Although Ted provided job opportunities, since the CBC pastors had not initiated the church plants or their own leadership in the

³⁶ The term ‘patron as sponsor’ was sorted from the Macro-coding interview file.

churches, the ownership of the church-planting project was weak which led to frequent turnovers in the leadership.

Second, at a more personal and theological level, Ted's eschatology of an imminent returning of Jesus urged him to plant and build as many visible churches as possible, focusing primarily on evangelism. This also is problematical since the individual church plant mission strategy was based on the founder's particular theological emphasis and not based on the consensus of the CBC church planters. The same method could have become an acceptable CBC strategy if they had owned it together.

According to Julie Ma, in the nineteenth century, the pre-millennial movement swept throughout conservative evangelicals, especially in North America, preaching the imminent return of Jesus. This widespread theological tendency made a major impact on the missionaries in Korea and on the Korean church in the development of its eschatology (2015: 260). Ma concludes that most Korean missionaries maintain an evangelical theological tendency - focusing on evangelism and church-planting – regardless of their denominational affiliation (2015: 267):

It was the Korean church that showed a general inclination towards the pre-millennial eschatology. This inevitably had a substantial implication to mission: soul-winning had become the focal point of church life and missionary work, creating an alternative world in its religious life (2015: 260).

The issues with Ted's and Korean eschatology will be discussed more in details at a later section of this chapter.

Third, the CBC church-planting method was in line with a missionary movement trend of Korea. Ma, in her chapter entitled, 'Evangelism and church-planting as the primary focus of Korean mission,' stated that out of 23,331 Korean missionaries serving in 169 countries in 2011, more than half, 53.3 per cent of them, were involved in

church-planting. As a result, there were 6,585 new churches established in various parts of the world (2015: 263-264). This factor will be discussed more in detail in the next section, since it is one of the major tenets of Korean missions.

6.5.1.1 Church Building Concerns: Ted's Reason for Church Building

Ted, as a sponsor, had little choice but to build churches because the funding from Singapore and Korea was designated for a specific church building for a specific area, otherwise he would lose the funding.

There are cases among Korean missionaries who lost funding because they refused to build the churches. Lee explained to her patron, "I am not planting a church, so why would I need to buy the land to build a church? (Int. 85, Macro; 3, 12)." However, not following her patron's direction resulted in her losing her funding and subsequently losing her patron. What came across clearly in this group interview was that the pressure the primary patron put on Korean sponsors was quite heavy and had real consequences on their mission work.

During the 2013 interview, Ted shared about the importance of church building:

(Int. 67, Macro; 3):

I thought to myself, why God would make us hastily build church buildings? Even when I look at them they don't look like church building but more like a warehouse; pastor does not even live in the building. But we had our reason for building a church building – Because when people came to know Jesus we had to show them what physical church looked like, since all of people in village did not believe in Jesus; having a facility and providing service and having activity in the building seemed important and needed at that time.

As Ted points out, at the beginning stage of the CBC, from 1998 to 2000, there were only a few physical church buildings in the L-1 area, and Cambodians, with their Buddhist background, did not consider religion without its official temple buildings as

legitimate religion.

CBC church-planting was criticized by one of the Western missionaries as he wrote an email to me about CBC: “Many Koreans in the area already. The CBC have many Korean churches... (T)hey build many buildings in the area. Even for churches of 10 people they build church buildings” (21 July 2015). Even some Korean missionaries criticized CBC church-planting of seven churches in a three-year period, claiming that it was too hastily done and thereby setting a trend, which inevitably forced their own denomination to follow and compete.

During the interview, it was revealed that this led to conflict between Korean denominations. According to Ted, some Korean leaders, accusing their denominational missionaries who could not plant churches in villages but who stayed at Phnom Penh, demanded church plants like those of the CBC, creating the competition between denominations, their primary patrons (Int. 88).

6.5.1.2 Church Building Concerns: The Case of the DEF Church of Phnom Penh

According to Ted, one of the main objectives of the DEF Church of Phnom Penh plant was to see if they could plant a financially independent church. He brought his best-qualified leaders from the CBC graduates to this church for that effort. He also stated that the location was important and that Phnom Penh would be the ideal place for such a church plant. As a patron sponsor, this was his first pilot project. In a sense, Ted took his role as sponsor more officially and seriously at this church plant, and he implemented this church plant with the combined strength of his patrons.

However, the church location was not easy to find. It was situated in the middle of factories and residents, away from the main roads of Phnom Penh. It was so difficult

to find, that we had to ask a motorbike rider from the church to wait for us at a designated place on the main road and lead us to the church.

Many factory workers were out playing volleyball on seven full size courts, equipped with nets, while several outside vendors were selling food cooked on an open fire. The volleyball games were organized by either three on three or four on four format. It seemed well organized, and many more spectators were present. The numbers were in the thousands, and the atmosphere was like a block party with a spirit of celebration in the air. It was lively and exciting, full of young people mostly in their mid to late twenties.

Ted and Sarah felt this was an ideal place to plant a church especially if it could become financially independent. It had a chance if the factory workers joined and contributed. Most factory workers had a steady income, an average of about \$120 per month as basic salary, and most of them made \$160 to \$200 with overtime pay. However, they were from poor families who expected them to send a large portion of their earnings back home.³⁷ It would be an ideal location to use the church building as a community centre for the thousands of factory workers who came from villages far from Phnom Penh.

According to Sarah, the patron's Singaporean church budget actually helped select the location (Int. 63). The Singaporean church hoped to develop self-sustaining church plants by combining kindergarten and church and using the facility as their foundation headquarters in Cambodia. The Singapore church as a patron had the power to choose this location, which it did once its vision team came and surveyed the area.

³⁷ Hong at Phnom Penh on 19 August 2013. He owns and operates a glove manufacturing company in Cambodia employing about 2,000 workers.

Once again, primary patrons made the decisions for the locations without consulting their clients, a problematical occurrence throughout the church-planting process.

One of the major criteria was that it had to be in residential area, so that they could run a kindergarten. They purchased the building, remodelled it for use as a kindergarten, and they even set the monthly salary of the kindergarten teacher, much higher than that of the average kindergarten teachers in that area. This salary became a major problem for Sarah as she tried to make a profit from the kindergarten. Since the building's purchase was based on the Singaporean church budget, they chose a remote and poor area of Phnom Penh. Although near a residential area, it was in the middle of factories, which in turn prevented the kindergarten from charging the full price: Cambodians in that neighbourhood could not afford to send their children to an expensive kindergarten. As it was situated in a location which floods when it rains, non-local residents did not send their children there.

This was a church building built by one Singaporean church. According to Sarah, for the initial investment of land, the building, the renovation, and the school furnishings, the cost was close to a quarter of a million US dollars. In 2004, another Singaporean sponsor bought the building for the DEF Church of Phnom Penh, and it is used for three functions: one, as a church building; second, as the headquarters for Community Enrichment Alliance International, an NGO founded by another Korean missionary with Ted and Sarah; third, as a Joshua Academy Kindergarten School during the weekdays.

The Joshua Academy has thirty students paying \$15 per month, totalling \$450 per monthly income, which is not enough to run the school with two full-time teachers and pay for utilities. The neighbourhood around this area is poor, and some parents are not

capable of paying more than \$15 per month. Sponsors from Hong Kong planned to increase the student body by sixty students, beginning in September 2013. The Singaporean and Hong Kong churches, as the primary patrons, and Ted as the FOB, without the CBC pastors' involvement, made all these decisions. The CBC pastors neither initiated nor problematized the situation, but have become employees only and do not share the responsibility of the school's becoming independent and self-sustainable in the near future.

One of the key issues observed from Korean missionaries in Cambodia is the growing tendency for Cambodians to depend on outside resources, especially for church building construction. According to Julie Ma, "This is where outside funding is often anticipated and where an attitude of dependency begins to develop" (2015: 267). It is true that during the church construction such dependency becomes more evident, but for the CBC, the attitude of dependency has begun long before that stage of church-planting when the funding had already been promised at the beginning stages of church plants. Glenn Schwartz argues that although the missionary makes such a decision in good faith, the result goes exactly against the long-standing indigenous church principles of self-support (2007).

Ted explains why and how the CBC got involved in building churches almost immediately after he began his mission work in Cambodia in 1998. Numerous short-term mission teams arrived in Cambodia from Korea starting from the late 1990s. The CBC was not able to sponsor evangelistic meetings without church buildings because the local government would not allow them to hold public meetings without a church registration. However, the local government would not give a church registration to a group without a church building. According to Ted, he simply told Korean churches

about the difficulty in conducting evangelistic outreach in these villages and expressed his desire for holding outreach meetings in these areas. To his surprise, Korean churches responded to him by wanting to build church buildings in those areas. Ted stated that “since the cost of constructing a wooden structure church building, including the purchase of land started merely at five million won (equivalent to \$4,000)³⁸ or at the highest seven million won (equivalent to \$5,600),³⁹ we were able to build many church buildings quickly. Koreans are very fervent in building church buildings” (Int. 67, Macro; 3, 2b). From 1998, the first seven churches were built near the CBC in the L-1 district, and more churches were built throughout Cambodia with a total of twenty-one church buildings by 2015.

From the beginning, Ted’s desire was to plant churches where there were no churches, and neither he nor the patrons considered the sustainability of these churches. As he stated, “We simply went to location where there was no church and started planting a church there. We did not have a strategy about self-sustainability because our primary goal was to preach the gospel where there was no church. We would never have done such work if self-sustainability was part of our church-planting policy” (Int. 67, Macro; 7). This lack of self-sustainability became the major problem as time passed and the needs for each church plants increased and with multiple church sites, the funding needs also multiplied.

Ted admits he was fully aware that patrons had to support all the churches financially and that other resources would be necessary. Once buildings were built, the CBC graduates were commissioned as the senior pastors of the churches, and they

³⁸ Using the currency exchange rate of 20 Feb. 2016 at 0.00081 USD per Korean currency *Won*.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

received a monthly support of sponsorship from Ted's patrons in Singapore and Korea. The funding came first to him and to the CBC: "All the churches are all connected to sponsors but other than for three or four churches, all of them send funding through me" (Int. 67, Macro; 6). Although not intended, this mode of operation created the Cambodian pastors' dependency. In an interview, an American missionary addressed this problem in referring to his experience with Korean missionary practice in Cambodia. He said that Korean missionaries seemed to create dependency among Cambodian pastors they worked with (Int. 59).

6.5.2 Ted playing the Role of Sponsor

P82a shared that when he joined the CBC, he had run away from home and had no place to go. When there, Ted played a father role in his life. Yet in that same interview, both P82a and P82b mentioned nine times that Ted, in the later part of the CBC established stage, played the referral role of a sponsor. In this stage, Ted played more of a FOB role than sponsor. While he did not necessarily play a nurturing role of a father, his FOB/sponsor role was still very personal in nature. For example, Ted formally referred P82a to his Singapore patron and connected them. Regarding this fact, P82a stated, "So I was sent to Singapore to study for another year" (Int. 82, Macro; 5, 2) and "Yes, Singapore church, they responsible, for my payments" (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 7), indicating that through Ted, the Singapore church provided all of his financial needs. In this referral, Ted seemed to go out of his comfort zone because he saw P82a's potential. For P82a, although Ted played the FOB role then at the CBC, P82a felt that Ted continued to play the father role. Upon graduation, although he had another job opportunity, P82a came back to teach at the CBC and gave his time and talent. This is a

demonstration of the reciprocal aspects of patron-client dynamics at work.

Although he did not return to the CBC to teach, P77 also states he depended on Ted because Ted provided for his ministry and his personal sponsor, “because we have a sponsor by Reverend Ted” (Int. 77, Macro; 1, 4). His tone of voice and body language acknowledged Ted as personal and caring enough to gain him a sponsor from Singapore and Korea even after he graduated from the CBC. Among the CBC graduates, those who have desire to be in ministry seem to appreciate Ted’s giving them opportunities to be part of CBC church-planting projects, although they are fully aware that the primary patrons are from Singapore and Korea.

Although P91 understands that Ted is a FOB and the funding source is from a Korean primary patron, his direct contact is only with Ted and he does not have any relationship with the primary patron (Int. 91, Macro; 2, 10). P91 understands that in case the primary patron cuts off funding for his ministry, it is Ted’s responsibility to find another patron who will support his work. In that way P91 depends on Ted more than on the primary patrons. P91 appreciates a personal relationship with Ted and states, “You know, because right now I’m serving God, so when Reverend Ted come for God’s word, too. Not personal break, so even though I busy with another work, I never care I only care only God work. I must prepare time for him” (Int. 91, Macro; 2, 10). In these heartfelt words P91 says that Ted is more than just a sponsor to him, so, he honours Ted by giving him priority with his time when Ted visits him and his church.

6.5.2.1 Method of Fund Distribution

As the CBC planted churches all over Cambodia, funding problems occurred. Ted as

patron/father delivered the salary to the CBC pastors in person because the banking system in Cambodia was not established in remote villages. This situation was the most difficult and dangerous task for Ted because he delivered salaries in cash, approximately \$40,000 per year, quarterly or sometimes bi-annually. As I stated earlier, Ted had to travel to twenty-one church locations by public transportation, since he did not have a driver's licence, and this took many days of difficult travel on the road. Although it was a sacrificial act on Ted's part, it was a dangerous trip, and the CBC pastors also felt responsible for his safety.

However, Ted's role of sponsor as fund deliverer was lightened by the modern banking system that was introduced in Cambodia: "Now the ACLEDA Bank⁴⁰ is everywhere in Cambodia – although I still have to write more than twenty transfer wire forms for each church each month, but it's safer and easier compared to the old days" (Int. 67, Macro; 6). The problem, however, with the new method of fund distribution is that it is too impersonal. Ted also recognizes that what was lost in this electronic transfer is the personal touch he once had with the CBC pastors when he was travelling and visiting each church from time to time and gathering important information about the churches and the pastors' family situations.

During this interview, I noticed that Ted, although he was describing his role as a sponsor, sounded emotionally like a father who knows the intimate details of his children's lives, and his empathetic voice was evident toward his church planters: "Living in countryside exposes them to malaria and typhoid. When rain comes, the roof leaks; not much tables and chairs were provided; they are trying but nothing is

⁴⁰ ACLEDA Bank has branches all over Cambodia and 286 ATMs throughout Cambodia, where salaries to CBC pastors were delivered. [Http://www.acledabank.com.kh/kh/eng/](http://www.acledabank.com.kh/kh/eng/), Accessed on 23 Feb. 2016.

happening, so they feel helpless and do nothing; so they write emails to us for us to do something for them, but we don't respond to them; and one or two years pass by and so out of desperation they decide to become bi-vocational and get a side job; but then we yell at them for getting a second job and accusing them that they are not fully committing to the church" (Int. 67, Macro; 15).

Although Ted is empathetic toward the CBC pastors, his attitude causes concern. First, a client can get a second job if he or she needs to provide for his/her family, and a patron does not have the right to go against clients' wishes. Ted's power and control over such life choices would be an example of *Gap-jil*, especially when, by his own admission, he "yells at them for getting a second job".

Ted makes a comparison between the CBC church planters and his own children, "They are in late twenty, so they are my children's age. In one way of looking at it, I am so proud of them because my eldest is thirty years old and he still struggles financially. Yet these pastors at least are married and have children and suffer for the gospel by staying put in the countryside - They are at least doing God's work" (Int. 67, Macro; 9). Here, although Ted displays a fatherly concern for the CBC pastors, it is misguided ultimately because he wants to make life decisions for them, treats them like children, and overlooks their freedom to make their own decisions.

6.6 Positive Effects

From the data, as Ted plays the role of a FOB and the CBC pastors as clients, one positive effect is that in the initial stage of the CBC church-planting project, Ted brought financial resources from Korea and Singapore.

6.6.1 Effective Execution of Church-planting

In three years, Ted planted and built seven church buildings in the L-1 area, and the mission-house members and first phase CBC students primarily staffed all of these churches. The CBC held morning class sessions, and during the afternoons, students were sent out to serve in these seven church locations.

According to Ted, “In my estimation there were only one hundred or so Cambodian churches in entire nation with its own building in early 90s” (Int. 67, 1), and “Cambodian local government would not issue religious activity permit without church license, which requires a church building” (Int. 67, 3). Religious departments of the local government rejected Ted’s request for a permit to do religious activities because the CBC did not have a physical church building.

Moreover, because Cambodians equated religion with physical temples, Ted felt that he needed to build church buildings to introduce Christianity: “The reason why we needed buildings desperately because although we did evangelism in the area, we needed to show people what church is like” (Int. 67, 3). In interview sixty-seven, Ted mentioned the word ‘church’ 107 times, and in these times, he referred the ‘church’ to a ‘building’ 53 times. In the beginning, the CBC pushed for church-planting, especially for building churches. All the funding came through Ted’s personal contacts from Singapore and Korea. This speedy process of building seven church buildings was possible because during this time the land and building costs were cheap by Korean and Singaporean standards - "Since we were building a wooden structure and the cost of the land was only around \$5000 to \$7000 USD, we were able to build first three building in the first year and total seven church buildings in three years. When I write a support letter (for church buildings), the funding came almost immediately” (Int. 67, 2).

Once the CBC students graduated, Ted provided them with basic needs of livelihood and he provided for CBC church planters, some of whom were married and had a family by this time. P91, a CBC graduate, who is part of the L-9 church plants, stressed this point, saying “because right now I work for God’s work, and Reverend Ted he support me for God’s work, so I just only focus on His work” (Int. 91, Macro; 2, 11). But like a son who wants to be independent from his parents, P89b seems to be preparing for that stage, “I try to share the gospel to factory workers. Because if Reverend Ted said, “Oh, we don’t have any more support.” I said, “OK, I try to teach my church members how to offer” (Int. 91, Macro; 2, 13).

According to Hyde, “the average monthly offering given by the members to their churches in Cambodia is US\$ 8.06. This may be compared with a Bible sold by the United Bible Society at about US\$7, and the average cost for an official church permit granted by the Ministry of Religion in Phnom Penh at around US\$2,000” (2007: 9). There was an alternative way to do ministry without paying a \$2,000 permit fee, and that was to plant house churches with no buildings or permits. But Korean missions at that time were inviting short-term mission teams to villages and needed a public meeting place large enough to hold their events.

P94f also stated, “It is so regarding to the permission by law in Cambodia. Because if we just apply the permit for the children it shouldn’t be any for the worship - it can’t happen in the compound. So, once we put the church permit, it can be implemented the children for ministry as well as for adults worship legal issue” (Int. 94, Macro; 1, 17 a, b). Here P94f emphasized the importance of a physical church building because without it, he could not have launched his children’s ministry, even with a sizeable number of children participating. P94f holds that because Ted and his Korean

and Singaporean support took care of these basic legal concerns, church-plantings were effectively executed.

Neither P94f nor P89b could afford to support the churches, therefore, inevitably the funding responsibility landed on Ted. P89b is happy that Ted helped him establish a church by supporting him and his wife and providing a church building for them. Similar practices occur in Korean society today, where parents will either provide apartments for newly-weds or give them a large percentage of the housing cost. This may not be the best practice but it is the normal practice in Korea at this time, since young couples cannot afford the housing cost. Even the Korean government encourages such practices. According to *Hankook Kyungjae News* (한국경제뉴스, Korean Economics News), the Korean government is looking at a bill to give a tax break of up to 250,000,000 Won (Approximately £175,000) per family to help support their children's first home purchase.⁴¹ Ted displayed such a sentiment for the CBC pastors when he played the role of a father, although officially, he is merely their sponsor.

6.7 Negative Effects

From the data regarding Ted as a FOB and the CBC pastors as clients, I observed the following negative effects and have presented them in this section. First, there is the problematical *Gap-jil* mode in the CBC decision-making process in the church-planting project: 1) location, 2) Ted's eschatology, and 3) un-churched area. Second, the CBC pastors do not have the authority and freedom to name their churches: 1) they suffer a negative consequence of not following the patron's decision on the church names, and

⁴¹ [Http://news.hankyung.com/article/2015072354421](http://news.hankyung.com/article/2015072354421), accessed on 5 Aug. 2017.

2) local Cambodians do not appreciate using the Korean church name. Third, Cambodians do not appreciate the Korean worship format in Cambodian worship services: 1) the Korean worship service format, 2) English in Cambodian services, and 3) a Korean style interior design. Finally, a low budget for salary is set without giving the CBC pastors an option to become bi-vocational ministers, and overall a low ministry budget solely depends on the primary patron's capacity and wishes.

6.7.1 Decision-Making

In the patron-client relationship, primary patrons and FOBs make all significant decisions for their clients. Similarly, in the CBC church-planting project, Ted as a FOB and the Singapore and Korean churches make the decisions without the client's input. From the beginning, the CBC pastors did not help decide the location of the church plant. A lack of experience and responsibility in choices and options is problematic especially as clients get older and need to take leadership over their churches.

P82b states, "So when I came back and then I start to work again with the new organization. So I was working as a translator and also logistic coordinator as well for different organizations" (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 3). The reason for this was primarily because Ted did not find a job for him, as P82b shared with a disappointed tone of voice, saying that, "For some reason but it does not work out well for me, it sounds like Reverend Ted has no proper place for me to serve" (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 4). This may be evidence of a relational dependency, since he was qualified to work anywhere in Cambodia with his skill set and his educational credentials. P82b depended on Ted to find a placement within the CBC, and being part of it was his way of showing his loyalty to Ted (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 5). Ted did not place him right away. However, later,

Ted shared with P82b that the CBC placement was based solely on funding from Singapore and Korea and support from both countries had slowed down which made hiring at CBC not possible.

In an effort to observe patron-client dynamics, in the context of a patron as sponsor in action, I conducted three participatory observation researches: 1) the DEF Church of Phnom Penh, 2) the L-9 Church, and 3) the CBC church on the CBC campus. From the resulting data, “decision-making” emerged as a primary problem with four sub-categories: church location, church name, the worship format, and the low salary.

6.7.1.1 Location

It seems that after the CBC churches were built and steady support was established for these churches, Ted started to play the FOB role with the Singaporean and Korean churches as his patrons. Muno holds that these resources are often managed and distributed quite independently by the FOBs, and practically, the FOB controls these resources and become the patron for the clients (2010: 5). As a FOB, Ted basically controlled the decision-making process in the CBC church-planting projects. Ted and the primary patrons alone decided the location of the church-planting sites. The decision for the location was based first on Ted’s theological understanding of the end time; second, on Apostle Paul’s strategy of not going where churches already existed, and third, on building the city of refugee-type shelters all over Cambodia. From the outset, one can observe that this is problematical because his strategy did not involve the CBC pastors’ own theology or their desires about locations to plant their churches. This lack inevitably concerns ownership issues: the CBC pastors did not take part in forming these church plants but were merely employees of the project.

As I stated earlier in chapter four, P73 openly complained about the unilateral decision-making process of foreign missionaries who acted like a ‘boss,’ speaking with anger in his voice, “Everywhere in Cambodia, Cambodian people (are) just hired by foreigner” (Int. 73, Macro; 1, 5 and 7). In a separate interview, P82a and P82b, although they claimed that their complaint was not directed toward Ted, both expressed their negative feeling toward Ted many times regarding their not being part of the decision-making process of the CBC and the CBC church-planting project (Int. 82).

6.7.1.2 Ted’s Eschatology

In his book, *The Testimony Book*, Ted wrote, “My desire to go to China in the early 90’s was because they did not know Jesus and His return and I wanted to share that news with many of them. I couldn’t go to China but ended up in Cambodia, but my primary work and teaching topics are still same - sharing about Jesus and coming Judgment, the return of Christ, and heaven. The first century Christians were special in that they saw Jesus, but our generation who will see the returning Jesus is the most exceptional generation (28).” Ted’s urgent eschatology pushed the CBC to fervent evangelism:

In the beginning stage of CBC, the most important task was evangelism. When I first came to Cambodia in 1997, I had a strong burden about Jesus’ imminent return and as you know about it was a worldwide movement. As much as CBC was important, evangelism was also important – So every Saturdays all of us went out for evangelism (Int. 67, Macro; 2).

Ted urged that he and the CBC students walk on the major road of the L-1 and openly share the gospel. Many of the CBC pastors shared about making initial contacts with Ted through their evangelism outreach, including P71 of Phnom Penh who stated that he first met Ted on the road at L-1, and was later introduced to the mission house. He joined the CBC and eventually became the pastor of a CBC church plant (Int. 71).

Ted wanted to evangelize the area where there were no churches, un-churched areas, and since Jesus' return was near, if not in the year 2000, but within ten years, "We decided to build the wooden church building, which will last at least ten years" (Int. 67, Macro; 4).

6.7.1.3 Un-Churched Areas

Ted shared his strategy of planting and building church buildings all over Cambodia and the priority to reach un-churched areas first (Field Note, Vol. 3, 6). When he first surveyed Cambodia in 1997, he was told that "fewer than one hundred church buildings existed in Cambodia at that time (Field Note, Vol. 3, 1c)" and without church building, the government would not give out church registrations or permit public Christian activities. He admitted his mistaken understanding about a church as a building, but that was his view in the beginning of the CBC church-planting stage (Field Note, Vol. 3, 4). This fact led me to conduct focused interviews with the CBC pastors from the L-1 and L-9 areas, sites of the first church building projects.

After the first seven church plants around the L-1 area, Ted chose the city of L-9 because although it was one of the major cities of Cambodia and near the L-1, only few churches were present. So, after deciding to plant a church there, Ted sent one of the first CBC graduates to plant a church in 2001. As a first church planter in the L-9 area, P73 stated, "Because at that time we open to anyone who wants to go to serve as a pastor. I reach there and then I go there and then I serve" (Int. 73, Macro; 6, 6a) and "So I went to L-9 and then I serve a church in L-9 *JKL* Church from 2001 to 2005" (Int. 73, Macro; 6, 5b). However, P73 was not part of the decision-making meetings nor did he participate in any strategic meetings. He was promised support for his salary and some

ministry funds and a church building fund once their ministry started to settle.

In the beginning stage of the CBC church plants, Ted built a new church and a house for the CBC graduates and commissioned them. As P77 stated, “Yes, Ted he point when I graduate and then build the church and house and then send” (Int. 77, Macro; 2, 7). When asked if they had a choice in where they wanted to be sent, the answer was negative because Ted and his patrons made the decisions without their input. Although in Ted’s later interview, regarding P77’s church plant, God’s leading was evident and the church in that area was strategically effective, and it was a joint decision, P77 did not concur in his interview.

However, according to Ted, many of the first group of church planters did not stay as pastors of the CBC churches, but moved on to join other FOBs and NGOs, adding that “on the average each church plant went through as many as three or four senior pastors” (Int. 67, Macro; 1, 5b). This is a major problem in church-planting because without senior pastors who commit to spending years in one location, a local church cannot come together as a community of believers. According to Taing, in forty-one New Life Churches of Cambodia, an average stay of pastors was no longer than ten years (Int. 9). For a culture that values relationships, senior pastors’ long stay at church-planting projects is a critical element, but this element was missing in the CBC church-planting project.

In most cases, the subsequent CBC graduates, immediately after their graduation, were sent to existing churches to fill in the vacancy. Many, at the beginning stage of CBC church planters, stated that “after finishing CBC study pastor Ted send me to here” (Int. 79, Macro; 1, 2c). The term they used to describe is passive and implies that the decision was made for them, e.g., ‘sent’ ‘assigned’ ‘sponsored me’ (Int. 79). The

CBC became an institution that educated and promoted the CBC church-planting projects as a priority, then other graduates who did not get ‘called’ or were not ‘qualified’ would seek employment somewhere else.

During interviews, the CBC pastors indicated that they were at the top of their classes, and that academic success was the primary reason why they were called to become CBC church planters (Int. 94). P92 stated that although he graduated and had no Korean sponsor, he stayed at the CBC performing odd jobs until he was sponsored by another Korean missionary (Int. 92). Ted stated that P92 was really desperate to be placed in some ministry location, but no one wanted to hire him. It was clear in the language and nuance of the situation, that P92 was not a top student of the CBC.

In an exceptional case, two weeks after graduation, P89e was asked to plant a church in a remote area without any facility provided. As P89e stated, “Ted, he told me to go after two weeks” (Int. 89, Macro; 2, 10). Ted explained that the CBC policy on church plants was to incorporate a self-sustaining capacity by combining farming and church-planting, and P89e was selected to make that new church-planting effort possible. Although Ted argues that P89e was given a choice, it seems that Ted, as the sponsor, had already made the decision where and what kind of church-planting was planned for P89e, based on the CBC church-planting strategy at the time.

Also, the CBC pastors were asked to relocate to different church sites because the CBC church-planting required its pastors to move to fill the overall need of a church-planting strategy, i.e., reaching the un-churched area. In the case of P79a, “after graduate I work L-6 Church, one year after that I change come here” (Int. 79, Macro; 1, 3c), which is a rural area considered un-churched by the CBC. Furthermore, in the case of P82b, both he and his wife were relocated. He recalled, “I graduate and then, I was

sent to serve in a rural area call Smacdeng for four years as a preacher and also my wife was working as a Sunday school teacher” (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 2). This remote area was not an ideal place for raising children, considering the children’s future education, but P82b stated that he had no choice where he would work and that Ted told him to relocate. Since reaching an un-churched area was not part of P82b’s conviction, he was discontent about the situation, and I observed his discomfort during interview eighty-two.

6.7.2 Church Name

For Korean missionaries, the name of a church is important in church-planting. The name identifies who they are and their association with certain denominations in the larger context of a Christian community. At the same time, however, the pastor of the local church and its people should come up with its name in prayer and in consensus. However, in the CBC church-planting project, most of the names of the CBC church plants were determined by the primary patrons, either from Singapore or Korea (or both). In the beginning stage of the CBC church-planting and because the Singapore ABC Church primarily funded them, eight church plants shared its name, for example, the L-1 ABC Church, the L-20 ABC Church, the L-14 ABC Church, and the L-12 ABC Church. Also, when Korean churches sponsor a church building, a Korean word was sometimes incorporated into its name, for example, the ‘*JKL Church*’. However, in some cases, the church name incorporated both Singaporean and Korean names when both were sponsors, for example, the L-16 *JKL ABC Church*.

The name of the church was decided, or strongly suggested, by the primary patrons, and Ted, as FOB, did not have the power to disagree. Although, according to

Ted, in the case of requests to use ‘ABC’ as a part of church name, he gladly accepted this choice, in part to honour his sponsors, and also because it was his official sending denomination. However, in the case of the Korean word ‘JKL’ being used as a part of church name, P91 objected, but the Korean sponsor did not respond to his objection and, therefore, eventually overruled him, and ‘JKL’ became an official name for the church. The Korean donor argued that it was his life’s goal to build churches in other countries under the Korean word ‘JKL’ which means ‘One heart’ in Sino-Korean. This naming power is an example of *Gap-jil* in the case of a Korean primary patron and the church as client. Both Ted and P91 had no power to object since the entire fund for the building came from an individual, and his wish for naming the church overruled their objections.

6.7.2.1 Consequences of not following a Patron’s Decision on the Church Name

Gap-jil by the primary patron is real. In the case of P87, a Korean missionary, not following the request of the patron about using the Korean word as part of the Cambodian church name ended up with his losing his primary funding source for fifteen years. P85a stated that after a Korean church donated funding for a church building in Cambodia, “P87 was asked to name the Cambodian church same as the funding Korean church name in Korean, which he refused, and he was subsequently cut off from funding” (Int. 85, Macro; 3, 10). According to P87, later in a personal conversation, the senior pastor of that Korean church had been in Cambodia on Wednesday but had left for Korea. He was notified on the following Monday about his cut funding after the Korean pastor had an elder board meeting to discuss his [P87’s] disobedient attitude. The consequence of not following a primary patron’s request on the church name is severe and real even for FOBs.

During P73's interview, he stated, "So I went to L-9 and then I serve a church is L-9 *JKL*⁴² Church" (Int. 73, Macro; 6, 5b), and I asked what does *JKL* mean, but he was not certain nor did care to know its full meaning. He simply said that it was a name given to the church by the donor in Korea. One Western missionary reported to me about his encounter with a CBC church plant, the L-9 *JKL* Church, and stated, "*JKL* in Khmer is 'drink it like a baby' - very creative name for a church."⁴³ I verified this fact with several Khmer speakers, and both Cho (Int. 83) and CBC pastors (Int. 94) confirmed that '*JKL*' does sound like the Khmer word for 'Sucking milk'.

Also, a Korean acronym for a Cambodian Presbyterian (to signify Korean Presbyterian denomination in Cambodia) in Korean is '*Kam Jang*' which sounds like 'Kham Chan' in Khmer, which means 'eat plate'. "A Korean told me that it is a Korean word which is for one of the Presbyterian churches. So the Khmers laugh about it."⁴⁴ It seems that using a Korean word for a Cambodian church or Cambodian denomination is problematic culturally and needs to be addressed by a dialogue between Korean missionaries and Cambodian pastors.

6.7.2.2 Reception of Cambodian Local People toward using a Korean Church Name

The reception of Cambodian local people regarding using Korean words as a church name seems mixed, and many prefer Khmer words instead of Korean. P91 holds that although his church has a Korean name, *JKL*, his congregation does not mind: "You know *JKL* church they don't know the meaning of the *JKL*. But you know the Khmer

⁴² Korean terms can not be shared here due to Ted's request for anonymity.

⁴³ Email from S.H. on 4 August 2015.

⁴⁴ Email from S.H. on 21 July 2015.

language we write ‘Preh Vihear’ means church. When they saw the ‘*JKL* Preh Vihear’ they know it’s a church” (Int. 91, Macro; 1, 11c). However, when I visited the ‘L-9 *JKL* Preh Vihear’ on the Sunday, there were twenty elementary school age members and six teenagers attending the Sunday service (Field Note, Vol. 3, 26a), and six of them were visitors according to P91 (Int. 91, Transcript; 2), which means that the church did not even have proper age specific audience to critique such a practice. The church service felt more like a children’s outreach than a local church.

P94c, who was with the CBC from the mission house stage, was defensive and apologetic about the usage of Korean words as a church name:

This is I think we just regarding to the donor decision. Because we would like to see which area that they have promoted for the church building something like that, but for us for *JKL* it is not sometime a bad thing happen, just only the last, for the last pronunciation “*L*” (Int. 94, Transcript; 19).

P94f clarified P94c’s comment, saying ‘*JKL*’ sounds like the baby drink his mother’s milk (Int. 94, Transcript; 19).” I asked, “If you have a choice, will you still call it *JKL* church, or will you use Khmer word?” P94c responded in the following way, holding that it would be best not to confuse Khmer people:

It is a very good idea we support, if we can try to find the good way not to make someone to confuse, I think it’s the best solution the best choice that we have to consider, so if we can choose something that we make someone confuse and we try to make the thing that for everyone can accept, can understand I think it’s a good choice one (Int. 94, Transcript; 19).

Here it is clear that P94c prefers to use Khmer words for Cambodian churches, yet as a client, he expresses his desire to accommodate to the wish of his patron.

Chang, in interview eighty-five, holds that both Cambodians and Koreans can become *Eul* in relationships with patrons and yet at the same time how both can also do *Gap-jil* with others as one has the upper hand of power, “unless democratic agreement or open dialogue with one another happens” (Int. 85, Transcript; 14).

6.7.3 Worship Format

In all three participatory observation research trips, I observed inappropriate worship styles imposed by the FOB and/or primary patrons: first, there was a too traditional Korean or Singaporean worship service format, and second, it was too mature for the age of the congregation. The local CBC pastors did not have a choice in deciding on the worship format or style of worship. They used a hymnal that was out-dated for the age group of the congregation. Age specific songs would have involved body movement and a faster pace. Most of the songs were translations of English songs. During the entire service, not one Khmer song written by Khmers was sung (Field Note, Vol. 3, 25).

In the L-9 *JKL* church service, the worship songs and messages by speakers did not match the age of the congregation. The worship format matched the traditional Korean Presbyterian worship service for adults, which was not conducive for the audience of children. The CBC Sunday chapel worship service was imported here and is a traditional Korean Presbyterian worship service format. During the interview, P91 lacked understanding of contextualisation and Khmer cultural awareness (Int. 91). However, P91's reluctance to incorporate modern worship songs may be due to the Singaporean patron's traditional view of worship. Ted shared that his patron from Singapore threw down the contemporary worship songbooks on the floor in protest due to his dislike of using gospel songs during the service. Although Ted was not present at that time, news got around to all the CBC pastors, and so they used only hymnals during their worship services (Int. 90).

6.7.3.1 DEF Church of Phnom Penh: A Sample Mini-Case Study⁴⁵

I attended a Sunday worship service at the DEF Church of Phnom Penh and conducted participatory observation by writing out details of the event itself and observing the effects of patron-client dynamics and the roles played, i.e., Ted as patron father and FOB to children and clients, the CBC church planters.

The church was difficult to find. It was situated in the middle of factories and workers' residences. As we could not find the church by its address, we had to have a church member with a motorbike waiting for us at a designated place on the main road to lead us to the church, which took about ten minutes from the meeting point. From a church planter's perspective, I did not think was an ideal location to plant a church because the church would not be accessible to visitors to come on their own.

As we were entering the church premises, the first thing I noticed was the 'Joshua Academy Kindergarten' banner in front of the church. It was written professionally both in Khmer and English. The length of the banner matched the open space, so it appeared to have been measured and ordered for the church. It did not, however, have a cross or any religious sign indicating that it was a church building. Facing the entrance were three flagpoles with three Cambodian flags.

Before we visited the church, I told Sarah, Ted's wife, that we wanted to be etic observers⁴⁶ of their worship service, and asked her not to alter anything from their normal way of conducting Sunday worship. However, although worship was in progress, and we could hear the praise songs being sung from inside, Pastor P71a, the

⁴⁵ July 21, 2013 (Sunday), from 9:45 AM to 10:28 AM. Observers: Sukhwan Oh, Lisa Lee, a short-term research assistant from the USA, a Cambodian assistant.

⁴⁶ I am using 'etic' to refer to objective or outsider accounts, and 'emic' to refer to subjective or insider accounts.

senior pastor of the church, was waiting for us at the front of the church. He was honouring us in that way, as he would greet a guest speaker at a Korean church except that in the Korean church, an associate pastor would wait outside for the guest while the senior pastor led the worship service. This senior-junior relationship stems from *Gap & Eul* dynamics. The attitude and the way he interacted with me went beyond his honouring a guest, yet Pastor P71a did not come across as a senior pastor of a church, but more as a hired staff member conducting a task given to him by his senior leader. This assessment was based on field notes I took and from talking with my field research assistant, who is a Korean American and very familiar with Korean church life.

At the courtyard of the DEF Church of Phnom Penh, leading to the worship sanctuary, there is a covered open space with a tiled stage, which accommodates around 200 adults or 300 children comfortably. P71a stated that his church organizes evening Christian concerts once or twice a month for community outreach. However, the result of three years of such bi-monthly outreach added only three factory workers to the church (Int. 71). However, this outreach continues without self-assessments or evaluations because funding for such programmes is part of their annual budget, and they see the real value is in following the patrons' instructions and thereby honouring their relationship rather than the outcome of the outreach. Even during the interview, P71a's mannerism and the tone of voice lacked enthusiasm and ownership of this outreach programme.

On the left of the sanctuary entrance, the kindergarten students can enter their 'Joshua Academy' directly, which is a convenient design, separating the ministry space and the kindergarten space. Kindergarten students have access to their school without going through the church building. This physical separation of the church and the

kindergarten was evident even though both are in the same building.

We were fifteen minutes late for the service, and as we hurriedly walked into the church sanctuary, the first thing that we noticed, which both Lisa and I later agreed on, was the smell of body odor mixed with cool gusts of wind from the two ceiling fans in the room. There were no air condition units. The room had four fluorescent ceiling lights and two small lights on the sidewalls. The sanctuary was well lit and bright but not sunny or hot. Oddly, the church faced the main door, so as you walk in, those seated watch you walk in. People were surprised as if they had not expected any latecomers. Inside the church building, there was a drastic mood change from the block party celebration outside to a more reserved and quiet mood. Although electric musical instruments were being played loudly, the congregants' faces and body language did not display the same spirit of celebration.

Praise was underway. There were three acoustic guitarists, their strokes playing in synchronicity, and a keyboardist playing a modern keyboard unit of a professional grade. In the front of the stage, a worship leader led the songs. He seemed quite young, perhaps in his early twenties, but he seemed competent. The songs were printed on sheets of paper and had been distributed before the service. There were no overhead projectors or power point projectors.

This church was well stocked with musical instruments. Other than those mentioned, was one extra electrical bass guitar on the stand in front and one extra keyboard on the stage floor with extra monitors on stage. However, no one seems happy to be there, and the praise time lacked congregants' excitement. One reason for the lack of enthusiasm in the worship service was that the atmosphere and worship style did not match the young audience. Similar to that of the L9 *JKL* Church, the CBC

Sunday chapel worship service had been imported here. Later, in interviews, it was discovered that almost all of the congregants were resident students at the church from villages around Phnom Penh, which meant they had no choice but to be there for Sunday worship service. Only three older members were from neighbouring factories, attending as a result of the outreach (Int. 71). This church continues to show evidence of poor mission and contextual practices: there was little or no ‘Khmer-ness’ to this worship service and/or congregants’ ownership of their programme.

The room worship sanctuary was divided into two sections. Facing the door, the right side was filled entirely with eighteen members aged from middle school to college, two children, and five worship team members. Many of the people wore what seemed like school uniforms: black pants and white shirts. Aside from the group, there was a mother with her child, maybe in her teens. This child had an apparent physical disfigurement and lay on the floor. There were only three or four adults, so in all, there were fewer than thirty people in the room. On the left side, there were chairs, but no one occupied them. Any newcomers or latecomers would feel out of place and would have to sit isolated from the entire group, but that was the only available sitting for us since we arrived fifteen minutes late.

6.7.3.1.1 Korean Worship Service Format

After about two songs, a brother in his early twenties walked to the front to make announcements. He wore a Habitat for Humanity T-shirt, and he seemed a little nervous and uncomfortable. He and the congregation looked in our direction, as though he were calling attention to the guests in the room, welcoming newcomers. Without any notes in his hand, he did not seem to know who we were and why we were there or how

to introduce us. He looked at P71a for information about us. He prayed for the service after the announcements. The order of service was similar to that of a traditional Korean Presbyterian service, which, again, did not seem to match the age group present.

Even the layout of furniture in the sanctuary resembled a traditional Korean church – the pulpit up front for pastors where he or she preaches, and a small stand with a microphone below the stage, where lay people make announcements. This arrangement drew the boundary between the lay leadership and the top pulpit. The modern Korean service is much more Westernized and more casual than it was here. Of course, it is not necessarily better, but it fits a younger congregation's worship style.

The praise leader, who had remained on the stage, led another praise song. He accommodated the obvious English speakers in the room by announcing the next praise song. Once the song ended, everyone stood to recite the Apostles Creed. Even the guitarists rose from their seats to do so. The leader then asked everyone to open the Bible and alternate the reading of verses from Proverb 3:1-20, which is a standard practice in a traditional Korean worship service format. The entire congregation read together well, and all of them had their personal copy of the Bible.

During the offering time, a smiling teenage girl collected offerings, row by row, in a magenta pink cloth sack. Everyone has something to offer but did not use offering envelopes. The girl stood in the front with the basket and waited for the song to finish. Another sister stood up to pray. As printed weekly bulletins were not available, we were not sure whether this offering prayer was predetermined or if it was spontaneous. Everyone was dressed in his or her more formal wear – most students were wearing school uniform, but they were washed and clean.

6.7.3.1.2 English in the Cambodian Service

P71b, an associate pastor, a twenty-five years old graduate of the CBC from the Battambang area, came to the podium to share the message. He greeted the congregation with the Cambodian bow, and introduced the sermon title, both in Khmer and English – "What is life?" Then in English, he said, "Let us pray." He then prayed before beginning speaking. The sermon was about the meaning of life. Some of the passages that were referenced were Genesis 2:7, John 3:18, John 3:15-17. English was included in the sermon to accommodate us, but it did not seem as though it was meant to be a part of the sermon (later confirmed after talking to the pastors, Int. 71). It was evident it was not part of the sermon as he was hesitating after saying English words, as though he had lost his concentration while trying to find the English words to say.

About ten minutes into his sermon, he used English words or phrases ten times: e.g., 'What is life?' 'Let us pray!' 'Salvation life' 'Let's look up the book of John 3:18' 'immortality' 'Hebrew chapter 7:16' 'What is the promise of God?' 'John 3:15 to 16'. P71b was too conscious of us, although we were sitting at the end of the rows, he continuously looked in our direction. Although he was instructed by Sarah that we wanted to be etic observers of their worship service, and so not to alter anything from their normal way of conducting Sunday worship, he was not able to follow such instructions.

At first, everyone was alert and intently listening to the speaker (some even taking notes), but throughout the message, the attention faded. Perhaps P71b's over usage of English gave an impression to the congregation that he had prepared a message for the guests and not necessarily for them. Some of the younger children in the back were completely uninterested and looked as though they were there because they had to be.

Eyes were wandering, and some were fidgeting in their seats and playing with their hands. One of the guitarists was bored: he had his elbow on his guitar with his head resting in his hand. About five brought notepaper, but no one was taking notes. No one was talking to each other during the worship service, demonstrating that they were quite disciplined.

P71b seemed quite confident from his tone of voice and body language, other than the times he fumbled his English. According to my Cambodian assistant, he had a firm command of the scripture and made sure that his message was grounded with the Bible verses throughout his sermon. However, the speaker was not fully aware of his audience, and his message may have been a little too advanced for the young people present.

After his twenty-minute sermon, P71b ended his message with a prayer. During the prayer, the keyboardist was the only one not praying and he was leaning against the wall, sleeping with his mouth half open. There was a last praise song led by the praise leader again, and this song, unlike the others was not in the pre-made copies. Only the praise team and about a handful of the congregation had the books (only four to five song books open) that contained the words to the song and so some of the congregation did not sing and waited for the song to end.

P71a came up and was sharing something. The ambience of the room changed immediately. The congregation laughed, and one of the guitarists said 'amen' in response to P71a's comment. Pastor P71a led the final prayer, and the service was over. During the prayer, the same brother who was praying along with the sister who prayed for the offering earlier prayed aloud along with the pastor, which is a common practice among Khmer Christians.

The worship service was officially over. The entire service was fifty-eight

minutes long. A few people came over to say hello, but they were wary and shy about approaching us. Later I asked P71b, “Do you usually use that much English in your sermon?” He said, “No, I used them because you were here.” Due to his extra care and concern for us, our attempt to have an etic view of their Sunday worship service was difficult. However, we were able to communicate in English without difficulties because the CBC teaches students in English for three years. He was a recent graduate of the CBC and Ted had sent him to support P71a, who was a full-time student at Mekong University majoring in English literature. P71a got a full scholarship to study there but due to his responsibility at the church, he had been attending only evening classes and working at the church and kindergarten during the day.

Like P71a, P71b also came across as uncomfortable in our presence and in his role as a pastor of a church. According to P71b, he was only nineteen years old when he joined the CBC. At that time, he had finished the 11th grade and was not attending high school. After six years at the CBC and living with Ted, his religious expression was culturally more Korean than Cambodian.

6.7.3.1.3 Interior Design

Ted, as a FOB, and the primary patrons from Korea and Singapore determined the interior design of the DEF Church of Phnom Penh. For example, a banner in the front of the sanctuary pictured a traditional Western church building and Psalms 96:9 printed in English – “O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.” It did not represent their church or the people in the church, and it resembled a Vacation Bible School⁴⁷ project banner, although it was professionally printed. Furthermore, on the right side of

⁴⁷ It is a church summer vacation programme for children in America.

sanctuary hung a vertical red banner with a Scripture reference from John 4:24 – “God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship Him in spirit and truth.” I noticed that it was a banner sold at a GHI bookstore⁴⁸ and since the store had discontinued the sales of gift items, it likely had been donated to this church. But it was hung tilted, and it showed a large hole patched with pink cloth. For me, it was a visual distraction to the whole worship experience. Once again, the whole interior design gave the impression that Khmer people had no ownership of the space.

6.7.4 Budget

One of the major problems of funding for the CBC pastor was the control over the budget – i.e., that Ted, their sponsor, had set the salary amount. Since CBC pastors do not have control over the patrons’ resources given to Ted, the FOB, they are dependent on Ted. P73 complained about his situation in L-9, saying that “at that time I go there he (Ted) pay \$150 a month, include the rental fee. I pay the rental fee of \$35 and then the rest I pay for the ministry and the food. It is a hard time for us as local... (But for) example if some of the pastors they working for more than ten years they still \$150. And then the other new student they just graduate, and then they have a good sponsor they can pay \$300: (Int. 73, Macro; 6, 6b & 2a). Here, P73 was raising his dissatisfaction about Ted’s favouring another younger pastor, P75, but during the cross reference and an interview with P75, it was discovered that he received a total of \$300 including ministry expenses (Int. 75, Macro; 3, 16a) and he had large outreach projects to hundreds of children in the area through his after-school programme, which involved providing filtered water. He explained, “At first, we bought the bottle for \$5 and the

⁴⁸ This is a Christian bookstore that Sarah, Ted’s wife, started in Phnom Penh.

water only water the liquid \$1 (per 5 gallons), so first we have to buy the bottle, after that we just change” (Int. 75, Macro; 3, 16b).

Ted explained how a salary was based on location, family situation, and ministry size, "Even in countryside cost of living has increased. So I raised the salary to \$150, but now some have two or three children – some receive \$170 and some \$200” (Int. 67, Macro; 1, 5c & 6b). However, even this amount was regulated by the amount set by funding from the primary patrons. Ted had to cope with inflation and the changes in the life situations of the CBC pastors, but without a long-term plan, it only provided a temporary solution. Without a plan for these churches to become independent and self-sustaining, the same problem will continue, and since funding is limited and is out of his control, Ted will face the same situation over and over again. This is not an independent incident, but evident throughout mission practice in Cambodia and in other denominational work as well. As I stated in the introduction, in the case of Methodist mission work in Cambodia, after planting 150 churches, the monthly budget is increasing at the rate higher than some the next Methodist seminary graduates can plant. As a result, their entire church-planting project stopped. The Methodist church is now reorganizing its future mission strategy to include the development of self-sustainable components such as leadership training and capacity building. Ted also has to come to terms with this need in the CBC church-planting project.

6.7.4.1 Budget for Salary

During the interview, P73 not only complained about the salary set by Ted, but he also complained twenty-one times that his salary was too low (Int. 73, Macro; 1-3); he was the most outspoken one about this topic among the CBC pastors. Low salary had

become a key factor in CBC pastors leaving the church-planting project to look for better-paying jobs and, in most cases, taking non-church related jobs. P75a stated that “very few (CBC graduates) are working in churches now because their salary is not enough for them” (Int. 75, Macro; 3, 21a, 21b). Compared to the CBC church-planting, the Methodist denomination was able to plant up to 150 churches without financial difficulties, because it was backed by Korean Methodist denomination. Ted also admits that funding was one of the major factors in his church-planting stopping at twenty-one churches. P94b confirmed by stating that “churches stop operating once sponsorship ends” (Int. 24, Macro; 3, 20a).

P73 asked the CBC for a raise, "So after that my boy needs milk and seed, and then my wife speak honestly to them with the \$200 at that time I have \$150, and we have difficulty” (Int. 73, Macro; 2, 13b). Therefore, the CBC raised their support to \$200, but that was not enough, as he stated, “\$200 we have another difficulty. Like if you divide \$200 to 30 days. One day you have how much to spend?” (Int. 73, Macro; 2, 13c). P73 was upset and frustrated, and it showed in his tone of voice and body language; however, his \$2,400 per year salary in 2001, although not equal in face value, is not really low compared with the national standard, considering that the Cambodian GDP per capita⁴⁹ was below \$500 in 2001.⁵⁰ Comparing the amount of P73’s salary to the Cambodian GDP’s salary helps us understand P73’s financial position in the Cambodian context. Moreover, considering that in 2015, the salary average of factory workers in the L-9 area was from \$120 - 150 per month (Int. 75, Macro; 2, 13), P73’s

⁴⁹ According to the World Bank, GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population. GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. <http://tinyurl.com/y5tfwwd>, accessed on 22 Feb. 2016.

⁵⁰ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/cambodia/gdp-per-capita>, accessed on 22 Feb. 2016.

complaint is not really about the amount but about something more personal. P73, showing much frustration and anger in his voice, stated the following:

I do not believe that any pastor in Cambodia have the bank account and they save a lot of money. No! I do not believe that! But the foreigner if we check bank account how much they can save for a month. One of the missionaries he said, I come to Cambodia I work, and I save every month \$1000 I must save for my old age. And then how Cambodia just \$100 every month for the food they say Cambodia work for the money. How? (Int. 73, Transcript; 22).

His frustration stems from the unfairness of his situation compared to that of some missionaries he has encountered.

Considering that P73's church offering was only \$12-25 per week, as he reported, "about 50,000 Riel to 100,000 Riel (\$12.50 - \$25) every week and (but) most of this fund is from one elder" (Int. 73, Macro; 7, 15), which meant his church monthly offering was around \$48-100. P73's church offering amount was similar to that of the New Life Church's average, which was \$20 per week (Appendix B).

Ted connected him with a church in Singapore that provided around \$450 per month for his ministry, and salary, and his was one of the most well-funded churches in the CBC church-planting. This situation became a problem for some CBC pastors who sensed competition and jealousy rise among them. However, because they have no control over their primary patron partnership, much of the blame is on Ted, their FOB. Although Ted explained that such measures were necessary due to the size of P73's ministry, often the size of the fund determined the size of the ministry, and the sense of unfairness persisted for some CBS pastors (Int. 89 and 94). There was no written guidelines or agreement for funding among the CBC church planters, so all were dependent on the primary patrons and the FOB.

During the interview, P73 was proud to share that he was sending his six years old son to an international kindergarten which cost \$660 per year in tuition - "My son

school is considered the most expensive school” (Int. 73, Macro; 7, 1). When I visited his church on Sunday, I realised his house was part of the CBC campus, and the CBC kindergarten was the next building to his residence, and yet he would not send his son to that school.

Furthermore, through another source, I found out that P73 is now getting another \$450 per month family support from America, so I asked him about it, and he replied that, "they (American supporters) make the final decision so I think he sends us last week \$450 for my family” (Int. 73, Macro; 7, 9), with the emphasis on ‘my family’, meaning that it was not for the ministry. This means he now gets \$900 monthly support, yet Ted did not know about this extra support from America (Int. 81). However, other CBC pastors knew about P73, and P75 stated, “Oh, P73 he is rich - He is richer than me. I am very poor, not rich but poor” (Int. 75, Macro; 3, 15).

Furthermore, through an informant, I learned that P73 bought a car for his family with funding from his wife’s parents’ gift, so I asked him about the car he purchased, but he denied it several times during the interview. On my visit to his church on Sunday, I noticed a model and brand of a car that my informant told me was parked in front of his house. In a later interview with Ted, he explained how funding for a car by his family is not considered an official purchase, especially in connection with church ministry.

According to Jean Johnson, at Cambodia Mission Forum in Phnom Penh on 10 Nov. 2014, in “Exploring Self-sustaining and Reproducing Discipleship Movements in Cambodia”, one young Cambodian pastor shared with her and complained about Western missionaries, “You drive your nice car by faith but tell us to walk by faith, why?” He was using English word ‘walk’ versus ‘drive’ to make his point about the

unfairness of the situation and how it is imposed on them. He also stated, "Western missionaries spend extra \$100 per month to raise your pet dog in Phnom Penh and tell us we have to be financially independent" (Field Note, Vol. 3, 8).⁵¹ The frustration of Cambodian pastors to live on a low salary is expressed both from the CBC and other church-planting projects sponsored by missionaries in Cambodia.

Such frustration is expressed by CBC pastors, as P89b stated that the support of CBC is too low, "Most of them, supporting not enough" (Int. 89, Macro; 6, 18), as well as P77, "About the support or type of offering only Ted support me just the small one (amount), there are small of them, do not know what to do" (Int. 77, Macro; 2, 17b). At DEF Church of Phnom Penh, for example, P71 gets \$150 per month (Int. 71, Macro; 2, 10), which is low, since they have to live in Phnom Penh. When the low salary issue, especially DEF Church of Phnom Penh, was addressed in an interview, Ted explained that P71's mother worked full-time at the Kindergarten as well as his younger brother, and his entire family lived in a church building free of rent (Int. 90). Although Ted explained how P71 survived as a family financially, in the context of CBC church-planting project, the sense of frustration was still real, and some of it stemmed from the CBC policy of pastors not holding a secular job, which is the topic of the next section.

6.7.4.2 Bi-Vocational Ministers

According to the Protestant report of America, "30% of pastors have a part-time job, and in case of Southern Baptists, 40% pastors hold a full-time job or a part-time job."⁵²

When I began my church-planting work as a Southern Baptist bi-vocational minister in

⁵¹ This Field Note is a set of notes I took during interview which is identified by the volume number and pages.

⁵² The Central Times (Korea), <http://tinyurl.com/h4a7tjv>, accessed on 26 Feb. 2016.

America, I was gently rebuked and challenged by many older Korean pastors to ‘trust God for His provision’ for the family, and serve God only. This perspective stems from a theological view on the separation of the secular and sacred, and the material and spiritual. Korean missionaries impose such views on Cambodian church planters. In the context of CBC, Ted and his primary patrons demanded that CBC pastors not take another job but focus only on their ministry.

Cho Sungdon, the director of the Social Study of Pastoring Centre, pointed out the difficulties pastors experience in Korea because of denominational bylaws that prohibit pastors from holding a secular job. He argued that terminating this law would be helpful for pastors who already take graveyard shift jobs or otherwise dangerous jobs, to avoid being caught by the church or denomination.⁵³

Ted also had a negative view on pastors taking bi-vocational careers because he felt CBC pastors were not mature enough:

In reality, we noticed that when they become bi-vocational, they would not focus on the church work, which is our original goal. So we decide to continue our support and coach (or manage) them – that was much better than the other option. Based on their spiritual maturity, we felt it was too early for them to transition to bi-vocational ministry (Int. 67, Macro; 2, 9).

Ted admitted that he discouraged the CBC pastors from getting a job other than doing church ministry, “We yell at them for getting a second job and accusing them that they are not fully committing to the church” (Int. 67, Macro; 15). This resembles the situation in Russia which I observed in my work in Siberia; local Russian church planters were frustrated with Korean missionaries who insisted that they only serve as a pastor and not hold on to a secular job, claiming that they should learn to trust God to provide for their needs.

⁵³ The Christian Times (Korea), <http://tinyurl.com/gsv56yu>, accessed on 26 Feb. 2016.

P91 confirmed Ted's negative attitude about bi-vocational jobs by stating, "Some of them they lack but they said just only the supporter cannot allow them to do another job or another work for support church" (Int. 89, Macro; 5-6, 18). He added that he can become self-sustaining if he can become a bi-vocational pastor, "I can work at a factory and get \$400 because I speak English, but because I am from the CBC, with the small support, we still serve God" (Field Note, Vol. 3, 23).

In 2010, a brief survey among New Life Church pastors from eleven regions of Cambodia was conducted. Out of total twenty-three pastors, thirteen pastors (fifty-six percent) were bi-vocational (Appendix B): nine were farmers, two were food selling vendors, one was a teacher, and one was a motorcycle taxi driver. I observed a similar percentage of pastors involved in farming as I travelled through Cambodia. In the case of the New Life Church pastors, considering each family had numerous children and their church weekly offering was below \$20; being a bi-vocational minister was a reasonable choice because they did not have alternatives. Only three pastors received outside support and of those three, two pastors who received \$100 per month did not have an outside job, and the one who received \$30 per month was a farmer.

In view of other Cambodian pastors, Ted demonstrated little awareness of or reflection about his church-planting project in comparison with his Cambodian counterparts. Moreover, bi-vocational ministry in America, especially among Southern Baptists, is an accepted norm of church-planting, so self-sustainable ministry can be possible.⁵⁴ When Ted emphasized an unwritten agreement with the full-time ministry, he implied that their work would be fully funded and their livelihood would be taken

⁵⁴ However, in the case of the American Assemblies of God denomination, their missionaries cannot have a secular job, according to Bill Prevette.

care of by the sponsor, neither of which was fulfilled to the satisfaction of the CBC pastors. Furthermore, this sort of bifurcation of secular versus spiritual is problematical in the development of future church-planting in Cambodia.

6.7.4.3 Ministry Fund

CBC churches' outreach is modelled after the initial CBC mercy outreach to the L-1 area where seemingly unlimited relief goods and funding came from Singapore and Korea, and the churches were engaged in giving gifts and other resources to all the participants (Int. 81). As I have stated before, Ted and the CBC students filled several mini-buses with good from ten forty-foot containers, and visited nearby villages to distribute the goods to the needy village people. The CBC pastors believed that their entire ministry including regular Sunday service and their outreach projects had to be funded entirely by their sponsors. For example, CBC pastor P89f complained that funding for his ministry and outreach was too low, "not enough for ministry" – more staff means more effective ministry, (but) not enough for the ministry" (Int. 89, Macro; 3, 11b). Usually, more staff was necessary if a ministry was growing in number and financially growing, allowing the church to hire new staff to meet their increasing needs. However, P89f argued that because of lack of funds, he could not hire more staff even from more work accomplishment, so there was not much that could be done in his village. Ted alone set P89f's yearly budget.

Several more CBC pastors expressed that their outreach ministry was dependent on support from outside because outreach workers had to be paid, "So we can continually share the gospel or evangelist at the other local place. Actually we have to pay weekly or monthly to pay right?" (Int. 77, Marco; 1, 7a). The 'other local place'

means their outreach projects to other villages near the church, and they paid workers involved in such outreach activities without recruiting volunteers for such projects.

In one case, since the church was located far away from where people live, their church growth depended on having a means of transporting people to their church. As P77 stated, “Sometimes we lack support right? So we cannot continue far away or any local place, so we just use our propose we want to need some help or some support in order to make our group strong” (Int. 77, Marco; 1, 7b). Ted wanted to build a church on the main road near the entrance to the L-1, but far away from the residential area, which meant all the church members had to be transported to the church site.

However, for Ted, it was a symbolic location to show the people passing through L-1 the presence of a Christian church and to warn Muslims not to come up to the L-1 (Int. 88). For P77, full support of his ministry is not an option, and Ted also recognised this and stated that he was thankful for P77 and his wife because they stayed and pastored in such a remote place from which several other CBC pastors had left (Int. 77). Over and over again, the problem of not deciding where they wanted to stay or the kind of ministry they wanted to be involved in was problematical for the CBC pastors, and overall, it is a symptom of a *Gap and Eul* relationship.

Furthermore, their vision for their outreach is also contingent on support from outside. P80a shared, “My vision, I want to open the Kindergarten big like the same day the big one. I need a car to bring the children far, far from here and the member they have good work and have to help the church grow up” (Int. 80, Macro; 1, 8). But this is another case of clients forced to adjust and accommodate to patron’s plan and strategy.

P77 reasoned, “Even the far place but we just pray for support and to help them come to church, we help them transportation” (Int. 77, Macro; 2, 9a), and “We have

enough transportation first, to bring come to church many people and let them understand much about the God's Word. Yes, this is my vision" (Int. 77, Macro; 2, 10b). Then he concluded, "I want to have a truck, or transportation bring many people come to Christ" (Int. 77, Macro; 2, 9b). During this interview, it was clear to me that he was not only sharing his vision for the outreach, but also seeking financial support from me. Seeking a patron has become the standard way of relationships for several CBC pastors who they either sought you to be a patron or asked for better patron connections, even during the interviews.

In the L-9, P89a, for example, argued that a lack of funding made their Christmas outreach size smaller than what they were capable of conducting. He said, "We can give more Christmas gifts to children – we can have 200 children come. This Christmas I bought 150 gifts but it does not enough" (Int. 89, Macro; 1, 4b). P89a holds that the amount of funding determines the number of gifts, and the number of gifts determines the number of children who come to the church outreach programmes. So, the Christmas outreach budget determined the outcome success or failure of the outreach.

In another case of the L-9 area, P91 explained his need for full ministry support because he was competing with a Korean missionary church which gives \$5 to each member per month, and which has now grown to be more than 100 in number. According to P91, all the members receiving five dollars per month were now "Praying, praying, praying for \$10 each month" (Int. 91, Macro; 2, 9), shouting out loud together in unison in the Korean style of prayer during their Sunday service. He claimed his Cambodian friend, a pastor hired to preach at that church each Sunday, witnessed this prayer but not the Korean missionary who cannot speak Khmer.

Then P91 added that many of his church members joined the Korean church that gives a salary (Field Note, Vol. 3, 24a), and said that his entire church ministry has to “be free,” to compete with that Korean church that gives money: “everything we do free for them. So we pay for everything, so we have some offering from them, and then we pay for biscuit also” (Int. 91, Macro; 5, 17). P91 sounded frustrated by this Korean missionary in his town, although he tried hard to cover up his frustration. About six months after the interview, Ted informed me that P91 had left the ministry and taken a job as a policeman in Phnom Penh. He had moved his family, as his wife had also taken a secular job to help provide for the family.

6.8 Next Level Sponsorship: Kindergarten

Ted stated, “When we began ten years ago, self-sustainability issue was not important for us because the survival of church in the un-churched area was our most urgent matter. But I see how time has changed and becoming self-sustaining church has become an important topic. Especially considering how pastors are still dependent on my support” (Int. 67, Macro; 8).⁵⁵

After church buildings are built, and churches have settled down, another sponsoring role for Ted emerged in 2013, that of raising funds for establishing kindergarten facilities in all the CBC church buildings. This strategy intended to provide monthly funding for pastors and to allow CBC churches to become self-sustaining. Ted stated, “The circumstances have changed since these churches have settled down and the area has developed somewhat. Therefore, from last year, we are trying to open a kindergarten in all churches” (Int. 67, Macro; 4, 8a).

⁵⁵ This quote was repeated for emphasis.

Ted travelled to Myanmar and observed many successful models of kindergarten-running churches, which have become self-sustaining, and he argued, "I feel confident this method will work. But we have to make sure that we provide an excellent facility for each church" (Int. 67, Macro; 4, 9). "Even in the countryside, we cannot provide a mediocre facility, but kindergarten should have an excellent facility" (Int. 67, Macro; 4, 11c). Although it may be of good intention, this is the case of one problem leading to another problem, first raising fund for ministry, pastors' salaries, and then church buildings, then raising more funds for the kindergarten. Ted, as the FOB, is still connecting the CBC churches to the financial resources of primary patrons from Singapore and Korea, and he admitted that he was having a difficult time raising such great amounts of funds (Int. 90).

After fifteen years of church-planting, a few major changes took place partly because of natural life cycle changes. These affected the life of the CBC as an institution and, thereby, affected the relational dynamics between the CBC pastors and Ted. First, the CBC pastors are getting older, between mid-thirties to mid-forties, and have been the leading pastors in their ministry for a long period. Second, Ted's ability to support them had decreased because support from the primary patrons had decreased and also because Cambodia drastically increased the amount of funds needed.

Some CBC pastors wanted to be part of the decision-making of the CBC as an institution and of its management. For example, P73 complained about Ted's not sharing his policy or management burden with him (Int. 73), although he felt that he was capable and wanted to be part of the management decision-making body. P89a expressed his desire for more direct involvement with his primary patrons, saying, "They come once a year or sometime twice a year to help that island (outreach) and I

think it is not enough but we understand they don't have enough time to come often" (Int. 89, Marco: 1, 15c). However, Ted, as the FOB, did not connect them directly with his patrons from Korea or Singapore. Ted argued that since funding does not come from one church but many churches, they would have too many churches to manage and connect. Here, the CBC pastors are seeking power to have some control over the decisions in the church planting project goes beyond finance and is a form of a power-struggle between Ted and them.

Furthermore, Ted holds that by connecting them directly there are potential problems because of the immaturity and opportunistic attitude of pastors, who will ultimately harm the church and themselves. Sarah shared about a case in the L-18, where one of CBC's best church planters, who built a church and congregation of 240, was ruined by funding from Singapore as he had too much funding too quickly, and now he is a pastor no longer ministering but just became a school principal, with reports of financial mismanagement (Int. 63). She also reported that several CBC pastors had mismanaged funds, which was discovered and confronted, and that they are still making payments for the funds they stole from the church.

P84 also shared about one of his pastors to make a point about immaturity in a leader of a church: "He was 25 years old when he came to the CBC, and he was with me for 13 years. One Sunday his church received a special offering of \$2,000, and right away he and his church leaders planned a retreat at Kampot resort and presented P84 with a budget sheet of \$3,000, requesting \$1,000 support" (Field Note, Vol. 3, 14b). P84's point was that even after 13 years of training, the young pastor had not yet accepted his leadership role of a senior pastor of his church, one of which is to balance the budget of his church activities without outside support.

6.9 Summary

This chapter explored the concepts of the patron as FOB in the patron-client relationship literature and data and discussed how they are played out in the CBC context. In my framework of a case study of the CBC, I drew on a patron as a broker from the literature and data from the interviews: First, the patron as FOB in the CBC. Second, the decision-making process as the source of tensions i.e., making decisions on church-planting location, church name, worship format, and budget setting for the ministry and salaries. Third, I presented the DEF Church of Phnom Penh as a sample mini-case study that examined and analysed the worship service via the patron-client dynamics. Overall, the data demonstrated how little social cohesion and social changes had taken place within the CBC church-planting; instead, it demonstrated *Gap & Eul* relationships between Ted and the CBC pastors.

Chapter Seven Ted as Patron Partner

7.1 Introduction

Firstly, this chapter discusses the concepts of the patron as a partner in the patron-client relationship literature i.e., the scope of exchange and the differentiation aspect, and it discusses how they are played out in the CBC context to form multiple dependencies. Then this chapter presents evidence that Ted as patron began to have partnerships with a small number of the CBC pastors, mostly those who have had established churches for long periods of time. What I learned provides helpful differentiation between expressed ideal practices of CBC sponsorship as well as identifies what some CBC pastors want their sponsor-to-client relationship to move toward i.e., the partnership or '*Chab dai*'.

I hold that the analysis both questions and affirms, at different points, the predominant narrative of Ted on relational solidarity versus the Cambodian pastors' desiring and requesting more structural equality, which are the principles to underpin the actual practice of the CBC church-planting experience. Ted wants solidarity in seeking unity and agreement, especially among his CBC pastors, with a common goal of planting churches in all locations of Cambodia plus mutual support within a group for that goal. On the other hand, the critical concerns for some CBC pastors are their equality in making decisions and setting goals for themselves and in seeking autonomy.

The working definition of a partnership for the CBC church-planting, adopting part of Rickett's definition, is the following: Two or more autonomous bodies sharing complementary gifts, abilities, and resources to achieve a common goal of church-planting (Rickett 2002: 4). I observed that the '*Chab dai*' relationship, both expressed and nuanced, was what Ted and some CBC church planters wanted and openly expressed. After completing the fieldwork in 2015, I identified three major reasons for

Ted's desire (Int. 88): 1) Ted's funding from his patrons for church-planting had dried up which indicates his power as an FOB through financial support was ending; 2) Ted felt he was getting older and did not have the same zeal and strength as before, as church-planting reached a mature stage and he alone could not manage the project; 3) Ted feels his CBC pastors are now mature and ready to be on their own.

For the CBC church planters, the understanding of partnership, for a real '*Chab dai*' relationship to occur requires help: 1) The CBC pastors must overcome the aid dependency themselves. When Ted was their patron father, the CBC pastors' dependency on him was an inherent part of their relationship, but as Ted moved to a patron sponsor (FOB) role, his support was limited, and the pastors' eventual independence should take effect. 2) The CBC pastors, themselves, felt that they must have an autonomous plan to support a self-sustaining church without relying on the funding of any outside FOB or primary patrons.

Regarding how the CBC pastors and churches understood and defined the partnership, they shared conflicts concerning the control of church plants, especially in the decision-making process. The data from the interviews indicate that although CBC church-planting is a joint effort, Ted and the primary patrons were in complete control over the goals and decisions for the churches. Similar patterns exist in Western mission practices by Bakker, and he argues that although the self-descriptive narrative of American churches supports 'embracing collective actions frames to inspire and propel their sister church relationships', the Western missionaries are firmly in the driver's seat (Bakker 2014: 123), and thereby neither true partnership nor autonomy is taking place.

According to Winter, "The Christian missionary who was loved as an evangelist and liked as a teacher, may find himself resented as an administrator" (1999: 256),

arguing that a missionary who was once useful as a founder of a church plant can become an obstacle to the development of the local church if he tries to exercise his influence and control too long, hindering a client's progress toward autonomy. Ross further argues that even the partnership as a mode of interaction has been an initiative of the Western partner imposed on the partner in the South who is thereby obliged to respond to it (2008). In other words, clients cannot be true partners if they are told to become partners, regardless of their wishes and if choices are not initiated on their own.

Regarding the healthy partnership in the church-planting process, Julie Ma explains, "This partnership (with national leaders and workers) through mutual trust was required in every aspect of church-planting and development: initial church-planting, continuing evangelism of the community, the construction of church building, and leadership development" (2015: 265). In the case of the CBC church-planting, a partnership was not part of the initial stage of the project, but its importance and need evolved out of the process.

In his article, 'The Big Picture: Accountability Issues from a Korean Missiologist's Perspective, in *Accountability in Missions: Korean and Western Case Studies*, Timothy Park states the following problems regarding the partnership between Korean missionaries and national churches in the mission field:

1. Missionaries (Korean) tend to select mission fields based on personal preference or the recommendation of their mission sending body, instead of upon invitation from the receiving body.
2. Missionaries tend to be involved in ministries they prefer versus responding to unmet needs of the field.
3. Missionaries tend to conduct independent ministries instead of collaborating with local people and the local church, thus wasting energy and funds.
4. Missionaries tend to plant denominational churches or establish denominational seminaries in the field, instead of helping ministries of existing local churches and agencies (Bonk 2011: 57).

Korean churches cause confusion by sending missionaries into the field without consulting national churches or missions already in the field. Korean churches overlap

in personnel and material resources and become obstacles to the local churches' path to become autonomous. Park holds that churches and missions need to avoid paternalism and missionary methods that depend on paid agents; instead, they should develop methods that help indigenize the local churches as self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating as were the early foreign missionaries in Korea (2015: 12).

7.2 Scope of Exchange of CBC

Scott states that traditional patrons of Southeast Asia served as all-purpose protectors and that the scope of exchange to clients is complex. However, he argues that the scope of contemporary patron-client relationship exchanges tended to be increasingly simple, narrow, less comprehensive, and also less stable (1972a: 106). I observed this diachronic shift between Ted and the CBC pastors. For the mission-house stage pastors, Ted served multiple roles as all-purpose protector, like a father, providing not only the means of livelihood but acting also as a teacher and counsellor. However, from the second and the third stages, most of the CBC graduates, as clients, did not have the same relationship with Ted or with the CBC. They had multiple patrons from other NGOs and FBOs, as different patrons met different client needs of clients. Ted even encouraged these arrangements because he lacked funding to support the increasing numbers of clients and overall budget increases of the budget resulting from Cambodian inflation (Int. 88, Macro, 4b, 6b). However, this branching out became problematical in the overall church-planting project strategy of the CBC.

The scope of exchange tended to be increasingly simple. Upon graduation from the CBC, one student could have multiple choices of employment from different denominational organisations, either for ministry or for other employment opportunities

within the organization. In some cases, a graduate can work for one FBO yet receive support from other NGOs on a project basis, thus having multiple patrons. This is problematical at a structural level because the CBC church-planting projects are based on personal relationships. The CBC cannot continue to plant or duplicate their original church-planting model in this mode.

As stated earlier, Ted, as patron, even encouraged such multiple partnerships so that CBC graduates could be more financially secure. For example, in the case of CBC church in the L-8, a Korean church built a church building, but a Singaporean church provided the monthly salaries, and different individuals, FBOs, and NGOs supported different church programs and projects separately (Int. 88, 89). This is problematical on several fronts. First, as Godfrey states, the process of modernization tends to create multiple dependencies, each of less intensity, rather than concentrating dependence on one person (2002: 107),¹ so the CBC pastors have to work with multiple patrons on whom they are dependent (Int. 80, 88). This time-consuming process takes them away from their church-planting project.

Second, it gives room for abuse, as in the case of P73. P73 created a funding source from multiple patrons and raised more funds than needed (Int. 73, 81), without reporting these funding sources to Ted. Although Ted was not aware, many of P73's peers knew about it, and it created tensions and jealousy among them.

Third, although the original plan of the CBC was to raise Christian workers, without personal and relational connections to Ted and the CBC, some of the CBC graduates do not even attend church.

¹ It is their analysis of social change based on observations in Central Africa.

7.3 Differentiation between Clusters in CBC

There is more differentiation between contemporary patron-client relationship clusters in Cambodia. Traditionally, as differentiation occurred within the local societies, it gave rise to distinctive patron-client clusters. For example, a landowner had distinctive patron-client relationships with his tenants, and a businessman with his labourers. This process of differentiation among clusters provided the potential basis for durable group interests and an institutional distinctiveness (Scott 1972a: 106). However, in the case of contemporary Cambodia, foreign NGOs' and FBOs' creation of different projects based on their agenda has diversified patron-client clusters. For example, farmers as clients now must deal with several patrons, some specializing in farming equipment, some in the kinds of rice they can grow, some in the financing of the next crop, and so on.

In the case of the CBC, there was more differentiation between patron-client relationship clusters in later stages compared to that of the mission-house stage. For example, at the mission-house stage, all were committed to planting churches for the CBC, but in the later stages, most of the graduates had the option to join other ministries, primarily other Korean missionaries (Int. 81, Macro; 11, 21). The CBC pastors had a variety of career choices and opportunities, primarily because funding from Singapore and Korea had dried up and costly church-planting projects were not self-sustainable. However, this is problematical because multiple dependencies formed within the CBC church-planting projects.

7.4 Ted as a Partner

In the context of the CBC church-planting, initially, a partnership was never part of the plan. Ted explained, "The partnership issue is quite recent issues because, in the

beginning, we did not even have such concept” (Int. 88, Macro; 3, 6). However, Ted recognised and admitted the need for partnership between him and the CBC pastors: "We recognise that we have to become partners to one another and need to pursue that direction, but the consensus by observation is that they are still immature in that area. The sending churches (the primary patron) warned and advised to us about the danger of becoming partners too soon” (Int. 88, Macro; 3, 4b).

According to P94c and P82b, Ted was a good and a wise leader who listened to them. This was a consensus especially for those who lived with Ted during the mission-house stage when the relationships were more personal and communal (Int. 94, Int. 82). Although Ted, in his father role, established a two-way communication to enable the CBC pastors to express their opinions, neither he nor other primary patrons made organised efforts to ascertain the CBC pastors’ view on any critical decisions of the CBC church-planting project. CBC, as an organization, did not have any policies that required the leadership to listen to the CBC pastors and gain their opinions. Communication happened more at a personal level than at an institutional level. It is not surprising, then, that one of the major complaints of CBC pastors regarding Ted, as FOB, and their primary patrons, was that they did not share in the CBC decision-making process.

7.5 CBC Pastors as Partners

From the interviews’ data, I identified different views about partnership from different stages of the CBC pastors i.e., mission-house stage versus early and established CBC stages. For example, P82a and P82b, who were part of the mission- house stage, mentioned the term ‘partnership’ seven times in one interview. P82a stated, “Since I

have my own independent organization, like when my friend everywhere. I am strong in Cambodia when I speak I reflect on my organisation. I work with you in partnership” (Int. 82, Macro; 3, 5). In this statement, P82a said that he is autonomous and does not receive any support from Ted.

During the interview, P82a emphatically stated, “Yes, partnership and I love that too. I love being working together. I do not like to be working under someone” (Int. 82, Macro; 3, 4b). P82a started his own NGO in Cambodia, sponsored by a USA based organization involved in mercy ministry and developmental projects aimed at helping poor Cambodian children in the L-1 area. As a head of his NGO organization, he wants an equal partnership with Ted, who is a head figure of the CBC. From institution to institution, he wants to have relationships, but it does not always work that way.

P82b also stated that the relationship between the CBC pastors and Ted could not progress farther, "unless the CBC is willing or consider a partnership with people, publish and administration, transparency accountability, you know, the allocation of responsibility” (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 10c). P82b is the first one to mention transparency in the interview, indicating that the CBC does not publish its policy on administration and accountability. These are private matters, only between Ted and primary patrons.

P73, who was also part of the mission-house stage, sought true partnership but expressed his frustration with Ted’s not sharing the decision-making process with the elder pastors of the CBC. He refers to those who graduated from the CBC early and have established church plants. He added, “But I did not know he gets his support from. He (Ted) never tells about this policy” (Int. 73, Marco; 5, 11b). P73 thought he was mature enough and had been in the CBC institution long enough to know the overall

financial support structure of the CBC, but such information was not available to him, either through policy publications or private instruction.

When I asked about the ownership of the ministry and building, P75a stated that more than ownership of a building, he wants "Partnership" (Int. 75; Macro; 3, 18). Although P75a was not part of the mission-house stage, his ministry was well established, and he was older and also, as one of the founding pastors of seven churches in the L-1, he had many years in ministry. Although the term 'partnership' is not defined among the CBC pastors, they used the term to describe the next step relationship with Ted, where they would be equal with Ted in decision making and setting goals for their own ministries.

As I stated earlier, these Cambodian pastors want the current sponsorship relationship to move toward a partnership relationship or '*Chab dai*'. P82a and P82b expressed their desire and requested more structural equality, specifically in the decision-making process (Int. 82). However, the CBC pastors from the early and the established CBC stages did not express their desire to be a partner with Ted because they were working with sponsorship issues and did not seek autonomy at this point (P94a, P94d, and P94e).

In a *Gap & Eul* relationship, the *Gap* not only makes the decisions but also sets the agenda itself as is evident in the dynamics between Ted and the CBC pastors. A twofold observation is obvious: 1) Some mature CBC pastors want to go beyond a *Eul* relationship with Ted, not only to share in decision-making, but also to help set the agenda itself. 2) Some CBC pastors are comfortable with their *Eul* role, and their major concern is securing support for the long-term and expecting Ted to play the role of a FOB until they are established in a church location.

7.6 Decision-Making

One of the major partnership questions that CBC pastors have raised regards knowing who makes decisions for the names of the churches, their locations, their finances and programmes. In this question, they ask ‘who is in the driver’s seat of control?’ (Bakker 2014: 123). CBC pastors argued that if only Ted is in the driver's seat of control, then neither true partnership nor autonomy is possible. P82a and P82b expressed that they wanted Ted to lead the CBC as a CEO of an organization who manages the whole organization from the top but not micro-manage all the projects, either small or large. For example, the CBC’s water well projects for the churches. According to P82b, "But if I am alone, I do everything alone, the money ... dig the well I go and see. For me, it is not going to go anywhere” (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 10b). He referred to Ted’s personally visiting all the well-digging sites of the CBC churches, which he thought unnecessary, and in this way, he challenged Ted's micro-managing leadership style.

P82a also supported P82b by arguing that when CBC church-planting was localized at the L-1, micro-managing worked, but not when there were twenty-one churches all over Cambodia when visiting each site was a significant challenge and nearly physically impossible. Although P82a spoke in the spirit of being concerned for Ted’s physical well-being during travel, the undertone of his voice held frustration and disapproval of Ted’s micro-managing leadership (Int. 82). P82a argued that there is still no procedure that enables the CBC pastors to join in decision-making, and he wants to make it a CBC policy requirement that CBC pastors must be so involved.

P82b also holds that transparency of finance has to be part of the organization and the need for a board of directors as he stated, "For me if I want to donate or sponsor

someone, if that man just alone I will not. I need to see the board director, accountant administration, who responsible for the money” (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 10d). P82b holds, “In order for people to sponsor me, they need to know who is my director (and) board (of) director. Who is accountable for that money to expand, who going to track, who going to be responsible for that?” (Int. 82, Macro; 4, 10a). P82b’s point is that he would not personally support an organization where only one person made the crucial decisions. In the case of the CBC, that person was Ted. This topic leads to a more in-depth look at the funding issue of the CBC. Although Ted wished for relational solidarity, the data indicated that it was the financial support that held together the CBC church-planting project and their relationship. This concept will be discussed further in the next section.

7.7 Funding

One of the areas of broader inquiry is the question of finances and resource transfers in the CBC church-planting, as finances are a big part of mission partnerships. In Bakker’s study, the ‘architects of rhetoric’ in the sister congregation movement insist that any financial assistance is a by-product or at most a second-tier goal in these relationships (2014: 132). However, Ugandan pastors, in Bakker’s study, frame the financial assistance as more central to the relationship. The CBC data adhered more closely to the perspective of the Ugandan pastors.

According to P91, in observing the Western missionary work in the L-9 area, he criticized that once the financial aid had ended, all their mission work was terminated (Int. 91). P91 made this statement in contrast to his own work and to that of other CBC projects; however, the data from interviews indicated that many CBC pastors relocated

to another ministry because of lack of finance e.g., a church building had not been provided even after many years of the church's establishment, when their basic needs were not met, or when the pastors recognized that their support was low when compared to that of other NGO or FBO funding. .

Moreover, regarding the CBC church-planting, the primary patron, who provides the most funds, determines the kinds of projects for the CBC churches. For example, some churches can conduct extensive outreach when others cannot even maintain the primary church programmes due to a lack of funding. This "choice" was determined by the primary patron who pushed for outreach, regardless of the wishes of the CBC pastors. The amount of funding determined the scope of activities in all the CBC church plants, which is problematical from the inception of the project.

7.8 Preparing for Financial Independence

For an equal partnership to take place, the CBC churches have to become independent churches, and few CBC pastors expressed their desire to become independent and autonomous so they could relate to Ted as a true partner. P94b argued for the following:

You mean that besides that we have a partnership with Reverend Ted? For me, if we work like the partnership with him, and the one that we were thinking in the future that we want to serve at our church, so with our people that we just prepare already that everyone we want like independence church (Int. 94, Marco; 4, 20a).

P94b held that no partnership could exist if they are in the stage of sponsorship. He added, "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?" (Int. 94, Marco; 4, 20b). P94b claimed that his

church has to start preparing to become independent. He thought he could achieve it soon, and explained, “I just depart from CBC like four or five years, and now 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, Marco; 4, 20c).

When P94b stated that once elders of his church are in place, his church will run without any support, he seemed to refer to the Korean Presbyterian church value system, where the elders of the church provide the major portion of the church's budget. In one incident in Korea a few years ago, while I was ministering at a local Korean church, the senior pastor of that church mentioned to me in passing that one of his elders had to step down from his role because his company was bankrupt. I was surprised by this, and I asked, “Why does his business failing require him to step down from his role as an elder at your church?” To my question, the surprised pastor responded, “Because he no longer can support this church, of course!”

For P94b to take such position is problematic on many fronts: First, his church is modelled after a Korean Presbyterian church without a critical assessment of his situation and his cultural context. Second, the Korean model itself is not a successful model, since as I stated earlier, the majority of Korean churches in Korea are not financially independent, so modelling his church after a failed Korea model is not advisable.

However, P89e, one of the younger CBC pastors, felt that certain aspects of support must continue, even if they become financially independent:

What we need the medical partner that's what we decided, that is very importance...I give them the Bible teaching learn and live together as a family. When we face the problem of the sickness, when people sick and we very worried, and we pray together, we try to bring them to the hospital too far. Within two weeks ago, there're two church member are very seriously with the sickness,

we try to bring them to the L-9 hospital, spend a lots of money for them, try to helping, ok finish the treatment then brought them back to L-7 Church and two days ago one more church member they also not so good and I brought to Phnom Penh hospital (Int. 89, 14-15).

The point is that although they may be able to become financially independent, certain aspects of ministry need continual support e.g., Korean medical teams to serve villages and patrons to pay for certain high medical bills. Nevertheless, many CBC pastors are now discussing among themselves about becoming financially independent as is evident in the interview data.

7.9 Summary

This chapter discussed the concepts of the patron as a partner in the patron-client relationship literature i.e., the scope of exchange and differentiation aspect, and it confirmed that these formed multiple dependencies for CBC pastors. Then this chapter presented evidence that Ted as patron began to have the partnership with a small number of the CBC pastors. This chapter explored the concepts of partnership in participation and the CBC's decision-making process. The CBC pastors as partners were analysed regarding decision-making and funding, and it was apparent that they were starting to prepare for independence, seeking autonomy to start a true partnership with Ted. One of the major concerns for the CBC pastors is equality in making decisions and implementing their own decisions in their churches. I hold that Ted's role of a FOB needs a transition to become a partner, but a true partnership requires two autonomous bodies sharing complementary gifts, abilities, and resources to achieve the common goal of the church-planting set by both parties.

The roles of Ted and the CBC pastors as partners can help both parties assure self-sustaining church plants. Although only a few CBC church plants are at this mature

state, I argue that a genuine partnership of trust can form between Ted and the CBC pastors as they develop into this partnership role, one that will facilitate independence and autonomy.

Chapter Eight Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study investigated and analysed the patron-client relationships between Ted and the CBC pastors in their church-planting projects and asked the primary research question, ‘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?’ The secondary questions were: 1) What is the aid dependency in the context of Cambodia? 2) What is the role of patron-client relationship in Cambodia? 3) What is the role of patron-client relationship in Korea? 4) How does the patron-client relationship differ from Cambodia to Korea?

Although social studies currently defined patron-client dynamics primarily in material and political terms, I observed that intangible relational assets existed between Ted and the CBC pastors. This thesis demonstrates that Ted, as patron benevolent father, plays a significant role in developing the CBC pastors as church planters and then helps them to access the necessary resources to establish their churches, eventually to become self-sustaining. Moreover, when that process takes place, the client can progress from the role of a dependent child to an equal partner. At the same time, problems emerged from the data: Ted’s benevolent father patron role created a tendency for the CBC pastors’ dependency and made becoming independent more challenging for them.

Using a case study of twenty-one CBC church plants in Cambodia, I have studied the tripartite role of Ted, the CBC pastors, and aid dependency. First, this chapter aims to summarize the key findings of each chapter, and second, to reflect on the implications

of these findings for aid dependency from 1998 to 2015.

In this concluding chapter, I presented a discussion together with the key research outcomes, its contributions, its research impacts, and its limitations. This chapter also offers suggestions for any future inquiry, reflecting on the implications of the further research of patron-client relationships in the missional studies in Cambodia and Southeast Asia.

8.2 Limitations

Although the study has achieved its purposes and aims, I am aware of various limitations. First, I acknowledge my limitations with the Cambodian language. I cannot speak nor understand Khmer, so where possible, interviews were conducted in English with Khmer translators. However, in the case of the CBC pastors who had studied English for three years or more, it was simpler to conduct interviews in English than in Khmer, the latter which required working with translations of the interviews.

There are several inevitable methodological limitations due to the intrinsic nature of this study. This study is based on field research that I conducted. I have selectively collected data because it was impossible for me to collect all the data in the research field in time and space available. As a result, I could not observe or hear all the conflict situations in the research field. I have spent over seven years preparing this study, part of the time in the research and a full three years in collecting data so that the data was more than enough to proceed with my analysis and interpretation.

I acknowledge that there may be two kinds of biases in the study, in analysis and interpretation of the data. Firstly, there may be my own cultural bias. As a Korean American, I am subjected to my cultural norms and perspectives when I view patron-

client relationships. To understand this cultural bias, I consulted several Cambodian and Koreans regarding the results of data analysis and interpretation. Second, there may be biases of the informants in the interviews or questionnaires. I could observe that two groups who were involved in patron-client relationships had different interpretations of the specific concerns. I also found that in the first phase field research, some participants answered questionnaires falsely to ‘save face’, which is an act of a shame based culture. I have tried to minimise these informants’ biases by using in-depth interviews and conducting participant observation as the primary data collection method.

These limitations are naturally related to a suggestion for further study. Collaborative research in a multiple case study setting is necessary to overcome the limitations addressed above and to collect fuller data from other parts of Cambodia. A collaborative research group should consist of Cambodians and Koreans whose cultural backgrounds are diverse so that their culturally diverse perspectives can contribute to the analysis and interpretation of data more objectively.

8.3 Research Outcomes

As I stated in the introduction chapter, the aid dependency is an essential theme within mission Studies, and this theme has been dominantly used against nationals in a transnational mission situation. In other words, within missions and mission studies, there is a growing concern about the dependency of those evangelized on the mission agency which then leads to important questions about the sustainability and continuity of the mission work done when the mission agency and missionaries withdraw from the mission field. Cambodia is not an exception in this matter.

This thesis reviews the problem of aid dependency within mission studies, conducting qualitative research of Korean mission to Cambodia in general and Ted's CBC in particular, and using the patron-client relationship of social anthropology and a case study as the methodology. Although I address an existing patron-client situation as I observe specific groups, South Korea and Cambodia, both countries previously excluded by researchers. For example, in the seminal work by Eisenstadt on the patron-client relationships of twenty-nine countries, although Cambodia is mentioned as one of relatively homogeneous Southeast Asian countries, his study covered only four Southeast Asian countries: Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, and Burma. Korea was also excluded in the study, although he included China, Japan, and India – covering Japan twice, first in general terms, and the second, covering modern Japan in a comparative study of patron-client relationships in the USA and the U.S.S.R. (1984: vi).

The following are the research outcomes to mission studies: First, I have confirmed Cambodian churches' vulnerability to heavy reliance on external financial assistance by examining the historical and current state of Cambodian churches, both from literature and the first phase interviews. However, my research progressed beyond the financial analyses and considered relational dynamics in the patron-client relationship between Ted and CBC pastors. This thesis demonstrates that the study of the patron-client relationship between Ted and CBC pastors is a useful method of understanding the relational dynamics between them, especially within the discourse of mission studies.

Second, I discovered the tripartite roles of patron-client dynamics between Ted and CBC pastors: 1) Father and Children 2) Sponsor and Clients 3) Partner to Partner. This results from the three different stages of CBC: 1) Mission-house stage (1998-

2002); 2) Early CBC stage (2003-2007); and 3) Established CBC stage (2008-2015).

For the participatory study, I chose three churches, and while some differences existed between the Phnom Penh Church and the rest of the rural churches because of their locations and economic status associated with church memberships, the level of patron-client dynamics between Ted and CBC pastors revealed that the Phnom Penh Church was not very different from the other church plants. However, there were significant differences based on the several stages of CBC growth and the entry point of the CBC pastors. Differences were notable especially among the mission-house stage pastors and the later graduates, as Ted had taken three distinctive progressive roles: first, patron as a father; second, patron as a sponsor, then, third, patron as a partner. This was the result of analysing the interview transcript and coding the key term and concepts. The example of this process is presented in Appendices F and G.

Third, the findings from the data show both positive and negative aspects of dependency depending on the different stages of the CBC church-planting project. From the analysis of the data, I argued for several positive effects. Healthy relational dependency existed between Ted and the CBC pastors in the beginning. Basic needs were provided for the CBC pastors. The CBC pastors were able to focus on their studies (ministry) without worrying about finances or daily livelihood. Strong relational bonds were established between Ted and the CBC pastors, both individually and with the CBC as an institution. CBC pastors experienced Ted's unconditional Christian love and acceptance.

However, a few adverse effects were also observed. There was a prolonged dependency on Ted and his support. The CBC pastors lacked motivation. I hold that once the numbers of the CBC student body grew and the CBC church-planting reached

a different stage, Ted could no longer play the role of father, and his personal involvement and personal care were insufficient.

Fourth, I analysed the partnership dynamics between Ted and the CBC pastors in the decision-making process and funding concerns and observed that the CBC pastors were, starting to prepare for independence and seeking autonomy to start a true partnership with Ted. I observed that one of the major concerns for the CBC pastors is their equality in making decisions and implementing their own decisions in their churches. I stated that Ted's role of a sponsor needs a transition to that of a partner because a true partnership requires two autonomous bodies sharing complementary gifts, abilities, and resources to achieve the common goal of a church-planting set by both parties.

Fifth, I hold that one of the indicator identifying hierarchical dynamic within a patron-client relationship in Korea is the usage of honorifics. For example, 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 polite 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).

Sixth, as I mentioned in Chapter four, aid dependency is neither new nor Cambodia specific, but unlike most of the studies done up to this point at the macro-level - government or NGO level – my research documented stories specifically from Cambodian pastors. From this unexamined research area, I have uncovered new data through giving and receiving narratives at the grassroots level which contributed different and fresh insights previously unrecognised in the on-going debate on aid dependency as a body of knowledge.

Finally this research offers an alternative reading of aid dependency after conducting first-hand fieldwork in Cambodia on Korean missions amongst the Cambodians, the theme which has been dominantly used against nationals in a transnational mission situation within mission studies. These research findings will make a contribution in the future cross-cultural mission research in Cambodia, promoting awareness on patron-client relationship between missionaries and Cambodians. The research implications and application will be presented in the next section.

8.4 Research Implications and Application

These are the implications of the research. First, the findings of the research offers a new interpretation of aid dependency, gained through reading its structure afresh within Korean mission to Cambodia. Social studies currently define patron-client dynamics primarily in material and political terms, but Ted and the CBC pastors also had intangible relational assets as Ted acted as a patron/father. This relational view is an essential contribution to the debate on aid dependency within the discourse of mission studies.

Second, within the findings of the tripartite roles of Ted, I hold that once the numbers of the CBC student body grew and the CBC church-planting reached a different stage, Ted could no longer play the role of father, and his personal involvement and personal care were insufficient. The implication is that Ted's role shifted from a patron as a father to that of a sponsor or a FOB to meet the demand of the growth and organizational change of the CBC. The future cross-cultural mission study can incorporate this finding from the beginning stage of their research.

Third, as I stated earlier that in order to achieve the common goal of a church-planting, Ted's role of a sponsor needs a transition to that of a partner. I suggest that a possible solution to the negative dependencies between missionaries and the evangelized is through a partnership between them. The implication is that the roles of Ted and the CBC pastors as partners can help both parties assure self-sustaining church plants in the future. This finding led me to the next research contribution.

Fourth, I discovered *Gap & Eul* relationship between Ted and CBC pastors by observing the usage of *Banmal* and *Jeondeanmal*, which is an original contribution in Korean mission studies. I hold that Ted's usage of *Banmal* (a non-polite form of speech) and *Jeondeanmal* (a Polite form of speech) in reference to and speaking to CBC pastors shows the hierarchical dynamics of the patron-client relationship, which can be identified as *Gap & Eul* relationship of Korea. The future cross-cultural mission research can incorporate this *Gap & Eul* relationship in their research fields, and compare and contrast the findings from the different locations in Cambodia or other countries.

These are the application of this research. First, this thesis will be rewritten as a lecture and will be shared at the Phnom Penh Forum for Korean missionaries in Cambodia, e.g., Chiang Mai 2019 Phnom Penh Forum. Second, I will make this patron-client relationship lecture at existing Korean Bible colleges in Cambodia and Korea. Third, further research on Ted becoming a partner to his clients by continuing dialogue with Ted and participate in the process. Fourth, by making patron-client relationship lecture as a CBC curriculum, so future church planters can learn from their history. Fifth, making patron-client relationship lectures available to the denominational level forum and seminar at denominational level in Korea, for consulting the denominational

level leaders. Sixth, by presenting my thesis as a paper at the Patronage Symposium in Beirut, Lebanon in October 2018,¹ I will bring the patron-client relationship into the context of the New Testament.

8.5 Conclusion

The aid dependency issue in Cambodia has been my preoccupation for the last ten years, and I have witnessed transnational leaders and missionaries accusing Cambodian dependency as one of the major reason for unsustainability of their church planting effort. This qualitative research on Ted and the CBC church-planting project addressed an existing aid dependency problem and confirmed CBC pastors' vulnerability in their heavy reliance on external financial assistance. However, it also progressed beyond the financial analyses and considered relational dynamics in the context of tripartite roles of patron-client dynamics, which is an alternative reading of the theme of Cambodian aid dependency on Korean missions.

Potentially, if a collaborative research group consists of Cambodians, Koreans, and other ethnic groups, whose cultural backgrounds are diverse, research on aid dependency in the church planting effort, and especially in the context of *Gap & Eul*, will prove that “partnering” their culturally diverse perspectives can contribute to mission studies for the next generation of transnational workers.

¹ <http://honorshame.com/patronage/>, accessed on 15 August 2018. The following is the statement about the symposium: This symposium will gather leading thinkers and practitioners from diverse contexts to develop a multi-disciplinary, biblical, and relevant missiology regarding patronage. One of the speaker will be Dr. David deSilva, Trustees' Distinguished Professor of New Testament, Ashland Theological Seminary, author of *Honor, Patronage, Kinship, & Purity*.

Appendix A Interview List

First Phase Interview: Total of 44 Interviews from March to December 2010

#	Name	Church/ Organization	Location	Lang.	Gen	Date
1	Kim, J.	HMI	Cerritos, USA	Korean	M	17/6/10
2	Kae.	Dak Dam Church	Mondolkiri	Khmer	M	07/10/10
3	Sam.	Joshua Academy	Mondolkiri	English	M	07/11/10
4	Kim, D.	Joshua Academy	Mondolikiri	Korean	M	07/12/10
5	Sun, Soc.	Student	Phnom Penh	English	M	07/12/10
	Mrs. Sun				F	
6	Kim, Do.	GMI	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	13/7/10
	Mrs. Kim (Lee)	GMI			F	
7	Poh, L.	Church	Phnom Penh	English	M	13/7/10
8	Vin, Hay	Chi Hi Church	Kampong Cham	Khmer	M	16/7/10
9	Taing, V.	New Life Church	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/7/10
10	Nel., D.	Cro. Ministry	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/7/10
11	Deur, S.	ARMS	L-3	English	M	19/7/10
12	P12a	Grace Brethren	L-3	English	M	19/7/10
	P 12b	Independent	L-3	Khmer	M	19/7/10
	P12c	S. Baptist	L-3	Khmer	M	19/7/10
	P12d	AOG	L-3	English	M	19/7/10
	P12e	Student	L-3	English	M	19/7/10
13	P13	Student	Phnom Penh	English	M	21/7/10
14	Murray, M.	Evangelical Friends	Phnom Penh	English	F	28/7/10
15	Robinette, K.	Assembly of God	Phnom Penh	English	M	30/7/10
16	Chun, Y.	Aerumdaun Church	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	30/7/10
	Ha, H.	Aerumdaun Church			F	
17	Choi, J.	Nice Consulting Co	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	08/03/10
18	Murry, Ma.	Market Place Int	Phnom Penh	English	M	08/03/10
	Murry, M. (2)	Evangelical Friends			F	
19	Chung, N.	Hong Kong SP	Phnom Penh	English	M	08/10/10
	To.	Hong Kong SP			M	
	Ton.	New Life Church			M	
20	H. S.	E. Church	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	08/11/10

#	Name	Church/ Organization	Location	Lang.	Gen	Date
21	Jan.	Hong Kong SP	Phnom Penh	English	F	08/11/10
	Cha.	Hong Kong SP			M	
22	26 Pastors	New Life Church	Phnom Penh	English		13/8/10
23	Van, M.	New Life Church	Phnom Penh	Khmer	M	13/8/10
24	Ho, S.	Hong Kong SP	Phnom Penh	English	M	15/8/10
25	Kim, G.	L-1 BC	Phnom Penh	Korean	F	15/8/10
26	Hyde, S.	Antioch Research	Phnom Penh	English	M	16/8/10
27	Kim, B.	U-Life Café	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	16/8/10
28	Ser.	New Life Church	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/8/10
29	Taing, V. (2)	New Life Church	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/8/10
30	Tin, T.	New Life Church	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/8/10
31	Uth, P.	New Life Church	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/8/10
32	Chee, S.	Samaritan's Purse	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/8/10
33	Smi.	Independent	Phnom Penh	English	M	
34	Lee, K.	Phnom Penh Tech	Phnom Penh	Korean	F	18/8/10
35	Koo, J.	Green Micro	Phnom Penh	Korean	F	18/8/10
36	Hwangbo	Independent	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	18/8/10
37	Paek, Gre. Paek, Gra.	GP	Garden Grove, USA	Korean	M F	25/8/10
38	Bowman, M.	AG	Cambodia	English	M	11/11/10
39	Robinette, K. (2)	AG				
40	Chipps, G.		Phnom Penh	English	M	16/11/10
41	Miles, G.	Chabdai	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/11/10
42	Thomas, A.	Bible League	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/11/10
43	Carlton, B.		LAX, USA	English	M	17/12/10
44	Paek, G. (2)	GP	Malibu, USA	English	M	22/12/10

Second Phase Interview: Total of 18 Interviews from August to October 2011

#	Name	Church/ Organization	Location	Lang.	Gen	Date
45	Crooks, D.	TearFund, UK	Phnom Penh	English	M	08/12/11
46	Taing, V. (3)	New Life Church	Phnom Penh	English	M	17/8/11
47	Raju	Int. Fellowship	Phnom Penh	English	M	22/8/11
48	Miles, G (2)	Chabdai	Phnom Penh	English	M	22/8/11
49	Vivol, U.	Bible League	Phnom Penh	English	M	22/8/11
50	Hwang, S (2)	Elim Church	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	22/8/11
51	Payne	Hagar International	Phnom Penh	English	M	09/06/11
52	Wilson, M.	Food for the Hungry	Phnom Penh	English	M	09/06/11
53	Huff, K.	AG Bible College	Phnom Penh	English	M	14/9/11
	Clements, D.	AG Bible College			M	
	Greve, A.	AG Bible College			F	
54	Fok, L.	Kone KmEnglish	Phnom Penh	English	F	20/9/11
55	Vandeth, N.		Phnom Penh	English	M	21/9/11
56	Murry, M (3)	Divine Pizza	Phnom Penh	English	F	21/9/11
57	Lile, S.	White Lotus Project	Phnom Penh	English	F	22/9/11
58	Chang, W.	PCC	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	23/9/11
	Hwang J.				M	
	Kim, T.				M	
	Cho, B.				M	
59	Huff, K. (2)	AG Bible College	Phnom Penh	English	M	26/10/11
60	Kim, L.	Phnom Penh Bible	Phnom Penh	English	M	26/10/11
61	Miles, S.	Chabdai	Phnom Penh	English	F	28/10/11
62	Hyde, S (2)	Antioch International	Phnom Penh	English	M	29/10/11

Third Phase Interview: Total of 8 Interviews from June to August 2013

#	Name	Church/ Organization	Location	Lang.	Gen	Date
63	Kim, G (2)	CBC	Phnom Penh	Korean	F	13/6/13
64	Chang, A.	CRRC	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	13/6/13
65	Nuth, S.		Phnom Penh	English	M	15/6/13
66	Raguingan, S. (2)	AOG	Phnom Penh	English	M	07/12/13
67	Ted	CBC	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	15/7/13
68	P68	CBC	Phnom Penh	English	M	21/7/13
69	Sek, D.		L-1	English	M	08/01/13
70	Sek, D. (2)		L-1	English	M	14/8/13

Fourth Phase Interview: 24 Interviews from July to August in 2015

* Ted requested that all the names of CBC pastors and locations of church-planting were to be withheld.

#	Name	Church/ Organization	Location	Lang.	Gen.	Date
71	P71a P71b	CBC	Phnom Penh	English	M	19/07/13
72	P72	Independent	Kompong Som	English	M	23/07/15
73	P73	CBC	Kompong Som	English	M	24/07/15
74	P74a	CBC	Kompong Som	English	M	24/07/15
	P74b				F	
75	P75a	CBC	Kompong Som	English	M	25/07/15
	P75b				F	
76	P76	CBC	Kompong Som	English	M	25/07/15
77	P77	CBC	Kompong Som	English	M	25/07/15
78	P78	CBC		English	M	25/07/15
79	P79a	CBC	Kompong Som	English	M	25/07/15
80	P80a	CBC	Kompong Som	English	M	25/07/15
	P80b				F	
81	Ted	CBC	Kompong Som	Korean	M	26/07/15
82	P82a	CBC	Kompong Som	English	M	26/07/15
	P82b				M	
83	Va, Vac.	Independent	Phnom Penh	English	M	27/07/15
84	Hwang, Shin	Korean AOG	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	28/07/15
85	1.Chang	CRRC	Phnom Penh	English	M	
	2. Cho, H				M	

	3. Lee, SE				F	
86	Robinette, Kelly	AOG	Phnom Penh	English	M	29/07/15
87	Hwang, Jeong Chel	YWAM	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	29/07/15
88	Ted	CBC	Kompong Som	Korean	M	30/07/15
89	P89a		Kompong Som	English	M	
	P89b				M	
	P89c				M	
	P89d				M	
	P89e				M	
	P89f				M	
90	Ted	CBC	Phnom Penh	Korean	M	31/07/15
91	P91	CBC	Koh Kong	English	M	02/08/15
92	P92	Independent	Siem Reap	English	M	6/8/15
93	Lee, K.	Independent	Siem Reap	Korean	M	6/8/15
94	P94a	CBC	Phnom Penh	English	M	7/8/15
	P94b	CBC			M	
	P94c	CBC			M	
	P94d	CBC			M	
	P94e	CBC			M	
	P94f	CBC			M	
	P94g	CBC			M	
	P94h	CBC			F	

- Total number of interview: 94
- Total number of people interviewed: 129
- Number of male vs. female: 110 male vs. 19 female
- Number of Cambodians vs. Non-Cambodians: 59 Cambodians vs. 70 Non-Cambodians
- Number of Cambodians vs. Koreans: 59 Cambodians vs. 28 Koreans
- Number of regions in Cambodia where interviews were conducted: 6 regions
1. Phnom Penh 2. Mondolkiri 3. Kampongsom 4. Koh Kong 5. Battambang 6. Siem Reap
- Number of region represented by CBC pastors: 10 regions (above 6 regions included)
7. Ratankiri 8. Kampong Thom 9. Pilin 10. Kampong Charm

Appendix B Short Survey for New Life Church

Interview Twenty-Two: New Life Church pastors - Date: 13 AUG. 2010 at New Life Phnom Penh.

Background: During my pastors' session, I conducted an informal survey by giving them an empty sheet and asked questions, with anonymous answers. These are the results and the insights.

Translator: Pastor Praiyo of New Life Church

Survey Questions:

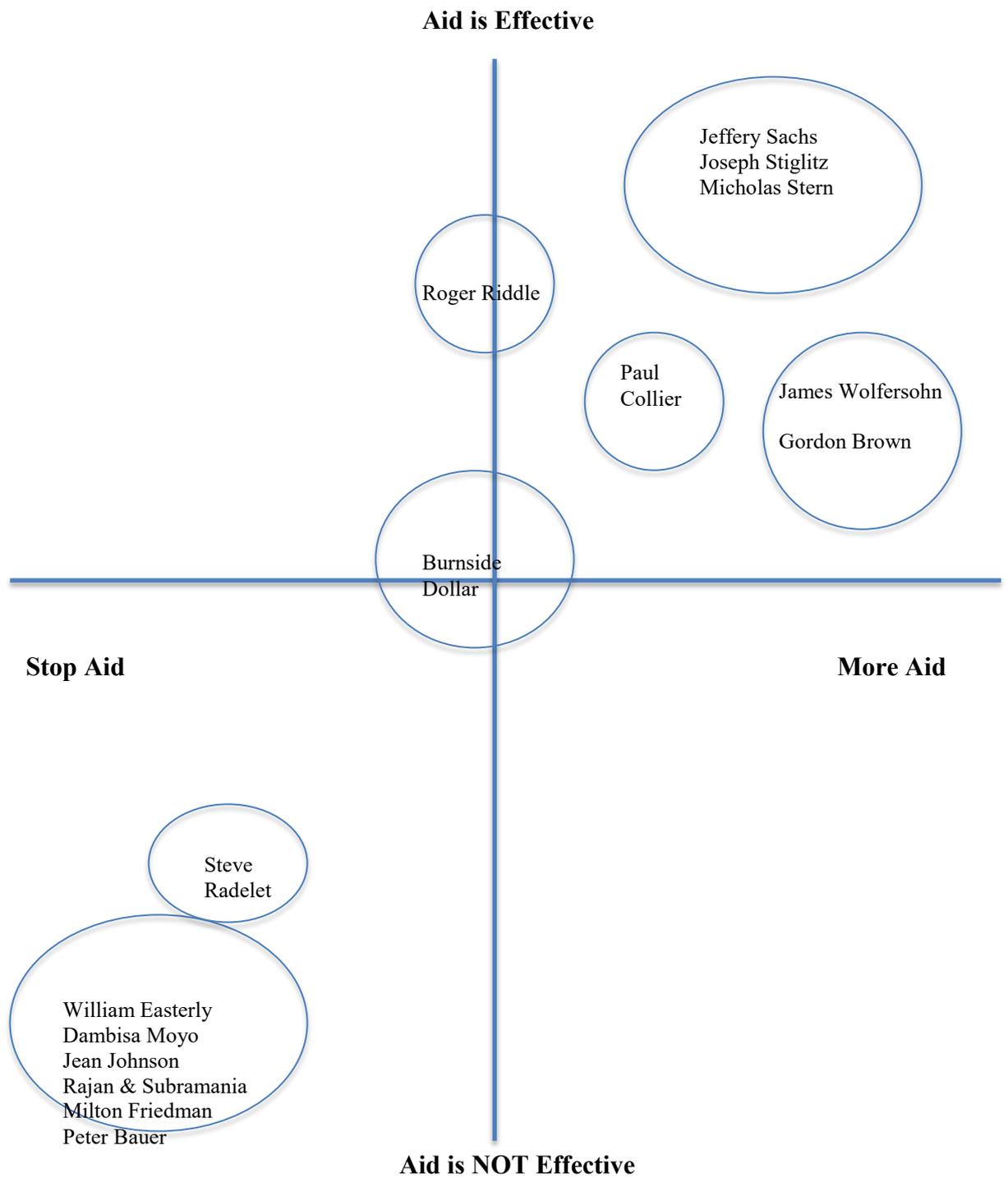
1. Gender
2. Geographical area they are ministering
3. Years of ministry
4. Denominational affiliation
5. How many children?
6. How many adults attend on Sunday?
7. How many children attend on Sunday?
8. Weekly offering in USD?
9. Outside help (financial) – YES or NO.
10. How much per month, if YES?
11. Job other than pastoring – YES or No.
12. If YES, what do you do?
13. What % of your church members give tithes to the church?

	Q1. M/ F	Q2. Area	Q3. Min Yrs	Q4 Denom	Q5. # kids	Q6. Adult	Q7. Child	Q8. W/\$	Q9. Help	Q10. \$	Q11. Job	Q12. Kind	Q13. Tithe
1	m	Prey Veng	15	New Life	3	45	45	10	No	0	Yes	farmer	3%
2	m	Prey Veng	8	New Life	6	25	20	15	Yes	100	No	No	3%
3	m	Prey Veng	15	New Life	3	16	18	5	Yes	30	Yes	farmer	2%
4	m	Siem Reap	15	New Life	3	80	20	30	No	0	No	No	10%
5	m	Siem Reap	15	New Life	5	50	20	20	No	0	Yes	farmer	5%
6	m	Odor Mean Chey	15	New Life		15	13	5	No	0	No	No	0%
7	m	Battambang		New Life	8	6	8	1	No	0	Yes	food selling	0%
8	m	Bantey Menchey	11	New Life	3	80	25	25	No	0	No	No	10%
9	m	Siem Reap	4	New Life	1	40	35	10	No	0	Yes	farmer	3%
10	m	Phnom Penh	17	New Life	3	80	30	60	No	0	No	No	5%
11	m	Battambang	16	New Life	3	80	30	60	No	0	No	No	5%
12	m	Kandel	17	New Life	7	50	40	30	No	0	No	No	3%
13	m	Kampong Chnang	20	New Life	7	45	20	20	Yes	100	No	No	20%

	1. M/ F	2. Area	3. Min Yrs	4 Denom	5. # kids	6. Adult	7. Child	8. W/\$	9. Help	10. \$	11. Job	12. Kind	13. Tithe
14	m	Kampong Cham	2	New Life	3	6	8	2	No	0	Yes	food selling	50%
15	m	Siem Reap	17	New Life	3	25	40	10	No	0	Yes	farmer	2%
16	m	Siem Reap	10	New Life	7	20	11	2.5	No	0	Yes	farmer	2%
17	m	Kampong Cham	15	New Life	7	15	10	1	No	0	Yes	farmer	2%
18	m	Kampong Cham	10	New Life	8	10	10	5	No	0	No	No	0%
19	m	Siem Reap	10	New Life	3	130	35	100	No	0	No	No	10%
20	m	Kampong Cham	5	New Life	9	40	30	20	No	0	Yes	teacher	1%
21	m	Siem Reap	15	New Life	6	30	10	5	No	0	Yes	farmer	0%
22	m	Bantey Menchey	5	New Life	4	40	20	20	No	0	Yes	moto taxi	3%
23	m	Prey Veng	6	New Life	6	20	15	0	No	0	Yes	farmer	0%

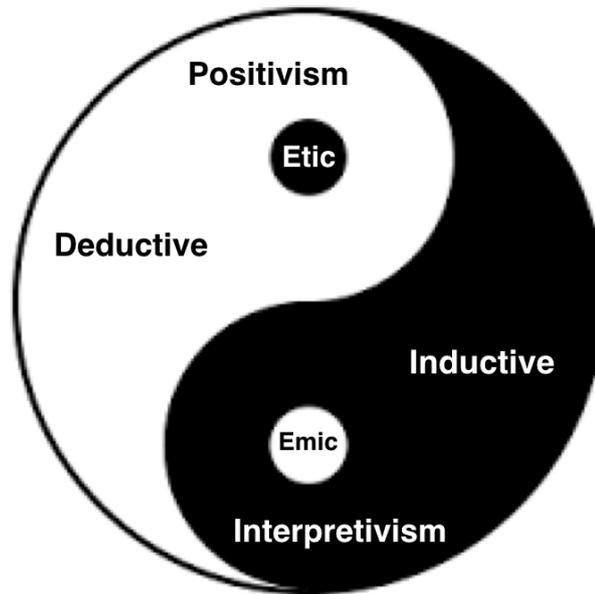
- Average Ministry years: 11.43 Yrs.
- Average # of children: 4.9 kids / family
- Average Adult attendance: 41
- Average Children attendance: 22
- Average weekly offering: * Data not valid. Most did not respond.
- Number of Outside support: 3 out of 23 *Only 13% have outside support
- Other Job: 13 out of 23 *56% pastors are bi-vocational
- % of farmers: 9 out of 13 are farmers *69% of bi-vocational pastors are farmers
- Tithe: 6%

Appendix C Van Diagram on Aid Effectiveness Quadrant



Appendix D Epistemology Diagram

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

Appendix F Interview Transcription Example

Transcription, Int. 74

Date: 24 July 2015; Location: L1; Language: English; Duration: 77 minutes

Photo: A photo of P74a & P74b was inserted for identification during my research but covered their face for anonymity in this Appendix.

Note:

1. The below transcription is a sample from the page two of sixteen pages transcription.
2. Their English was not corrected intentionally but inserted words in parenthesis for clarity.

Sukhwan (S): When did you graduate?

P74b: I'm graduate 2009.

S: Because you run away for one year?

P74b: Yes.

S: Why did you run go away? What year?

P74b: I think 2007 or something like that.

S: Ok, I see.

P74b: Because on that time my parent they all don't believe only me is a Christian and also during that time is the school holiday and I go to visit my hometown. And during that time all my family is got sick and my family so poor, they don't have money like that. And so I think oh if I go to study more nobody take care of them and so difficult for me, if I come to school also maybe I cannot learn also. So that's why I stop for help them for one and a half year. And after that when I work also I starting to pray. Every time I get up in the morning and I pray to God, after that one day my mother ask me, do you want to study again? It's so very touch my heart, because I never ask her for I want to come back like that. But I am seek (and) ask God that I want to come back to school and on that day my mother ask me, do you want to go back to school? And I say "Yes" so she said, "Oh, OK" after Khmer New Year you can go (back) and study. I thank God so much for that time. Yeah.

S: So after you came back you married?

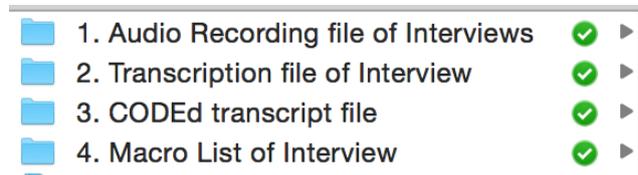
P74b: No! Because he is an old student only, when I come to...

P74a: When she come again, I'm in work already. First time only around 25 of the children we take care.

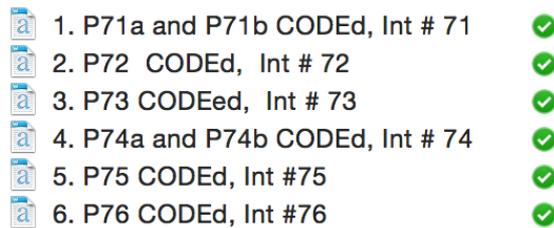


Appendix G An Excerpt Of Data Management and Analysis Process

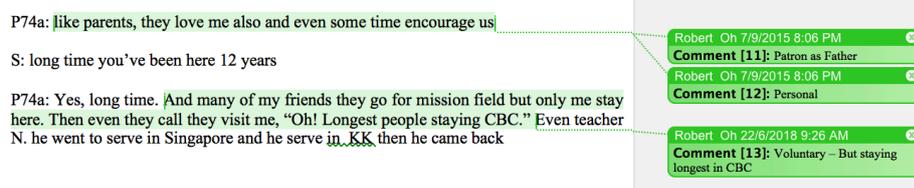
The following steps were taken for the data management and its subsequent analysis. 1) Audio recording files of interviews were compiled 2) Transcription file of interview was compiled both in English and Korean 3) Reading the transcript a CODEd¹ transcript file was created 4) Sorting the CODEd file, a macro list of interview was created and filed as below:



- I. Audio Recording of Interviews was compiled with permission.
 - A. Korean
 - B. English
- II. Transcription of audio recording of interviews were completed
 - A. Korean – Hired a staff of Kyu Jang Publishing House of Korea
 - B. English – Hired a staff from Light Times magazine (Sample in Appendix F)
- III. CODEd transcript was compiled by reading and reviewing the transcript. I used the term ‘CODEd’ to separate ‘Transcription file’ to ‘Macro file’.



- A. Key terms and concepts were identified and inserted into the Microsoft Word Processing utilizing the ‘Review’ mode, E.g., ‘parents’ and ‘personal’ and ‘voluntary’ were identified in CODEd file, Int 74:



- IV. Macro file of transcript was compiled from the terms and concepts identified in the CODEd file.

¹ A term I used to identify the transcription file with coded terms and concepts in the text.

- 1. P71 Macro file, Int # 71 ✔
- 2. P72 Macro file, Int # 72 ✔
- 3. P73 Macro file, Int # 73 ✔
- 4. P74a and P74b Macro file, Int # 74 ✔
- 5. P75 Macro file, Int # 75 ✔
- 6. P76 Macro file, Int # 76 ✔

A. The CODEd terms and concepts were sorted and printed using the Macro function of the Microsoft Word Processing, E.g., ‘patron as father’ and ‘personal’, with the page number of the transcription file and section for analysis notes

Page	Text	CODE	Notes
5	like parents, they love me also and even some time encourage us	Patron as Father	Very emotional
13	I feel like they are my parents also	Patron as Father	P74b
8	if they need the people for work then Rev. (Ted) introduce them then they can go for work.	Patron as sponsor	Very personal in tone of voice
4	my family from (KT) one van, and her family also come together.	Personal	
5	like parents, they love me also and even some time encourage us	Personal	
13	I feel like they are my parents also	Personal	PAF

V. Specific topic Macro file was compiled.

A. For example, Patron as Father (PAF) as a concept was identified in Macro file and was compiled as below with the page number of the transcription file listed for the cross reference (An interview number 67 with Ted was conducted in Korean):

Page	Comment scope	CODE	Notes
8	왜냐 그러면 계속 해서 봐다보면 의타성이 생기니까 처음에야 우리가 도와줄 수 있지만 자꾸만 그냥 커 가는데 큰 애가 계속 막 밀려만 먹는 그런 거는 안 되니까. 이거 그것은 지금 우리가 교회 자원이 돼야지 많이 굉장한 교회가 이제 될 거지요.	PAF	Ted's usage of term 'kid' is observed. Sounds like a father.
10	그러니까 아직까지 뭐 캄보디아 교회가 될 성숙이라든지 자립이라든지 그런 게 좀. late twenty 면 우리 애들 나이인데 어떻게 보면 참 우리는 대견할 수도 있어요	PAF	Ted identifying CBC pastors with his own.
10	이 친구들 보면 우리 애들도 우리 큰 애가 지금 30인데도 제정적으로 보면 지금 막 진짜 엄청난 거예요 그게 나 진짜 골치가 아파요. 그런데 애비들은 그래도 뭐. 결혼해서 애 낳고 고생하면서 복음증거 하겠다고 신실에서 추구되고 앉아 있으니. 그래도 그래도 주의 일은 될 하잖아요 그지요?	PAF	Ted complimenting CBC pastors like his children here
11	우리가 안 갖춰 주고 그냥 무조건 하라는 그것의 거기에서는 또 그러면 우리가 많은 것을 요구를 하거든요. 그것 때문에 이제 한국 선교사님들의 이제 말이 실망을 하고 이러는데 막 갖춰주고 딱딱하라는 그것에 대해서는 이 친구들의 다 하거든요. 그래 가지고 우리도 너무 이때까지 그냥 희생만 너무 요구했구나	PAF	Ted is sympathetic like a father

VI. All of the major themes and concepts of the thesis emerged out of the data and analysis was made from the findings.

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