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COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT IN SOUTH KOREA: TOWARDS DEVELOPING A LOCAL MODEL FOR PRACTICE

**A Thesis submitted to Durham University
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**By
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2011

Declaration

None of the material contained in thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in the University of Durham or any other university. None of the material contained in the thesis is based on joint research.

Statement of Copyright

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ABSTRACT

   This study aims to explore community empowerment practice (CEP) in South Korea (SK) and develop a Korean model of CEP. To begin, I describe key contexts of Korean society such as political, economical and cultural backgrounds alongside the history of Korean community work. To achieve the objectives of this thesis, I studied the CEP project for three years from 2003 to 2005. At the same time, I collected qualitative data from 10 participants who were involved in the CEP. I analysed the Korean CEP in terms of a modified Western model of CEP formed by reviewing Western models and ideas of CEP.

   The analysis revealed: i) the lack of knowledge, values, skills and organisation needed to practice community empowerment in Korea; ii) ways of overcoming some limitations of traditional Korean community work skills in the areas of developing community profiles, community organising, learning from practice, networking, and encouraging resident participation; iii) engaging with differences in practice between community welfare centres (CWCs) and the centres of NGOs that prioritise welfare activities for poor people (WNGOs), e.g., in the fields of community organising, networking and participation; and iv) the lack of positive outcomes in building rights-based and equality-oriented community work to reduce power differences between residents and agencies/ power holders.

   The proposals for developing a Korean model of CEP include: i) creating an independent organisation that can support knowledge and education as well as play a meditating role in assisting with the acquisition of resources and involvement in political activities; ii) setting strategic directions for the step-by-step changes needed to transfer from working within a traditional Korean model of community work to 'emancipatory CEP' by combining both technicist practice and transformative practice; iii) building alliances between CWCs and WNGOs alongside other organisations that are concerned with social justice and equality, while also developing capacity and skills to addresses the weaknesses of both CWCs and WNGOs; and iv) enhancing practitioners capacity and skills to engage not only with policy makers and politicians, but also in collective action together with local people to transform oppressive structures that constrain residents' rights and equality.

This study also demonstrates that community empowerment practice possible in a wide variety of controls and contexts.

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List of acronyms

CCK   Community Chest in Korea
CEP   Community Empowerment Practice
CSCSS   Centre of Supporting Community of Self-Sufficiency
CWC   Community Welfare Centre
DCWC   Community Work Centre involved in CEP project
EBR   Evidence-Based Research
FTA   Free Trade Agreement (FTA)
IMF   International Monetary Fund
ICEP   Innovative Community Empowerment Practice
KAVA   Korean Association of Voluntary Agencies
KCCW   Korean Council of the Community Welfare
KCEN   Korean Community Empowerment Network
KNCSW   Korea National Council on Social Welfare
MCT   Ministry of Construction and Transportation
MHWFA   Ministry for Health Welfare and Family Affairs
LSWC   Local Social Welfare Council
MLSG   Minimum Living Standard Guarantee
MWMCE   A Modified Western Model of Community Empowerment
NGO   Non Government Organisation
NPO   Non-Profit Organisation
OECD   Organisation for Economic Cooperation
PG   Participatory Government
PPRA   Permanent Public Rental Apartment
PPRAC   Permanent Public Rental Apartment Complex
PRA 50   Public Rental Apartment of 50 year lease
PRB   Population Reference Bureau
SK   South Korea
SCCD   Standing Conference for Community Development
SU   *Saemaul Undong*
TKCW   Traditional Korean Community Work
TKMCW   Traditional Korean Model of Community Work
TRC   Tenant Representative Council
UK   The United Kingdom
US   United States
WNGO   NGO prioritising welfare services
(W)NGO   NGO and WNGO
WNGOC   WNGO involved in CEP project
WNGO(C)   WNGOC and WNGO

Glossary of Korean Terms

Ban Sang Hae   A group meeting of local people in neighbourhood unit

Bin Min Undong   A social movement that social activists and some university volunteers engaged to care and educate urban poor people during the 1970s and 1980s in South Korea.

Jo Jik Hwa   Activities to create an organisation

Jwa Pa or Ppal Gaengi   Communist group

Ju Sa We   An organisation that the *Kang Buk* created

Kong Bu Bang   One of private educational Institutes that improves Children's learning ability

Kyung Ro Dang   A recreation hall where older people can rest and play

San Dong Nae   A place where poor people live collectively in urban mountain areas

Saemaul Undong   The New Community Movement, also known as the New Village Movement or *Saemaul* Movement, was a political initiative launched on April 22, 1970 by South Korean president Park Chung Hee to modernize the rural South Korean economy. It initially sought to rectify the growing disparity in the standard of living between the nation's urban centres, which were rapidly industrializing, and the small villages, which continued to be mired in poverty. Later projects concentrated on building the rural infrastructure.

Segyewha   Globalisation

Tong Jang and Bang Jang   The group which helps public servants in the neighbourhood unit

Uri Sik Hwa   Education for raising consciousness

Timeline of S. Korea Presidents and Policies relating to Community Work (1948~ Present)

President Order	Name	Term	Policies
1st	Rhee, Sung-man	Jul. 1948 - Apr. 1960	CD after Korean war
2th	Yun , Bo-seon	Aug.1960- Mar. 1962	None
3th	Park, Jung-hee	Dec. 1963- Oct. 1979	*Saemaul Undong*
4th	Choi, Kyu-hah	Dec.1979 - Aug.1980	None
5th	Chun, Doo-hwan	Sep. 1980 - Feb. 1988	Legalising The Act of Social Welfare to support the CWC
6th	Roh, Tae-woo	Feb.1988 - Feb. 1993	Construction of PPRA
7th	Kim, Young-sam	Feb. 1993- Feb.1998	Local-Self Government
8th	Kim, Dae-jung	Feb.1998 - Feb. 2003	MLSG
9th	Roh, Moo-hyun	Feb. 2003- Feb.2008	BNDP
10th	Lee, Mung-bak	Feb. 2008- present	

CD: Community Development
CWC: Community Welfare Centre
PPRA: Permanent Public Rental Apartment
MLSG: Minimum Living Standard Guarantee
BNDP: Balanced National Development Policy

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: AIMS AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

INTRODUCTION

During the 1990s developed countries such as the UK and US and global institutions such as the World Bank rediscovered the value of community that they had lost for 20 years (Craig et al., 2000). The oil crisis of the mid-1970s caused those governments to favour the policy of a New Right market ideology of welfare which decreased the state's public expenditure whilst prioritising the values of economic growth directed by the market. The fragmented communities that resulted from such policies enabled governments to withdraw from the community empowerment agenda. By the end of the 1980s, following the collapse of communism, the economic hegemony of the market seemed to dominate state policies seeking to support and empower disadvantaged communities (Taylor, 2003).

Globalisation, combining the development of information communication technology with neo-liberalism, is described as 'New Right market ideology'. It stresses the value and benefits of the free-market and has a number of consequences for society. Key amongst these is the problem of increasing or reproducing inequality which: polarises society by widening the gap between those on the lowest and the highest incomes within countries as well as between nations or between the Global South and Global North; increases fragmentation within nations caused by increasing numbers of dispossessed people (Taylor, 2003; Stepney and Popple, 2008); and, alters social relations within and between communities to create players who have access to markets and choice, and non-players who are excluded (Dominelli, 2007a).

As these negative consequences of globalisation gradually became more apparent, policy-makers in government and global institutions such as the World Bank sought to address them by ensuring that "community has been brought back in from the cold" (Taylor, 2003:8) or, seen through the lens of communitarianism, has been 'hijacked' (Craig et al., 2000:328). Etzioni's communitarian ideas (1994) emphasise the moral values of community, such as mutual respect, self-reliance and social responsibility, rather than rights. By stressing the

moral values of personal responsibility through participation with others in order to solve common problems and develop social justice, he claims to reject the market-led ideology of the New Right and a top-down approach. Thus, for policymakers, community has been regarded as a 'healing means' of offering resources and ideas capable of coping with the stresses brought about by globalisation. The approaches used to address the issues raised by these problems are: making communities responsible for meeting rapidly rising demands for welfare; using ideas of community with shared meanings and morality as a means to address the breakdown of moral cohesion and responsibility; encouraging more active community involvement to deepen democracy and political legitimacy; using ideas of community cohesion to tackle increased uncertainty; having communities act as producers developing local enterprises in the informal and social economies for alternative economic forms; and, declaring communities as democratic units to mobilise human creativity for sustainable development (Taylor, 2003).

Governments in the West have turned to the "Third Way" to activate global markets by liberalising financial markets and integrating the nation-state into global economic relations. They address the problems this brings about by empowering citizens to promote moral values of community, for example encouraging citizens to become more independent and less reliant on state welfare. Thus while there remain many countries in which policy makers dislike the actions of citizens, there are a growing number where citizens empowerment and participation are promoted by their governments (Craig et al., 2000).

In South Korea (SK) the value of community was rediscovered in Roh Moo-hyun's government (2003-2008). Prior to this, its heyday was the period from 1970 when Park Chung-hee's authoritarian regime (1961-1979) launched the 'New Community Movement', known as *Saemaul Undong* (SU), to modernise rural and urban communities. According to Rothman's (1970) model of community practice, this movement can be interpreted as an initiative of 'community development' in that the Park government sought socio-economic development to increase the incomes of communities and improve their basic facilities, whilst raising public consciousness of the virtues of 'diligence, self-help, and cooperation'. But the *Saemaul* initiative started to wither during the government of Roh Tae-woo (1988-1993). The community development initiatives had been controlled and subordinated politically as a means to obtain support for the government's policies, as determined by an authoritarian president and bureaucrats. The movement was criticised as an "initiative driven by

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individuals siding with government" (Choe and Roo, 1996: 147). After 1988, policy makers placed little priority on the policy of national development that stressed 'the value of community' until Roh Moo-hyun's government (Choe and Roo, 1996) introduced the policy of Participatory Government (2003-2008).

President Roh Moo-hyun labelled his government 'Participatory Government' (PG) and launched the 'Balanced National Development Policy' (BNDP) based on: devolution to transfer the authority of central government to local authorities; decentralisation to move public agencies out of the Seoul metropolitan area into other localities; and, innovation to realise the endogenous development of localities by encouraging them to break free from the past structure of subordination within a clientelism based on sponsorship by central government (Seong, 2007). The background of this policy lay in addressing the negative consequences of the 'unbalanced economic growth policy' of past governments, which had concentrated on the values of economic development driven by central government and overly focused on the Seoul metropolitan areas.

The Roh government rejected the earlier approaches as producing problems such as the loss of self-reliance in localities, and the concentration of population, industries, economies, and authority in the capital region. This, in turn, had led to deterioration in other areas. To address these consequences as well as discover new growth initiatives, PG policymakers and scholars set up the strategy of 'globalisation through regional development' which aimed to elevate national competitiveness by enhancing the capacities of non-capital areas through the principle of endogenous local development. Emphasising endogenous development led to the rediscovery of the 'potential values of locality' and maximisation of participation by local people, using local resources, technology, and culture. The PG made the organisation of Regional Innovation Councils mandatory for provincial authorities and recommended that unitary local authorities used their judgement regarding its value to them. The regional innovative councils interpreted 'local governance' as that created by local subjects such as local authorities, businesses, universities, research bodies, and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations) in local communities who come together as equals to pursue the endogenous development of localities.

Thus, the rediscovery of communities by Roh's government focused on revitalising the economic development of the regions outside of the capital city of Seoul and its localities

thereby reversing the state's earlier unbalanced economic development policy. The government's concept of communities emphasised geographical and administrative positionality at the larger scale of the region and city rather than the smaller scale of the neighbourhood. Despite conducting a new community development policy focusing on communities based on locality, i.e. "the Policy of Liveable City and Community Making", the PG's priority for local development policy remained an emphasis on an economic growth paradigm targeting the regional scale (Ha, 2007). Policymakers and central bureaucrats have biased policy towards national economic growth since 1997 when the IMF (International Monetary Fund) seized economic control. As a result, it is likely to be difficult to break out of the scheme of prioritising the "model of market-led" community development (Powell and Geoghegan, 2005; Geoghegan and Powell, 2008).

The rediscovery of community manifests itself differently in SK than in Western countries, such as the UK, in the following respects. South Korean policymakers mobilised community development as a means of revitalising localities that had stagnated under past government policies and become unbalanced because national development concentrated on the Seoul metropolitan area. Western countries used community development as a strategy to address social problems of polarisation or inequalities between poor and rich areas that had resulted from "globalisation from above" (Craig et al., 2000), or the neo-liberal emphases of the market. Secondly, SK placed more emphasis on strengthening national competitiveness through the rediscovery of communities and strengthening their endogenous capacities in order to ride the wave of globalisation rather than to address social problems. Its rediscovery was to revitalise communities that had previously been damaged or ignored in the processes of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. In contrast, for Western developed countries, especially the UK, the rediscovery of communities promoted under the policy of the Third Way sought to solve not only the problems of inequality caused by globalisation but also to strengthen market competitiveness. SK's policymakers and bureaucrats are likely to put less emphasis on the 'rediscovery of communities' as a means to address social problems resulting from neo-liberalism because they favour 'the exploitation of globalisation' based on the Free Trade Agreement with the US as an effective strategy of national growth, aimed at generating national wealth (Lim and Jin, 2006:447; Park, Y.H., 2007). There were, however, some common points in the rediscovery of community in both SK and Western developed countries. They both emphasised the partnerships between local agencies and private organisations, and participation by local residents.

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While the policy of restoring communities was being fostered, private welfare foundations such as the Community Chest in Korea (CCK) launched welfare projects that conformed to the policy of PG in October 2002. The CCK project supported the empowerment of communities in which many poor people, particularly older and disabled people who live in urban apartment complexes called permanent public rental apartment complexes (PPRACs). This project is introduced in Chapter 2. The CCK is the first private welfare agency in SK's history to support community work that regenerates poor communities through the practice of empowering tenants.

THE AIM AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

My research aims to develop a Korean model of community empowerment practice (CEP) for poor people by studying the community empowerment project which can be regarded as a scheme for the "rediscovery of a community" in SK. There has not been a substantial evaluation of this endeavour even though there was an evaluation report (Lee et al., 2005) on the project. The report made little mention of participation practice in the project; lacked information on ways of practicing and measuring CEP; neglected differences among the groups of community practitioners, although they belonged to different organisations like community welfare centres (CWCs) and private non-profit organisations (NPOs) or NGOs; and failed to suggest alternative guidelines for good CEP that were tailored to Korean society. Thus, this thesis aims to: redress the shortcomings of CEP through research that analyses the CCK project using a modified model of CEP drawn from an investigation of the strengths and weaknesses of Western models of community empowerment; examine the appropriateness of a modified model in the SK context; and propose strategies to develop a new Korean model of community empowerment through the research findings.

The importance of community empowerment in South Korea

The main reason for researching CEP in SK from a theoretical and holistic perspective is that South Korean scholars have rarely researched community empowerment from both practical and theoretical perspectives. This means that research is needed to fill this gap. Although a few professionals (Roo et al., 2007; Che, 2003; Choe and Lee, 2001; Kang and Youn, 2000) have emphasised the necessity and significance of research about community empowerment from both perspectives, they have rarely carried this out. Thus, this thesis will: fill a

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theoretical and practical skills gap for community empowerment workers (Lee, I.J., 2002); focus on the mobilisation of residents because there has been a lack of activities aimed at organising residents (Kim, J.H., 2002); provide deeper understanding of community empowerment for residents because community workers in SK understand the concept of empowerment as narrowly community-based (Nam, K.C., 2006; Kim and Woo, 2002); and develop strategies for effective CEP in order to provide knowledge and skills for community practitioners and agencies that support community empowerment practice.

Consequently, the current situation of community work in SK requires community work researchers to identify a model of CEP that will develop the theoretical and practical skills of community work to meet the needs of SK. This study is an attempt to respond to these requirements through a detailed examination of CCK's project using a modified Western model of CEP, which I build in Chapter 3, and other Western ideas of CEP.

The structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into 10 chapters. The remaining chapters are structured as follows. Chapter 2 highlights the geographical, demographical, political, economic, and cultural characteristics of Korean society, prior to examining the history of community work in SK. Chapter 3 explores a modified Western model of community empowerment practice by focusing on the strengths and weaknesses of two Western models of community empowerment used mainly in the UK. I then introduce the ideas of other scholars in order to identify Korean practices of empowerment. Chapter 4 discusses methodological issues and research methods used within this study. Chapter 5 highlights characteristics of traditional Korean community work by drawing on Rothman's models of community work. The section on traditional community work offers materials that are able to compare the community empowerment practices of the ten centres that I identified in SK. At the same time Chapter 5 explores practices that can be regarded as the preliminary phase in the processes of empowerment practice. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present the research findings concerning the practice of the Korean CEP project. Here I evaluate the practices of community practitioners with both traditional community work approaches and a modified Western model of community empowerment and suggest tasks needed to develop effective community empowerment practice. Chapters 6 and 7, which examine phases for mobilising communities, highlight the findings of participants' practices of organising and strengthening communities

through community learning, networking and participation. Evaluation and reflections upon their practice are provided in Chapter 8. Based on an analysis of these findings I propose strategies for a prefigurative South Korean model of community empowerment in Chapter 9. I draw my conclusions in Chapter 10, which concentrates on proposing some principles for developing the South Korean model of community empowerment that arises from this study and highlights the future research agenda and the contributions to knowledge made by my thesis. In the next chapter, I examine South Korea as the context for this work.

CHAPTER 2

SOUTH KOREA: CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of four main sections. The first briefly discusses Korean geographical and demographic characteristics and political, economic and cultural conditions. The second section provides a history of community work in this country including the main characteristics of Korean communities and perspectives of community work. The third section introduces the characteristics of the CEP project, which the CCK launched and that I selected as the object for my research. The fourth highlights reasons for the underdevelopment of community work in South Korea.

SOUTH KOREA: AN OVERVIEW

Geography

The official name for South Korea is the Republic of Korea, but it is often referred to as Korea. Situated in East Asia, it has China to the west and Japan to the east, and borders North Korea to the north (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Location of South Korea

Source: Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Locator_map_of_South_Korea.svg

Population

The total population of SK is approximately 50 million (up from 28 million in 1965), making it one of the most densely populated regions in the world. Population growth now stands at an annual rate of 0.9 per cent, down from nearly 3.0 per cent in the 1960s. SK's age-group distribution is now more 'bell-shaped' because it has the lowest total fertility rate (1.1 in 2006) in the world according to the Population Reference Bureau. Life expectancy has increased from 69.8 years during 1985-1990 to 78.2 years during 2005-2010. As a result, the population of aged people is increasing slightly and the proportion of children in the population is falling. Thus, Korea is regarded as a country which is rapidly moving along a demographic transition, with an old-age dependency ratio projected to reach 40 per cent by 2040 (Shin and Shaw, 2003).

Political and economical background

Korea was colonised by Japan for 36 years and was liberated on 15 August 1945. After liberation, military agencies from the Soviet Union and the United States controlled the northern and southern halves of the Korean Peninsula respectively and furthered their interests by supporting political groups to reflect the interests of the two great powers. Under their influence, the Korean Peninsula was divided into two political entities: North Korea and South Korea. On 25 June 1950, North Korea invaded the South leading to the Korean War. The 1953 armistice split the peninsula once again along the demilitarised zone.

After the armistice, a period of political instability existed until President Park Jung-hee took power by a military coup on 16 May 1961. From 1961 to 1979, Korean society was controlled by authoritarian regimes, but especially after 1971. During this period, Korea concentrated on export-led economic growth under military rule and a Cold War ideology formed by the US and the Soviet Union. The Park Jung-hee government has been credited with the industrialisation of Korea by achieving a 9 per cent annual economic growth rate during its term in power. Along with economic growth, Park's government is also credited with the policy of community development, known as *Saemaul Undong* (SU) led by the central government. This movement had the greatest influence on Korean society with regard to scale, range, and commitment in the history of community work (Choe and Roo, 1996). Despite these achievements, Park also left many negative legacies. One is the backwardness of Korean democratisation resulting from the suppression of freedom of expression and

association under his dictatorial rule. Another is the loss of the capacity for self-determination and public participation fostered at the grass-roots level due to the imposition of top-down policies. In addition, Park originated a political regionalism, which produced uneven regional economic development and the emergence of politics of regionalism [1], through the implementation of regionally biased policies of recruiting ruling elites and allocating public resources to secure political support from the Kyounsang region where Park originated from (Park, B.G., 2003). Finally, there are the main cultural values in contemporary Korean society such as this-world-directed materialism and the strengthening of connectionism, authoritarianism, state centralism, and speed supremacism, which will be explained in the section on Korean culture (Jung, 2007).

After the assassination of President Park Jung-hee in 1979, General Chun Doo-hwan took over from 1980 to 1987. He ruled in an authoritarian manner and, like Park, concentrated on rapid economic growth. In the 1970s and 1980s, Korea's economic growth was one of the most rapid in the world, so it was called 'compressed economic development'. At that time, annual economic growth rates were around 9 per cent. The authoritarian state aimed to create a strong industrial structure based upon *Chaebol*, which refers to a South Korean form of business conglomerate, and strong protective measures to preserve its domestic markets. Despite enjoying rapid economic growth, Korean society suppressed protest movements against the authoritarian regime led by social activists and university students.

President Chun's authoritarian regime gave in to the massive democratisation struggle led by activist students and the labour movements. Since 1987, a new form of civic movement has developed. It includes a middle class at the grassroots level and professionals such as lawyers and professors as leaders of NGOs. Progressive forces in SK have begun to foster and challenge the "modernisation forces" which had dominated SK's national agenda during the previous decades. These included the delayed democratisation that resulted from the past

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[1] Korean political parties have used the politics of the region to generate popular support. The centre- right party rooted in pro-authoritarianism attempted to build a base in the southeast of SK by emphasizing the benefits that Park's regime's policies could give to the region. In contrast, the centre-left party tried to build an anti-authoritarian base in the southwest regions by criticising the military regime which caused uneven regional development (Park, B.G., 2003). Regionalism in SK has been developed by political parties. This leads to a discourse which can foster discrimination, bias, false consciousness and social-political conflict. Many politicians and experts in SK have regarded it as a 'chronic disease' which ruins Korean society (Park, 2009).

authoritarian regimes' focus on development and growth that caused increased economic disparities and collusion between *Chaebol*[2] and politicians (Lee, 2004).

Rho Tae-woo, in post from 1987 to 1992, was the country's first democratically elected military President as he was a General before he was elected. His rule was notable for hosting the Seoul Olympics in 1988 and at the same time implementing policies such as the national pension insurance, a minimum wage programme and the construction of 2 million houses. It was regarded as a turning point in moving towards a mature social welfare system (Kim, 2003). In 1991, the Rho government restored some local self-government institutions such as the primary and provincial councils.

In 1992, Kim Young-sam became the first democratically elected *civilian* President. His slogan, the 'Construction of a New Korea', encompassed governmental strategies that sought to strengthen the financial transparency of the government whilst declaring war against corruption. Mr. Kim's administration regarded globalisation, called *segyewha*[3] in the Korean language, as "the most expedient way for Korea to become a world-class, advanced country" adding that "we have no choice other than this" at a public meeting on 6 March 1995 (quoted in Kim, S., 2000:2). *Segyewha* was not a matter of choice but one of necessity. His *segyehwa* started 'with a bang but ended with a whimper' in 1997 when IMF control of the economy resulted in a currency crisis. President Kim's achievement lies not in globalisation but in localisation, i.e. restoring local autonomy in SK politics. This was implemented in 1995 through a policy by which a mayor, a governor and councillors of a local authority were elected by local direct voting by the people (Kim, S., 2000).

In 1998, opposition leader Kim Dae-jung became President as a result of widespread frustration with the ruling party (the Grand National Party) in the midst of the 1997 financial crisis. The Kim administration implemented policies of domestic reform under the IMF's guidance in exchange for a monetary bailout. The new government vigorously restructured the Korean economy within strict rules of neo-liberalism. These policies promoted structural

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[2] *Chaebol* refers to a South Korean form of business conglomerate. They are powerful government-supported global multinationals owning numerous enterprises. This is often used the way conglomerate is used in English (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chaebol.).
[3] In Korea globalisation, that is *segyehwa*, was introduced as the concept encompassing political, economic, and cultural enhancement to reach the level of advanced nations in the world (Kim, S., 2007). Globalisation based on such a meaning is usually used by policy makers and bureaucrats supporting national economic growth through the economic liberation of financial markets and fair trade.

reforms based on the democratic market economy that used the deregulation and liberalisation of foreign capital and the legalisation of dispatched labour[4] as a means of strengthening labour flexibility. According to Lim and Jang's research (2006), Korea has liberalised the regulation of foreign capital among Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) member countries more radically since 1998. After the IMF crisis in SK, the percentage of foreign-owned shares in all companies, the ration of labour flexibility and unemployment, and poverty rates amongst urban households increased (Lim and Jang, 2006).

In 2003, President Roh Moo-hyun took over power by enlisting the support of those in their late 20s to early 40s who had experienced political empowerment through the democratic struggles against the authoritarian regimes of the 1980s. He was a more progressive president than President Kim Dae-jung. He improved the rights of labourers, suggested higher taxes for the rich, and attracted NGOs to establish policies that advocated a more direct form of participatory democracy through the slogan of Participatory Government. Furthermore, the Roh government conducted a balanced development policy to decentralise resources that had been concentrated on SK's capital city to non-capital regions and empower localities to rediscover communities, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

His progressive policies faced very strong resistance from vested interest groups allied to status quo forces called "modernisation forces" that had dominated SK's national agenda during several previous decades (Lee, 2004). Three leading mainstream newspapers in SK, *Chosun Ilbo, Donga Ilbo, and JoongAng Ilbo*, criticised nearly all the policies of the PG from a conservative perspective which sought to maintain vested-interests that concentrated on Seoul and the surrounding areas. But those in the media exceptionally agreed with the policy of signing the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the US and SK in April 2007. This was considered as cross-national growth because it was "an ambitious initiative to achieve globalisation through localisation" (Seong, 2007:53). Ignoring dissenting voices, such as those paying attention to the FTA's destabilising effects on the domestic economy, the PG was substantially criticised by scholars and NGOs who had previously supported PG. These criticisms weakened Roh's progressive position in democratic politics (Pressian, 2006).

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[4] This refers to the way in which labour-supplying business employs workers and sends them to contingent workplaces. The company does not hire the employee. As a result, this creates an upsurge in the number of unemployed and non-regular, low-wage workers.

The elite bureaucrats and economic experts who were the practitioners of structural reforms and were participants in the establishment of the FTA, regarded neo-liberal economic principles or *segyehwa* as a means of survival for SK's economy. One study emphasises that the Korean elites, in the bureaucracy and other areas, were 'true believers' in neo-liberal economic principles (Lim and Jang, 2006). Their discourses proclaimed the necessity of offering inducements to foreign capital and ratifying the FTA as a path to economic recovery, and bureaucrats sought to exclude dissenting voices.

A polarised society

By dismantling authoritarian regimes through democratic struggle and electing progressive presidents from among civilian, non-military candidates, Korean society has moved further forward in democratisation. This process has been accompanied by the rise of a civil society. Paradoxically, however, it has been diagnosed as a society that is more fragmented and has more conflicts than ever, or as a 'polarised society' in which people take extreme positions and are unwilling to tolerate different views. This allows little room for compromise and negotiation, particularly in public policy. Moreover, the division of political ideas between progressives and conservatives has gradually and markedly sharpened. The former have been formed by democratic movement groups or reforming forces formed during the 1980s. The latter were represented by "modernisation forces" that have enjoyed economic and political benefits brought about by industrialisation under authoritarian regimes (Lee, S.J., 2004).

The resources for social polarisation seem to be found in the emergence of political forces defending both ideas. Firstly, political forces with progressive ideas have appeared. New power elites defending progressive ideas, called the 386 generation,[5] took power in positions as policy makers or politicians in the Rho Moo-hyun government. They have competed with the old political elite supporting modernisation forces. The second factor is the growth of civil society through an increase of NGOs classified as 'advocacy organisations' through the Kim Dae-jung government's legislation, e.g., the law to support NPOs. The fact that Korean political parties have not been recognised as political organisations that effectively represent public interest has contributed to the growth of NGOs (Kim, S., 2006). The leading NGOs[6]

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[5] As a symbolic language to represent political leading forces of the Roh Moo-hyun government, the 386 generation means people of 30 years old, who attended university in the 1980s, and who were born in the 1960s.
[6] Leading NGOs have formed citizen movement groups since 1987. These include the Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice (*Kyongye chongui silchon simin yonhap*) and the Korea Federation of the Environmental

have influenced the political and economic reforms of the state from a progressive perspective whilst confronting the state. By pushing strongly for political and economic reforms and replacing party politics, NGOs are seen as organisations capable of contributing to 'political divisions in civil society' (Lee, S.J., 2004) or 'a grave threat to the consolidation of democracy' as a result of the absence of a viable party system (Kim, S.H., 2003).

The phenomenon of social polarisation comes from political authoritarianism. Other factors have strengthened it e.g., the implementation of neo-liberal reforms to the economy since the 1997 financial crisis. The income gap between rich people and poor people has increased alongside these reforms. The Gini coefficient, which details wealth distribution, indicates rising inequality. It increased from 0.292 in 2000 to 0.325 in 2008 (Yoo, 2009). According to a report by Merrill Lynch, the rate of increase in millionaires in SK was the third highest among Asian countries in 2003, behind Hong Kong and India. The number of people with relatively high incomes also increased three-fold between 1999 and June 2003 (Lim and Jang, 2006). This means that the neo-liberal reforms following the financial crisis have resulted in growing inequality of income between social classes, that is, the wealth of the rich class has increased with financial and real assets, while inequality within the working class has also increased due to the soaring number of casual workers caused by the spread of labour flexibility. Economic polarisation between the rich and poor classes has been increasing in SK since 1977. Along with social characteristics, the part played by culture in SK needs to be discussed.

Cultural codes

Another way to understand the context of Korean society is through understanding the cultural rules and principles guiding Korean peoples' thoughts and actions. Rather than discussing the role of cultural codes in the process of SK's development, Jung (2007) recently drew out their characteristics by completing a systematic study based on a substantial review of the literature. I highlight these in this section. According to Jung (2007), Korean cultural codes suggest six fundamental principles and six derivative ones. The former refers to the mode by which the regulation of Korean peoples' lives were formed by contact with religions such as Shamanism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism and interacting with them in Korean traditional society, before they interacted with Western cultures in the

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Movement (*Hanguk hwangyong undong yonhap*). Since the economic crisis of 1997, the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (*Ch'amyo mimju sahoe simin yondae*) has received much public and media attention.

latter part of the 19th century. The latter are the cultural codes of the 20th century which were built as a result of contact with Western culture after the later part of the 19th century. The reason why these are called "the derivative cultural codes" is that they originate in Korean traditional cultural principles.

The six elements of the fundamental codes are: *materialism* directed toward this world and taken to mean a way of thinking that puts the highest value on a life seeking happiness through material prosperity in this world; *emotion-preference rather than rationality*, in that Korean people have a strong tendency to prefer emotion and pathos to rationality and reason or logos; *familism* meaning a way of thinking and acting by which Korean people prioritise the interests of the family and try to sustain the family at all costs rather than any other organisations; *nepotism* as an exclusive collective consciousness in which 'us' includes those who share blood ties, native region and schools in SK; *authoritarianism* that shows a tendency to vertical relationships and distinguishes between high and low status in human relationships; and *conflict-avoidance* based on harmony and consensus that emphasises harmony, consensus and social order rather than change and conflict.

Alongside these, there are six elements of derivative cultural codes. First is *sentimental nationalism* which means a patriotism produced by combining both 'emotional preference' and nationalism developed during the oppressive era when Japan colonised Korea. Next is *state-centralism* or a way of thinking about the state as a force that drives the whole society in perfect order. Thirdly, *speed-supremacism* or the culture of favouring 'rapid achievement'. Additionally, there is *optimism without evidence*, i.e. a pattern of behaviour in which Korean people seek to achieve a goal by setting up an unreasonable plan that is likely to be difficult to achieve. Then there is an *instrumentalism* that concentrates on the means to achieve a goal without reflecting on the goal itself. Finally, there are strong *dual-norms* that provide the cultural climate in which ethical criteria are applied differently according to the situation, i.e., Korean people have had a tendency to take it for granted that they act differently according to the situation.

The characteristics of Korean cultural codes have been introduced as a means to understand Korean society. These have been formed principally by the combined influences of Confucianism and the political forces of the authoritarian regimes using them. Their appropriateness remains to be researched by other scholars. I will now consider the history of Korean community work and its relevance to this study.

HISTORY OF COMMUNITY WORK

This section examines how community work in SK has been constructed by social change and state policies. I consider state policies and the activities of organisations as these relate to community work and the problems these policies and activities inflict upon CEP. The insights gathered through this part of the thesis offer clues for developing a Korean model of CEP. Before highlighting the history of community working, I will explore the main characteristics of Korean communities and perspectives and definitions of community work.

The main characteristics of Korean communities

The concept of community has been defined in 98 ways from several aspects (Bell and Newby, 1971). But these can be summarised by three approaches; geography, identity, and interests (Dominelli, 2006). For example, community is defined as the people living in one locality; a group of people having cultural, religious, ethnic, blood and other characteristics in common; and a group created on the basis of shared pursuits. Furthermore, the concept of community conflates broadly two aspects: community as "fact" and community as "value" (Shaw, 2004). In Raymond Williams' terms (1985), the community includes two aspects: community as expression of "existing social relations" and community as an expression of "alternative social relations". Consequently, community can be defined as a living location where people or groups based on locality, identity or interests are trying to change existing social relations into alternative social relations capable of achieving communal good by mutuality and reciprocity.

In traditional Korean society, the main traits of communities were built on geographical location based on a neighbourhood unit and identity based on family ties. When Korean people establish human relationships, they put more priority on blood relationships than place (Jung, 2007). Accordingly, communities consisted of persons defined by the same given name. The boundary of traditional communities was drawn by a collection of settlements in which the families shared the same second name. These communities are called 'blood communities' (*Hyel Yeon Gong Dong Che*), where groups with the same given name act in a friendly way and help one another, and have strong reciprocal relationships.

With the progress of industrialisation and urbanisation which started from the 1960s in SK, blood (*Hyel Yeon*) communities located in rural areas began to weaken, but they were not

destroyed and they have remained in a few rural places. The significant factor in this destruction was regarded as the influence of the *Saemaul Undong*. So (2007) points out that the SU transformed itself away from the actualisation of communal values created by traditional community-centred blood ties into the embodiment of values by community-centred locality relationships which the state supported by giving them material resources. Involving administrative agents in supportive activities could prevent blood communities from intervening in the SU and enable people to become involved in the movement based on locality rather than family blood networks.

Communities based on a geographical location have a special meaning. Korean people tend to have more friendly relationships with persons who have the same native location than people from different places and they easily form informal social groups which can give mutual support and close relations. This is favouritism based on local relationships. President Park Jung-hee used this favouritism to his political advantage by appealing to people of the south-eastern regions who could identify with his native place in order to acquire power in the presidential election of 1971. He strengthened local-favouritism by executing policies of personnel management and economic development (Hong, 2009) excluding elites and regions other than those from his native region. This created increasing regional antipathy by discriminating against and excluding people and impeding the development of regions other than the President's native location. It prevented the public building up their communal mind and capacity to foster organisations autonomously for the settlement and discussion of issues by participating residents who could address community problems. Rather than this, people sought to address the problems of communities by using human networks with politically dominant groups and central bureaucrats appointed by a President elected through the "territorialisation of party politics" with voting based on regions (Park, 2003). Thus, communities have retained a 'community-centred clientism' on the basis of locality in that the people try to pursue the profits and interests of communities, using individual or collective human networks with politically dominant groups and bureaucrats of the central governments.

On the other hand, normative ideas of community existed in the rural as well as urban areas. Such communities have been non-authorised collective settlements in the urban areas where immigrant poor people, who had moved from a rural region to an urban one, lived. Kim Soo-hyun's research (2000) suggested that there were particular communal minds in the non-

authorised collective settlements of Seoul known as villages on the hill (*San Dong Nae*)[7]. They moved to the poor urban communities through chain migration on the recommendation of neighbours and their family relatives, thus poor urban communities are akin to the rural communities. In other words, they have simply been displaced from rural to urban situations. There were mutually supportive and friendly relationships between vulnerable people based on native places and blood ties, which form 'natural welfare and employment networks'.

The community mind of *San Dong Nae* started to decline from the 1980s through the regeneration policy of the government pushing poor immigrant people out of urban areas. Their protest movement (*Bin Min Undong*) against the policy of regeneration began together with non-government organisations helping poor people who lost their residence. As a result of the movement, they can live in permanent public rental apartment complexes (PPRACs) in Seoul which were developed as a part of the Roh Tae-woo government's policy of constructing two million houses. After urban poor people moved into PPRACs occupied only by poor people, their community spirit weakened. This resulted from moving into a collective locality in which only poor people live; experiencing discrimination and segregation between social classes which resulted from collective migration; and stigmatising them by labelling them as places where only poor and disabled people live permanently. In Shaw's (2004: 8) terms, they moved into "defeated communities locked into new forms of spatial apartheid, the objects of surveillance and repressive control." Consequently, most vulnerable people of the urban areas lived in 'defeated' communities. At the same time, the values of community became a focus for tackling disadvantage in communities among urban poor people as well as marginalised groups and community practitioners.

Definitions of and perspectives on community work

The characteristics of community in SK can be examined through the history of community work. What do we mean by community work? Like the concept of community, community work has been used as an umbrella term to describe a wide range of activities that change according to the social context. Generally, however, it has been defined as activities to help meet the needs of those who have been disadvantaged or oppressed in communities (Mayo, 2002; Popple, 2002b; Stepney and Popple, 2008).

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[7] The non-authorised collective settlement is an administrative term referring to a place in which urban poor people live; *San Dong Nae* is a place where poor people live, this term is used by ordinary people (Kim, S. H., 2000).

Models of and perspectives on community work have been broken down by the way community workers practise their activities and the values they use in conducting community development. Rothman (1970) suggested four models of community work: community care providing services to people in need by using therapeutic skills; community organisation focusing on improving the coordination between welfare agencies; community development to promote self-help through projects that provide resources to communities; and community action that stresses the mobilization of people to change existing social relations. Some scholars have extended his model. Dominelli (1990), for example has added models of class-based community action, feminist community action and community action from a black perspective. Recently, she has added more models to the issues of the environment, economic globalisation and risk and security raised by social change – corporate welfarist community work, protectionist community action, emancipatory community action and environmental community action (Dominelli, 2006). These action models are based on what Mayo (2002) has defined the "transformational approach" seeking to empower communities to challenge the root causes of deprivation and discrimination and to develop strategies based on participation and alliances. Within the transformational approach, Mayo has also suggested a "technicist approach" to the practice of community work. This approach is directed at promoting community initiatives and inter-agency coordination for the enhancement of self-help and care services delivery within the framework of existing social relations. Mayo has suggested 'a synthesized practice' directed towards meeting social needs through technicist practices as well as addressing the causes of oppression and discrimination and promoting community empowerment through transformative practices.

In Dominelli's (1997) terms, the practice can include the "emancipatory approach" of social work, which seeks to address individual needs and structural problems through activities based on advocacy and interdependence in order to change oppressive structures at individual, national and international levels (Dominelli, 2009). In order to extend a synthesised practice of community work, a group of scholars have defined community work as the practice of extending and deepening democracy by the way they frame the notion of participation and citizenship (Craig, 2004; Popple, 2004; Taylor, 2004; Shaw, 2004). Their definition of community work is similar to that of community development defined in the Budapest Declaration at a conference convened in 2004 by international community development organisations. The definition is as follows:

> Community development is a way of strengthening civil society by prioritising the actions of communities, and their perspectives in the development of social, economic and environment policy. It seeks the empowerment of local communities, taken to mean both geographical communities, communities of interest or identity and communities organising around specific themes or policy initiatives. It strengthens the capacity of people as active citizens through their community groups, organisations and networks; and the capacity of institutions and agencies to work in dialogue with citizens to shape and determine change in their communities. It plays a crucial role in supporting active democratic life by promoting the autonomous voice of disadvantaged and vulnerable communities. (quoted in Craig, 2007:339-340)

Community work is seen as a significant practice contributing to community development. I use the concept of community work as a way to enhance community development in this thesis. Thus, community work is a practice involving skills, a knowledge base, and strong values, whereas the concept of community practice can be used to emphasise the practical activity of community work. But community work, in this thesis, is interchangeable with community practice or community social work.

Historical antecedents of community work in South Korea

I will now give a brief outline of South Korean community work history. In it, I discuss the history of community work in periods from the 1940s to 2000s while identifying the activities and roles of community workers.

Community work introduced by foreign agencies

From the 1940s, SK began to use terms relating to community work such as 'community development' or 'community organisation'. Before then, community-based practices and institutions[8] that sought to address the problems of communities had existed at the local and national levels of the traditional state. In 1906, a missionary from the American Methodist church, Mary Knowles, introduced a movement for social welfare. She subsequently built 'the *Bo hae* Women's Community Welfare Centre' to enlighten Korean women in 1926. Japan, which colonised SK from 1910 to 1945, constructed several Settlement Houses to aid poor people, and to promote the ideology of the imperial state. Japan's community

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[8] In order to address the problem of communities in the village unit of Korean traditional society, there were organisational activities to help each other such as *Du Rae, Gae, and Pump Aji.*

development techniques were used primarily for two purposes. The first one was helping to subordinate Korean communities to Japanese capitalists' demand to accumulate wealth by exploiting land. The other was a method to turn communities into military bases by constructing the infrastructures for occupation and aiming these towards China through the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937 (Choe and Roo, 1996).

The characteristics of Korean community work during the period from 1906 to 1945 can be summarised as follows. It was introduced by American Christian missionaries and the imperial state rather than by Korean people themselves. Settlement houses were managed by foreign religious agencies and concentrated on improving Korean women's poor social status as well as civilising them. Moreover, Japan's colonial community work was used to legitimise the ideology of the imperial state through indoctrination, to serve as a means for it to become a strong imperial state by transforming Korean communities into bases for war, and to help poor people improve their condition at the same time.

After liberation from Japan's colonial domination in 1945, Korean society was continuously unstable until the early 1970s because of the war between North and South Korea that began on 25 June 1950 and lasted until 1953. During this time, community work concentrated on community development by restoring broken communities after the war. In 1947, *Ewha* Women's University opened a department of social work. The Korean Association of Voluntary Agencies (KAVA), formed by seven private foreign organisations to aid Korean refugees, was created in 1952 to conduct humanitarian aid activities during the war. In 1956 *Ewha* Women's University built a community welfare centre with the aid of the US Armed Forces in Korea to engage in community work. In the same year, '*A-Hyun* Settlement House' was built as a community welfare centre created by a private organisation. Since then, community centres have gradually increased (Choe and Roo, 1996).

Community work in this period (from 1945 to 1960s) had several features. Firstly, community workers had the roles of helping refugees of the war and reconstructing their broken communities after the war under the guidance of foreign agencies. At this time, the community workers were leaders of religious groups (Choe and Roe, 1996). They conducted charity activities based on Korean social welfare practice that built on what had been learnt from private foreign agencies. They also used community development techniques that emerged in rural communities as charitable activities that aided national development as supported by the US government. Finally, there was a factor promoting a 'benevolent

paternalism' dependent upon community caring and community development in Rothman's model of community work. However, this disregarded Korean people's knowledge and conditions as significant factors to be considered in community development activities. This led Americans to simply issue instructions rather than respect the views of Koreans as having relevance in solving their particular problems. I will now discuss the features of community work fostered by *Saemaul Undong*.

Community work initiated by a self-help movement: Saemaul Undong

SU has been evaluated as the practice of community work having the greatest influence on Korean society. Korean professionals (Jung, 2000; Kim et al., 2000; Choe and Roo, 1996) have regarded SU as the model for community development. The SU emphasised the principles of diligence, self-help, and cooperation as well as seeking to transform the traditional community into a modernised community by organising communities and securing material resources in order that communities could address their own problems, especially those on low incomes in rural communities that bore the brunt of the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation. A modernised community means a community with an infrastructure able to increase incomes through housing improvements such as replacing a straw-thatched house with a new one made of brick, extending roads and reorganising farmland. Creating a modernised community was regarded as the task of community development workers of SU (So, 2007).

Thus, according to Rothman's (1970) models of community work, SU would be deemed a model of community development. In addition, SU has been accepted as a significant model of local governance to be referenced in implementing the policy of community development in SK until now (So, 2007), and evaluated as the current progressive form of community development. Current developments have been achieved by communities acting under the 1999 *Act of Supporting Organisations of SU*, by which the central government and local authorities can provide subsidiary payments for running the organisations of the movement (Hwang, 2006).

From 1962, Korea implemented an economic development policy that prioritised industrialisation through export-led action. As a result, an increasing development gap between urban and rural regions produced social polarisation between urban and rural populations. Additionally, the world economic recession caused by the oil crisis of the 1960s

exposed the problems of a Korean economic policy based on export-led growth. To address the stagnation of export trade, the government needed an economic growth policy that increased national domestic demands by invigorating investment in the public sector. This investment was directed towards SU as a driver of local development (Korean Rural Economic Institute, 1979).

As I mentioned earlier, President Park seized power through a military coup in 1961. The absence of legitimacy for his regime created social disturbances. These increased with the economic recession at the end of the 1960s. To cope with the social instability that resulted from the absence of legitimacy and to gain a political base in rural regions in the presidential election of 1971, the Park government launched the SU (Korean *Saemaul Undong* Centre, 1998).

Both the President and bureaucrats took the lead in the movement by offering material resources to communities, in a top-down way; local leaders and residents choose to become involved in the movement to build better communities, in a bottom-up way. Furthermore, this contributed to the transformation from 'undeveloped rural communities' to 'modernised self-sufficient rural communities' by securing voluntary participation and improving living conditions and the productive bases of rural villages. But by bolstering a pan-administrative organisation and using it as a means to justify Park's authoritarian regime, it actually started gradually to displace 'community as self-help' based on autonomous or self-deliberating residents. As a result, the SU became "community as policy" (Shaw, 2004) and addressed the objectives of the government as specified by bureaucrats and their political leaders.

The implementation of SU can be summarized with mistakes in the policy of community development. The first one is its failure to set up a sustainable goal by which the movement could keep going because there was no consensus on further goals between residents and the government after the achievement of the goal of becoming 'self-independent communities' (Kim, 1975). It was also argued that there was too much intervention in the administrative organisation by the President and the central bureaucrats, which resulted in residents' passivity and dependence on government for resources and activities (Hwang, 2006). Furthermore, this deployment of activities gave recognition to the opinions of the President rather than those of the public (Korean *Saemaul Undong* Centre, 1998). Also, community leaders were not qualified enough to have authority over residents in the SU movements because most had not been selected by local people (So, 2007; Hwang, 2006). In other words,

political means were used to legitimate an authoritarian regime by indoctrinating or spreading ideas of a *Yusin* constitution, which converted the Park presidency into a legal dictatorship with no limit to his re-election. Thus, community practitioners who became involved in SU were labelled as agents who helped activities defending and maintaining Park's authoritarian government (Jung, 2006 quoted in Hwang, 2006). They were those who were involved in the steering committee for SU. The committee was comprised of public sector chiefs such as the chief of township, head teacher, the chief of post office, the chief of the rural technology centre, except the chief of the local farmers union, and a leader of SU (the Ministry of Home affairs, 1973 quoted in Hwang, 2006:32). Community workers having a social work qualification were rarely involved in it. The SU was regarded as a movement led by 'public officials' rather than a grass roots organisation. The ratio of SU leaders selected directly by local residents was not high. According to research about how the leaders were selected (Korean Economic Research Institute, 1979), the ratio was as follows: 3.2 per cent were nominated by the residents; 12.6 per cent were selected by residents' representatives, 34.9 per cent were directly elected by local people, 20.7 per cent were nominated by public officials and 28.6 per cent were referred by the neighbourhood. These criticisms provide clues for setting up the roles of government and bureaucrats when designing a Korean model of community empowerment practice.

From the late 1970s, SU sought to build an environmentally friendly society by initiating a movement for the protection of the natural environment. Moreover, as a means of ending the attempts of manufacturing labourers to raise their wages, the Factory SU launched a programme to create harmony between employers and employees.

During a decade under the aegis of the SU, community practitioners who were leaders of SU worked to bring about visible outcomes in improving living conditions for communities. Such activities included the building of main roads for rural communities, replacing the roofs of houses, improving farmland with a water supply, constructing community centres with funds collected by residents and increasing the average income per household as well as raising a 'can do' consciousness (Korea *Saemaul Undong* Centre, 1998). On the other hand, it was also used as 'a means of social control' for strengthening the capitalist productive system of export-led economic growth fuelled by labourers' low wages and as 'a means of political control' to justify an authoritarian regime (Hwang, 2006). Community work in the 1970s in SK had the dualistic facets of both reforming undeveloped rural communities and

legitimising the Park government's authoritarian regime as a means of addressing its objectives.

After the assassination of President Park in 1979, the movement continued without changing its basic principles, acting as a tool of mobilisation to buttress the national development policies of succeeding governments until the end of the 1980s. Since the democratisation of Korean society, begun by student activists and labour organisations in 1987, the SU as the model for community development has been diminished by criticisms that have focused on its role as a device for the promotion of the hegemony of politically dominant groups (Choe and Roo, 1996). It is important to know about community work that community activists carried out in the urban areas from the 1970s to the 1980s.

Community work initiated by community activists in the 1970s and 1980s

Scholars of social work in SK (Jung, M. S., 2000; Kim et al., 2000; Choe and Roo, 1996) have indicated that a moribund model of community development steadily expanded into the model of community action, which mobilised people to change oppressive social relations, after the democratisation of 1987. The reason for this is that SU, based on the model of community development, is regarded as a political campaign for supporting an authoritarian regime. As a result, the people have mistrusted it.

However, these scholars ignored the community work that poor people living in an urban environment, especially Seoul Metropolitan city, had enacted to acquire residents' rights lost through the urban renewal policy from the 1960s. According to the history of the movement to procure poor urban people's residence rights (Lee, 2003), the movement for urban poor people, '*Bin Min Undong*', as a model of community action in SK, began during the 1960s. The over-urbanisation of Seoul that started in 1960 resulted in a dearth of housing, with a shortage of 40 per cent in 1960 rising to 50 per cent in 1966. As a result, shanty towns started to form in the suburbs of the capital. The Seoul authorities tried to remove people forcibly in the name of an 'urban regeneration policy'. In the process, those who were dispossessed initiated the movement for the acquisition of residence rights. In the 1970s, it was hard to get organisations that promoted long-lasting community action because activities were one-off protests against the policies of the government. As poor people did not have the organisation and the strategies for a concerted movement, they simply responded and resisted through self-help activities without help from outsiders.

From the 1980s, however, their activities started to change from individual resistance into organisational acts. Thus, organisations created by the removal of people from shanty towns began to engage with intellectuals, university students and clerics to build these organisations [9]. Until the achievement of democratisation in 1987, the movement's organisations and their participants were labelled 'violence clans' or 'communist groups' by the conservative media and bureaucrats, and were suppressed by the government. The tradition of such labelling has remained until now. In spite of being trampled upon, their consistent actions in seeking the right to live resulted in the introduction of 'the construction policy' building programme under which 250,000 PPRAs for poor urban people were built by the Roh Tae-woo government in 1989. Since then, community action for poor people's residence rights has undergone a change away from unconditional opposition to the policy and towards activities to change laws and institutions relating to poor people's living environments. NGOs who had attempted a *Bin Min Undong* with the assistance of religious groups were also replacing opposition towards government policies while advocating the improvement of residential institutions and community care activities to help poor people (Lee, 2003). The NGOs sought recognition as providers of welfare services which conducted community work in poor urban communities. In the next section, I highlight community work undertaken by community workers possessing a qualification in social work.

Community work implemented by community welfare agencies from the 1970s to 1990

University Foundations[10] in the early 1970s built community welfare centres (CWCs) to enhance the living conditions of residents near the Universities and encourage university students to become involved in voluntary activities. From the 1970s foreign agencies that had helped to build the CWCs started to return to their own countries, so the CWCs faced financial hardship. As a result, the state partly supported them through subsidiary funds. After 1983, the CWCs had begun formally to take subsidiary funds from the government through the *Act of Social Welfare*.

After this Act was passed, the number of CWCs rapidly increased from 24 in 1984 to 297 in 1995. The main background for the growth was based on the law by which CWCs should be built within permanent public rental apartment complexes (PPRACs) under President Roh

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[9] The Catholic Council for Urban Poor People and the Christian Council for Urban Poor people were created in 1985 (Lee, 2003).

[10] Sung Sin CWC attached to *Sung Sin* University was built in 1971 and *Jung Ang* CWC attached to Jung Ang University in 1976 (Choe and Roo, 1996).

Tae-woo's policy of constructing housing. According to the 2007 statistics of the Ministry for Health Welfare and Family Affairs (MHWFA), the number of CWCs[11] was 397. The practice and management of CWCs had been regulated through the MHWFA. Although there are differences in the programme practices according to the type of welfare centre, social workers have been conducting social work in six main fields that target people needing care in life: families; children; youth; older people; disabled people; and communities.

In 1995 community work roles given to social workers in the CWCs were stipulated as consisting of social education for residents; training for volunteers; cultivating supporters; organising community; researching community; and providing and improving facilities. In 2000, the Kim Dae-jung government formulated the Law of Permanent Public Rental Housing whereby the tenants could organise representative councils to improve their rights. Before 2000, community workers focused primarily on activities that provided programmes of education, especially hobbies, for residents and creating voluntary organisations for helping them. They had little interest in community organisation that empowered residents' participation in their activities.

After 2000, they became more interested in community organisation and conducted practice progressively to build organisations led by residents. In 2002 some community practitioners with experience in community organising engaged in the CEP project of the CCK which attempted empowerment practice by creating community organisations that differed from the community work of the past.

The practice that community workers in the CWCs conducted during the period from 1983 until 2002 was considered 'traditional Korean community work' by some community workers involved in the CEP project. Characteristics of the traditional work including their roles, activities, skills and knowledge are highlighted in Chapter 5 and Appendix IX-1, 2, and 3(pp. 327-30).

The Korean National Council of Social Welfare[12] (KNCSW), which controls and guides the work of CWCs as well as providing information and knowledge of social welfare for the state,

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[11] Most community welfare centres are located in the metropolitan cities rather than in the rural areas. According to MHWFA, 55 per cent of them are distributed in the metropolitan cities, 40 per cent are in middle-sized or small cities, and 5 per cent are in the rural areas.

[12] Korean National Council on Social Welfare is a social welfare representative organisation in South Korea that implements several projects for developing social welfare such as: research on social policy; education of social practitioners; collecting information and data on needs of social welfare; communicating activities with

was established in the 1970. Along with the implementation of the local self-government system in 1995, the KNCSW grew as an organisation at the national level by building 15 Regional Councils of Community Welfare (RCCW) in metropolitan cities and provincial governments. Besides KCCW, the Community Chest in SK was created by law in 1997. Its activities included collecting donations to help poor people and funding the work of the CWCs.

NGOs, as organisations practising the model of community action, had also grown steadily since the democratisation of SK in 1987. With the implementation in 1995 of the institution of local self-government in which the head of local government is elected by direct vote, the number of NGOs has increased greatly[13] (Ok, 2004). A significant feature in such growth was the increase of WNGOs [14]. These raised social welfare issues including social welfare institutions and several voluntary organisations dealing with youth, children, disabled people and the problems of elderly people.

Unlike CWCs, these WNGOs had been funded by donations from religious foundations and citizens, not by government funds. Their activities utilised the following principles: targeting poor and alienated people; building up participation amongst poor people and supporting their rights; emphasising interdependence between the people and highlighting their subjectivity; and transmitting religious ideas through the provision of welfare services. While they have contributed to the improvement of rights and welfare through advocacy, offering information and knowledge, they have faced difficult conditions in some significant areas. These are: the lack of human resources and finances, insufficient professional programmes to reflect community-based characteristics, a scarcity of professionals with therapeutic skills for helping service users, and a shortage of WNGOs to develop other fields such as environment, self-government, and culture (Park and Sin, 2001). WNGOs' activities and knowledge are highlighted in Chapter 5 and Appendix IX-1, 2 and 3(pp.327-30). I now go on to discuss community work in the 1990s.

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international social welfare organisations; and evaluating activities of welfare agencies (Korean National Council on Social Welfare, 2009a).

[13] The number of NGOs is difficult to ascertain because there are differences in research methods and the criteria used in classification. According to Kim, Hyeok-rae (1997), their numbers were 730 in 1997 and 843 in 2000.

[14] A WNGO (Welfare Non-Government Organisation) is a private agency that chiefly practises community work. There are many kinds of NGOs in the fields of education, environment, economy, culture and so on. WNGO means an NGO that promotes community work in local communities.

Community work affected by the local self-government system and economic crisis in the 1990s

SK's local self-governing system was launched by the Kim Young-sam administration (1993-1998). It offered a significant institutional change in that local authorities could implement various programmes of community work at the local and provincial levels. But in SK the local system was evaluated as 'tokenistic local self-governance' in that local authorities obtained limited autonomy to execute policies due to the central government's control over the law and budgets (Jeong, 2001; Heo, 2002). Launching the self-governing system did not impacted greatly on activities of CWCs. They were still restricted by central and local government regulations and audits. There were, however, increased opportunities for local people to be involved in much more than councils or committees relating to community work in comparison to the past. As local public officials had the power to select and exclude their members, the committee and councils operated in invited space led by local bureaucrats rather than claimed space arranged by local people or representatives of civil society organisations developed by the grass-roots (Jin, 2003).

Another factor affecting community work during the launch of the local self-governing system as part of localisation was the effect of SK's economic crisis of 1977. To cope with the financial crisis, the Kim Dae-jung government implemented globalisation of a neo-liberal type by deregulating and liberalising financial markets for foreign investors as well as carrying out structural reforms under the IMF's guidance. As a result, the rate of unemployment and homelessness increased greatly. The government had undertaken 'the policy of productive welfare' [15] since 1997 as a project to address the side-effects of globalisation. Kim's policy has been defined as the 'turning point' in SK's welfare policy. It set up the policy of social welfare as a core agenda at the national level, and increased the costs of state social welfare for the government. In addition, the Kim administration tried to take responsibility for welfare moving away from corporations and the family to the state (Hong and Song, 2003). Lee (1999) saw these shifts as an "emerging welfare state".

Within this context, a significant social policy reform affecting community work was the enactment of a Minimum Living Standard Guarantee (MLSG) taking the place of the Public

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[15] The term 'productive welfare' was introduced by the Kim Dae-jung government when implementing policies such as the extension of unemployment insurance, the National Pension Program, National Health Insurance reforms, and a Minimum Living Standard Guarantee.

Assistance Programme which had excluded individuals aged between 18 and 65 from cash benefits. The MLSG, given regardless of age or the ability to work, is a social programme leading to a minimum income guarantee. This is regarded as the most distinctive package of reforms in extending social rights to poor people[16] (Kwon and Holidays, 2007). But the MLSG still contains a clause on 'conditional recipients', where benefits are provided to those who have the ability to work but earn less than the minimum cost of living, as a way of motivating those searching for jobs or attending programmes of vocational training and skills. This is evaluated as a conservative welfare policy because it was used as a means for helping the market-oriented system rather than one for substantially improving social rights (Kwon and Holidays, 2007; Aspalter, 2005), like the working poor in the West. Executing the MLSG in 2000 has required CWCs and WNGOs to implement new programmes that required the skills and knowledge for community work to support self-sufficiency projects[17] for eligible recipients.

On the other hand, after the democratisation of 1987, WNGOs acted to improve residents rights as well as helping people to escape the poverty trap through organising work in poor urban areas. To secure living costs and foster a community mind set, religious leaders and social activists for poor people initiated a 'productive community movement' as a cooperative union. The Centre of Supporting Community Self-Sufficiency (CSCSS) which was first established in 1996, proliferated by integrating this movement with the necessity for government policy to address poverty problems resulting from the economic crisis of 1997. This movement is regarded as the groundwork of the project for supporting self-sufficiency in communities which was booming during the 2000s (Hong, S.M., 2004a; Kim, S.H., 2000).

Consequently, the characteristics of community work in the 1990s are revealed through three social processes: localisation by implementing local self-government; globalisation along neo-liberal lines following the economic crisis; and democratisation by an increase in the number of NGOs. Localisation provided the local administrative base capable of triggering community work undertaken by the local authorities. Globalisation made the government acknowledge the necessity for a policy to activate community work at the local level.

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[16] Poverty in Korea has been defined as affecting two groups. One group whose actual household income is lower than a minimum cost of living standard, the other is the group whose income is lower than 120 per cent of a minimum cost of living standard.

[17] According to MHWFA (2001), the self-sufficiency project is a programme to increase self-sufficiency and offer minimum living benefits by providing an opportunity to work for the involuntarily unemployed who have the motivation for work but are less able to compete in the labour market.

Democratisation slowly transferred the characteristics of community work as conducted by NGOs from the movement targeted at obtaining residence rights into activities that increased economic power and addressed poor people's needs. Community work after IMF intervention is discussed in the next section.

Community work initiated by the project of self-sufficiency, participation and governance after 2000

From 2000, community work was activated once again much as the SU of the 1970s had been because the policies and practices affecting community development were conducted in a similar manner. This tendency may be defined as the "rediscovery of community". As SU was initiated as a means to cope with the economic crisis of 1970, so the burgeoning of projects supporting self-sufficiency in communities could be seen as the enlargement of community work to address the aftermath of the economic recession of 1997. The five CSCSSs in 1996 increased to 70 by 2001 and 98 by 2003. There were 91 centres for community self-sufficiency[18] managing 191 self-sufficiency communities in 2003 (Hong, S.M, 2004a). This phenomenon is described as "the boom of self-sufficiency in the communities" (Kim, S.H., 2000). SU primarily followed a top-down intervention led by the bureaucrats, whereas the CSCSSs were operated democratically in a bottom-up form that used NPOs, the CWCs and NGOs funded by the government. According to statistics given by the MHWFA (2003), representative agencies for managing CSCSSs were made up of two thirds of CWCs, one third NGOs and religious organisations. Unlike SU, the sufficiency programmes concentrated on poor people and promoted community development by providing welfare services including the opportunity to get a job and cash benefits.

Booming self-sufficiency projects meant that community practitioners acquired skills and knowledge that were able not only to create jobs so that clients received minimum living benefits but also enabled them to be involved in paid work. This has intensified trends whereby practitioners become competence-based community workers with tools to provide jobs where improving life quality cannot be guaranteed. These projects have limited chances of empowering clients in the sense of practitioners enabling them to control their life and develop critical consciousness for changing oppressive structures. In other words, globalisation brought about by the IMF in 1997 has encouraged Korean community workers

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[18] These centres help to build such associations and also serve as a bridge between unemployed people and the labour market by providing participants with job opportunities (Kim and Zurlo, 2007).

to professionalise the types of community work that aimed to tackle social exclusion and facilitate the projects whereby clients were able to achieve positions that provided them with a minimum living income. At the same time, it de-professionalised the types of community work that aimed to build social citizenship. Because the approach to social policy and practice affected by neo-liberal globalisation made practitioners pay more attention to technical, instrumental effectiveness and efficiency of services by quantified measures and outcomes, it has rarely developed the practice of empowering "active communities" that can be created by participation of "active citizens", extending social rights, equality and justice, and renewing civil society in a wider range of issues including those aimed at transforming their society (Kim, I.S., 2005; Nam, C.S., 2006; Jordan, 2006; Banks, 2007b).

Furthermore, the project for supporting self-sufficiency through job creation was evaluated negatively. The first weakness was its failure to build up participants' independent capacity in long-term programmes, an outcome attributed to the lack of research regarding practical intervention programmes (Hong, S. M., 2004a; Jin, 2001). Another was that the programmes stressed changing participants' attitudes without changing the structure of employment opportunities (Kim, S.C., 2000). There is 'economic reductionism' in that most programmes conducted by the CSCSSs are directed at economic self-sufficiency, resting on the assumption that poverty can be addressed by strengthening the clients' capacity to increase incomes without raising consciousness of the collective responsibility to provide well-paid jobs and conducting an holistic appraisal of needs (Kim, S.H., 2000). The problem is that projects are conducted by agencies with insufficient skills, knowledge, experience and human resources (Kim, S.C., 2000; Hong, S.M., 2004a; Jin, 2001). The CSCSS projects are regarded as a failure of implementation to guarantee incomes to conditional recipients as stipulated by policy (Kim, 2007). The rate of success in participant autonomy was just 6.2 per cent (Hong, 2003).

These criticisms highlighted both failures in the policy of the state and the dearth of knowledge and skills of community practitioners to empower communities and promote the development of economic self-reliance. These difficulties arose because the state approached its goal through economic reductionism and individualistic intervention rather than holistic intervention that included changing the people's social conditions and policies that fostered community capacity in engaging all those whose actions and decisions impinged on a particular project (Taylor, 2003). Other than the concern with self-sufficiency, projects to

empower clients and actively involve the community were offered by only a few CWCs and WNGOs in 2002.

Both projects targeted tenants living in the public rental apartments. The self-sufficiency projects were in a programme supported by government funds to empower communities for economic independence, whereas the CEP project was supported by the private welfare agency, the CCK. As the empowerment project is the subject of this study, an introduction regarding its performance will be given in the next section.

Following the accession to power of Roh Moo-hyun's government in February 2003, policies were implemented that contributed considerably to community work. One of these was the policy that aimed to meet clients' needs and enhance their rights through the formation of a 'Local Social Welfare Association' (Cho, 2008). The local welfare association was an organisation where representatives in public and private sectors were based in the community and able to discuss local welfare issues. Its roles are: discussing local welfare issues and deliberating local welfare plans; securing service-delivery systems centred on service users and expanding local welfare resources; and improving the capacity of welfare agencies to address community problems (Oh and Ryu, 2005). According to research (Cho, 2008), social workers working in welfare sectors forming such associations are expected to have the following skills: skills to negotiate differences of understanding about issues; skills to improve communication between participants; knowledge of how to operate local governance structures effectively by holding workshops and fostering a learning organisation; values to promote egalitarian relationships between private and public representatives in setting up plans and agendas and evaluating the outcomes of practice; and a capacity to identify issues that are tailored to local situations and to cope with them rather than depending heavily upon external experts who do not live in the local area.

This local welfare association had different characteristics from a local committee driving SU. The local association was a body discussing key issues like the enhancement of welfare services by targeting vulnerable people rather than lay people. These issues included securing effective welfare delivery systems; finding and developing local welfare resources and addressing current welfare problems. Another difference is the composition of participants. SU committee was made up of chiefs of the local public sector whereas that of the welfare associations is composed of private and public stakeholders relevant to local social work. The main participants in these associations were public officials relating to social work, the chief

of the CWC, the chief of the public health centre, a local council member, a WNGO leader, an expert in social work and a representative of the service users. Selecting these participants was determined primarily by public officials rather than by consensus between public and private representatives or having the residents make the selections. According to research, 73 per cent of participants responded that public authority fosters and controls the association (Cho, 2008). Unlike the local committee of the SU, diverse representatives of people and stakeholders including WNGOs were involved in local welfare associations in the Roh government. But the powers for making decisions have remained with public officials. The opportunity for citizens' autonomous participation was seldom offered, and community workers did not push for it (Kim, C.G., 2006). The new local welfare associations in the PG can hardly be regarded as innovative organisations that are able to reform the profession of community work.

Another reformative policy was 'welfare decentralisation'. This was done via the introduction of 'grant-in-aid for decentralisation' to provide financial funds for local authorities who received instructions from the central government. As part of decentralisation in the field of welfare, the MHWFA transferred 67 of 149 social welfare duties to the local authorities together with the funds for decentralisation (Ku et al., 2009).

This devolution policy could be appraised as 'the policy of a double-edged sword'. Legislating for local social welfare councils and devolving welfare duties to respond quickly to local people's needs to local authorities appears justifiable. However, it holds the potential of negative consequences whereby central government tries to avoid being held accountable for welfare. Furthermore, without devolving financial power to local authorities, it can become a policy whereby central government forces local authorities to take responsibility without giving them rights. PG has been evaluated to show that the government scarcely improved local financial autonomy and did not substantially devolve or decentralise financial matters (Kim, H.J., 2008; Park, 2008; Ku et al., 2009). This policy may also be deemed as a scheme to hand over the authority, responsibility and duties of central government to local authorities and their bureaucrats without transferring over sufficient finances.

In the mean time, the roles, tasks and activities that South Korean community development workers engaged in or what skills and knowledge they were expected to have were many and these varied over time. They are summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Community development workers: roles, tasks, activities, skills and knowledge

Year	Who community development workers are	Community development workers' roles, tasks, activities, skills and knowledge
From 1900s to 1940s	· Christian missionaries · Community-based opinion leaders controlled by Japanese colonialists	· Activities to help poor people · Activities facilitating subordination of communities to Japanese imperialists' demands · Roles and skills to turn communities into military bases to conquer China
From 1950s to 1960s	· Leaders of religious organisations · Local public servants	· Activities to help refugees · Skills/knowledge for charitable activities and community caring · Foreign aid agencies' knowledge; ignorance of Korean native people
From 1970s to 1980	· *Saemaul Undong* leaders selected by local people or local public servants · Leaders of local public and private sectors · Volunteers: university students, clerics and WNGO workers	· Activities to improve living conditions · Task and skills to develop self-help communities, that is, those needing 'economic development *for* the community' · Legitimise and support authoritarian regime · Activities to procure poor urban and rural peoples' residence rights and to help them ·Advocacy role in resisting government removal policy for urban regeneration
From 1980s to 1990s	· Qualified social workers, and WNGO's staff	· As enablers, techicist practices for helping, caring for, and organising poor people · As advocates, transformational practices for implementing government housing policy through mobilizing poor people · "Traditional professionalism" based on the ideas of regarding community workers as professionals superior to people who require their help (Thompson, 2007) ·Traditional Korean community work (see Chapter 5 and Appendix IX-1,2,3**:** pp.327-30)
From 2000 to 2008	· Qualified social workers, WNGOs' practitioners, and leaders of public and private sectors	·Skills and knowledge to implement self-sufficiency projects effectively through creating jobs for poor and underemployed people · As partners of local governance, skills to improve communications between participants, knowledge of how to operate local governance, and values to promote egalitarian relationships between stakeholders · Praxis (knowledge and action) for providing effective delivery services for service users according to devolution policy · Tasks to empower communities effectively by "*power with*" with service users, moving away from "traditional professionalism" to "new professionalism" based on regarding community workers as professionals who promote the values of solidarity and partnership (Thompson, 2007; see Chapter 9)

In addition, the main characteristics of community work in SK in the early 21st century can be summarised as follows. First, there is a proliferation of programmes of community work for poor communities impoverished economically and politically by globalisation. Next, it provides tokenistic welfare institutions to activate community practices at the local level through the policies of welfare that provide low paid jobs for clients. For community practitioners, a lack of experience and professional community work hinders the empowerment of clients and communities through participation and organisation. To reinforce professional community work, the CEP project was conducted for three years in the early 2000s by a few community practitioners. I will explore this next.

A KOREAN PROJECT OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

Background

There have been various problems in public rental apartment complexes in SK such as poverty, slum conditions and conflicts arising from social exclusion. Schemes to address these problems have been attempted from several perspectives, for example, a policy proposal emphasising improvement of apartment facilities (Lee, N.Y., 2005) and a proposal (Kim, S. H., 1996; Korea Centre for City and Environment Research, 2001, 2003, 2005) stressing community development by empowering tenants. In 2000, the government reformed the law regarding public rental housing, whereby residents could organise a tenant representative council to represent their interests and needs. Before this, there had been no system in place for residents to participate in tackling these issues. Before and after 2000, the necessity for CEP was raised by some experts (Park and Kim, 1996; Seo, 2000; Korea Centre for City and Environment research, 2001).

In 2000, the law was reformed so that tenants living in public rental apartment complexes could be organised through a representative council. The changing of the law and information from experts arguing the necessity for CEP fostered the social environment necessary for introducing it. The 'participatory government' that the Roh Moo-hyun government adopted as a slogan of the government operated as a facilitating factor so that the CCK enabled ten community welfare agencies to implement the CEP project. The goals of the project, amount of funds that were invested to implement it, the programmes which ten Centres conducted

and the social conditions of communities that they targeted are described briefly in the following sections.

Goals, funds and programmes

CEP started on 1ˢᵗ October 2002 and ended on 30th September 2005. The CCK project had several goals and objectives:

- providing residents with opportunities to develop their own capacity to address problems occurring within the apartment complexes, and promoting integration amongst residents living there as well as with the communities surrounding their rental apartments by cultivating community leaders and getting them to participate in the process of decision-making in finding solutions to their problems;

- strengthening the residents' capacity to cope with the problems of public rented housing without external assistance;

- establishing equal relationships between community welfare centres and the management offices of the apartments through a TRC which could defend their rights as well as upgrade the community's capacity to solve their problems through community groups and networking with other groups;

- finding leaders who could enhance their leadership skills and develop communities; and

- developing participatory democracy in communities by empowering residents to realize active citizenship; and seek sustainable change in communities by strengthening their capacity for self-determination. (Lee et al., 2005: 7-8)

The CCK supported 10 Centres by funding each one with eighty thousand Won (about £40,000) for labour costs and thirty thousand Won (about £15,000) in programme implementation costs every year for three years. During that time, two hundred million four thousand Won (£165,000 each) were paid to nine centres. The *Hyun Dae* community welfare centre located in the small city of Nam Won received a lesser amount (280,000,000 Won or £140,000) because it only employed two community workers as there were fewer people living in the apartment households compared with other apartment complexes.

The CCK was an umbrella organisation for the ten centres in the project. They were called Community Development Centres (CDC). The four CDCs that formed parts of the WNGOs targeted many households in several apartment complexes in the public rental apartment sector (PRA 50). The six CDCs (the *Kang Buk,* the *Hwa Jin,* the *Min Ju,* the *Young A,* the *Noh Hyun* and the *Hyun Dae*) that were associated with the CWCs targeted households located in the PPRAC[19] within one apartment complex (see Appendix IV-1and IV-2: pp. 300-1). Community workers in the six CDCs had a social work qualification. But some practitioners in the CDCs of four WNGOs (the *Kang Nam*, the *Won Min*, the *Doo San* and the *Dong Sun*) who were responsible for the public rental apartment for either 50 years or on a no limit term had not a qualification of social worker (see Appendix III: interviewees profile, pp.296-9).

The reason for selecting both 4 WNGOs and 6 CWCs is that the former had strong points in their favour in advocating for and organising with residents, whereas the latter had the advantage of providing services for services users with their involvement. The CCK expected that the two groups might create synergies between them by sharing each others' strong points. The numbers of practitioners allocated for this project were three for each centre except for the *Hyun Dae* Centre which was allocated two (see Appendix IV-2: p.301).

The programmes that the ten Community Development Centres conducted during the three years of the project can be divided into six categories according to programme objectives (Lee et al., 2005). The first was research programmes to highlight residents' needs and the community's available human resources. These aimed to ensure that the information the community needed to achieve the project's goals was collected. The research was used to determine peoples' needs, actual living conditions, and community resources and assets. Secondly, there were education programmes for residents to ensure that they became aware of their rights to self-determination and self-help. Third was the programme for community organisations and programmes for supporting this. The CDCs overall objective was to

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[19] The difference between PRA 50 and PPRA is the length of the rental lease or rental period. The former is limited to a 50 year time limit, whereas the latter is permanent. According to the law on housing, a community welfare centre must be located in the PPRA. In contrast, the PRA 50 has no such legal obligation. Another difference is the size of apartment house. The size of a PPRA apartment is 23.1to 39.6 m², whereas the PRA 50 is 40 m². Vulnerable people who are cared for by social workers or are recipients of benefits live in the PPRA. The PRA 50 houses people of low income or those who are moved by the policy of urban regeneration. But practitioners usually called them (PPRA and PRA 50) PRA (public rental apartments) without differentiating between them

strengthen the capacity of communities to develop through the processes of letting people participate together in solving community problems. The programmes were arranged to organise various new groups or activate existing organisations.

Next were the programmes for empowering community practitioners engaged in this project. Enhancing their capacity was important to the practice of the project. Education and training were crucial in helping to prepare community workers for practice. They were educated by external professional agents who provided specific programmes for them. Workshops and conferences were also held to build up their skills and give them information about community empowerment practice and the policy of public rental housing. These were carried out under the following names: Education for Practitioners, a Workshop for Practitioners and a Conference for the Committee in the Working of CDCs.

The social conditions of public rental apartments

The notion of a rental house was introduced into South Korea in 1971 when the Korean National Housing Corporation set standards of 39.6m² for building apartment houses. Many of these houses began to be built in 1982 when the project for constructing the rental apartments was publicised. As I mentioned in chapter 1, a full-scale plan for constructing rental houses began in 1988 when President Roh Tae-woo's government announced the policy of constructing 2 million houses as a measure to deal with the insecurity of rising property prices. At that time, it supplied twenty five thousand apartments for public rented housing as a policy to provide for poor people's needs for housing. The scheme might be regarded as 'social housing' in Western developed countries. The objective of building this housing lay in securing a safety net for low-cost housing, and was directed towards people needing livelihood protection and medical assistance, those with mental disorders, and ex-servicemen. Permanent public rental housing was constructed with the support of 80 per cent finance from central government and 20 per cent from the local authority (Korea Centre for City and Environment Research, 2005).

After 1993, the construction of PPRA housing stopped[20]. Instead of PRA with fifty year leases, houses with short-term leases of five years were built. Like PPRA, the PRA 50 was constructed for people on low-incomes, people who had been removed to facilitate the policy of regional renewal for marginalised people. The PRA 50 apartments are larger in size than the PPRAs. These apartments were built to address the lack of housing and provide housing for people on low incomes. Generally, from the perspective of economic wealth, residents of PRA 50 are better off than residents who are living in PPRA housing (Park, 2002).

PPRA and PRA 50 houses were built by the state to provide security of residence for poor and marginalised people who were unable to buy a house. The total number of PPRA units was 190,077 houses, 24.1 per cent of which are located in Seoul. This reflects a policy that offered the service of welfare housing for people on low incomes. The management of social housing is shared between two agencies−the Korean National Housing Corporation and the local self-governing authority. The Seoul metropolitan city government entrusts the management of the rented housing to the Housing Corporation which was established as a public enterprise. It is very difficult for poor people to move into the PPRAs or PRA 50. In spite of the poor condition of housing, many poor people wanted to live in these houses because rent costs and management expenses were lower. It is said that "moving into PPRAs is as difficult as a camel entering the eye of a needle" (Lee, R.Y., 2005:9).

Tenants living in the PPRAs and PRA 50 have experienced 'social exclusionary processes' which, as oppressed people, they have often accepted. Their attempts to define their identity have drawn on their personal perceptions, their group positioning in a social hierarchy and the "naming" of their status by others, including the dominant group (Dominelli, 2002: 47). This produces social isolation and a frustrating label based on their living situation. It also ensures that they accept existing social circumstances and a position that does not challenge prevailing norms (Hong, 2005). In other words, they are experiencing what is called "a cycle of disempowerment" (Stewart and Taylor, 1995). In the final section I discuss the rationales which have restricted the development of community work that helps people to escape from the trap of this cycle.

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[20] The reasons why the construction of PPRA stopped in 1993 or decreased after 1991 are twofold: one is a political situation whereby politicians did not regard the housing crisis as a main issue because they believed that the social crisis was addressed by constructing many houses. The other is that the economic situation meant that the government and local authorities did not want to bear the financial costs resulting from increasing land prices and the costs of construction (Hong et al., 2005).

THE UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY WORK

Before concluding this overview of the history of Korean community work, it is necessary to understand the main causes of its underdevelopment. These can provide clues for developing a Korean model of CEP. To discuss the causes, it is important to clarify the concepts of social work and community work.

Social work and community work have differences and similarities between them. Social work is defined as "the profession that is responsible for ensuring people's well-being and for integrating outsiders to society" (Dominelli, 2004:215). Community work, on the other hand, is a "political activity through which ordinary people assert control over their communities and their lives" (Dominelli, 1990:1). Community work enhances the capacity of people to control their own lives through political activities in the community and is not irrelevant to social work ensuring people's well being. And social work can be operated within the boundaries of societies including communities, at the national and international levels. As social workers' intervention can be created by prevailing discourses about communities, social work and community work have some commonalities. On the other hand, both professions can identify differences in terms of emphasis. Hatton (2008) identifies the differences between them. He suggests community work practice is concerned much more with challenging power at a political level, whereas social work looks to individuals changing psychologically. In using the law, community work does this as a tool for challenging the actions of political actors. Social work is more concerned with legal requirements than community work. Besides these, there are differences in values and principles that are referred to by Hatton. While keeping these points in mind, I refer to social work practice in South Korea to cover several user groups that use social work services such as children and families, older people, offenders. I use community work to refer to work done in communities and community groups. This is at odds with the situation in South Korea, where there is a tendency for community work to be regarded as part of social work. This has resulted in undeveloped community work, as I describe below.

First of all, the reasons can be explored by diagnosing the causes of underdevelopment of Korean social work. The first reason is that community work is still an insignificant sub-section of social work because of the political nature of community work. This is worse in SK, as it has been dominated for around 30 years by authoritarian governments. Its cause can be found in the framework of the 'residual state', by which the government understands

welfare as the 'trickle-down effects' of distribution which come from economic income growth. Secondly, before the economic crisis of 1997, Koreans had depended upon 'corporate welfare' in which an enterprise offered welfare services to employees, e.g., paying education fees for children and offering housing. The state had assumed little responsibility for welfare because policymakers deemed that economic growth is indeed welfare. Another cause is the cultural factor of clientelism based on a network of blood ties, region, and school. As the state had failed to prioritise the implementation of policies to advance the development of the welfare state, the public inevitably had tried to solve their problems in terms of family relationships rather than through the development of civil society brought about by active citizenship. Furthermore, the Cold War that exists between South Korea and North Korea has prevented welfare budgets from increasing by prioritising the national defence budget (Hong, S.M., 2004b; Kim, Y.M., 2004).

These factors combined with other significant ones to restrict the development of community work. The authoritarian regimes excluded opportunities to cultivate the practice of community work and bring about democratic values through citizen involvement based on a bottom-up approach. The Park authoritarian regime and political parties used 'political regionalism' originating in the nepotistic relations of bonding social capital based on 'regional ties' (see this chapter: p.10, 17), which not only prevented the public from building associations of community, especially those created by bridging and linking social capital at local, regional, and national levels, but also fostered the political-social conditions that hindered the development of community work. Under authoritarian governments, Korean community work had offered an environment in which community work could develop a 'dualistic approach', in which technicist practice and transformational practice developed in opposition to each other (see the section on traditional Korean community work in Chapter 5).

Government bureaucrats have been accustomed to implementing a 'residual welfare policy' so that they have little interest in the policies of community work that empower communities and promote residents' participation. Local public servants who follow the orders of the central bureaucrats do not differ greatly in their attitudes. When considering a perspective of cultural codes, SK's state-centralism, strengthened by authoritarianism and nepotism, may prevent residents and community practitioners from practicing community-based development programmes.

Besides external conditions, the cause of underdevelopment can be found in internal factors relating to the profession of social work. The first factor focuses on university education. Universities with a social work department are running educational programmes with a dearth of practical training as these consist of a curriculum centred on theories of social work. The universities have rarely offered opportunities for training due to their limited field of practice, lack of supervision, and the professors' low estimation of field work (Park, 2001). Even though the main subjects for practical social work have been provided, they have been taught primarily in a theory-centred way (Kim et al., 2001; Nam, 2004). As a result, the universities have not contributed much to the profession of social work which needs integrative practice combining theory with practice; integrating micro-level practice to macro level policy, practice and theory (Park, 2004). Additionally, social work education teaches social work as a social science emphasising skills and knowledge without reference to values and morality. This phenomenon is partly attributed to the importation of American social welfare that emphasises clinical practice as a way of securing the profession, a factor that has driven SK's social work since the 1950s (Nam, K.C., 2006). Teaching clinical-centred practice has led social work to neglect transformational practice based on the values of social justice. The universities have not carried out social work education that creates a professional capacity to tackle poverty. Thus social work is considered to have contributed to the "declassification of social welfare", which means that the programmes that Korean social work set up are not for poor people but for the middle class (Nam, K.C., 2006; Kim, M.S., 2001). Along with declassification, I would like to define it as 'depoliticalisation' in that education has ignored 'transformational practice' by focusing on securing the profession of social work through teaching therapeutic practice thereby avoiding a critique of Korea's authoritarian regimes and bureaucracy and by uncritically supporting government policies to obtain funds for the CWCs.

This form of university education emerges in social work practice when one looks into the prevalence of different practices amongst social workers in the field. According to the research report by Yun (1977), the rate is as follows: administrative operations (21.8 per cent), counselling (20 per cent), case work (16.0 per cent), work for financial support (12.4 per cent) and programme planning and evaluation (8.2 per cent). The fields of work are divided as follows: direct intervention for clients (58.0 per cent) planning and management of programmes (31.3 per cent), and activities for communities (8.9 per cent). Social workers have usually prioritised therapeutic practice and paperwork for administrative operations. For them, community work has not been looked upon as a major element in the field of practice.

Discussion and reflection upon the underdevelopment of alternative ideas in Korean social work intensified after the economic crisis of 1997. The focus of the discussion has been targeted on the 'deficiency of the profession' and an inadequate national policy. Although social polarisation through inequality of incomes has been rapidly progressing (Yoo, 2009) and the MLSG has been implemented to address this (Kwon and Holidays, 2007), South Korean social work lacks the capacity to cope with a changed social environment, and needs alternative strategies from those of 2000 (Nam, K.C., 2006; Nam, C.S., 2006).

CONCLUSION

The main characteristics of SK's history of community work from the 1960s to early 2000 can be epitomised in the following way. First, Korean community work was developed by foreign Christian missionaries, the Japanese imperial state, and the U.S rather than internal forces within SK until 1970. This led to a focus on 'basic education' for a civilising mission, the strategies of economic and political exploitation for the expansion of the Japanese imperial state, and community development for rebuilding defeated regions after the Korean War. Second, it developed in two directions during the period from the 1970s to 1980s. One was community work approaching a model of community development based on the top-down approach of President Park and the bureaucrats who conducted it primarily in rural communities as the SU. The other is community work approaching a model of community action based on a bottom-up approach and "transformational practice" conducted primarily in Seoul's poor areas by social activists and religious organisations that helped poor people. The 1990s was a time in which the social institutional environment promoted the growth of community work in terms of localisation caused by the local self-governing system, globalisation resulting from the financial crisis of 1997 and democratisation contributing to civil society.

It was also a time when representation by two agencies conducting community work– the CWCs as private agencies supported by government funds which were accustomed to the "therapeutic approach" as described by Dominelli (2009); and WNGOs as a type of 'third sector' agency which aimed to change institutions and policies by organising local people, increased. In the early 2000s, community work was in a phase that recognised and needed the building of skills and knowledge of community work for community practitioners. It reawakened interest in dealing with issues of poverty arising from economic recession or social polarisation, whilst emphasising partnership between public and private sectors and

'synthesising practice' of both the CWCs' therapeutic approaches and the WNGOs' transformational ones. This synthesis can overcome the 'dualistic approach' in the practice of community work. The significant causes whereby Korean community work has not developed actively are as follows: authoritarian political system for 30 years; residual welfare system led by the policy of national economic growth; and Korean social academics influenced by the US's social work science emphasising clinical practice and community care. I now turn to considering the lessons that can be learnt from the West.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: LEARNING FROM THE WEST

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to construct a conceptual framework by which to examine CEP in SK, and to clarify the implications of developing a Korean model of community empowerment practice. It is structured in three parts. The first part highlights key concepts that are helpful in understanding CEP. They are empowerment, participation and social capital. These concepts are closely linked. By empowerment, communities and people feel enabled to participate in the decision-making process and programmes to control and overcome their lack of power. So participation which refers to involving people is central to empowerment practice (Ledwith and Spingett, 2010). As Taylor and Mayo (2008) note, participation emerged almost as a prerequisite for any community development initiative to empower communities and their people. Building social capital such as trustworthiness between people and agencies is also seen as a crucial process for effective community empowerment practice and participation because these bring people together to achieve certain goals (Taylor, 2003; Helliwell and Putnam, 2005). The relationships between these concepts−empowerment, participation and social capital, are analysed in the second part of this chapter. The third part of the chapter discusses the two main Western models of CEP: Henderson and Thomas's (2003) neighbourhood model and Stepney and Popple's (2008) critical integrative model. The fourth proposes a 'modified Western model' based on two models that I use to analyse the CEP in SK and to develop a prefigurative model for community empowerment work.

UNDERSTANDING KEY CONCEPTS AND LINKS BETWEEN THEM

Empowerment

Empowerment has been used to describe a multitude of actions and multifaceted ideas, meaning different things to different people. But the concept of empowerment has been used academically to theorise people's relationship to power and powerlessness in society (Humphries, 1966; Rees, 1991 quoted in Adams, 2008). Empowerment has been defined as

the process of activities used to change a power relationship, but also as a process aimed at a change of power; and people's capacities as individuals, groups and communities to exercise power and their achievement of it.

As empowerment is a process of developing people's capacities to control their lives through various activities, it has a multifaceted nature and requires concepts to explain these. The main concepts, according to Adams (2008), are: participation to engage people in the decision-making process; normalisation or social role valorisation to engage disabled people and other marginalised groups in movements towards self-independence; reflexivity and critical activity to understand self-activity and feed into future activity; consciousness-raising to know the social context of the individual, groups and communities and their problems; service user-led practice to give them control over the services provided; radical social work to see empowerment as a political venture that humanises oppressive circumstances; anti-oppressive practice to promote egalitarian relations of gender, race, age, and other social divisions; and postmodernism to see empowerment as having the potential to become either a unifying or a divisive theme in social work.

Empowerment is especially related to a political slant focusing on shifts in power relations. A political venture does not mean party political, as participants transcend party politics (Adams, 2008), but political activities in that they try to assess the context, risks, power differences, and underlying causes of oppression, discrimination and poverty, and direct activities towards institutional change (Rocha, 1997; Vene Klasen, 2004). In developing countries, empowerment of poor people is as much a political issue as anywhere else. Initiatives to change power relations have been met with apathy or hostility by groups of vested interests (Afshar, 1998).

Empowerment also has a reverse face as disempowerment, posing formidable obstacles to the processes of capacity development. Dominelli (2000, 2006, 2007a) suggests there are three kinds of disempowerment. The first type is "commodified empowerment", which creates consumers who express power by exercising choices in the market, which severely restrict the options actualised by poor consumers. This type corresponds to a neo-liberal approach to welfare which seeks to empower people as consumers. The second is "tokenistic empowerment" that offers service users illusory choices rather than 'substantial choices'. This is tokenism that gives an opportunity of involvement but rarely offers a decisive power

to change things. The third is "bureaucratic empowerment" that enables service users to get redress only through a complaints procedure after a service has been given. In Taylor's terms, it gives them "procedural rights" that do not give them the status of citizens with "substantive rights" that emphasise "the participation of citizens in shaping the common purpose of the society to which they belong." (Taylor, 2003:101) These forms of disempowerment weaken and restrict substantive rights rather than building them or enhancing voice in or through 'people's claimed space' created by civil participation. They can be manipulated by service providers, bureaucrats and marketeers who want to legitimise their own choices rather than empower substantive rights through active citizen participation.

Empowerment enables people to act as subjects who control the conditions of their own lives. At the same time it can be a means of reinforcing oppression or existing power relations. Deciding whether empowerment directs itself towards oppression or liberation depends upon the contexts of individual or personal capacity and structural resources that can constrain individual capacity. Thus empowerment is defined as "a way of mediating power relations" within tightly constrained circumstances over which the individual can have only limited leverage (Dominelli, 2000). Without a complex analysis of how power works in relation to different people and contexts, there is a danger that empowerment can simply become a tool for disempowerment (Dominelli, 2000; Fook, 2002). A "process of a four stage empowerment" as described by Fook (2002) can be helpful. The first stage is deconstruction, identifying the major types and power sources, and how they are used by different players in the situation. In Butcher's (2007a) terms, this is about recognising how differential access to (social, political, and economical) power disadvantages people. The second is called "resistance" and raises questions about the dominant construction of power and power relations while identifying the ways in which power is exercised, and whether these need to be changed in order to make the situation more empowering. The third is a "challenge" that enables poor people to make specific changes to the way they conceptualise power relations so that they are more empowering for them. This may be about developing the "capacities and motivation(s)" described by Butcher (2007a) to challenge existing power relations. The last stage is "reconstruction" that changes existing constructions of power relations and creates new ways of seeing power and related practices. The process or strategies of empowerment can also vary according to the particular working contexts that community workers face.

Power is also at the core of empowerment. Power is seen as a complex force which can be created and recreated, while questioning the zero-sum game whereby power gives rise to the win-lose relationship (French, 1985). Thus the issue of power is not simply a question of taking power away from someone else. Power can be shared and new forms of power can be created. Even though powerless people lack some resources, they are not without power. Powerful people are also not totally powerful. Dominelli (1986) called this "the power of the powerless and the powerlessness of the powerful". Outcomes of a negotiated process of power between the powerful and the powerless can go either way, depending on the situational circumstances and the resources of participants. Therefore, there is nothing predetermined (Dominelli, 2000). For instance, if an individual is poor, they will have less access to opportunities of learning than the middle classes. But it is expressive of a 'duality of power' that the circumstances of poor people enable them to challenge and reconstruct through collective action. This makes empowerment practice a principle of existence for disadvantaged and excluded people and communities. Next, I will examine types of participation and strategies to improve participation.

Participation

The issues of empowerment and its relationship to participation are crucial. Adams (2008) indicates that participation will not happen in isolation from a considered approach to empowering people. Participation is a pillar in the process of empowerment. Before highlighting a reciprocal relationship between empowerment and participation, it is necessary to explore the meanings and types of participation.

Meanings of participation range from people participating by providing information to agencies, to people seeking ideas and alternative solutions through information and making self-determined decisions. While comparing words with a similar meaning relating to participation, scholars have attempted to identify its exact meaning. Adams (2008) distinguished "involvement" from "participation". The former refers to "the entire continuum of taking part, from a one-off consultation through equal partnership to taking control". The latter focuses on the active role of the participant in decision-making. This refers "to that part of the continuum of involvement where people play a more active part, have greater choices, exercise more power and contribute significantly to decision-making and management" (Adams, 2008:31).

As another way to identify the exact meaning of participation and analyse the phenomenon, Arnstein constructed a model of participation (1969) namely the "ladder of citizen participation" (Figure 3.1). It is a representative model that draws a distinction between participation types of citizen power, whereby people can play an active role in decision-making, and participation types of tokenism whereby people participate by providing information and consulting with development agencies as a means of legitimising previous decisions. I identify the main problems with this model as: the assumption of an ideal form of participation in which everyone participates (Guijt and Shah, 1998); a situation in which everyone strives for the top of the ladder; and citizen power is what participants want to make a decision, and that those participants who win control can then empower others (Taylor, 2003).

Figure 3.1: Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation

Citizen Control Delegated Power Partnership	Citizen Power
Consultation Informing Placation	Tokenism
Therapy Manipulation	Non Participation
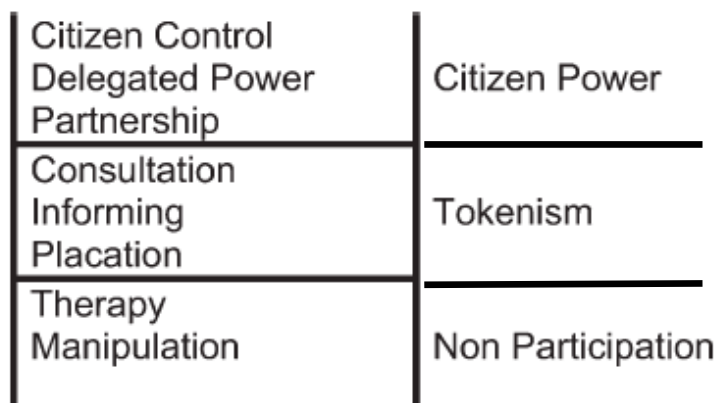
Pretty (1995:1252) suggests a typology of participation similar to Arnstein's model on the basis of normative criteria which distinguish between 'bad forms of participation' and 'better forms of participation'. These typologies describe a ladder of participation defined by a shift from control by authorities to control by the people. But the differences are, according to Cornwall's analysis (2008), that while Pretty's typology helps make clear the motivations of participants as an important factor in shaping interventions, Arnstein's model, by contrast, suggests that participation is ultimately about power and control. Fraser (2005) proposes four types of community participation coupled with four approaches to community work. The types are: "economic conservative approaches" by which the forms of participation revolve around seeking anti-communitarian goals of economic interests based on the analysis of cost-benefits; "managerialist approaches" whereby participation revolves around expert-driven consultations with community stakeholders as a way to get the public to ratify experts' previous decisions; "empowerment approaches" in which participants are involved

autonomously in spaces that they create such as forums and websites for electronic debates, consultations and juries for the incremental reform of institutions; and "transformative approaches" where full participation is present in all areas of life where people are oppressed, alienated, and excluded.

Fraser's typology may contribute to analysing community practices that empower civil participation, but his model seems more directed towards Western countries in that his typology fails to identify types of participation that can be manipulated by powerful elites to legitimise their rule, and from which the term "tyranny of participation" has been coined (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). In authoritarian countries, participation can easily become a means that serves dominant political interests as well as reinforcing already existing unequal relations of power. As a result, participation can be used as an instrument for the unjust exercise of power, disempowering people and preventing them from challenging prevailing hierarchies and inequalities in society.

In China, the participation of the community is encouraged for exploitative reasons such as to obtain free labour, community financing or donor conditionality. Plummer and Taylor (2004) describe this as "manipulation participation". Along with this type, they add two other types: "imposed participation" which is imposed by the government; and "involuntary participation" whereby people cannot be voluntarily involved. Thus, the ladder of participation that has been suggested for the Chinese context does not empower ordinary people as autonomous beings. This ladder needs to be highlighted because SK, like China, has developed within authoritarian regimes based on Confucianism.

Plummer and Taylor's contribution indicates six forms of participation in relation to increased levels of decision-making (Figure 3.2). At its most rudimentary, "notification-participation" is where authorities notify citizens of their activities, e.g., announcing their plans in newspapers. "Attendance-participation" refers to the situation in which community members physically attend meetings to hear about development initiatives implemented by government. The third form of participation, called "expression-participation", is a stage in which the public are given the opportunity to express their opinions. The decisions continue to be made by government. The fourth form is the participation of communities in discourse − debate and discussion of ideas by encouraging the expression of individual opinions in the hopes that their views will influence the authorities. But the authorities still have the power to

make the final decision. The next form of participation, called "decision-making participation", is a phase in which the people are fully involved in the decisions to be made and are able to contribute to discussions aimed at equal decision-making. This form is rare in contemporary China. Finally, "initiative participation" is a phase of participation in which "communities initiate ideas and are able to mobilise themselves to make things happen" (Plummer and Taylor, 2004:44).

Figure 3.2: A Ladder of Community Participation in China

| INITIATIVE/SELF-MANAGEMENT |
| DECISION-MAKING |
| DISCUSSION |
| EXPRESSION |
| ATTENDANCE |
| NOTIFICATION |

Increased decision-making
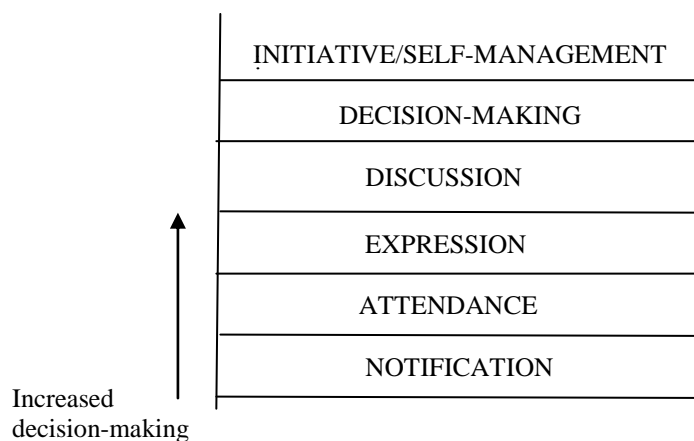
Source: Plummer and Taylor (2004: 42)

In addition to understanding participation as types of decision-making processes, a critical analysis of different spaces for participation (Brock et al., 2001) is becoming important for implementing "community as politics" (Shaw, 2004). As a result of the development of civil society, the authorities in SK have opened opportunities for participation. The spaces for participation arranged by them are easily manipulated or disguised in ways that serve to legitimise their particular policies. To identify the ways of manipulation Brock, Cornwall and Gaventa (2001) use three kinds of space: "closed", "invited" and "claimed". Closed spaces refer to decision-making and a policy process controlled and cut off by authorities and agencies. "Invited spaces" are where the people can be involved in public discussions or policy-making processes and where civil society groups are invited by the authorities. These spaces are sites of participation where participants, who are invited by authorities, can legitimise decision-making. Claimed spaces are created by people using their capacity for self-determination to decide their own agenda and make decisions that address their problems.

It is necessary to introduce a model that encourages real participation and diagnoses the factors that hold back engagement in the communities rather than focusing on types of participation as a useful tool for analysing participation. Thus, I draw upon two models: the CLEAR (**c**an do, **l**ike to, **e**nable to, **a**sked to, and **r**esponded to) model indentified by Lowndes et al. (2006) and Adams' model based on the ideas of Wright and Haydon (2002). The CLEAR model is discussed on the following grounds. Firstly, this model was established using empirical evidence on encouraging participation. Secondly, the model has strengths that practitioners can apply effectively to communities, as it suggests not only specific strategies to improve participation but also can operate as an analytical tool to evaluate strategies. In addition, this model has a grassroots perspective focusing on the ways to empower people in enhancing participation. Adams' model is also useful in improving participation, as it suggests strategies needed for people, practitioners and stakeholders relating to empowerment in a variety of cultural contexts. His model includes a reviewing system for evaluating participation. This model includes aspects of evaluating participation which can supplement the CLEAR model's weaknesses. The CLEAR model can be summarised as follows:

Participation is most effective where citizens:
- **'Can do'** as when people have the appropriate skills and resources to be able to participate effectively. These are: the ability and confidence to speak in public, write letters, organise events and encourage others of a similar mind to support initiatives; and access resources that facilitate such activities, e.g. the Internet. Some skills can be improved by capacity building efforts whereby citizens are given the support to develop the skills and resources needed to engage in decision-making;
- **'Like to'** as to when people have a sense of community, they are willing to engage. If people feel part of the community (a sense of togetherness or shared commitment), they are more willing to engage. The "like to" factor can be enhanced by recognising and promoting a sense of civic citizenship and solidarity for civil renewal which focuses upon citizenship education, community development and the engagement of activists and leaders in partnerships for governance and service delivery;
- **'Enable to'** refers to when people have networks and groups that can support and facilitate their participation. The existence of networks and groups that can support participation and provide a communication route to decision- makers is vital to

participation. Where the right range and variety of groups exist to organise participation, there tends to be more involvement. An important factor in the "enabled to" type of participation is the role of local authorities when their decision-makers are open to a variety of groups;

- **'Asked to'** is when official bodies or voluntary groups ask people to become engaged more often and more regularly. It can also have a significant effect when organisations and agencies who are responsible for a decision ask people to engage by extending a variety of invitations to citizens to participate;

- **'Responded to'** is when people believe that their involvement is making a difference by reflecting their opinions. People are more likely to engage if this occurs. As one of the biggest deterrents to participation is citizens' perception of a lack of response (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001), responding to their voices is important. If citizens perceive a lack of response to their engagement, it becomes difficult to secure sustainable participation. Whether decision- makers have the capacity to respond or the extent to which and how they feedback to their requirements is regarded as the challenge in the 'responded to' type of involvement (Lowndes et al., 2006).

Adams (2008) also proposes four systematic strategies to improve participation. As the first strategy, he proposes that a "developing culture" focuses on how the staff, service users, carers and others share beliefs about the value of empowerment and their commitment to empowerment practice. This strategy is different from the CLEAR model that focuses on people and practitioners. Aspects of the culture are: sharing the understanding of participation among all participants; motivating managers and staff by cultivating staff in key management roles to bring them to the point where they are committed to empowerment practice; showing evidence of participation; creating a 'champion' of participation; and publicising commitment to participation. The next is "building a structure" of organisations and resources that enable people to generate motivation and provide incentives for becoming involved. Aspects of the structure are: building organisations for implementing participation; resourcing the organisations; developing strategies to support these; developing links with partners; identifying participation champions; and providing adequate resources for their development. These aspects are similar to the elements of the CLEAR model. In addition, "developing effective practice" improves participation. Factors in such practice are: involving staff and participants in collective and individual decision-making; ensuring that participants have a

positive experience of becoming involved; sharing positive practices of participation; and enabling participants to develop the necessary skills, knowledge and experience. The final strategy is that of "developing (an) effective system for review" which means the process of monitoring and evaluating participation. The elements to review it are: identifying the proposed outcomes; resourcing review systems; and establishing systems to provide evidence of the process and outcomes.

These strategies enable practitioners to reflect on their current practice and to analyse the obstacles to engaging citizens and how these might be overcome. These two models can help Korean practitioners and researchers to analyse their activities, to build up participation and to enhance empowerment practice. In the following section, social capital that is regarded as a key concept for effective community empowerment practice is discussed.

Social capital

Without a firm foundation for community capacity, effective participation that brings about empowerment is not likely to occur. It is not easy for poor people to take part in developmental projects without having confidence in the donor agencies (Narayan et al., 2000; Beresford and Hoban, 2005). The first step in empowerment is activity that builds up the confidence of people. Taylor (2003) proposes "community infrastructure" as a basis for channelling skills, knowledge and capacities into participation as citizen action. A community infrastructure is built from below through shared activities and learning. It is composed of "organisational intelligence", which is the capacity of organisations to create knowledge and use it strategically to adapt to its environment, and "human and social capital" to combine both formal and informal ways of linking people based on trust or confidence (Taylor, 2003:158,193).

The concept of social capital initially appeared in a modern sense in Hanifan's (1916, 1920) writings about analysing community in rural districts, accentuating the contribution of "goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse" to community development (Farr, 2004 quoted in Field, 2008:15). Although earlier writers made some use of the term, social capital did not emerge as a trendy word to describe community development until Putnam (1993, 2003) published his study on Italy in 1993 and used the term to refer to the decline in civic responsibilities in the US (Dominelli, 2006:40). Bourdieu (1986) and

Coleman (1990) developed the concept of social capital, but they were much less attracted to it than Putnam (Field, 2008).

For Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), the density and durability of tiers to produce actual or potential resources were crucial. For Coleman, social capital is understood as a valuable set of resources not only for the acquisition of credentials but also for both cognitive development and in the evolution of a secure self-identity. In the process of creating resources, he regarded closure, that is, the existence of mutually reinforcing relations between different actors and institutions, as essential.

In defining social capital, Putnam et al.(1993) and Putnam (1996,2003) suggest several meanings. They are: trust, norm and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions; "networks, norms and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (1996:56); and "social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (2000:19). Putnam then introduced a distinction between two forms of social capital: bonding (exclusive) and bridging (inclusive). The former refers to a tendency to reinforce exclusive identities and maintain homogeneity through a tightly knit inward-looking network, e.g., in SK families, regional affiliations, regionalism, nepotism, clientelism. Bridging social capital refers to a tendency to bring together people across diverse social divisions through outward-looking perspectives. Woolcock (2001:13-14) adds "linking social capital" to Putnam's classification. Linking capital means a tendency which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those who are entirely outside the community, thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community.

Putnam tries to prove that American social capital is in decline as a result of individualism promoting solitary pursuits. According to Field (2008), his work on social capital has always attracted controversy with regard to the evidence of his thesis (Lemann, 1966), failing to provide an account of the production and maintenance of social capital (Misztal, 2000), its conceptual vagueness (Portes, 1998), underestimating the importance of politics (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001), and, ignoring the neoliberal context of the society he describes (Dominelli, 2004). Even though there have been criticisms of his thesis on the basis of the concept of social capital, Putnam's idea of social capital has been described as "a concept with immense potential for filling the vacuum that capitalist analyses of society have left" (Taylor, 2003:55).

But as a concept 'in use', caution is required in applying it to community work, for example for black women. This is because they have been pathologised for relying on family-based community networks of social capital, and promoting local identities that foster mutual support and trust among people. But their strong 'bonding social capital' does not adequately represent their activities in the community because those who differ along ethnic lines are conceptually excluded, even though they engage in more than one type of social capital in practice (Dominelli, 2006). This caution can also be applied to Korean society with its strong overtones of nepotism based on family, region, and school networks. Strong bonding social capital based on family, region, and school reinforce ties between people through mutual support and trust. But this, mentioned above, gives rise to the negative 'political regionalism' that has prevented SK from developing a "welfare state" (Hong, 2003) and a "democratic state" (Hong, 2009). In the next section I discuss the relationships between empowerment, participation and social capital.

The relationships between empowerment, participation and social capital

The ideas embedded in participation can encompass frameworks of empowerment as a process of developing people's capacities to control their lives. Their capacities can be the consequences of participating in programmes and/or projects for building such capacities. Empowerment means giving people power or enabling people to take power to control their lives with the knowledge, ability, skills, resources and authority to act. Power can be of several types–"power from within" as psychological inner strength, having the confidence and ability to act, "power-over" as having resources and finances to act, "power-to" as the capacity of an individual to realise his will in spite of resistance, "power-with" as the capacity of collective action being able to mobilise strategies for change and "negotiated power" as the capacity of being able to compromise with power-holders for productive outcomes (Allen, 1998; Dominelli, 2000; Tew, 2006; Butcher, 2007a; Thompson, 2007). Empowerment can be achieved by being involved in programmes to empower people. In the empowering process, participation is regarded as an integral and essential feature because people can create power by participating. They acquire the ability, knowledge and skills or authority to act as agents. The capacity that people get through empowerment, in turn, can contribute to higher levels of participation for decision-making, collective action for change and claimed spaces.

However, when not involved in empowerment opportunities, people take part in programmes and/or projects for building their capacity (above black box in Figure 3.3) but these may be used to reinforce hegemonic perspectives and existing power relations. Even though they take part in such programmes, if the programmes are not aimed at strengthening critical consciousness about power relations that may impact on their lives, people will be disempowered. This leads them to become involved in types of participation that are tokenistic, manipulative, and tyrannical because they exclude 'genuine participation' whereby people participate in the process of making decisions in oppressive structures as agents. Being involved in these types of participation can cause forms of disempowerment that make poor people adapt to existing social relations. So empowerment is a product of being critical, and cannot be understood without insight into the way that power works in society (Ledwith and Spingett, 2010).

To move away from types of tokenistic participation to genuine participation, people need to be aware of different forms of involvement and participation. For example, a "ladder of participation" has been identified that differentiates between "citizen control" and "tokenism" in the types of participation. In many cases this awareness can become the trigger for "transformative participation". This awareness can be reinforced by the implementation of community-based learning programmes which have embedded Freire's idea of consciousness-raising to empower people on an individual basis; and conscientisation, which means developing the critical capacity to understand oppression systematically and to take action to change it. Gramsci's notions of hegemony can also be reflected in programmes. Thus, Freire required people to engage in conscientisation through dialogue that enables them to become aware of the oppressive structures whereby the society is unjust and discriminating, and to develop the capacity for critical thinking about the society and to engage in collective action for changing it (Freire, 1972:24). This conscientisation is conducted by "dialogical education" between educator and participants, and between participants and the world rather than by a "banking education" where students put their efforts into receiving and storing information that teachers deposit (Blackburn, 2000).

Gramsci (1971) required that people criticise the hegemonic ideas of dominant groups disseminated as common sense through the major institutions of a capitalist society − family, churches, schools, mass media, legal system, and so on (Ledwith, 2001). Gramsci's insight helps people not only to understand the subtle nature of power and the way that the dominant

ideas of society infiltrate people's minds, but also to see that civil society offers an opportunity for liberating interventions through a process of critical consciousness. Furthermore, Gramsci's concept of organic intellectuals, derived from the experience of the working class and from debates with others, helps people to criticise false consciousness as the catalyst for empowerment. Like Freire, Gramsci recognised that true education is something that people do for themselves with the help of others (*power with*), not something that is done to them by experts (*power to*) (Beck and Purcell, 2010). These community learning programmes enable people to judge whether participation is empowerment which creates citizen power or disempowerment which loses it. Hence, Figure 3.3 shows that there is a reciprocal relationship between empowerment, participation and learning programmes projects.

Figure 3.3: Relationships between Empowerment, Participation, and Social Capital
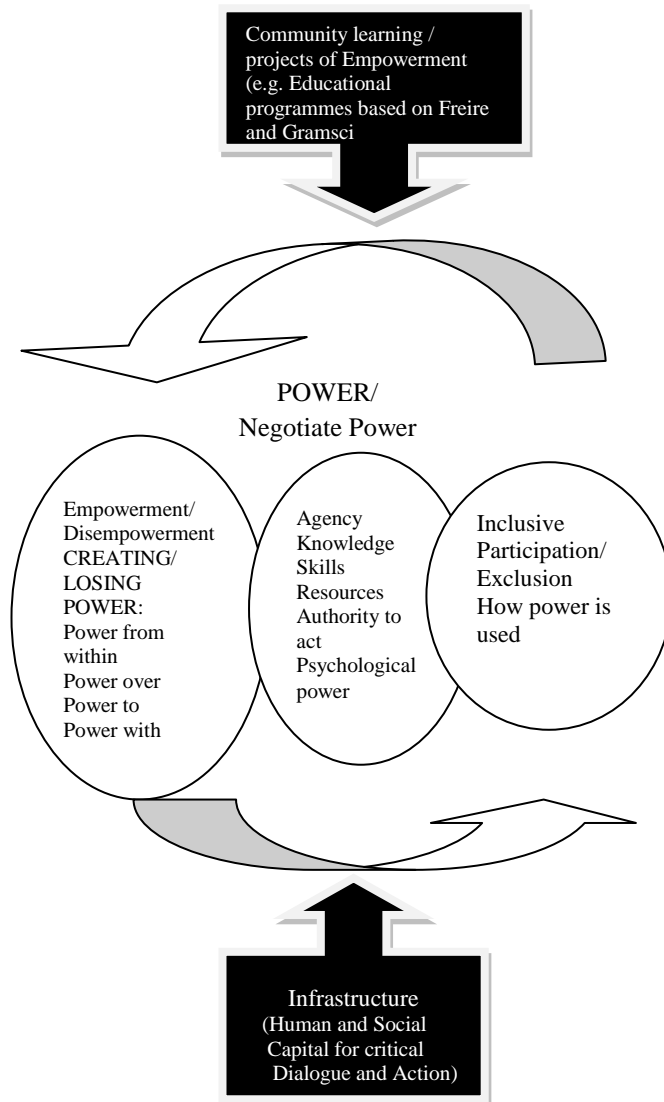
Sources: Dominelli (2000), Ledwith (2001) and Kinyashi (2006).

As a key factor that affects reciprocal relationships, I add 'human and social capital' (low black box in Figure 3.3). The first step in empowering communities is an activity that fosters credibility between practitioners and clients (Taylor, 2003). When a sense of attachment and togetherness is built on the basis of trust in the community, people can be involved in programmes which empower. Increasing a sense of trust about community can improve participation (Lowndes et al., 2006). The relationship-based process of trust development "from below" can facilitate, create and strengthen community organisations operating as a community infrastructure that "channel(s) the skills, knowledge and capacities that have developed in communities into effective and collaborative action and leadership" (Taylor, 2003:190). The infrastructure can serve as a platform to raise issues of concern, provide

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points of access for decision-makers and mobilise collective action for change. Thus, fostering social capital as a valuable set of resources for securing trustworthiness based on relationships in community is regarded as a 'mediating means' that encourages participation and empowerment. This is not a goal in the empowering process because empowerment is not activities aimed at creating social capital, but a process of building capacities so that people exercise control over their lives and change the structures that are oppressing them.

On the other hand, social capital can either facilitate or inhibit empowerment and participation (Jordan, 2008). In SK, for instance, bonding social capital that strengthens ties between like people of similar blood, locality and school has produced processes that exclude anyone deemed to be different from them. This produces an "othering process" that creates a 'them-us' division that labels others as inferior human beings (Dominelli, 2002). Othering processes can turn social capital into a factor for exercising "power over" and oppressing other groups. Besides this, if social capital based on trustworthiness between worker and clients is too strong, there are risks that they can abuse it (Dominelli, 2004; Leonard, 2004). When clients entrust their determination to practitioners, clients can become subservient. As a result, it is difficult for service users to assume power for autonomous decision-making. In addition, social capital also has the potential to impede empowerment by reinforcing prejudice and the relationship of 'them and us' when it operates predominately on the basis of cliques within bonding social capital. However, social capital is seen as a good thing in empowering people and encouraging their participation for community development, as it can build strong correlation with economic prosperity, stable governance and social cohesion. For community workers, especially, bridging capital can be seen as important for managing diversity and maintaining community cohesion, whereas linking capital is seen as a thing for empowerment and partnership working (Gilchrist, 2004). Hence, a strategic approach is needed in order to engage in critical dialogue and reflection in building social capital.

Additionally, it is difficult for empowerment and participation to be effectively exercised without developing trust between community practitioners and service users. If community workers do not demonstrate empowerment in the way they use knowledge, indicate their intentions, display a caring attitude and employ positive self-disclosure, it is easier for clients to stay at home rather than become involved in programmes for empowerment (Behnia, 2008). Community practitioners who are able to amass critical social capital through professional practice can promote links between empowerment and participation. But

practitioners find it difficult to become all-powerful professionals. Neither do clients become passive recipients of social work intervention because practitioners have the capacity to shape the relationship. Thus, dialogical power based on trust between practitioner/power-holders and clients is needed, which enables them to engage in negotiated power relations (Dominelli, 1986). Where power-holders are not transparent and accountable in their negotiation of power relations, it is hard for empowerment and participation to be sustainable (Lyon et al., 2001). Consequently, social capital may operate as a mediating means that either facilitates or inhibits empowerment and participation. In the next section I examine Western models of community empowerment practice.

CRITIQUING WESTERN MODELS OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

Reasons for the model choice

There are many models of community empowerment on which to draw, developed for community practice in the West. In developing a modified Western model of community empowerment (see p.76), I draw on several of these, ranging from Freireian–inspired approaches based on conscientisation to Alinsky-based approaches and feminist models based on political action and equality. Having read a large amount of literature, I focused on these because they addressed gaps in the South Korean literature and would contribute to empowerment practice in that country.

To build a 'modified Western model', I first critique and analyse two representative models of community empowerment which, I believe, can help to evaluate and develop a S. Korean model of CEP. One is a "neighbourhood model" devised by Paul Henderson and David N. Thomas that comprises a nine-stage process of community engagement (2002). Henderson and Thomas' model is a practical skills-based approach, which pays less attention to political context and transformative outcomes. The other is a "critical integrative model" developed by Stepney and Popple (2008) which consists of a six-step process. Popple and Stepney's model draws on a range of critical and radical theories including Freire and Gramsci. Scrutinising strengths and weaknesses of the two models enables me to obtain the intellectual resources required to develop a modified Western model of CEP.

There are several reasons for selecting these two models. One criterion was to draw on analyses by UK experts to bring their models and ideas of community work to contribute to the development of social work and practitioners in community work in SK. I do this to counteract the imbalance in the development of Korean social work and community practice that has resulted from the dominance of American knowledge in the profession. A second criterion was to identify explicitly the whole community empowerment practice process from beginning to end. This would enable me to carry out my analysis of the Korean CEP and propose a prefigurative Korean model of community empowerment. The third criterion was to use models with skills and knowledge that I needed to achieve my purposes in this thesis. I consider Henderson and Thomas' neighbourhood model as one that highlights knowledge about the technical elements needed to conduct community empowerment. Stepney and Popple's work is recognised as a model that illuminates transformational approaches to community empowerment by emphasising critical practice for tackling oppressive structures, an area of knowledge that is missing in the context of community practice in SK. These models cover gaps in the S. Korean attempt to develop community work. Although the two models have strengths, they also contain weaknesses. Therefore, I examine the two models and their strengths and weaknesses, and then present a modified Western model that minimises their weaknesses.

In addition, the criteria behind the choice of the models that contribute to the modified Western model are considered. If a model leads towards emancipatory community empowerment or has theoretical points and practical aspects that complement the weaknesses that I have identified in both the neighbourhood model and the integrative critical model, I introduce these elements to the modified Western model. Specific rationales for the choice are highlighted when I identify the processes of a modified Western model of community empowerment. I now turn to introducing the neighbourhood model.

A neighbourhood model: a traditional Western model of community work

Henderson and Thomas (2002) emphasise the importance of neighbourhood at the micro-level as people's living places are affected by national policies. Their neighbourhood means small-scale communities, and they suggest neighbourhood work as a direct face-to-face undertaking with local people or networks to tackle problems in an area (2002:26). One of the main reasons for using the word "neighbourhood" is to identify characteristics of bottom-up

practice that involve people in decision-making and the policies that affect them at grassroots levels. While they explicitly use the word empowerment, they define it as the concept of 'community capacity' or the skills of the local people who are active in achieving results from their activities and the strengthening of local organisations through learning and training. It is not about transforming local structures. Community activity aims at active citizens with a sense of duty and responsibility through organisations and networks in the communities. They do not consider a citizenship that creates awareness of power relations or which challenges the economic globalisation that produces inequality and poverty.

They see neighbourhood work as a process coupled with values such as social justice, participation, equality, learning and cooperation. Even though they insist upon the centrality of values for neighbourhood invention, they emphasise that "there are identifiable skills and techniques which can be used in a multiplicity of situations regardless of theoretical or ideological stance of workers or neighbourhood groups" (Henderson and Thomas, 2002:31). This stance enables them to separate skills, theory, and policies in community work. The process of empowering people in a neighbourhood is divided into a nine-stage process of: entering the neighbourhood; getting to know the neighbourhood; identifying needs, goals and roles; making contacts and bringing people together; forming and building organisations; helping to clarify goals and priorities; keeping the organisation going; dealing with friends and enemies; and leaving and ending. I briefly summarise these nine stages in Table 3-1 which builds on Payne's summary (2005:224). I will apply the main points in each stage during the process of analysing the Korean project of community empowerment. In the next section, the analysis focuses on identifying strengthens and weaknesses of the neighbourhood model.

Table 3.1: Henderson and Thomas's Neighbourhood Work Model[1]

Phase	Practice aims	Practice approach
1.Entering the neighbourhood	Think about going in	Orientation and information gathering Identify values and roles for worker and relationship to community attitudes Plan approach and analyse evidence of community problem
	Negotiate entry	Establish relationships with existing groups and local people Identify roles and establish appropriates relationship with agencies involved Identify and negotiate appropriate roles for the workers' agency
2.Get to know the neighbourhood	Justify data collection	Justify to others and plan data collection
	Data requirements	Include history, environment, residents, organisations, communications, power and leadership
	Data collection	Specify the neighbourhood clearly Scan the area broadly, visit and travel round Use questionnaires and informal discussion, observation, written materials, local history
	Analyse & interpret	Different types of report may be required
3.Identify needs, goals and roles	Assess problems	Describe, define, identity extent, origins and dynamic and present action around the problem
	Set goals/priorities	Clarifying worker's own goals and priorities
	Decide role disposition	Will it be local development, social planning or social action? Phasing, goals and preferences Agency constraints and opportunities
	Roles areas	Relations with local peoples, dealing between group and transaction about group agencies
4.Making contacts and bring people together	Reasons	Possible reasons are to allow people to assess the worker, provide information about the worker, and motivate people to consider possibilities.
	Process of making contact	Prepare by selecting and sequencing people to talk to, selecting setting for meeting, means of contact and how to present yourself Make contact cross boundary, introduce yourself, agree aims of contact Afterwards: recall and write up, inform others, follow up
	Ways of making contact	Initiated by the worker: street work, probing problems, survey, petitions, public meeting Initiated by community workers
5. Forming and building organisations	Context	Community conditions: motivation, energy, barriers Community issues: concern that engage support
	Form organisation	Check feasibility and desirability: existing groups, potential membership, time, strategy Encouraging leadership, give early help, survey, group members' motivation, wider community issue, clear goals Building structure, tactics and strategies, group cohesion Public meetings
6. Helping to clarify goals and priorities	Clarifying goals and identifying priorities	Setting goals/objectives, identifying evaluation criteria goals, considering possible actions Deciding priorities by the nominal group technique and Delphi technique to develop scenarios based on expert knowledge Making –deciding together with worker and members of communities
7.Keeping the organisation going	Maintaining and strengthening of organisation	Providing resources and information Being supportive Coordinating help providing outsider specialists Planning: for future events and works Developing confidence and competence: through 'technical skills' such as writing letters and organising petitions and political skills such as negotiating skills with stakeholders Allowing local people to give equal opportunities
8.Dealing with friends and enemies	Networking with other agencies	Need political skills capable of negotiating with decision makers: to be clear about the desired end-result; to select the tactics; to carry out lobbying; to consider leverage when a group is threatened; to decide skilful timing of any action Count benefits and costs Keep in touch with outsiders as widely as possible Carry out practice affecting social policies with long term commitment and confidence
9. Leaving and nding	Evaluation and tasks of leaving	Evaluating effects, process, performance and needs Disengagement: to help members openly discuss their attitudes and feelings Stabilising achievement: to make sure that positive change and gains will be maintained after leaving Administration: writing up records, evaluating the works, effecting closure with agencies and residents

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[1] Payne (2005) summarised the stages from the first to fifth. But sixth, seventh eighth and ninth are summarised by me.

The strengths and weaknesses of the neighbourhood model

I focus on Henderson and Thomas (2002) because they provide a lot of information on technical skills needed by community practitioners to carry out community work (Popple, 2000). These skills are needed in SK. According to Rossetti (1987), there is a nine-stage process of dissecting and classifying the many different elements involved in neighbourhood work. These are clearly related to practice principles, skill areas and a development process that applies to a large variety of practice situations, especially with regard to the fourth stage: "making contacts and bringing people together". The authors elaborate upon the detailed methods and techniques of contacting people whilst cautioning that these methods may give community workers an "over-mechanistic view of them" of them.

While the skills they identify provide practitioners with practical resources, Henderson and Thomas fail to consider the importance of 'power differences' between players. Excluding these considerations creates the risk of allowing hegemonic groups (a government agency or community work agencies) to continue supporting the status quo (Popple, 2000a). Even though they insist upon the centrality of values for any neighbourhood intervention, they give priority to skill areas in community work with a plea that "there are identifiable skills and techniques which can be used in a multiplicity of situations regardless of the theoretical or ideological stance" (Henderson and Thomas, 2002:31). Thus their work has been criticised for ignoring the "political context" of skills and failing to connect sufficiently with the production and reproduction of inequalities in the wider society which results in problems for localities (Popple, 2000a:40); for being interested mainly in local "soft issues" such as interagency work and service delivery (Ledwith, 2005:12); and for focusing on skills in ways that endorse the "neutral apolitical individual" as practitioner (Dominelli, 2006:26). For example, community workers can employ skills in empowering people to become active citizens. But there are different kinds of citizens such as a "consumer of public services", a "producer who develops local assets", citizens as "active citizenship implies an agency", and "citizens as stakeholder(s) in governance" (Taylor, 2003; Barnes et al., 2007). When the skills, strategies and tactics for forming community organisations and networking are applied to communities without being coupled with the criteria of clear values or surrounding contexts, they can utilise business skills that focus on costs and benefits associated with these while ignoring power relations.

They also do not elaborate as much on the skills needed to involve people in the processes of decision-making, while specifying the skills of making contact in great detail. There is little mention of the ways of "scaling-out" to increase the quality of participation and "scaling-up" to expand the quantity of participation when making decisions to initiate institutional change (Gaventa, 1998). Furthermore, community empowerment should be extended to disadvantaged, marginalised and socially excluded people (Adams, 2008). The skills and techniques needed to improve the political capacities of marginalised groups (Gardner, 2003) are rarely found in the neighbourhood work process. Henderson and Thomas's model focuses on techniques and skills to empower community from an individualistic view of the neighbourhood, while ignoring the interrelations between the local level and national policies brought about by globalisation and their structural problems (Craig et al., 2000; Dominelli, 2004, 2007). Thus, the model hardly includes values that are transformative or that engage in political or collective actions. Apart from the skills of participation, there is a lack of effective publicity for community involvement or effective ways of being trained and learning subjects such as action learning and pedagogy: these have been considered significant parts of community empowerment.

Some comments can be made regarding the nine-stage process of community practice. This process has strong advantages in offering help to community practitioners by specifically distinguishing the stages of practice, e.g., setting a goal and priorities by the worker (third stage); setting a goal and the priorities after building an organisation (sixth stage), and including the stage of dealing with friends and enemies (eighth stage). Although Henderson and Thomas indicate that their nine stages connect with each other and can occur simultaneously, their neighbourhood model possesses sequential characteristics. I wonder whether the issues of dealing with friends and enemies are best set as the eighth stage. Community workers can face friends and enemies at every stage of the process of community empowerment.

In setting out the roles of community workers, Henderson and Thomas favour current social relations: they do not consider transforming them. They define the role of community workers as providing resources and information, being supportive, co-ordinating help, setting up and planning events, developing confidence and competence in an organisation and the people who can sustain it. Even though they argue that the community worker's role should be based on particular circumstances, I argue that they rarely highlight the community

workers' roles as advocates for citizenship for marginalised groups in order to protest for change of oppressive structures. Community workers need a caring role of being supportive to service users' as well as advocating for change in oppressive institutions. At the same time, community workers sometimes face contradictory positions in deciding whether they should play a supporting or advocacy role in a particular situation. Thus, in suggesting two types of roles, community practitioners tread a "fine line" between caring and advocacy roles (Dominelli, 2009).

In addition, evaluation, a significant part of the nine-stage process, is left to the final stage. Henderson and Thomas's evaluation is concerned with four interrelated issues based on Barr and Hashagen (2002). Firstly, it assesses what the effects or outcomes of intervention have been. In this "process", the knowledge gained about the process of doing neighbourhood work is assessed. A "performance" assessment relating to the manner of working and effectiveness of the community worker and how this accords with agency goals and needs is given priority; and community "needs" in new areas are left for another day (Henderson and Thomas, 2003:222-25). This style of evaluation may be of little help in composing a framework for analysing changes in power relationships. They also rarely mention the methods of the evaluation, such as a necessity of qualitative and quantitative methods to measure empowerment and an emancipatory method led by service users who can empower themselves by being involved in processes of the evaluation. But their method of evaluation can be used by those who favour a managerial approach based on the principle of effective, economic, and efficient working to obtain maximum output with minimum input in the short-term. The evaluation of neighbourhood work does not explicitly identify the subjects for research or who is going to collect information and how. Without identifying those, it is easy for evaluation to reflect the interests of experts or those who control the research rather than local people. There is no statement in which evaluation has to engage local people from a very early stage. Furthermore, their evaluation style can weaken empowerment practice by ignoring key elements in measuring community empowerment such as 'power differences' within or outside communities, the sustainability of people's activities, 'non-tokenistic participation' of the people in all stages of the process (Craig, 2003) and a critical reflection framework for evaluation (Gardner, 2003). The next section moves on to highlight a critical integrative model.

A critical integrative model: towards an emancipatory approach

Unlike the neighbourhood work model that emphasises and suggests skills and techniques, Stepney and Popple's "critical integrative model" prioritises identifying approaches that guide the directions in which community work is practised. The critical model they seek to create sets out the characteristics of empowerment practices including reflective, preventive and anti-oppressive practice, calling it a "hybrid model" (Stepney and Popple, 2008:163). Before highlighting their model and its strengths and weaknesses, the concept of community empowerment they define needs to be explored.

Stepney and Popple regard community empowerment as having a strong element of community work because empowerment is a concept encompassing multi-level concerns with individual development, group processes and organisational change. Additionally, empowerment is seen as a concept that offers community workers a broader context for practice and raises questions about social justice, diversity and equality. Furthermore, it also has the potential for providing a framework which connects personal experiences with collective action for a more just, equal and sustainable world. Thus the theory of community empowerment is regarded as a "paradigm for practice to address issues of justice, difference, and change" (Stepney and Popple, 2008:119). In contrast, Henderson and Thomas (2002:20-1) prefer community capability to community empowerment by which they mean that local people can establish organisations and networks for achieving their goals at the neighbourhood level.

To address community issues, the critical model introduces the "eco-socio approach", which incorporates analysis of structural causes of the issues and includes full consideration of wider global networks support beyond the individual and family. Unlike the critical model, the neighbourhood one concentrates on face-to-face community level interactions between people living in the communities while requiring practitioners to become concerned with policies that affect this level. But it is not interested in action on the global level.

The critical model (Stepney and Evans, 2000:113) is different from the neighbourhood one. The latter concentrates on technicist practice at the community level; the critical model is directed towards "an integrative model" that combines an "individual care management task with anti-oppressive strategies seeking to reduce the deleterious effects of structural

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inequalities upon people's lives through collaboration with community members." Thus, this model is moving towards transformational approaches rather than technicist ones.

Stepney and Popple's model is oriented toward critical practice to criticise dominant market-based power that the neighbourhood model almost ignores, in ways that build on ideas from Foucault's power (1984), Dominelli's anti-oppressive practice (1996, 1993:24, 2002:6), Fook's empowering process (2002), Freire's conscientisation (1972) and Gramsci's critique of hegemony (1971). The model is drawn up from Foucault's ideas (1984) which involve the concept of power being embedded in the use of language, and the achievement of different meanings through discourses and negotiation, rather than being an exercise in state power as well as "critical realism". Reality is seen as meaning what is understood through "critical thinking about theories of causation, which involves an analysis of structure, mechanism and context, linking human agency with the social structure" (Pease, 2007 quoted in Stepney, 2008: 162). Foucault's ideas are included as an element of the model that enables people to criticise dominant ideologies and raise critical consciousness through dialogical methods of empowerment whereby practitioners, together with service users, consider anti-oppressive strategies (Stepney and Popple, 2008; 119: 158-63). The critical model leads community practitioners to integrate a method of intervention concerned with structural analysis and an unpacking of dominant discourses in the wider global policy level and the local community context. This enables them to focus on a sense of powerlessness and marginalisation rather than psychological aspects that have been developed in the dominant discourses. In addition, it enables them to help in reconstructing problems in more empowering ways as part of a strategy for change. Change, especially structural change, is regarded as an emancipatory strategy in community work.

Evaluation in the critical model of community empowerment draws primarily on Gardner's framework of research (2003) that emphasised participation of marginalised people in practising evaluation. A concern with processes and the outcomes of practice is regarded as a common element of the two models. The critical model, however, concentrates on ensuring the participation of marginalised groups and people; exploring and managing uncertainty in the quest for deeper understandings than those achieved through causal explanations; connecting the personal with the structural relationship: and with engaging with issues about power. As a method, it draws on the principle of action research and is grounded in the lived experience of servicer-users (Stepney and Popple, 2008). The neighbourhood model uses

research to collect data and evaluate community work and is interested only in how a community worker can control and conduct the research alone rather than engage cooperatively with people (Henderson and Thomas, 2002).

Furthermore, unlike the neighbourhood model, the critical model emphasises a 'preventive approach' in empowering a community by which a practitioner intervenes before a service is demanded and before the situation has deteriorated to the extent that the service user's network can no longer cope. The neighbourhood model is considered as 'reactive practice' in identifying strategies of community work to regenerate communities that have been abandoned by public authorities, e.g., the coalfield communities that Henderson and Thomas (2002:16) mention as examples. The critical one, however, values proactive practice that seeks to prevent disadvantaged communities from becoming abandoned ones. The proactive one is based on the community-oriented approaches of Hadley et al. (1987), which stress a reduction in reactive responses whereby a practitioner reacts to demands for services. Preventive initiatives are required to be incorporated from the start, so that they can be "dovetailed with protection strategies" (Stepney and Popple, 2008) which are presented as a central statement of policy intent with early intervention required before a crisis point is reached (Stepney, 2006).

Along with these approaches, the critical model includes further pointers in the method of good community empowerment. It is argued that small-scale, bottom-up, multi-strategy partnership approaches are more effective than large, top-down prestige projects (Stepney and Popple, 2008). These strategies differ little from the neighbourhood practice of seeking to involve people at grassroots level and forming groups and networks to tackle community issues (Henderson and Thomas, 2002).

The processes of the critical model comprise six stages drawing upon ideas from the work of several intellectuals–Vickery (1983), Smale et al. (1988), Sawdon (1986), and Mayo (1988). The six stages are: familiarisation and information gathering; engagement and assessment; organisation, planning and partnerships; intervention in collaboration with community members; the mobilising of team resources for empowerment (clients and staff); and research and evaluation. Figure 3.4 represents these processes.

Figure 3.4: Stepney & Evans/ Stepney and Popple's Six Phase Model of Community Social Work (CSW) Process
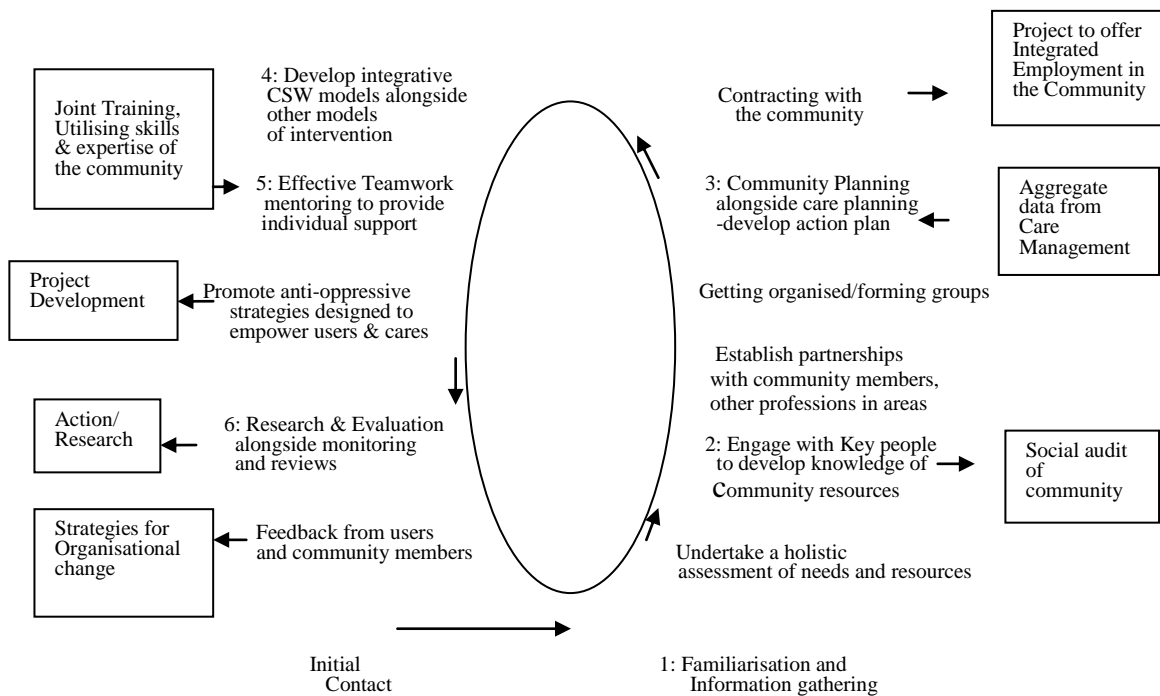
Source: Stepney and Evans (2000: 113) and Stepney and Popple (2008:126).

The first stage involves activities in which community practitioners make contact with local people and collect information regarding the community, which is similar to the first stage in neighbourhood work–"entering the neighbourhood" and the fourth stage–"making contacts and bringing people together". Based on information from the first stage, critical practitioners undertake a holistic assessment of needs and resources. As a result, they obtain knowledge of the community resources and identify the key people capable of seeing a project through. After the second stage, the critical model recommends that community practitioners carry out a social audit of the wider community to map out the full range of needs and resources. The seven rectangles indicate additional opportunities or requirements at each stage. The third stage is to set up "community plans alongside care planning", based on data from care management and the results of a social audit of the disadvantaged community. This means working to clarify priority issues and develop action plans. While moving from the second to the third stage, the model requires community practitioners to build organisations and groups by forming partnerships with community members and other professionals in the area. This is included as the fifth stage of the neighbourhood model. In the process of moving from the third to the fourth stage, the critical model includes the work of contracting with the community on how to conduct the project and provide employment opportunities for local

people. After the connections to the community are made, the fourth stage is entered. This focuses on "integrative community empowerment" alongside other methods of intervention. Other methods are not identified but the model demands that practitioners mobilise as a method of organising in particular situations. The fifth stage is that of setting up effective teamwork in order to implement an action plan involving joint training and through utilising community skills and community resources. By creating effective teamwork and promoting "anti-oppressive strategies", the model leads to outcomes that develop communities. This is like the seventh stage of the neighbourhood model–"keeping the organisation going"–in providing resources and people through teamwork. Anti-oppressive strategies are not included in the neighbourhood model. The final stage in Stepney and Popple's critical model is to research and evaluate the practice of community empowerment by getting feedback from service users and community members.

Looking at the stages in practice, the earlier stages seek to gather information about the people and the communities by making contacts and setting up goals and plans. The two models do not differ much until the stage of building organisational infrastructures. A clear difference between the two models is that there are anti-oppressive strategies in the fifth stage of the critical model. The neighbourhood model describes two stages more than the critical model: helping to clarify goals and priorities (sixth stage); and dealing with friends and enemies (eighth stage). These two stages are activities that ought to be included in each stage because community practitioners can regard such activities as having to be checked and monitored throughout the process of empowering communities. The characteristics between the two models are contrasted in Table 3.2. Now I identify the strengths and weaknesses of the critical model.

Table 3.2: Differences between the Neighbourhood Model and Critical Integrative Model

Features of the Models	Neighbourhood Model	Critical Integrative Model
Stages of the process	9 stages ▪ entering the neighbourhood ▪ getting to know the neighbourhood ▪ what next? Needs, goals and roles ▪ making contracts and bringing people together ▪ forming and building organisations ▪ helping to clarify goals and priorities ▪ keeping the organisation going ▪ dealing with friends and enemies ▪ leaving and ending	6 stages ▪ familiarisation and information gathering ▪ engagement and assessment ▪ organisation, planning and partnerships ▪ intervention in collaboration with community members ▪ mobilising team resources for empowerment (users and staff) ▪ research and evaluation
Priority in community work	▪ specific skills and technologies	▪ general approaches and directions
Values of community work practice	▪ technicist practice led by workers' capacities ("*power to*": boosting community members' self-development and building community organisations)	▪ technicist and transformative practice led by workers with service users/ other agencies ("*power with*": working in partnership)
Scope of levels and contexts	▪ micro scope focusing on the community level, ignoring the global context	▪ macro scope (eco-socio approach) focusing on at the community level, including community, national and global contexts
Approach	▪ a reactive approach for developing community-based self- help ignoring collective actions and community learning by critical pedagogy	▪ a critical and proactive approach for community development by changing power structures
Evaluation of community work	▪ concerned with process as much as outcomes including performance and needs ▪ research controlled by practitioners who collect data and evaluate programmes	▪ concerning with process as much as outcomes including performance and needs ▪ action research with service users and marginalised groups

The strengths and weaknesses of the critical integrative model

Stepney and Evans (2000) and Stepney and Popple (2008) can be recognised as having extended the horizon of theory and practice of community empowerment by proposing an integrative and critical model. Firstly, it is a contribution that extends the scope of the practice of community empowerment by integrating the micro-level of community care (focusing on the worker-client relationship) with the macro-level of community development (focusing on national policy and global frameworks relating to community work). Secondly, it leads practitioners to be aware of the significances of preventive, critical reflection and anti-oppressive practices within community practice.

At the same time, there are weaknesses in this model. First, although the critical model may integrate several approaches through the practice of combining both the micro and the macro, it fails to synthesise the approaches with the processes involved in combining both levels, and

ignores organisational functions. For example, in the first stage of familiarisation (Stepney and Evans, 2000:113), there is little discussion of the specific ways in which making contacts and becoming acquainted with the residents of communities occur, whereas this is specifically considered in the neighbourhood model. Ways of building organisational infrastructures are also not considered in the critical integrative model. Additionally, the model overlooks the role that organisations play in developing human and social capital, in what Taylor (2003) calls the "community infrastructure". The community infrastructure provides the foundation for building community capacity because it channels resources that communities have developed by learning from each other and organising in collaborative action. Without an infrastructure, community empowerment has difficulty in getting effective results. The critical model rests on an assumption that the anti-oppressive strategies introduced in the processes of community development practice will produce good results without considering how such an infrastructure can be formed.

When considering the point at which community empowerment couples with participation, the critical model is not greatly interested in specific ways of building up citizen participation (Adams, 2008); citizens' critical consciousness such as action learning (Butcher, 2007b); organisational learning for consciousness-raising, and publicity and organising activities (Dominelli, 2006); and the significance of collective action and egalitarian relationship between members in building and managing organisations (Dominelli, 2006; Alinsky, 1971). The model merely emphasises the need for participation, but it could be that it expects residents to develop this. Fourthly, although the critical model includes partnerships with community members and other professional teams and accentuates critical practice, it neglects the importance of the role of supervision. When considering the argument that "the concept of critical practice is not social work per se but is integral to social work in that it makes use of the critical as the route to excellence in performance and the advancing of expertise" (Adams et al., 2002: xxi), the critical model needs to include supervision activities in order to develop practitioners' expertise in community empowerment. It needs to embrace a condition in which supervision as a forum for reflection allows social workers to reflect upon their experience and emotions, and through critical reflection to understand them in a wider context of work and look for alternative methods of reaction, action and agency (Niinikoski, 2004).

Finally, the critical practice model seems to lack specific strategies that guide critical practice for practitioners. Stepney (2006:1302; 2008:171) demands that practitioners "reconstruct and recreate new more emancipatory strategies and a process for change." The method is to carry out carefully negotiated processes. The "negotiated process" for emancipatory change is too vague and does not seem to be concrete enough for practice. Adams, Dominelli and Payne's (2005) definition of "transformational practice" gives practitioners help in forming practice for emancipatory change. Transformational practice involves activities that do not just move beyond the situation as it is now, but achieve change in social relations. It is creative and moves beyond both "proceduralism", in which the practice is bound by the law and its procedures, and "managerialism", where the practice is subjected to the priorities of, and held accountable by, managers and the organisation. Furthermore, it is set up as the responsibility of a social worker to empower people by transforming practitioners themselves and enhancing their capacities for self-awareness, self-evaluation and self-actualisation. In this way, they become community practitioners who empower communities (2005). I use these two models to develop a modified Western model of community empowerment in the next section.

A MODIFIED WESTERN MODEL OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

Stages of practice

The modified Western model of community empowerment (MWMCE) draws on the strengths of models of 'neighbourhood work' and 'critical practice'. But I develop it further to address the weaknesses of the two models by drawing on the ideas of the following experts: Adams et al.'s (2005) model of the reflectiveness cycle including critical reflection for lack of practical specificity in reflection and critical practice; the 'inclusive research model' of Dominelli (2005a) and Beresford (2002) to emphasise the "power map" and service users participation in community profiling; Alinsky's (1971) organisational principle emphasising collective action to change oppressive structures and the feminist organisational principle of Dominelli (1995, 2006) stressing egalitarian relationships amongst members when building and managing organisations; Ledwith's (2005) Freireian-feminist approach drawing upon ideas of Freire (1972) and Gramsci (1971) to criticise power domination in community learning; and Craig's evaluation model of community empowerment focusing on the change of power differences. Along with these models, I introduce other ideas to the modified

Western model. They are: Engeström's (1992) model of a learning organisation to stress reflective practice at community level; the model of Lowndes et al. (2006) and Adams' (2008) for improving participation to propose specific strategies for enhancing community participation; Dominelli's (2002a;2004) multidimensionality of contexts to understand community empowerment practice at the macro, meso and micro levels; and the empowerment model of Taylor (2003, 2006) which is introduced to emphasise the importance of community infrastructure, and of bridging and linking social capital for community empowerment, which is seldom mentioned in either the neighbourhood or critical practice model.

MWMCE is composed of a six step process shown in Figure 3.5. The six steps in the MWMCE overlap to some extent and may not follow in a precise sequential order. For example, making contacts with people may continue up to the final stage. The model, however, is constructed in terms of criteria that are regarded as the main tasks that govern practice that promotes community empowerment. The six steps are: entering a community; building and checking goals and identifying issues; conducting community profiles and action planning; forming organisations; strengthening communities; and research and evaluation.

Figure 3.5: The Six-step Processes in a Modified Western Model of Community Empowerment

| National Political Institutional Context | | Global Economic Context |

Space for conducting community empowerment

<u>Activities</u>   <u>Outcomes</u>

Learning skills of CE Making formal & informal contacts

1 .Before and after entering a community
· Training practitioners
· Informing
  people and agencies involved
· Making contacts

Learning organisation & supervision Formation of familiarisation with community

Brainstorming and looking into the conditions of community

2. Building and checking values &goals and identifying issues
· Phasing goals and objectives
· Listing issues and
  assessing problems

Launching programmes to empower people to foster trust

Inclusion of research with people

3. Conducting community profiles & making action plan
· Collecting data
· Modifying goals and strategies
  with peoples

Sharing data & Establishing planning with people

Formulating objective, name, method of making-decision & rotating power position Community activities

4. Forming organisations
· Checking feasibility and desirability of
  existing groups or creating new ones
· Constructing 'community infrastructure'
  : bridging social capital
· Overcoming fear of participation

Building organisations with bridging social capital

Conducting activities to building up quality & quantity of participation Implementing inclusive networking & critical community learning

5. Strengthening communities
· Implementing transformative practices
· Fostering the culture and structure of participation
· Extending networking for linking social capital
· Endorsing collective group dynamics that eliminate
  hierarchical relationships
· Deepening community learning by critical pedagogy and action learning

Local governance as a stakeholder Active citizen with citizenship

Discussion of outcomes Reflecting factors to be tackled

6. Research and Evaluation
· Empowering research
· Reflecting the outcomes and process
  with people, workers and agencies involved

Proposing strategies that promote community development

| Ecological Context | | Socio-cultural Context |

Sources: Henderson and Thomas (2002), Stepney and Evans (2002), Craig (2003), Taylor (2002), Dominelli (2002, 2004, 2005, 2006), Banks (2008), Butler (2007a, 2007b), Gilchrist (2004), Karvinen-Niiniloski (2004), Lowndes et al. (2006), Ledwith (2001, 2005) and Popple (2002a).

The largest rectangle indicates the spatial boundaries of communities (micro-level) in which practitioners perform. The space of practice is influenced by four contexts: global economy, ecological environment meaning the physical environment (macro-level), national political and economic forces and socio-cultural relations (meso-level). Additionally, the small rectangles on the left include key activities that practitioners carry out for constructive action at each stage; the right hand rectangles signify the outcomes of activities at each stage.

The first stage

The first stage includes orientation that workers as professionals require in order to have the information, knowledge and skills needed to practise effective community empowerment. After an initial orientation, the workers need to continue their education with a supervisor through the creation of a learning organisation[2] that can facilitate practitioners' reflections upon their practice in ways that address the complexity of communities. For practitioners, the aim is to become a reflective practitioner who has learned to learn, is capable of developing expertise through practice, and who is also a conscious subject of the activity and able to undertake alternative practice (Karvinen-Niinikoski, 2004). The process of becoming a reflective practitioner is related to a "reflexiveness cycle" proposed by Adams et al. (2005:9) in which "experiences and actions affect thinking, which changes subsequent experiences and actions, in turn affecting subsequent thinking." Critical reflexivity can be a tool that leads to transformational practice as a way of coping with the multiple aspects of any situation that community practitioners deal with in communities. It is valued in a modified Western model because it is integral to the way in which practitioners tackle the consequences of oppression and contradiction in a practical way, even though it cannot address all things effectively.

To become a reflective practitioner, individuals need not only a cycle of reflectiveness on internal counts, but also a "mediated activity system" (Engeström, 1992) which connects with the multidimensional contexts relating to reflective practice. From the beginning, it demands a learning organisation that is capable of practising supervision that connects individual

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[2] A learning organisation rests on a model of work-related learning that Simon and Ruijter (2001) suggest. Their model constructs a three-stage process of learning: elaboration, by which competence is elaborated on by learning from and in practice; expansion, by which formal knowledge and insights are expanded by learning from research; and externalisation, by which building on practical and theoretical insights contributes to the development of the organisation and the profession. When participants share in common interests and build professional collective capacity for practice and about knowledge through learning in the organisation, they engage in organisational collective learning.

reflection to the wider societal levels. The organisation develops towards organisational collective learning as practitioners build on practical and theoretical insights that contribute to the development of the organisation and the profession. Additionally, making contacts with the people and agencies involved in the first stage is a way to become familiar with the community and agencies pertaining to it while becoming aware of the characteristics of the project. Although there are ways of making contact with people, small-scale activities are significant because they can give people a feeling of trust by giving them something that they want to do or that needs doing. Informal contacts are as important as formal ones in empowering communities (Gilchrist, 2004). Small-scale activities for making contacts are easier to access as well as feeling more natural to people.

The second stage

The second stage is the phase in which practitioners check the goals and objectives of the project, identify issues that are important to communities by brainstorming on the basis of information and ideas collected in the first stage and integrate strategies with egalitarian values. Along with information, the goal and objectives are examined in the context of the community's resources such as human resources, funds and facilities, so that it can act as an agency for practising community empowerment and highlighting and assessing the significant issues for a community. This corresponds to the third stage of Henderson and Thomas's model (2002).

Setting out values that underpin the action is important in practising CE because these influence the direction of the action and people's conduct. The values of community work do not differ from the values of social work. The Standing Conference for Community Development (2001) proposed a number of values including social justice, participation, equality, learning, cooperation. The 'modified Western model' is inclined towards transformative practice based on an "emancipatory approach" which addresses individual and structural problems by using both technical knowledge and therapeutic skills to change policies and social structures (Dominelli, 2009). Its values, therefore, are concentrated in social justice, equal citizenship, interdependency and solidarity, differences and commonalities (Dominelli, 2002b, 2004) and participation (Adams, 2008).

In the modified model, the second stage is listed as the period of launching programmes which build bridging social capital between peoples or people and practitioners. In the earlier stages, the programmes are arranged to encourage people and children to be involved in "light touch" projects[3] such as opening a community café in a community centre, which gives people a place where they can drop in, and which can help to revitalise a run-down housing estate. A range of activities identified by Burns et al. (2001) as strategies promoting the development of social capital[4] are established, and then some of them are realised during the second stage. These activities are considered part of practice involved in the construction of the community infrastructure that is being built from below in order to empower the community. From Plummer and Taylor's (2004) model of participation, the second stage starts with programmes that form 'spaces for participation' where people can come and express their views.

The third stage

In the third stage, community profiling is carried out and an action plan based on the results of this work is formed by practitioners together with local people. The plan is then announced to other community residents. This is similar to Henderson and Thomas's second stage of getting to know the neighbourhood. This MWMCE approach differs from theirs in the ways in which researchers collect, share, and use information with local people. The MWMCE approach to research is to mobilise the principles of feminist and empowerment research in sharing information and the skills entailed in collecting it among groups; highlighting the significance of local knowledge and communities during the collection of data, involving residents in the dissemination and use of the data collected; contributing to a process of empowering vulnerable, excluded and otherwise seldom listened to people; and utilising findings to improve community development by sharing findings and critically appraising particular aspects of practice with the people (Gardner, 2003; Dominelli, 2005; Adams, 2008). Including the views of the excluded, Dominelli (2006) argues, enables a community profile to

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[3] For example, "light touch" projects are: creating safer open spaces; building a community shop/café; publishing community newsletters; fostering youth forums; creating learning groups for people; and launching partnerships that build bridges across different group and communities (Taylor et al., 2007; Somerville, 2011).
[4] Burns et al. (2001: 85-86) suggest four kinds of activities to promote social capital. They are: enabling social interactions like coffee mornings, public meetings; supporting the institutional structure of communities like involvement in campaigns; expressing and promoting common values and norms like caring for the environment; and improving people's sense of safety, pride and belonging by means such as the physical improvement of their surroundings.

identify opposition to the project and reveal people's vested interests in adopting a particular position, in order to facilitate planning for action, monitoring change and assessing outcomes. Hawitin and Smith (2007) require that practitioners do not lose sight of what has been the radical potential of community profiles for use in bringing about change. As such research enables services-users to become empowered and to gain experience by participating in the research, there is a growing understanding of how service users can design and undertake research into problems that they identify. This understanding can lead to an emancipatory community profile whereby research is carried out 'by' servicer users rather than 'to' or 'about' them (Beresford, 2002).

In highlighting major contributions of community profiling, Dominelli (2006) suggests five that can be presented in paper or audio-visual format, for example, a map or project website. These are: descriptions of the physical and economic environment of the community; a demographic description; a political description of political parties and organisations involved in the communities; and a description of the social and informal networks between people. These items can be described by the types of maps made by community members (Beck and Purcell, 2010). These maps include "neighbourhood maps" that identify important areas of their lives, what might be the potential problems or concerns, who are important people in their lives and what kind of support/threat might come from them. Then there are "issues maps" that identify the problems that community members want to address. A third type is "resources maps" which can show the physical resources within an area as well as the specialist knowledge and skills of organisations, workers and community organisations. Finally, there are "power maps" that are used to see who holds power over the use of resources, ownership of land and facilities, or the informal power relationships within the community. These items and maps need to be extended not only 'within community' but also beyond community-based level such as at national and global levels.

The fourth stage

The fourth stage is the step that builds and forms organisations to address the problems of communities. As Henderson and Thomas (2002:142) argue, examining possible alternative or complementary approaches before making a commitment can be a healthy means of checking on the feasibility and desirability of community organisation. Additionally, the principles that apply to organisations in the community to create political consciousness and harness

collective power for transformative practice are considered in Alinsky's (1971) people's organisation and in Dominelli's (1995, 2006) feminist community organisation. The principles of Alinsky and Dominelli differ very little in that they emphasise the participation of as many people as possible, egalitarian relationships among members, and organisations that use space for consciousness-raising and collective action. The difference is that Dominelli specifically targets creating spaces for women's participation because she is concerned about the exclusion and the invisibility of women.

Organisations play significant roles as community infrastructures in which people's private concerns can become public (Taylor, 2003, 2006); people can develop the courage and skill to speak out in their own right or voices, to tackle issues, to overcome fears of participation, and to negotiate and interact with others (Dominelli, 1995, 2006); people become competent enough to defend their interests and to build bridges across differences and a broader alliance for social change (Taylor, 2003); and people get the capacity to be able to conduct what Fook (2002) calls "a process of four stages of empowerment".

In the fourth stage, the practitioners concentrate their energies on creating organisations by fostering confidence between them and service users. Organisations need to be developed effectively as a community infrastructure which operates not only the functions which I note above but which also facilitates community development through strengthening community learning, extending networking, and improving quality and quantity of participation, which include key activities of the fifth stage. This can be shown through Taylor's diagram (Figure 3.6 and 3.7). I now describe the reasons why Taylor's (2003, 2006) diagrams and ideas of empowerment fit into a modified Western model. First, Taylor identifies the processes of community empowerment practice from a bottom-up approach and multiple contexts. Second, Taylor systematically identifies activities crucial for building community capacities such as community organising, community learning, networking and participation, and argues that these are regarded as essential aspects of the empowerment practice. Finally, Taylor emphasises the importance of a "community infrastructure" created by social capital and organisational capacity, and highlights its significant functions in empowering a community. For example, it includes channelling the views of local communities to power holders, developing effective and collaborative action, facilitating participation and networking, and mediating in community conflicts.

The infrastructure created by bonding social capital within community (Level I) serves as a focus for fostering bridging social capital across communities (Level II). Community programmes and activities to build social capital and educational ones to operate organisations democratically can each contribute to securing the infrastructure. At this stage, practitioners should not underestimate the potential of education to act as a springboard for engagement on a wider front. So, various educational programmes are needed to encourage skills and information that develop self-confidence for community organisations. They may be educational schemes which strengthen people's ability to compete and learn the technologies of self-development in order to adapt to a neo-capitalistic society (Taylor, 2003). Conducting Freireian educational programmes that encourage service users to become involved in learning programmes for "conscientisation" by dialogue, deindividuation, and critical thinking is important (Freire, 1972), as I note (see pp.58-9). This is why it is an approach which tries to understand community issues and traps of neo-liberalistic world and to empower people into becoming active citizens (Ledwith, 2005). However, these programmes require that they are conducted progressively as "education per se is not the lever of revolutionary transformation" in the political transformation of society and there are learners used to the banking educational style (Freire and Schor, 1987:33 quoted in Mayo, 2005:110). Thus, the fourth stage is creating a community infrastructure by fostering organisations and implementing community programmes that are needed to increase organisational capacity. The infrastructure, in turn, acts as a springboard that lifts action from the fourth stage to the fifth.

Figure 3.6: Community Empowerment Route from the Second Stage to the Fourth Stage
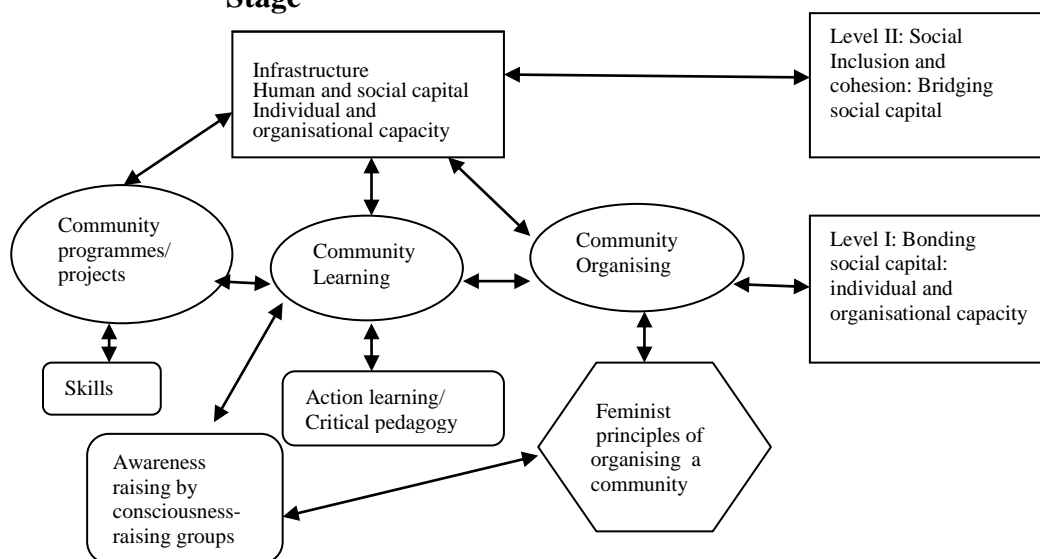
Sources: Taylor (2003, 2006, 2007 et al), Ledwith (2005), Butler (2007b) and Dominelli (2006)

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The fifth stage

Make sure that the spacing between the different levels of headings are consistent, i.e., the same. You do not leave a space here, but do for the fourth stage. Check all the others. The fifth stage is strengthening communities by strengthening community learning, networking activities and community participation through a community infrastructure. The focus of activities will be different according to the routes that communities choose. Communities may be empowered people as "citizens" conducting citizen actions, "consumers and co-producers" running local services, "producers" developing local enterprises and assets, and "equal partners" in governance (Taylor, 2003: see Figure 3.7).

As the route to empower servicer users as active citizens in communities, the main activities of such a campaign and networking are regarded as crucial vehicles for community action which enable people to obtain human, political, economic and social rights. Campaigns are a means to mobilise people by setting an agenda that challenges social problems and develops the confidence and skills to tackle them by participating in collective action, i.e., an organisational framework (Dominelli, 2006). The activation of networks requires that practitioners enable people to have opportunities to engage at several levels from informal to formal. Gilchrist (1995, 2004) emphasises the importance of balance between informal networks and formal ones in empowering communities by ensuring that information flows in and out of networks and by informally following up discussions with participants, and by being sure that more formal organisations are accountable to the wider community. Networking extends the horizons of connection from "within communities" that build bonding social capital, to moving across communities, to create bridging social capital between communities and decision makers/service providers that form linking social capital and establish coalitions across neighbourhoods (Taylor, 2006). It requires "good meta-networking" by developing a capacity to communicate across a range of different cultures; initiating interpersonal connections; monitoring relevant networking; encouraging participation in networks; and ensuring inclusive and sustainable networking by developing appropriate structures and procedures (Gilchrist, 2004). At the global level, it needs "globalisation from below", activities by which groups and organisations seek to build alliances to resist and change policies led by "globalisation from above" on an international scale (Craig et al., 2000).

Participation involving every member in decision-making is underlined as the strategy for strengthening communities. The more empowered people are, the more they participate, the more likely it is that the service will be relevant, quality-based and effective (Jackson, 2004). While recognising positive consequences, participation has been seen as a 'doubled-edged sword' with problems and possibilities (Cornwall, 2002a). Despite this, most scholars of 'community development' are likely to agree with Craig's (2004:37) argument that "gains (of participation) made through community development and supported by the state remain fairly small in scale and have to be won rather than simply claimed."

The CLEAR model of Lowndes et al. (2006) and Adams' (2008) approach based on four systematic strategies (see this chapter: 53-5) are introduced to enhance scale up and out of community participation in the fifth stage. These strategies to build participation may be executed at an earlier stage of community empowerment because participation is a task which requires time and is resource consuming (Plummer and Taylor, 2004; Taylor, 2003). Additionally, Taylor emphasises that participation needs to be realistic both about the levels of participation they [participants] can expect and the expectations they have of representatives. At the stage of strengthening a community, participation can bring out frustration. This can be draining and make it difficult to sustain involvement from the outset (Taylor, 2003:184). Furthermore, Taylor regards participation as a thing that appears to be very much a "minority sport".

With regard to community leaders, Gaventa (2004) indicates that community leaders need to be paid to develop leadership capacities for participation such as knowledge of legal rights, negotiation and conflict resolution skills, how to listen to one's own community and how to practice democratic leadership. Dominelli (2002) also cautions community practitioners against the tyranny of control that self-appointed leaders of a community can perpetuate.

In addition, the practice of community learning needs to be sustained or strengthened in the fifth stage in order to move understanding from personal empowerment to collective action and to raise critical consciousness to criticise the dominant group's ideology or hegemony and call for transformative change in society. Ledwith (2001:177) argues that for the community worker, central to the task is "an understanding of how dominant ideology deceives, fragments and distorts the interests of the many, in favour of power and privilege of the dominant interests." The educational model can be a Freireian-feminist approach that

enables people to become involved in collective action by open communication that tells their personal stories (Ledwith, 2005). And action-learning can emphasise creative and critical thought for a better understanding of the world, emotional intelligence, dialogue sharing, "interthinking" among groups of people and learning organisations where people can continuously learn with others (Butler, 2007b).

In a modified Western model, these ways of learning focus on the capacity of people to criticise their actions and view communities in the context of the wider world as well as to obtain their rights, knowledge and skills to manage their lives and address problems in their communities. At the core of education are notions of equality and respect and the eradication of unequal power relations, which are suitable for a modified Western model of CEP that is directed towards emancipatory community work.

The fifth stage of the MWMCE is the phase where practitioners and people seek to create opportunities to empower the community and develop 'citizens with agency and capacity' by strengthening the community infrastructure through campaigning, networking, and participation in community activities. The task of creating "community as politics" depends upon the capacity of the community infrastructure that is supported by human and social capital, and the organisational capacity that emanates 'from below'. According to Taylor's "empowerment tree", the fifth stage focuses on activities as a 'springboard' that transfers power from Level II to Level III (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7: Community Empowerment Route from the Fourth Stage to Fifth Stage
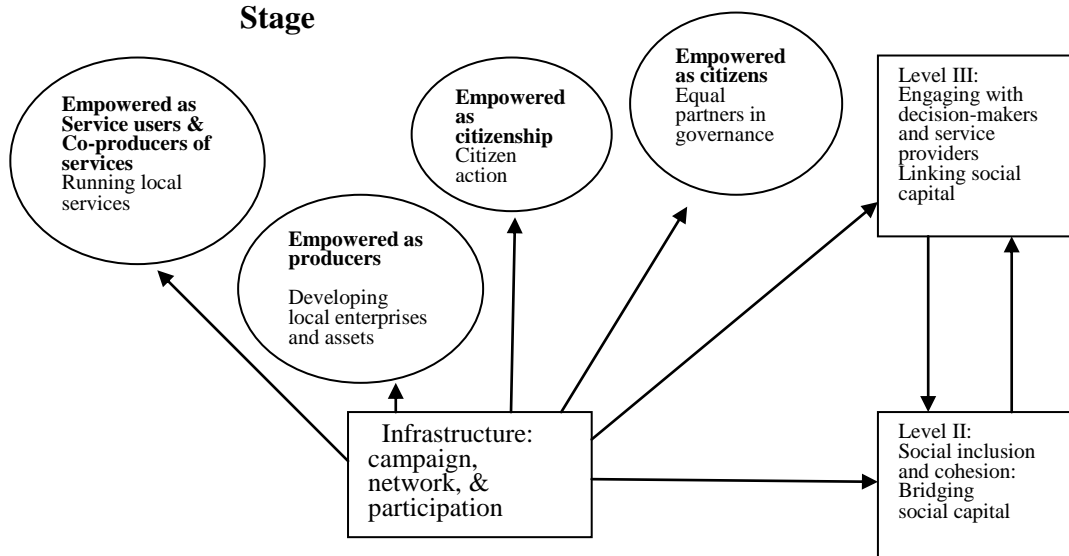
Sources: Taylor (2003:160; 2006: 273)

Make sure that all the spacing is the same and that all tables fit on a page, this includes the source from which they are drawn.

The sixth stage

The sixth stage is the phase in which practitioners carry out evaluations that monitor activities through the community empowerment process and assess the outcomes of such interventions with community members. The modified Western model of evaluation is joined with Craig's (2003) model of evaluation and others' conceptual frameworks. Craig's model is useful because it has principles that can be adapted for the modified model. It reflects the value base of community development and the goals of individual and community empowerment which are: to focus on processes that are sensitive to the need to demystify and challenge the power of those who hold resources on an inequitable basis, and to stress participation in the process of community empowerment. The critical points for evaluation are: how participation is implemented at all stages; privileging qualitative indicators and the use of those indicators that complement and illuminate quantitative ones, while doing research based on participatory educative techniques with community members; knowing the importance of process goals alongside output and outcome goals, while being open to the possibility of change as well as adapting methodologies relating to changing circumstances; considering the sustainability of change to ensure that communities can engage in continuous activities and acquire the capacity to control their lives and communities, while involving local people in measuring empowerment practices; and alerting local people to the issues of power (Craig, 2003). Now the contexts of the modified Western model are discussed.

The contexts of practice

The modified Western model of practice takes place in a space of action affected by four contexts. The first is the global economic condition where currently neo-liberalism influences the state and local communities. It has changed the welfare state to an 'enabling state' that prioritises values and market forces and competition for profitable exploitation (Cope et al., 1997). Practitioners working in "globalising communities" have to be alert to social relations within and between communities and how structural inequalities create "players" with access to the market and "non-players" excluded from it (Dominelli, 2007a). To restore polarised communities, the state has implemented policies based "on the optimistic scenario" that

promote community as a value. One characteristic displaying this shift is the apparent commitment to participation and empowerment from organisations such as the World Bank and an increasing number of national governments (Taylor, 2003; Craig et al., 2000).

The approaches by which the state, affected by economic globalisation, implements the policies of community development present two points of view; one focuses on the role of the state as window dressing; the other argues the necessity of the state playing the facilitator to achieve realistic outcomes. The former minimises the state's responsibility under a new public management that transfers service provision from the public to the private sector. This approach emphasises the self-help ethos in community work by which the state attacks a 'dependency culture' and has interests in depoliticising community work through 'bureaucratisation'. One notable example of the depoliticisation of community empowerment is "Best Value", as introduced by the New Labour administration in 1997. It sidelines the kind of political accountability implied by empowerment because it is presented as a purely administrative matter disconnected from political concerns. This process is characterised by Hill (1977) as "the bureaucratisation of politics" (quoted in Shaw, 2004:23) or "practitioners as techno-bureaucrat(s)" (Dominelli, 1997).

The state's tokenistic role in community work is found in reforming activities whereby it restructures them away from a government system into governance structures. The move to governance widens the spaces for policy actors' involvement, favours partnership and has opened up political opportunities for civil society including the community sector (Mayo, 2004). But this is problematic for the following reasons: getting drawn into the maze of partnership working rather than focusing on working with communities (Craig, 2004); regarding the shift towards governance as a substitution work for the public provision of services (Mayo, 2004); changing the priorities of community workers which are becoming increasingly linked to service-related concerns rather than 'the overall development role' (Miller, 2004). Taylor also mentions dilemmas of governance relating to barriers of participation: the tension between leadership and participation; unrealistic expectations of representation; tensions between diversity and cohesion; the tension between representative and participatory democracy; and issues about maximum and optimum participation (Taylor, 2004). Furthermore, other policies of the state that influence 'the new public management' create the possibility of community development becoming window dressing. One of them refers to the policy of decentralisation in which some of the authority of central government

is transferred to local authorities, while centralising policy strategy (policy goal and budgets) in the hands of central bureaucrats.

When the state favours or has an explicit commitment to the policies of neo-liberalism to provide businesses with tax incentives and other subsidies, community empowerment enhances citizens as consumers of the products of 'powerful global economic players' who are empowered to make their preferences known through exercising choice within markets (Shaw, 2004), in what Dominelli (2000) calls "commodified empowerment". This can in turn give rise to "transformative community empowerment" as people seek to radically transform the global socioeconomic order (Fraser, 2005).

Nevertheless, there is the approach of facilitating community development whereby the state can support and promote communities and empower them. According to Craig (2004), there are always opportunities for working within the state to make gains for communities. This perspective sees the state as being held accountable for addressing deficits in community policies (Geddes, 1998), as the guarantor of equity in communities, and for balancing the interests of communities and local authorities; as an agency for strengthening the scaling up of community economic development (Taylor, 2003); and as a responsive and supportive state that promotes and protects the rights of the minorities that participate in the creation of participatory governance structures in their communities (Cornwall, 2008b). Consequently, community empowerment can be reconfigured by changing the politics of the state's relationship to globalisation.

The third element in MWMCE is a social-cultural conditions framework. This operates at three levels including the national, the local and the organisational levels in practising community empowerment. First, social-cultural conditions at the national level are divided into two clusters as a tool for analysis that can either enable or disable community empowerment. This tool is recapitulated in the framework that is provided by Cornwall (2008b) who compares the factors enabling participation with factors disabling participation. In the political context, positive social-cultural conditions for empowerment are civil society which can act relatively autonomously from government; and the public if it has trust in political and state institutions with a high level of political awareness and a strong sense of citizenship. In contrast, the negative conditions are a high level of political apathy and widespread distrust of the state; an authoritarian regime supporting policies of neo-liberalism

with minimal investment in the public sector; and increasing reliance on voluntary, community and private sectors for service provision.

In respect of the legal conditions, a positive one is that a society should have explicit constitutional rights of participation with complementary items that implement them, e.g., the right to information or duty to engage citizens in the policy process. A negative one is that a society has weak provision for the right to participate and lacks additional legislation to engage citizens [5]. Bureaucracy also conditions the impact of empowerment. Enabling conditions are where bureaucrats have a widely shared commitment to citizen engagement; departments of government cooperate towards consistent policy directives; bureaucrats are offered incentives and support from senior officials; there is an adaptive and flexible approach to implementing participation; and there is enough time to engage in the work. The negative conditions are widespread scepticism about citizen engagement; contradictory policy directives coming from different parts of government; lack of any of the four elements that support citizen participation and experimentation−incentive, information, resources, and support; and heavy pressure upon outcomes. The social-cultural conditions for enabling community empowerment are determined by the extent to which a political regime is seeking social justice: how much the public has a culture of trust in state institutions; how much civil society develops; whether a society does or does not have a legal framework with specific means and mechanisms to engage with citizens in the policy process; and how widely bureaucrats share the commitment to build up citizen participation.

Next, there is the local social-culture at the level of communities. Community empowerment is conducted by practitioners who promote change 'from below', that is, more directly with the culture of community than at the national level. Ife (2002: 106) argues that "local culture is significant in community development, and so it is essential for a community worker to seek to understand and accept a local culture, and where possible to validate it and to work with it."

But there are several kinds of community culture. At one end of the spectrum is the culture which cannot be condoned by the criteria of human rights: the subjugation of women, race discrimination, a culture of excessive alcohol consumption and abuse of children and women.

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[5] For a discussion of specific conditions about legal framework sees the literature by Gaventa (2004).

At the other end are cultures which can be regarded as barriers to community work practice in poor communities. Cultural elements are: viewing authority figures with hostility and suspicion (Narayan et al., 2000); lack of trust and an exclusionary legacy of 'them and us'; and the lack of autonomous voices (Beresford and Hoban, 2005). Additionally, in poor communities cultural behaviours exist which are formed by four processes of the "disempowerment cycles": isolation which poor people reinforce through the personal internalisation of "failure" and by negative images from outside; dependency on services and income provided by others, who themselves may become demoralised and controlled by distant bureaucracies; "marginalisation" by which poor people live in areas with no means of attaining or exercising power; and "exclusion" by the denial of basic rights embedded in political inaction and discriminatory administrative practices (Stewart and Taylor,1995).

Under these conditions, practitioners are faced with the challenge of implementing transformative practice, in order to change local ineffective culture which violates the human rights of local people and the culture of disempowerment which negates human rights.

Finally, there are the social-cultural conditions at the organisational level which focus on public sector organisations that practise community empowerment. In the UK, public sector organisations have faced challenges caused by government social policies that deemed that the public sector 'encourages citizen involvement in project planning and delivery' (Butcher and Robertson, 2007). For managers, the challenges are how to further the contribution of their organisations and how they should manage and direct their efforts. The problem is that the tasks have to be effectively conducted in difficult conditions. The first is that local authorities lack experience in promoting governance and partnerships that are effective with a variety of stakeholders including community groups. The second is that public sector organisations are reducing funding and resources. The third is that there exists an "institutional memory" in long-established organisations that privileges certain ways of doing things and which makes discussing and managing change difficult. So it is difficult for local authorities to free themselves from past actions and old-fashioned practices. The fourth is pressure to form alliances between public and private sectors and to achieve better results and goals. In addition, there are increasing bureaucratic regulations from policy bodies, which result in compliance to meaningless number chasing, which is called the "policy of nightmare" (Butcher and Robertson, 2007).

The ecological conditional framework in the process of community empowerment refers to the living physical environment. In the Anglo-American methodological tradition, the ecological approach emphasises a holistic and systemic view of social problems and a reciprocal relationship between people's living system and their environment (Payne, 2005; Matthies et al., 2000). However, I use ecological conditions to show that the physical scale of communities and their resources can have a significant impact on community empowerment practices. As Stepney and Popple (2008) argue, the small-scale approach is more effective than the large-scale one in the community empowerment process.

CONCLUSION

Key concepts of empowerment, participation and social capital are useful in analysing and explaining the limited impact on residents of the Korean project of community empowerment. This is not unexpected considering the 'amateur situation of Korea' in community empowerment practice. While describing them separately, I have highlighted the interrelationship and interactions among key concepts and practices that contribute to the validity of my analysis.

Additionally, I have described a modified Western model of community empowerment in order to build a theoretical framework for examining Korean developments in community work. As a Korean model of the practice of community empowerment[6] has not been available previously, I have used two Western models to construct a modified model that is relevant in the South Korean context. I believe that this can help Korean practice develop in areas where it is lacking skills and knowledge, e.g., in the 'integrative practices' of community empowerment. The first model I examined was Henderson and Thomas's (2002) neighbourhood work model which offers practitioners techniques and knowledge about how to carry out their practice. The other is the critical model of Stepney and Popple (2008) which emphasises a combination of both technicist and transformative approaches. Rather than limiting the development of the modified model to the two models, I reinforce the theoretical framework of the modified model by complementing it with ideas from other scholars and by using their strengths to formulate a new model based on a combination of all these elements.

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[6] Although Korean scholars have emphasised the necessity of a Korean model, they have not created it. Reviewing the literature, I found one article (Choe and Lee, 2001) that focuses on the process of building a community organisation as a part of empowerment practice and one research report (Lee et al., 2005) that evaluates this project.

In following chapter, I will discuss the research methods and methodology in order to analyse the project.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present the methodology and methods that provide the framework for my research. My research is an exploration into the processes and outcomes that Korean practitioners conducted and achieved in community empowerment practice. In order to obtain more reliable knowledge about their activities, I use qualitative methods and research ethics to obtain a sample and to gain data about practice. The methods I used are grounded theory, feminist and indigenous methodology. I interviewed people using these principles and a semi-structured method. Ian Butler's code of social work research ethics is utilised. I also adopted a pilot study through which to enhance my interview skills, trial the research questions and identify the likely range of responses of the interviewees. I describe the way I collected and analysed data, challenges I faced in the last section of this chapter.

RESEARCH DESIGN

I undertook my research based on three methodologies: grounded theory; feminist methodology; and indigenous methodology. I selected these methodologies because I believe they can provide the holistic perspectives needed to understand the practitioners' work and to gather data by using research ethics based on an egalitarian relationship between the researcher and the research participants, and thereby empower participants.

To research Korean community empowerment practice, I interviewed the community practitioners involved to gather data about their experiences. This allowed them to speak for themselves and on their own terms. Grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and the feminist approach (Reinhartz, 1992) enable research participants to speak for themselves. These two methodologies emphasise their voices, facilitate detailed discussion and introduce social inclusivity into the research. Dominelli (2005) considered these methodological features effective for social work research. These two methodological approaches provided me with new directions and experiences for conducting interviews in ways that differed from

the traditional research methods used in Korea. Additionally, indigenous methodology enabled me to become aware of the significance of local knowledge and culture. It also highlights 'colonising' forms of research that produced a history of exploitation, suspicion, misunderstanding, and prejudice about indigenous people, and shifts attention towards 'decolonising research', which privileges indigenous knowledge, voices, experiences, reflection, and analysis of indigenous social, material, and spiritual conditions (Smith, 2005).

Another reason for undertaking these methodologies in my research was to relate it to the intellectual environment of SK. It is said that "the best factory that has produced Korean intellectuals is the US" (Kyunghang Il-bo, 2007). Most Korean professors have received PhD degrees from universities in the US. An investigation carried out in 2007 by Kyunghang Il-bo shows that 306 (83.8 per cent) of the 365 professors in nine of the universities in Seoul have obtained PhD degrees in the US. Their training has privileged a methodology based mainly on mathematics and statistics, and favours positivistic methodologies or evidence-based research (EBR) that ignore people's experiences and views of their lives (Smith, 2005). This article also highlighted the phenomenon that the number of persons who have PhD degrees from American Universities is increasing every year and raised the concern that South Korea is deepening its dependency on US policies, practices and science-based methodologies. Consequently, positivistic social research is anchored in the South Korean academy of social welfare. Qualitative research barely emerged in the journals of academic social work in SK until 2000 (Kim, I.S., 2007). The Korean academy of social welfare therefore faces the task of overcoming an unbalanced methodology based on quantitative methods influenced by the US by establishing independent methodologies that reclaim research from dependency on American knowledge. In the next section I will discuss methodology and methods.

METHODOLOGIES AND METHODS

Structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviewing

Interview methods can be distinguished by three types: structured, unstructured, and semi-structured. The main difference between them is decided by the degree to which participants have control over the process and the content of the interview (Morse, 2001; Corbin and Morse, 2003). Structured interviewing is where the interviewer asks all respondents the same series of pre-established questions within a limited set of response categories. The

interviewer determines what information will be gathered and the pace of the interview and questions. There is very little flexibility within such interviews. A participant may either respond or refuse to respond. Instructions to interviewers include "never-guidelines" that prohibit some actions in interview, such as long explanations, and interpreting the meaning of a question (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Viewing it from the perspective of control over the interactions within the interview, the researcher holds most of the control. The participant may only choose whether to comply, sabotage the interview, or not play the game (Corbin and Morse, 2003).

Unstructured interviewing is referred to as open-ended or narrative interviewing, and affords the interviewees considerable control over the course of the interview. In this method, participants are asked to give their views as they experience, feel and see the topic under investigation. Unlike structured interviews, interviewees freely determine the pace, questions, and the order and length of the interview. Unstructured interviewing is an effective method for capturing much of the interviewees' own voices rather than reflecting the views of the researcher (Corbin and Morse, 2003). This provides considerable flexibility, prioritises respondents' voices and enables the researcher to develop a more in-depth level of interviewing. Its weakness is that its lack of structure makes it difficult to maintain consistency in an interview and to make comparisons between interviews. Finally, unstructured interviewing requires higher levels of research skills and ethics, than other types of interviewing (Corbin and Morse, 2003).

In a semi-structured interview the interviewer requires more focused information, and must ask specific questions. The researcher opens the discussion, listens and uses prompts to further probe the views given by respondents, whereas an unstructured interview allows the researcher to suggest the topic to the interviewee, with minimum input into the interview, allowing the interviewee to answer in the way they wish. There are differences in the researcher's control of the interaction. The researcher determines to some degree the structure of the interview and the agenda through the questions asked. But, as with the unstructured interview, the researcher does not determine the whole process. Participants also control the amount of information provided in their responses.

According to Patton (2002), the strengths of a semi-structured interview are that it makes interviewing across a number of different people more systematic and comprehensive, by

limiting in advance the issues to be explored. Secondly, it promotes interaction between the interviewer and interviewees, and allows individual perspectives and experiences to emerge. Other advantages are that it can address more specific issues than general ones and can ensure a modicum of comparability of interviewing style when the research is conducted by more than one fieldworker (Bryman, 2001). Its weakness is that, to some extent, the flexibility of the interview may be somewhat limited in what will be disclosed and the emotional intensity developed, compared with unstructured interviewing.

I employed the semi-structured interview technique in my study because firstly I did not possess enough interviewing skills to carry out unstructured interviewing because I had little research experience. Structured interviewing was not suited to my research purpose, as it is similar to a quantitative method. Secondly, by conducting interviewing within a limited set of interview questions, data across a number of different interviewees can be systematically analysed and compared. Thirdly, the use of semi-structured interviewing required more time with the interviewees to collect data. This allowed me to interview various key informants several times, but it also gave me a feeling of being less of a burden than in unstructured interviewing. Fourthly, a semi-structured interview technique allowed me to be flexible in interviewing respondents. As the status and context of interviewees were not the same, some flexibility in tailoring questions to them was needed. Three types of methodology and interview method are discussed below.

Grounded theory and the interview method

Grounded theory was developed by two American sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. It was explained as a "research theory to explore social processes and reveal the human characteristics of anticipating and responding to various life circumstances" (Lomborg and Kirkevold, 2003:191). The theory focuses on studying social processes of phenomena through finding 'the context of discovery' that highlights knowledge of the structural and contextual components in which a research subject is embedded. It has been described as 'research from the bottom-up' that is inductively derived from the study of phenomena or data rather than from preconceived data logically deduced through theoretical frameworks.

So, this theory regards the work of data collection and analysis as a significant task using means such as "theoretical sampling" and "theoretical saturation". The former means data gathering that allows for a sample to be picked that maximises theoretical development. Mason (1966) explains it as selecting groups or categories to study their relevance to your research questions, your theoretical position and analytical framework. "Theoretical saturation" means that theoretical sampling is conducted until the point at which it no longer reveals anything new. The data analysis is conducted by methods of coding: open coding by an analytical process, axial coding by categories on the basis of data properties and selective coding by integrating core categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). These processes are not to verify pre-existing theories but to create a new theoretical model (Eaves, 2001). Another central feature is the method of comparative analysis by which each item of data is compared with every other item of data. It does not make a claim to present a 'cut-and-dried method' whereby the researcher should obey these procedures once and for all in conducting their research.

Some scholars (Charmaz, 2003, 2005; Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001) have challenged earlier assumptions about objectivist approaches which Straus, Corbin, and Glaser's grounded theory draws upon. They have sought to build on a constructivist grounded theory. The constructionist grounded theory has tried to overcome criticisms and dangers present in traditional grounded theory by using a hermeneutical methodology and an epistemology that focuses on subjective co-created findings. As a result, it introduces power relations that impact on interactions and their outcomes in research relations and processes; the researcher's prior interpretive framework and reflexive stance by locating him/herself in research realities, and the extension of experiential evidence. By supplementing these methods, a constructivist grounded theory joins a critical inquiry of research with who the researcher and the research participants are, how they live in the world, and where they might go from there.

As grounded theory is inductive from the study of individual experience, and interviewing is suitable for grounded theory a researcher can create an interpretive analysis of individual experiences through qualitative interviewing. What then is distinct about grounded theory interviewing? I view its distinctiveness from the perspective of Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory (2001).

Its first characteristic is that the experiences of individuals are considered not as facts but as views. Constructivist interviewing emphasises "locating their data in context" (2001:678). While objectivist grounded theorists view interview questions as the means for gathering 'facts', constructivist grounded theorists see an interview as starting with suitable participants but 'proceeding from how the interviewer and subject co-construct the interview'. The objectivist group considers the interview as the means for gathering 'facts': the constructivist group for gathering 'views'. In addition, constructionists attend to the context pertaining to specific interviews, the context of the individual's life, and the study and research problems within the setting, society, and historical moment within which it occurs. In contrast, objectivists concentrate on specific data that they have collected.

The second is that the researcher should use in-depth interviewing to explore experiences (Charmaz, 2001), not interview the individual as a culprit and coerce a confession (McKenzie, 2001). Questions must be sufficiently general to cover a wide range of experiences as well as narrow enough to explore a participant's specific experience. At the start, questions are directed to the subject's collective practices and then attend to the individual's participation in and views of those practices. The interviewees' comfort is a higher priority for the constructivist interviewer than obtaining significant data. Priority is given to building trust between the researcher and the interviewees (Charmaz, 2001).

The third is that the researcher guards against forcing data into preconceived categories (Charmaz, 2001). In other words, interview questions do not superimpose the researcher's concepts, concerns, and discourse upon the interviewees' view from the start. A way of prohibiting these questions is if the researchers are "constantly reflexive" about the nature of their questions. Charmaz (2001) states:

> A basic rule for grounded theorists is, *Study your data*. Nonetheless, grounded theory interviewers must invoke another rule first: *Study your interview questions*! Being reflexive about how they elicit data, as well as what kinds of data they obtain, can help grounded theory interviewers to amass a rich array of material. (2001:682)

Additionally, a constructivist researcher emphasises reflection: "study your interview questions, and then rethink them wholly".

The fourth point is that the researcher conducts 'multiple sequential interviews' rather than a one-shot interview. Like grounded theory, the constructivist also emphasises theoretical sampling that develops theory through continuously collecting and analysing data. Thus, if interviewers depend on one-shot interviewing, they will miss opportunities to correct earlier errors and omissions and to construct a dense, more complex analysis. Conducting multiple interviews not only chart an interviewee's path through a process, but also fosters trust between the interviewer and interviewee, which allows the researcher to get closer to the phenomenon being studied. The logic of the constructivist theory is not a pre-determined, but a process shaped by collecting and analysing data so that the interviewer successively asks more questions about a participant's experiences (Charmaz, 2001).

Although Charmaz complements the weaknesses of traditional theory by using hermeneutical methodology and epistemology that focus on subjective co-created findings, some deficiencies remain. There is an element in Charmaz's approach which contains the researcher-centred slant, as the research participants are regarded as only assistants for the researcher. This approach rarely mentions aspects of the research which participants as research subjects in the research processes can be involved in. Charmaz seems to underestimate the ways in which participants can engage in setting up research planning; how to share research outcomes; how they contribute to knowledge development; and how to minimise power differences between the researcher and the researched (Dominelli, 2002, 2005a; McLaughlin, 2010). These weaknesses of grounded theory may be overcome by a feminist methodology as I explain below.

Feminist methodology and interview method

A feminist research approach produces alternative intellectual perspectives that challenge the limitations of EBR which presumes a fixed or finite measurable outcome, assumes uncomplicated ways of proceeding in the research while ignoring the contexts in which the research occurs including process issues and power relationships, and privileges the researcher's knowledge above that of the research participants (Dominelli, 2005b; McLaughlin, 2007; Humphries, 1999). Feminist research has been recognised as contributing an increased understanding of power differences in the relationship between the researcher and the subjects of the research and the embedding of the research process in a holistic context, which EBR has ignored. It does so by analysing gender relations (Olesen, 2005).

Feminist methodology rests on a few central principles. The first is 'holistic engagements' with the multi-dimensionality of people's lives that feminists investigate on three key levels: the micro (personal, epistemology, and community and neighbour), the meso (practice at institutional/organizational/inter-organizational), and the macro (practice at societal level and beyond) (Dominelli, 2004, 2005b). This corresponds to analysing data in multiple-contexts. The second characteristic is a 'non-exploitative and non-hierarchical' research relationship. This means that no one person or group has total control over the research process, or of its constituent elements (Dominelli, 2005b). Refusing to create a power hierarchy between the interviewer and respondent allows them to share their experiences.

The third is a focus on empowerment and emancipation. This involves interviewees' voices in carrying out research from the research design to evaluation. These practices arose from the aims of enhancing the power of the interviewee and using knowledge for political change (Banks and Barnes, 2005). Emphasising empowerment provides opportunities to change ideas and practices as a researcher as well as views about participants, community conditions and sharing and critically appraising findings (Pennell et al., 2004; Adams, 2008). The fourth is that a feminist approach emphasises the validity of women's subjective experiences as people (Hammersley, 1995). This takes a stance against the positivist interview methods which stress that the interviewer should keep an objective stance or assume a distance from participants.

Feminist approaches, however, emphasise that interviewers can show their human side and can answer questions and express emotions and feelings as long as they do not take over the process. They have criticised the 'depersonalisation' of the researcher and research participants in the processes of research that are conducted in research binaries where research subjects are treated as objects, while the researcher acts as the subject who collects and analyses data and creates knowledge through research. My interview method utilises the principles of a feminist methodology.

Indigenous methodology and interview method

Theorists who have introduced indigenous methodology include Smith (1999, 2005), Rigney (1999) and Bishop (2005). The history of indigenous methodology is embedded in colonisation and so traditional research is regarded as a tool of colonisation and not as a

potential tool for self-determination. Indigenous methodology aims to be free from "colonising research" in which the imperial state has defined the culture of indigenous people as inferior by establishing the positional superiority of Western scientific knowledge whilst ignoring indigenous knowledge and values. Thus, Smith argues:

> Indigenous research has tried to move away from colonising research towards decolonising research, which privileges indigenous knowledge, voices, experiences, reflection, and analysis of their social, material, and spiritual conditions. (Smith, 2005: 87)

Indigenous methodologies have commonalities with feminist approaches in that they focus on emancipation and empowerment in research. The ideas of both approaches encourage the struggle for independence from oppression by people taking control of their own fate or validating personal experience as a source of knowledge. They underscore not only an egalitarian relationship between the researcher and the research participants, but also focus on reducing power differences between them through resistance to oppression and the transformation of social relations. Thus, indigenous research overlaps with, but also differs from, a feminist approach in that gender is different from colonial oppression, e.g., in the latter, the oppressor is usually living elsewhere (Smith, 1999).

In addition, an indigenous interview method focuses on the production of data that identify the problems of local communities or individuals which reflect their own values and knowledge, whilst they draw upon insights that arise from feminist interview methods. The production of data is conducted not by academic researchers but by local people themselves who define the problems to be researched. Thus, an indigenous interview method allows participants to give accounts that value their knowledge and cultures (Smith, 1999).

Indigenous research ethics seek to go beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality in reflecting indigenous culture (Smith, 1999, 2005). They are briefly described as encompassing seven principles. The first is a respect for people: allowing people to define their own space. The second is that of meeting people face to face, especially when introducing the idea of research. The third involves looking and listening, and then maybe speaking. The fourth is a collaborative approach to research. The fifth is caution in that the researcher needs to be politically astute, culturally safe, and reflective about their insider (as a sympathiser with indigenous communities or participants)/outsider status (as a research

expert doing research with them). The sixth is not trampling upon the dignity of people. Finally, 'not flaunting knowledge': researchers should be generous with knowledge without showing-off or being arrogant in sharing knowledge (Smith, 2005: 98). These are ethical principles that an indigenous researcher should practise while interviewing. There were some principles which needed to be tailored specially to this study, as I will demonstrate in the next section.

WESTERN METHODOLOGIES AND INTERVIEW METHODS IN RELATION TO THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY PRACTITIONERS IN SOUTH KOREA

This section discusses key issues raised by applying the three methodologies discussed above in interviewing respondents in SK. These issues are as follows:

1. The role of researcher in the interview as a sympathiser, a subject to a subject, an emotional being and a reflective being
2. Sharing opinions through dialogue: co-constructive tellers whereby interviewer and interviewee create meanings and explore themes by exchanging their opinions respectfully versus a dominant teller where one person (interviewer or interviewee) leads or controls the conversations
3. Reducing power differences through an egalitarian relationship
4. Empowerment in sharing the results of research.

I played the role of researcher as a sympathiser. As my interviewees lived in several cities in SK, I went to the offices where they worked to talk to them. To conduct my in-depth interviewing, I started by identifying my position as a way of minimising my anxiety as a researcher and to build trust between myself as the interviewer and the interviewees (Charmaz, 2001). Before making face-to-face contact, I introduced myself by telephone to the interviewees as a PhD student of social work who was writing a thesis in the UK. I said that I needed their help for my research, explained it to them and then asked whether they would take part in my interviews. Ribbens and Edwards (1998) suggest that researchers must be careful not to drown out the voices of respondents by overstating personal biography. Before interviewing I briefly introduced my status. Rather than introducing myself, I invested more time in explaining the importance of the interview for my thesis. Fortunately, all interviewees agreed to take part in the research, so I sent interview questions to them in

advance. I attributed their trust in me to their interest in me as someone who was conducting research holding the status of a PhD student in the UK and to their view of the need for systematic research to develop further the practice of community empowerment in SK. They said that "it needs a Korean model suitable to the Korean situation". Providing explanations about my research helped them appreciate the importance of the interviews for my thesis and also became a part of the process of reinforcing the development of trust between us. Since the interviewees and I sympathised with each other, it was easy to conduct the interviews. After finishing the first interview, some interviewees gave me a meal at the centres or I gave them a meal. After a few days, I sent them e-mails expressing my appreciation. Taking the opportunity of the interview, I secured a bridgehead for getting information by 'multiple sequential interviews'.

I changed my ideas about 'the relations of knowing' from respondents as an object of research to subjects that are produced by the research process and the social location(s) of the researcher within that process (Skeggs, 1997). This raises issues about my own relationship with the people I interviewed. If I had not interviewed participants, I would have regarded them as 'simply social workers' who helped vulnerable people. However, after holding the interview, I acquired some ability to understand and evaluate community practitioners and changed my ideas in order to understand their world. For instance, in interviewing a participant who was a pastor, I initially believed that it is desirable for a pastor to engage in the affairs of the church rather than being involved in community empowerment practice. But I found in the process of the interview that he had much more experience and ideas about community work than some other practitioners. Thus, these experiences made me face my own prejudices and preconceptions, and then I was able to regard them as subjective participants in the research.

I acknowledged my emotional being as a researcher. Stanley and Wise (1991:268) argue that emotion and feelings are difficult to control by mere efforts of the researcher's will and therefore a researcher's emotions "must be welcomed for the insights that they may bring for the transformation of reality". In the course of this study, I experienced instances of emotional involvement when interviewees provided new insights into their way of practising community empowerment, for example, the ways in which residents become involved in the programme.

I tried to do continuous reflective evaluation of the interviewing process, as emphasised by feminist researchers (Fine, 1992; Speer, 2002) who argued for the "strong reflexive" researcher (Olesen, 2005). Researchers need to be reflective in terms of their own positions within the research. I am located as a S. Korean, PhD student studying in a University in the UK with a range of theoretical, substantive and personal interests, which have influenced the research. I seek to examine my interests in the research. For example, when I looked at my reactions in the original or first interview, I found more of my own stories in the parts concerning community profiles than participants. I thought that expressing my opinions could be a useful way to provide some information for the participants. But at the same time it could be a factor that 'flaunts my knowledge' to them, which contradicted my research ethics. Another point was that I did not interrupt them when they spoke, even though they were digressing from answering my questions. For instance, they introduced too many details about their self-sacrifices when talking about the necessity for residents' voluntary activities. The reason for this lack of interruption is justified by my using the method of in-depth interviewing by which the interviewer should be prepared to depart from research questions and "go with the flow", that is, "consider following for a while where an informant wants to lead" (Johnson, 2001: 111). For me, the Korean culture of respecting a harmonious relationship with people allows them to tell their stories. In my reflection, I find that I am located within the research in complex and contradictory positions.

I tried to encourage the participant's own narrative in the interview. Narratives are an interactive process of telling stories as a means of exchange. This raises the issue of narrative as dialogue between interviewer and interviewees. As constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2001, 2005) suggests, the researcher is not merely a 'passive hearer' but a 'constructive teller' who encourages interviewees to give their opinions by telling stories of his/her own. To create a dialogue by sharing stories between interviewer and interviewees, a friendly relationship has to be built. I tried to conduct a friendly conversation rather than an interrogation. I told them briefly of my ideas about the topic. Then I asked them what they thought about my opinions. This type of interviewing was used more often in the process of conducting interviews by e-mail or telephone in order to supplement any missing data and to share the outcomes of research. This approach enabled rapport to be built spontaneously between me as the researcher and participants. Oakley's (1982) claim of, "no intimacy without reciprocity" seems to be pertinent.

Along with friendly dialogue, I also sought to avoid a 'dominant dialogue' led by myself as researcher, which forces interviewees to fit into preconceived categories by adopting a particular approach. I asked them questions by speaking less whenever possible, even though I was responding to the need for reciprocity, and composed simple questions. In the pilot study, when I asked questions I did too much speaking and tended to disclose my values and guided the research subjects to reply in a direction that I favoured like a 'teacher' in the "banking educational system" (Freire, 1972). Another strategy I used was to inform participants about 'the right of resistance' where as research subjects they could refuse to answer questions that infringed their dignity. Even though there were some questions that exposed my values or subjectivity, the respondents were able to demonstrate their own positions. For instance, I asked them about ways of conducting community profiles. When they answered that they did not conduct interviews with residents, I did not ask them "why did you not do it?" but instead remarked that "other centres had utilised effective methods, why did you not do likewise?" This revealed the tension between the subjectivity of the researcher and the researcher's taking control of the interview process. By posing the questions as the former I demonstrated my own values while recognising the interviewees' values, whereas in the latter I injected my values as the researcher even though the interviewees did not share them.

I was eager to play the role of researcher in an egalitarian relationship. I considered power differences in the process of interviewing when asking and answering questions that were asymmetrical. Interviewing to minimise my power status was not an easy task for me. As an interviewer, I have the power to control the interview or lead the discussion. But I thought that informants also have the power of experiences, skills, and information that I want to find out about. In the process of conducting the interviewing, I felt that the interviewer could be less powerful depending on the circumstances, e.g., if informants have information that I want to know about, but they do not pass it on, they decide the extent of researcher involvement. When conducting the first interview, I was a more passive 'listener' except that sometimes I told them about my opinions when they were actively speaking about their experiences. After finishing the interviews with my ten key informants and beginning the process of data analysis, I felt that I was moving away from being a 'listener' during the first interviews and onto being a 'listener as well as a speaker' who not only hears 'missing information' but is also giving them indications about my analysis of their practice in the second interview. At the stage of sharing the outcome of research the power relationship

between me and them was approaching a 'more balanced relationship' because they and I as both listeners and speakers enjoyed 'constructive dialogue' that involved us in verifying and sharing the outcomes of my evaluation. However, I envisaged a power difference at the final stage, as here. I have written it up for an academic audience.

As an empowering researcher, I sought the involvement of the interviewees in the interviewing process. In the course of obtaining missing data, I had opportunities to learn about the practice of community empowerment while continuously conducting 'activities of a give and take' nature. Some only answered my additional questions, while others also wanted to hear the results of my data analysis.

To conduct empowerment practice by sharing my results with community practitioners and verifying their practices, I went to SK in February 2009. I met five informants in one-to-one meetings, but there were four informants who were difficult to meet, so I communicated with them by telephone. I could not meet one informant because he did not come to the meeting place nor communicate by email or telephone. After two months, I was able to communicate with him by telephone. When I told the interviewees I wanted to meet them, most of them agreed to do this. They asked, "Is there such a research methodology?" I got the impression that although they knew about the practice of community empowerment, they were not likely to know about empowerment research as it had not been introduced to them before.

I selected the outcomes to share with them on the sheet of summarised results and explained these to them in one hour face-to-face meetings or 20-30 minutes by telephone. And then I asked them for critical comments to correct any errors in my evaluation and to get them to help me develop the Korean model of community empowerment. They generally agreed with my evaluation, e.g., that they were lacking the skills and knowledge to build a 'community infrastructure' to change communities within the period of the project, that is, three years. They also agreed with the criticisms of the policymakers and the funding agency, the CCK, which resulted from the absence of sustainable support. They also proposed strategies for effective community empowerment, e.g., articulating a specific vision. I will present and reflect upon their comments later in this thesis.

I appreciated interviewing for empowerment once I implemented it as a means of providing practical and critical knowledge of community empowerment. For me, with little experience

of empowerment practice, entering into dialogue with those who have much experience can create an opportunity for me to acquire practical intelligence. For those who have limited academic knowledge, empowering research offered them an opportunity to reflect critically upon their practices, after hearing evaluations from me based on my analysis of the findings using a modified Western model. Additionally, sharing information with participants gives me the impetus to reflect on my accustomed research methods. These experiences helped me to contribute to the community workers' efforts to secure more human resources through further research and by strengthening their trust in me, though there were some problems such as lack of time to share all the information I gathered with them. The following sections will describe how I addressed ethical issues in the processes of conducting the research.

ETHICAL ISSUES AND WAYS TO RESOLVE THEM

Emancipatory social work researchers are more interested in "transformational practice" in social work and action for the promotion of social justice than social work research purely for its own sake (Dominelli, 2005b). The concern with ethical issues in social work research has also increased (Butler, 2002; Dominelli, 2002, 2005b; Banks, 2003). Barnes and Banks argue that research ethics are highly significant in investigating philosophical questions about the quality of life. They state:

> Traditional social science textbooks and courses on research often start with
> philosophical questions about ontology – the nature of the social world and
> epistemology – how we come to know the world. Whilst important, a more
> logical and accessible starting point might be the consideration of issues of
> ethics – values and moral commitment about what makes for a good life or
> society and how we ought to behave towards other people. (Banks and Barnes,
> 2005:241)

In the ethics of social work research, Butler (2002) has suggested the basic principles of a code of ethics for social work research. His code is contested because it focuses on "the expression of statements of universal ideals that are both open to interpretation and may be impossible, or inappropriate, to achieve in particular contexts" (Banks and Barnes, 2005:242). There were further criticisms targeted at Butler's code by those promoting emancipatory research that seeks to empower both the research participants and the researcher. They claim

that his code for emancipatory research is too simplistic. It conceives of emancipation from a world that is neatly divided into oppressors and oppressed while ignoring the complexities of such practices (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

Nevertheless, I conducted this research using Butler's code of ethics because it insists that social work research should seek to empower research participants as well as to promote emancipatory research. This position is consistent with the principles of a feminist methodology that emphasises power sharing through collaborative work and provides a basis for criticism of domination in social relationships and for political action aimed at changing social relations by sharing knowledge produced by the research (Olsen, 2005). Even though research ethics have universal ideals and Western orientations, I have been able to find their limitations and advantages in applying them to the S. Korean reality. I discuss the research's ethical issues in my study by dividing the research process into 3 stages: before the research commenced; during the research; and after data collection and analysis. I now address the ethical issues that arose in my research.

Before the research commenced

There were 5 main ethical issues I considered before conducting my research: the responsibility for and consequences of beneficence or what is called the 'do no harm' principle; the institutional process of approval required before conducting useful research; obtaining informed consent, a standard requirement in social research; ensuring anonymity and confidentiality to protect the participating subjects' privacy; and not using covert methods that may deceive the respondents, if they have not been informed of these. I now discuss how I tackled these issues.

The first ethical issue relates to the principle of beneficence and the moral responsibility to produce 'helpful consequences' for participants. This means that the researchers should have the capacity and skills to produce not only practical and useful outcomes for service users or those participating in research but also be aware of the need to maintain moral responsibility for their work (Butler, 2002; code points 1 and 5). This principle is relevant to both 'doing good', which results in beneficial outcomes for participants, society and humanity, and 'doing no harm', which minimises the participant's risk, respects their autonomy and enhances it. Thus, a social work researcher's moral responsibility is to acquire the intellectual

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capacities and skills to promote the "distinctiveness of social work research" that seeks to establish a research plan for creating practical outcomes rather than theoretical research which is undertaken purely for its own sake (Dominelli, 2005b).

Another issue is the question of practical research 'for whom?' According to Butler's code (2002), the target is to enhance the welfare of "service users". Dominelli (2005b: 229) focuses on "marginalized groups or people who hold limited social power". This rests on the assumption that research is not irrelevant to the expression of power relations in the products of the research and knowledge-building as well as in the use of the knowledge that is acquired. While claiming that the research should be carried out for marginalised people, traditional research has been used to manage and control such groups by outsiders such as colonisers, imperialists, policy makers, and experts (Smith, 1999, 2005). Thus, Smith insists that there is a tendency to regard the principle of beneficence as self-evident because the intentions of the researcher are good. In the absence of clear guidelines about beneficence, the question of 'for whom?' may reflect the values of the ethics and processes of a research funding agency, and these may not coincide with those of the participants of the study. From the perspective of the ethics of indigenous methodology, ethical review boards are composed of representatives of narrow class, religious, academic, and ethnic interests rather than reflecting the diversity of society. This composition may bias ethics committees against indigenous people. Instead, they insist that institutions undertake research that protects marginalised and vulnerable groups (Smith, 2005: 99-100).

To enable this study to produce practical knowledge that contributes to social work practice, I tried to reflect the voices of practitioners in SK by employing an interviewing method based on grounded theory and not simply by depending on the literature. By using empowerment research, I attempted to build up the reflective capacity of practitioners so that they could use my research to improve services. Because this research targets the creation of a 'good model of community empowerment' for poor Korean people, I think the answer to 'for whom?' in this study is clear.

A research board or a research governance committee is responsible for ensuring that research is ethical by assessing any proposal and its processes and taking it through the university's ethical approval process before giving permission for any research to go ahead. In the UK, the Department of Health's *Research Governance Framework for Health and*

Social Care (RGF) and the *Economic and Social Research Council*'s (ESRC) Research Ethics Framework have been provided as research governance mechanisms to implement and enhance ethical principles in research projects that they fund. The central purpose of RGF is to ensure the participant's rights, to protect their privacy and to minimise risks and prevent harm occurring.

As a postgraduate research student, this research is approved and appraised by my supervisor as a part of the procedure of assuring that research proposals are conducted according to ethical processes and comply with the required standards. It then goes through the University's ethical committee procedure. If I subsequently faced difficult situations that I could not resolve myself, I would seek advice from my supervisor.

Addressing issues about informed consent is demanded in all research. According to Butler's code (2002: code point 11), a researcher must ensure that participants are fully informed about a research project by using language that is readily comprehensible to them before they agree to take part. Homan (1991) suggested that all pertinent aspects of what is to occur are disclosed to research subjects and they should be able to understand this information.

Informed consent should also affirm voluntary participation in the research and 'protection from harm' (Butler, 2002: code point 3). The research should be carried out with the research subject's voluntary agreement and should be free from coercion and undue influence such as fear of physical or emotional abuse or other kinds of disadvantage either as a result of becoming involved in the research or by declining to take part in it (Banks and Barnes, 2005).

The questions relating to informed consent include, whether informed consent can ever really be given, whether a participant's consent is really voluntary and how informed is informed? According to Olesen (2005), feminist researchers (Casper, 1997; Corrigan, 2003; Fine and Weis; May 1980) point out that consent fades or alters, in that the research subjects' attitude at the early stage can change from a friendly relationship with the research to a negative position which expresses curiosity, scepticism about, or resistance to it at a later stage if uncomfortable questions arise in the research. Dominelli (2005a), however, argues that it is not a one-off event but a continuous process of checking if the person wants to continue. Indigenous methodologist, Smith (2005: 99) also regards it as a tool for the "bleeding of knowledge away from collective protection through individual participation in research" as it

results in indigenous people [1] unwittingly or wittingly revealing their information to researchers. Like indigenous people, minority or marginalised groups such as sick people, disabled people or vulnerable people who may be involved in social work research may be manipulated or persuaded to agree to the research (Banks and Barnes, 2005). As a way to protect vulnerable research subjects, Banks and Barnes (2005:248) recommend that researchers consider proxy consent from a guardian, parent, or carer for those unable to give them informed consent. Disabled people argue, "No research on us without us" (Barnes and Mercer, 2003).

There may be an issue in giving information to participants before the research begins. Too much or too little information may impact negatively on their involvement. Having too many questions may make participants feel burdened, whereas not asking for enough information may leave them without knowledge of key features of the research. Thus, there is a balance to be struck in providing information to research participants (McLauglin, 2007).

To conform to the tenets of informed consent (Appendix I:p.292), I tried in the first place to contact all key informants by telephone because they were working in cities far away from my location in SK. By telephone, I gave participants brief information about the research goals, methods, and questions that the interview would follow. I also answered any questions that they had. When they agreed voluntarily to be involved in the research, I emailed them the research questions for the semi-structured interview and a form for informed consent.

It was important for me to provide information pertinent to the research and show how I would not do anyone harm or infringe the privacy rights of interviewees before the research began. I also reminded participants before the interview that they could refuse to answer any

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[1] According to Smith (1999:7), the term, indigenous people, is relatively recent. It emerged in the 1970s out of the struggles primarily of the American Indian Movement, and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood. The term 'indigenous' means distinct populations with experiences under imperialism. Especially when this term is used in the context of Australia and North America, it is a way of including the many diverse communities, language groups and nations, each with their own identification with a single grouping. Indigenous people is used by activists as a term that challenges the internalised experiences of colonialism and raises the issues and struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples. Thus, it means groups who have been subjected to the colonization of their land and cultures, and the denial of their sovereignty, by a colonising society, even after it has formally ended such practices. So, following Smith's ideas I use the concept of 'indigenous' as a word meaning a group whose experiences have been subjected to the colonisation of their land and culture, and the denial of their sovereignty, by a colonising society, even after it has formally ended. Learning from indigenous people in social work is discussed in Chapter 6 of Dominelli's book (2010). For perspectives regarding indigenous social work see book edited by M. Gray, J. Coates and M. Yellow Bird (2008).

question or refuse to be interviewed at any point. Before discussing this with them, I thought about how to approach them in the Korean cultural context of emphasising a 'harmonious human relationship while respecting participants' honour'. This values their status by telling them of the importance of their involvement. Before meeting them for the research, I found by researching the literature that my informants were the first community practitioners who had practised community empowerment in Korea. I used this information to ask a question before getting their approval to be part of the research. I asked, "Is it true that you are the first community worker to practise in a community empowerment project in South Korea?" They answered affirmatively with a "Yes". They were very proud of their role as the first participants in empowerment work, a feature that became apparent during the interviews. Once they agreed to be involved in the research, I asked them to sign the consent form and arranged to meet them for the interviews. Although they readily agreed to this, I got the impression that they gave limited significance to providing a signature. After giving verbal consent, the signature on the consent form seemed to be 'just a formal procedure'.

The issue of anonymity and confidentiality reflects Butler's code point 12 (2002). In it, any data or other information produced in carrying out the research should be treated as confidential except for any exception which is agreed in advance with the research participants. Their right to privacy and protection from harm resulting from either unwanted physical access by others, obtaining confidential personal information, or unwanted attention of any other kind is covered by both concepts. The information gained in the course of the research should be kept anonymous and confidential, because if it is revealed the participants or their interests could come to harm.

To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, I use pseudonyms for the names of informants. I have assured them that the contents of the interviews will not be used except in my studies. But I have also warned them that in SK they will have been known as practitioners who took part in the project of community empowerment and so it might be impossible to keep full anonymity. Writing this study in English will help in maintaining anonymity. I assured informants that if I publish this study in SK I will seek their advice on how to deal with the issue of anonymity. The question of confidentiality did not raise further ethical concerns.

Finally, there is the issue of conducting research by covert methods, where the researcher does not inform the research subjects of this work in order to gain crucial data while hiding

the researcher's status. Some researchers (Davidson and Layder, 1994) have argued that a covert method may be necessary to ensure data that would not be otherwise available is added to human knowledge. Others (Homan, 1991) have argued that such a method should never be used. My research did not use a covert method.

During the research

During the research process, the crucial point is the interaction between the researcher and research subjects. Contact also generates ethical issues over the ways in which to protect the rights and reduce the risks of research subjects as well as the researcher. The main issues include: recording the data; the research subject's resistance to being involved in research; how to deal with the situations where participants disclose contents which differ in theme during interviewing; and the safety of the researcher. I discuss the issues which have arisen for me as the researcher and ways in which I tackled them below.

According to Butler (2002; code points 4 and 9) social work researchers should practise both "the principle of justice" which treats research subjects in a manner that does not tolerate any form of discrimination based on age, race, national origin, gender or any other criteria, and "the principle of respect for participants" which always treats them as human beings with rights (Butler, 2002).

Social researchers should not dispute these principles because they are embedded in all major ethical protocols for research with human subjects. Indigenous methodology has expressed the need for research ethics to reflect 'respect' and 'justice' from 'the view of grass roots. Such methodologists (Smith, 1999, 2005; Bishop, 2005; Cram, 2001) have raised questions about principles claiming universality but that have basic premises that are "quintessentially Euro-American". They have described indigenous research ethics of 'respect' that are based on native values, and call these the "Community-Up Approach for Defining Research Conduct". Fiona Cram (2001) gives researchers guidelines based on ethical research protocols of decolonising methodologies (Smith, 1999).

I applied their ethical guidelines to the process of interviewing, tailoring these to the Korean Confucian culture. The first guideline is a "respect for people" (Smith, 2001: 98). Respect for Korean people honours their prestige. I used polite expressions and official titles rather

than first names in the interviews. I tried to hear and sympathise with their stories rather than raise problems about them. Especially when a participant is older than a researcher, a researcher should consider the etiquette and manners of older people in the interview, e.g., not sitting cross-legged on the chair and avoiding eye-contact in the course of dialogue.

With regard to the ethics that consider "the importance of looking/observing and listening, before speaking" (Smith, 2001: 98): after observing the communities where they practised, I began the interviews. To listen as much as possible to their stories, I tried not to speak during the interview. But I did converse with participants as a means of expressing self-disclosure in order to conduct an in-depth interview. In the conversation, I tried to avoid use of the word 'I' to express my subject. In Korea, participants can take what one expresses for his/herself by using the word 'I' as displaying an arrogant attitude. Korean people consider the use of 'I' as egoistic or individualistic behaviour. This attitude comes from the 'familial' mode of thinking that prioritises benefits to the family.

When considering Korean culture, it is important that a researcher lets participants tell their stories freely. Confucianism has emphasised harmony, consensus, and social order rather than differences, conflicts, and social change, while seeking political stability (Jung, 2007). Expressing conflictual attitudes has been regarded as a challenge to powerful people's authority and a cause of social disorder. Because of this culture, powerful people tend to consider people who express different opinions as disobedient. Powerless people are unwilling to speak explicitly of their own opinions, wanting to retain good human relationships. But also they are trying to reach a consensus with other people's thinking, even when they have different ideas. Furthermore, being influenced by 'collectivism' which emphasises loyalty and commitment to the collective while not recognising individual autonomy and identity, Korean people have considered "a wise life is a life that doesn't mention sensitive issues which may damage the harmony of the organization" (Jung, 2007). I let participants give their own views freely in face-to face situations and in a place where they could speak freely and safely not looking at other people's eyes and the surrounding environment. The venues were mainly an official room, which they chose and which made them feel more comfortable during the interview.

The ethical principle demands a researcher to become 'a co-producer and not just be a data gather or observer'. At the beginning of an interview, I tried to play not only the role of a

'listener' or 'learner' who hears their stories but also a 'facilitator' who enables them to express their experiences and opinions. Additionally, conducting multi-sequenced interviewing rather than a one-off interview and using empowering research methods, I attempted to create opportunities for us to undertake collaborative research. Being interviewed more than once enabled participants to get a feeling that they became key informants in my research, not simply an object of research. Furthermore, I offered possible outcomes of analysing data and asked them their opinions about them in SK. This way of working gave them the impression that the research could be conducted by a collaborative process between the researcher and participant subjects. The fifth principle is "to be cautious as an insider/outsider of the research" (Smith, 2001: 98). 'Insider' means a researcher who lives in the communities where participants reside. Even though I was not involved in the communities that they targeted, I had insider status as a Korean who spoke their language. So, I endeavoured to learn and understand these communities by carefully listening to their stories as a sympathiser or listener to understand the consequences of their experiences. At the same time, I was also an 'outsider' doing research in another language and from a country with different traditions. I sought to be humble because I did not have the experiential knowledge and skills about community empowerment, even though I had a theoretical knowledge of it. For me, the playing of both roles was not an easy task as I did not take part in the communities where participants acted and have little experience about community empowerment. I approached them with a humble attitude as a learner or partner in the research.

This attitude is associated with the sixth principle that "the researcher does not trample on the dignity of the research subjects". In other words, the interviewer needs to guard against being paternalistic because interviewees do not know what the researcher wants to know, e.g., theoretical knowledge about the research objects. In my case, as I was a student in the UK, I needed to be cautious in introducing my knowledge about community work to them during the interviewing process. Thus, I spoke less and they told me many stories. Nevertheless, when I later looked at the transcribed sheets, I found that I talked a lot in some of the interviews. The final principle is "do not flaunt your knowledge". As a way of sharing knowledge, I introduced them to Western knowledge of community empowerment during the interviews. When I expressed my ideas, I told them the following as a way of showing a humble attitude: "I am still studying as a student, so I do not have a lot of specific knowledge. If you need more information, I will send it to you by e-mail."

In SK, traditional research is based mainly on questionnaire surveys and is carried out to privilege the researcher's voice rather than that of the participants and to provide results for policy makers and research funders rather than for the participants' benefit. It also ignores the effects of the research process on participants, and their role in research. In contrast, I sought to conduct the research under ethical principles and to interview in a manner that reflected the Korean culture and focused on the voices and rights of participants rather than on mine as the researcher.

Another issue was concerned with recording data in ways that respected the dignity and anonymity of the research subjects (McLaughlin, 2007). Focus groups, unstructured interviews and semi-structured interviews are generally recorded with a tape-recorder or digital-recorder. Sometimes videotaping or using a digital camcorder is used in practising visual research or methods that need to record physical gestures, facial expressions and bodily postures. Videotaping may be more intimidating than a tape recorder. And a tape-recorder might be more of a psychological burden than handwritten field notes for some participants. In in-depth interviews, a tape-recorder is recognised as a crucial tool for recording data to obtain verbatim records of an interview (Johnson, 2001). Another reason is that a researcher taking notes will be concerned about ensuring responses are written down legibly rather than listening to and understanding what the respondent is telling them about the questions (McLaughlin, 2007). However, as a tape recorder can create misgivings for some participants, the researcher should inform participants during the process of informed consent before the interview begins by explaining the reasons for using this tool; informing them of who will listen to the tape, how it will be transcribed, how it will be used, where such data will be stored, for how long and what the procedure is for destroying the tape; and the way that the participant can turn it off (McLaughlin, 2007).

I told key informants before the interviewing started that because my research uses the method of in-depth interviewing it was different from the way they may have experienced earlier research methods. Thus, I said that I would like to use a tape-recorder, and asked would they allow it to be used. Fortunately, they consented to this. Some of them said that transcripts could only be used for my thesis. Although I will abide by this, it seems to me that they are uncomfortable about the use of the tape-recorder. Another asked me to send the transcribed manuscript. I explained the reasons for using a tape recorder, but I failed to

inform participants of the elements that McLaughlin (2007) sets out in using a tape-recorder ethically such as how to turn it off when participants do not want to be recorded.

Another ethical issue is the right of respondents to end their involvement in the research. Oliver (2003) and McLaughlin (2007) argue that respondents have the right to withdraw their involvement at any point even though the research requires their continued participation. Oliver requires researchers to inform participants that they can withdraw from their involvement at any time during the research (Oliver, 2003).

Before beginning the interviews, I informed each informant of their right to refuse to participate and their right to withdraw at any time if I asked questions that participants did not want to answer, trampled on their dignity, or discriminated on the basis of gender. When I met women informants, I asked them to check my questions for anything that they felt encouraged gender inequality. They responded with smiles meaning: 'yes'.

Additionally, there is a situation that a social work researcher could face if the participants disclose difficult material during the research, for example, if a respondent confesses to the interviewer, the taking of a narcotic drug. Which is the better position for the researcher to take, keeping confidentiality or not? The researcher also faces ethical dilemmas over confidentiality. The Wanless Report (2002) addressed confidentiality in research and argues that individual rights to confidentiality had to be balanced against a study's benefits to society. This position subordinates confidentiality to the requirement of public responsibility (quoted in Dominelli and Holloway, 2008b). It prioritises the protection of the public over individual rights.

Finally, both research subjects and researcher should be protected from harm and have their human rights protected. Butler's code (2002) focuses mainly on the participants in social work research not the researcher. But as social work research has changed from the methods of traditional research,[2] where the researcher manages the method, into the method of empowerment research being conducted by both the researcher and research subjects or service users (Adams, 2008; Dominelli and Holloway, 2008b), the issue of confidentiality

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[2] Traditional research methods mean positivist methods that support evidence-based practice (EBP) as defined by Sheldon (2000). EBP is based on the hierarchy of evidence that highlighted the following sequences with the most credible and trustworthy at the beginning and the least credible at the end (Becker and Bryman, 2000).

needs to be revisited. Butler's ethical codes, like others, are subject to on-going revision (Dominelli et al., 2007b).

In the process of research I did not experience physical risks from interviewees because I did not conduct participative action research which works together with participants in the communities to achieve a goal. I conducted the interviews in a safe venue where key informants chose to meet. As I monitored participants' emotional level continuously during the interview, I did not face risks arising from this. But I did not inform others of the venue of the interview. To safeguard my safety, however, I made arrangements to ensure that my whereabouts where known before, during and after the interview, and could be checked by colleagues or my supervisor if necessary.

After the research

Ethical issues after the interview and collecting the data focused on sharing, publishing and authorship of the results. The ethical responsibility of social work researchers actually trying to reflect Butler's (2002) code point 2 by which they seek to empower servicer users does not end once data collection and the results of analysing the data have been offered to the respondents.

Other ethical issues 'after the research' arise around the publication of the results and the matter of authority. According to Butler's (2002) code point 13, "social work researcher findings must be reported accurately, completely and without distortion" (Butler, 2002: 246). This is a matter relating to the verification of the study. The researcher has to verify findings to secure the credibility, authenticity, and trustworthiness of the research findings. I will discuss this issue in the section on data analysis.

In publishing the findings, the researcher may face another problem: conflicts between the researcher and either the research sponsors or participants. These conflicts could result from disagreements over what has been written about the participants or the sponsors. When social work researchers use a methodology of non-hierarchical research, they face the dilemmas of compromising with many research stake-holders. In other words, they should tackle 'multiple accountabilities in a non-hierarchical research approach' (Dominelli et al., 2007b).

Finally, an ethical issue 'after the research' concerns authorship. Butler (2002:247) suggests in ethical code point 15 that "the publication of social work research findings should be used properly and in proportion to their contribution, acknowledging the part played by all participants." As there is difficulty in expressing quantitatively what is meant by "properly" and "in proportion to their contribution", authorship can be a "tricky ethical matter" (McLaughlin, 2007:68). When applying empowerment research or participative action research, a social work researcher negotiates the name(s) around which to publish findings. This ethical issue is also relevant to the types of contributions among stake-holders in the research. If the researcher acknowledges different types of contributions to the research, they will be evaluated differently according to the context in which the research is conducted. Consequently, authorship needs to be shared with the research participants.

As a way of enabling participants to return to the results of the research, I conducted empowerment research and shared and verified my findings with research participants. Also after I complete my research, I will hold a conference in which to share the final outcomes of the research with respondents in SK. Furthermore I will hold discussions with them and my supervisor around matters relating to publication such as authority, accountability, anonymity and confidentiality. The next sections will discuss how the pilot study was conducted, give an account of the sampling method, and how the data was gathered and analysed.

THE PILOT STUDY, THE SAMPLING AND ANALYSING OF DATA, AND CHALLENGES OF LANGUAGE

Pilot study

I carried out a pilot study to enhance the validity of the research, to minimise failure in the research and to address ethical issues before undertaking formal interviews as suggested by Teijlingen et al. (2001). Through this pilot, I hoped to learn how to interview effectively and how to adhere to the research ethics of the methodologies I chose and to modify items in the interview questions prior to the actual interviews.

I involved two men and one woman community worker who were working in the CWCs of P city. They helped me to consider my attitudes and behaviour during the interviews and how I collected information about Korean community workers and the local CWCs. The interview

questions were associated with the concept of community empowerment, the roles of community workers, participation of service users and the management of CWCs relevant to the community empowerment project run by CCK.

The pilot study revealed areas where I needed to improve. These included making fewer demands on the interviewees by asking fewer open-ended questions; explaining the use of the tape-recorder; and expounding the need to interview rather than undertake research by a questionnaire using closed questions without a recording. In the pilot study, I found that I was talking more than was necessary. Furthermore, when I asked them why they did not practise community empowerment in their locality effectively, I seemed to have an element of pressure in the questioning rather than kindly asking the question, "Why?" This can be regarded as a poor style of interviewing that could violate the interviewees' dignity. When I looked into the contents of interviewing in the pilot study, I found a lack of follow-up questions after the initial answers that could have revealed hidden experiences. I realised that this resulted from my not having had enough information and knowledge regarding the conditions of Korean CWCs, and WNGOs, and community workers' working styles. I supplemented the information that I obtained during the pilot study, by reading articles on these, and I also checked the ethical issues involved in doing the interviews.

Besides the 'question of why', a woman told me that she thought that I sought to teach her during the interview. In other words, I made statements with several meanings; included information about community empowerment that imposed my values on interviewees which is against the principles of grounded theory; exposed power differences between me as an interviewer and them as interviewees, which is against the principles of feminist research and ethics emphasising non-hierarchical relationships, participants' subjectivity and reciprocity between a researcher and the participants. I found a lot of gaps between what I should do and what I actually did. To reduce these gaps, I kept in mind that in this research 'they' are the 'heroes', not 'me' and before beginning an interview, I reminded myself that 'I should not become a teacher'. This dilemma occurred during the process of self-disclosure as I sought to build trust between us. I gave my opinions in response to their answers or questions. While I was speaking to them, I also decided to check informants' facial expressions and body reactions. I would stop speaking if they showed negative expressions and stances of dislike. I had told them that if I talked too much, I would like them to stop me from talking. However, no one did.

The pilot study did not include key informants who were involved in the community empowerment project. As the informants selected were ten community practitioners occupying the position of team leaders in ten CDCs, other colleagues preferred to leave involvement in the research to the team leader. The selection criteria will be identified in the section on sample data. Furthermore, the informants were not merely located in cities that were far away from my location in SK, but also it was not easy to find participants who would be involved in the CEP project from start to finish because most of them resigned during their work in the CEP[3].

Instead, I composed items for questions intended to be for the semi-structured interviews on the basis of a report by Lee et al. (2005) which describes the outline, practice processes and outcome of the community empowerment project. The report gives information which helps one to understand the practice of participants and characteristics of the project, but it does not focus on the document that creates a Korean model of community empowerment. Additionally, the report's researchers received funds from CCK so that it identified more positive outcomes than negative ones. To research my thesis, I formulated interview questions on the basis of both the reports and literature reviews about Western models of community empowerment and what I learnt from the pilot experience.

I arranged interview questions (Appendix II: pp. 293-5) composed of six sections on the basis of the sequential processes of community empowerment that would encourage participants to tell their stories. The first relates to a participant's career and motivations for involvement. The second deals with the first stage of CEP such as orientation, goals of the project and values of practices. The third is concerned with making contacts with local people. The fourth centres on community profiling to understand the contexts that shape communities and people's needs. The fifth part focuses on the formation and strengthening of organisations. The final questions explore the outcome and reflections of their actions. Even though interview questions were composed like this, each interview did not proceed according to a sequence of interview questions. While letting participants tell their stories, I asked questions to obtain missing data based on the topic of the question. But one interview was insufficient to gather data due to my lack of experience and the limitation of interview time. This is discussed in the section on gathering data.

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[3] The reasons for this will be highlighted in Chapter 8.

Sampling data

I used "theoretical sampling" in grounded theory to select my respondents, which allowed a sample to be selected that maximized responses to my research questions. My sample was chosen within criteria that identified practices of the CEP project and fitted my thesis. These were:

1. Selecting the leader of the team being studied who was involved in the project over a three year period
2. Selecting a team member who had worked for the project for three years or more if the team leader had less than three years experience as a leader
3. Selecting a new leader, if there were team members who had not been involved in the project for three years (the period of conducting the project).

I was able to make contact with all but two team leaders of the ten centres. One leader resigned during the period of the project; another got a job unconnected with the community empowerment practices. Neither leader wanted to be interviewed. Instead, I sampled members who were involved in the project (see Appendix III: pp. 296-9).

Gathering data

I attempted 'multiple sequential interviews' rather than a one-off interview. Constructivist grounded theory also emphasises theoretical sampling that develops theory through continuously collecting and analysing data. Thus, if interviewers depend on one-shot interviewing, they will miss opportunities to correct earlier errors and omissions and to construct a dense, more complex analysis. Rather than a one-shot interview, conducting multiple interviews not only charts an interviewee's path through a process, but also fosters trust between the interviewer and interviewee, which allows the researcher to get closer to the phenomenon being studied. The logic of the constructivist grounded theory is not a deterministic thing but a process that is shaped by collecting and analysing data so that the interviewer successively asks more questions about a participant's experiences (Charmaz, 2001).

The first interviews lasted approximately 100−120 minutes. After this, the second interview was conducted to supplement missing data revealed in the course of analysing data and lasted for 25-30 minutes. I carried out the first interview in S. Korea. As I analysed data from the first interview in the UK, the second interview (Appendix II: p. 292) was conducted by telephone or by e-mail according to respondents' preferences. I telephoned the interviewees where I had identified a need to follow up interviews, saying it was necessary to interview them further and ask if they were willing to be involved and how. Some of them sent me responses by e-mail; others gave me answers on the telephone. The questions I sent by email were limited to four items in order not to be burdensome. Eight participants responded by e-mail. I sent them my thanks by e-mail or telephoned them. The third interview was carried out to share the results of research findings with them (Dominelli, 2005a) and to establish their credibility through the participants' confirmation of the accuracy of the information provided (Patton, 2002) at places of the participants' choosing. The face-to-face meetings during which I verified and shared the results lasted about an hour and took place in their office. Although I sent the summarised contents of the analysis to them prior to the telephone interview, communication by telephone was not sufficient not only because of lack of time to share all the results of the research, but also because I was unable to read non-verbal cues about the results. I learnt that face-to-face interaction can both obtain and share information in ways not possible in an interview by telephone.

I also took brief notes while I interviewed respondents. This helped me to analyse the data because they gave me information about the circumstances of the interview such as when interviewees seemed stressed or showed non-verbal expressions that I felt were worth writing down.

Analysing data

I attempted an on-going process of analysing the data that began when the first interview had taken place. Independent reading of transcripts (interview record forms) and making notes was conducted several times. Throughout the research, I moved back and forth from data to the models of Western community empowerment and vice versa. I used a thematic approach to analyse interview data. Utilising the modified Western model and the ideas of Glaser and Strauss (1967), Charmaz (2001) and Dominelli (2002d), I analysed the practices of community empowerment 'driven by data' with common themes. This approach revealed

that key elements of information were missing and that I needed to supplement the first interview with a second one and share the results with the interviewees before conducting a third interview to collect all the data that I needed. I also examined the data for their implications for a Korean model of community empowerment.

Analysis proceeded according to the principle of grounded theory: an "open coding" as the process of naming concepts, defining categories, and developing categories in terms of their properties and dimensions are discovered in data; an "axial coding" as the act of relating categories to subcategories along the lines of their properties and dimensions; and a "selective coding" as the process of integrating categories and developing the theory by creating and modifying codes relating to processes of community empowerment (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Gibbs, 2002). The Nvivo software programme was used as a tool to store and rearrange the empirical data and aid the thematic analysis. At the same time I did manual work to rearrange text according to key themes using Microsoft's Word programme. By these means I conducted the work of open coding that conceptualised empirical data. As a result, concepts were derived from participants' texts. I categorised these concepts by gathering them into key themes. I used these categories to identify patterns and relationships relevant to analysing the findings. Then I considered the data to see if the categories could be developed into a theoretical framework. To develop this theoretical framework I needed empirical data and documents for axial and selective codings. I found the theme of building community organisations (see the section on 'approaches taken in forming organisations' in Chapter 6: 174-84) to be one that could be analysed with both codes. Subsequently I contacted participants by email or telephone to obtain supplementary data.

During axial coding, I connected categories and subcategories according to the properties of the data (level or degree) and their dimensions (high or low) to express the range along which general properties of a category varied. The properties of voluntary involvement and practitioners' intervention were identified at the high or low levels (see Appendix V: pp.302-22). Then I examined processes that connected these categories with the properties related to the paradigm, an analytical tool devised to help analysts integrate the conditional context (structure) and interaction (process) in which categories are situated. This can be regarded as the work of axial coding including elements of the paradigm such as conditions, actions/interaction and consequences. To do this, I analysed the practice of community organising using the elements of the paradigm. After this, selective coding was carried out to

integrate categories into subcategories (e.g., 'practitioner's directive intervention' and 'voluntary involvement'), thereby clarifying them, while analysing and comparing categories. I suggested five types of approaches in creating an organisation through core categories such as the 'directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement', 'non-directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement', non-directive approach with low level of voluntary involvement, 'traditional Korean approach with low level of voluntary involvement' and 'self-directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement'. These core categories are also identified in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 (Chapter 6: 183-84). The process of coding for analysing data (i.e. building organisations) is drawn in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: The process of coding for analysing data

The first stage		The second stage		The third stage

■ Open coding
● Categorising data
● Arranging categories according to themes
● Coding properties and dimension of categories

■ Axial coding
● Coding subcategories to clarify and specify categories
● Coding by the elements of the paradigm
● Coding properties and dimension of subcategories

■ Selective coding
● Selecting core categories encompassing categories and subcategories
● Figuring core categories
● Comparing core categories

There were other empirical data that were difficult to progress towards axial and selective coding because of the limited time and money I had to carry out the study. The data were analysed thematically under the framework of community empowerment practice. Sub-themes were also identified and included the main themes and the quotes from the interviews and secondary data to illustrate the discussion.

While the analysis was being done, my supervisor was consulted in order to enhance the validity of the methods I used for my analyses. As I researched my thesis in Korea, I translated from Korean to English. I only translated the data that served to explain my analysis. I received help from a Korean professor, who is fluent in English and Korean, to validate the meaning of the key words in English and Korean. In the next section, I describe challenges I faced as a Korean student in conducting the research.

Challenges of language

Like me, Korean students, studying for a PhD degree in UK universities are likely to face tricky barriers in analysing and interpreting research findings besides challenges in conducting qualitative research. The major challenge is the barrier of language in the process of translating clearly from Korean native words into the UK English. To improve my English, my supervisor arranged for peer group support in addition to the courses provided by University. I had to supplement these with private tuition and additional proof-reading. I recommend that Korean students who come to the UK to study stay in a house with English students, as I was advised by my supervisor. For me, the tricky task was writing English that was appropriate for a thesis. After arriving in the UK, I received private lessons led by English people to develop my abilities in English conversation. With hindsight, I feel private lessons to improve my writing would have been more helpful than paying people to proof-read my materials when they never met the requirements expected by both my supervisor and me. Of course, paying for proof-reading or additional teaching in the English language adds to the financial difficulties faced by overseas students such as myself. I think Korean students may need to take sustained training for academic writing for 2-3 years before beginning their studies in the UK. It is necessary for Korean students to put much time into qualitative research methods, research ethics and learning English before and after coming to the UK if they want to get higher degrees in the UK universities.

CONCLUSION

I have discussed methodologies and ethical research issues that are rarely discussed in SK research. This made the researcher and participants feel that they were entering unfamiliar territory and gave rise to some discomfort on their part. A feminist methodology stressing an egalitarian relationship between interviewer and interviewees and subjectivity by self-disclosure was especially difficult to apply to those who were used to positivist methodologies. To conduct in-depth interviewing according to the methodologies I had selected, I needed interviewing techniques to find a balance between hearing and speaking and to allow interviewees to 'go with the flow'. Effective communication required me to move away from their discursive answers and keep them on track in answering my main questions. Securing trust that is necessary to conduct multiple sequential interviews was also significant for me. These required me to have a lot of skills which I had to learn quickly and teach myself. This I found difficult.

In addition, significant ethical issues were raised in this piece of social work research throughout the research process and which provided a further challenge for both the interviewees and me. The empowerment principle of feminist methodologies gave us all a useful opportunity for reflection on the positivist research methods that have dominated research in SK. Hence the feminist and indigenous methodologies allowed me and the informants the opportunity to reappraise empowerment and emancipatory research led *with* and *by* service users who are able to determine the research process, the interpretations of the findings, and the conclusions to be drawn for practice and policy (Evans and Jones, 2004) and not just to be challenged by the new tasks that this methodology posed. In the following chapters, I will analyse the community empowerment practice that the community practitioners conducted over the three years of the CEP project.

CHAPTER 5

TRADITIONAL KOREAN COMMUNITY WORK AND THE PRELIMINARY PHASE OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT: THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will start by examining 'traditional Korean community work'; routine practice to improve poor people's quality life at the community level. This helps to understand not only features of Korean community work, but can also be used as an analytical tool to evaluate the CEP project. It may become a resource that can estimate the extent to which the practitioners of the project seek to move away from traditional community practice. Traditional community work is discussed with reference to the models of community work identified by Rothman (1970), while based on statements of research participants and documents.

Along with this discussion, Chapter 5 will explore the preliminary activities of the CEP involving Korean community practitioners in ten centres. The community empowerment practice that I suggest would reduce the six stages of the modified Western model to three: a preliminary phase which comes under stages 1, 2, and 3 in the modified Western model, called 'preparation for doing community work'; the phase of organising and strengthening communities which covers stages 4 and 5 in the modified Western model, called 'mobilising communities'; and the phase of evaluation and reflection which conforms to stage 6 of the modified Western model. This chapter examines the key aspects in the work of Korean practitioners including in the preliminary phase activities such as preparative training for the CEP, making contact with residents, activities setting up plans and sharing values with residents, and community profiling. In Chapter 6 and 7, I will highlight practices for community mobilising including community organising and strengthening communities through organisation, and then examine the outcomes and undertake some reflection upon the developments in Chapter 8.

Description of communities and practitioners participating the research

Before analysing traditional Korean community work and the processes of the CEP, I describe briefly the 10 communities and the 10 community practitioners, who engaged in this project. Among the 10 communities development centres were responsible for the communities, four involving community practitioners in WNGOs. These centres are referred to by the acronym of WNGOC. The other six Centres, called DCWCs, were staffed primarily by community workers with social work qualifications working in the community welfare centre. The four WNGOCs located in the Seoul area cover 5-6 communities that are comprised of public rental apartments complexes (PRAs 50) where people on low incomes and poor people live because there is a shortage of housing in the PPRAs. The six DCWCs targeted one community called a PPRA where poor and vulnerable people lived. Except for two centres (the *Kang Buk* and the *Hwa Jin*), the four DCWCs were located in local areas rather than Seoul (see Appendix IV-1: p.300).

Ten practitioners participated in being interviewed for this study. I sampled ten participants who could provide detailed in-depth information about the project (see section on data sample in Chapter 4). The pseudonyms I used for the ten community practitioners and the community development centres are listed in Table 5-1.

Table 5.1: Names of Community Development Centre (CDC) and Practitioners

Name of CDC	Name of Practitioners
Kang Nam(WNGOC)	Kim
Won Min (WNGOC)	Song
Doo San (WNGOC)	Kyung
Dong Sun (WNGOC)	Soo
Kang Buk (DCWC)	Won
Haw Jin (DCWC)	Lee
Min Ju (DCWC)	Gong
Young A(DCWC)	Myung
Noh Hyun(DCWC)	Jin
Hyun Dae (DCWC)	Jung

Thus, the first section of this chapter highlights characteristics of traditional community work in SK, while comparing WNGOs with CWCs. It then explores the strengths and weaknesses of both groups. The second section discusses preparing activities for community empowerment.

A TRADITIONAL KOREAN COMMUNITY WORK MODEL[1]

Features of the traditional approach can be found in a participant's statement:

> In the Korean community welfare centre, work relating to community
> organisation was limited to the cultivation of voluntary workers or
> supporters of welfare. (Lee)

Analysing the features of traditional Korean community work (TKCW) requires studying the practice of both CWCs and WNGOs because they conducted activities under different conditions (see section on the history of community work in Chapter 2). The traditional community work in SK weighted activities that organised volunteers to help vulnerable people. According to research (Lee, 2007) their activities were directed towards creating organisations for voluntary actions. Both groups had little information and knowledge regarding community empowerment to enhance active citizenship through an organisation. Lee, as a research participant, also made a comment about conditions of the CWCs and WNGOs in SK at the time that this project was launched:

> Recently there was a tendency to introduce the language of empowerment.
> Even in 2002, when this project began, some workers asked what on earth
> empowerment was. At that time there was no known concept relating it. In the
> Korean community welfare centre, work relating to community organisation
> was limited to the cultivation of voluntary workers or supporters of welfare. (Lee)

As the traditional work drew on voluntary activities that helped to create direct services for residents, their approach approximated Rothman's (1970) "community care model".

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[1] Traditional Korean community work means that Korean community practitioners are usually carrying out practice at the local community level. I use the term community work because they are conducting it without knowing the concept of community empowerment.

Traditional work concentrated on practice for achieving self-help. The CWCs set their task as improving community situations by strengthening clients' capacity and motivation to solve their own problems (Jung, 2000). They focused on practising programmes to strengthen the capacity of self-help that targeted individuals or families. The programmes initiated by community practitioners relied on educational processes that sought to enhance residents' abilities to overcome difficult conditions and improve human relationships. This legitimises bringing in outside experts to provide programmes for residents (Dominelli, 2006). Community practitioners in WNGOs also encouraged the practice of community organising to carry out self-help initiatives. This practice was created to help prevent the failure of groups developing resident-led social movements to address community issues (Lee, 2007). From the perspective of Rothman's model, traditional Korean work also includes the "model of community development" which helps people acquire the self-help skills necessary to improve their conditions (Dominelli, 2006).

Traditional community work is based on the assumption that CWC community workers regard clients as 'passive patients'. This tendency underestimates clients' capacity to address their own problems. This is a pathological view of residents that legitimates bringing in educational programmes run by outside experts. The background that strengthened these views of community work stems from the clinical practices that were used to secure the profession of social work in SK (Nam, K.C., 2006; see Chapter 2). Other Korean experts (Hong, S.M., 2004) regarded Korean community work as a practice that improved individual clients' and their families' capacity to address their own circumstances while ignoring social conditions that oppressed them. Thus, the CWCs failed to conduct community work that empowered residents to become 'agents', who could take action as subjects in their own right, determining the direction of their lives, making decisions and taking actions positively to transform the oppressive structures they lived in. In contrast to CWCs, WNGO-based practitioners did not regard residents as passive agents. However, it is difficult for them to conduct community work directed towards transformational practice to change oppressive structures, as their practice remained primarily confined to creating self-help organisations. Their practice did not develop organisational structures for social movements led by residents themselves, although it did develop collective actions that community activists or both the workers and the residents took against the regional policy (Hong, S.M., 2004; Lee, 2007).

Traditional community work initiatives also failed to implement practice that encompassed the three levels of the local, the national and the global. Practitioners in CWCs concentrated on clinical practice that cared for clients and families through community organisations that involved volunteers in helping vulnerable people and families. Thus they had little interest in, or skills and knowledge of, the local communities in order to connect with national policies (Hong, S. M., 2004) and the forces of globalisation, or how to transform local initiatives into these levels. As a result, they have rarely shown the skills and knowledge relative to causes and mechanisms of connecting the three levels that interact to produce the poverty in communities. As such, they made little effort to foster transformative practice by raising poverty issues and remained embedded in technicist practice that produced the outcomes of a maintenance or therapeutic approach (An, 2001; Kim, 2001). In contrast, the practitioners in WNGOs engaged with a model of community action in order to change and influence national policies and local authorities' legislation, (e.g., constructing PPRAs and making laws for childcare). The workers had skills and knowledge about both levels. However, I do not know the extent to which they acquired knowledge relative to linking the three contextual levels mentioned above through their community practice because research in this area is lacking and CEP is often overlooked by researchers (see Chapter 1).

My research demonstrates that practitioners in WNGOCs are aware that globalisation is increasing the income gap between rich and poor people. The state has also created national policies aimed at reducing welfare budgets, and subsequently fragmented poor communities, thus indicating the importance of these contexts for local practice. A participant said:

> Recently there is a tendency that new-liberalism calls globalisation. This
> globalisation has individualised and fragmented human relationship. In those situations,
> a consciousness of solidarity helps people to cope. In the past they had a sense of
> community attachment between them in the poor village of the city. After they came to
> the public rental apartment complex, they lost this feeling. A lot of services that
> the welfare agencies offered were programmes that individualised them and separated
> them from each other. The only method to address this is to recover the communitarian
> mind. The basis of such unity is created by building communities. Although I think that
> globalisation is not totally bad, I am acting with the belief that community work can
> address the problems brought about by the new liberalism.(Song)

On the other hand, knowledge about the relationship between globalisation and community as understood by some participants in DCWCs reveals it as a force that threatens Korean society due to the lack of preparation for its impact or concern that it breaks the self-sufficiency system of a community by bringing the nation into the international marketing system. Developing this capitalist system, they fear, will destroy the neighbourhood (Gong). Another worker believes that they can redress economic uncertainty in communities caused by the effects of globalisation by developing community organisations for conducting collective action. Consequently, most interviewees knew that globalisation broke down communities and deepened inequality in terms of wealth. Community work is regarded as a method for coping with these dynamics.

Traditional community work displayed a tendency to view the roles and values of community work as having dualistic characteristics that were epitomised by the different practices in the CWCs and those in WNGOs. The CWCs concentrated on technicist practice at the community level, which I noted above. They valued this in developing a model to improve clients' self-confidence through education, and counselling, and by attracting volunteers. Thus, the community practitioners preferred roles such as a therapist, an enabler, an encourager, an educator, a counsellor and a mediator rather than as an advocate and activist who sought to realise the values of social justice, equality and participation. The causes of these imbalances were highlighted by Korean scholars (Jeon, 2005; Kim, I.S., 2005). Their work illustrated the following aspects as significant to their development: the history of community work which in the early period of Korean social work had imported American social work models which valued clinical practice; and case work rather than transformative practice in these the circumstances. These were promoted by the authoritarian regimes of the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, university education focused mainly on values instead of teaching students about practice and demonstrating how to apply theories and values in field work conditions. Moreover the CWCs have been funded by central and local government. In contrast, the WNGOs valued community practitioners as activists and advocates for change through strengthening residents' participation in community development and establishing solidarity with other organisations (Lee, 2007). However, a statement valuing equality between practitioners and local people was seldom provided.

The features of the traditional community work model can be summarised with the help of interviewees' statements. In the launching stage of community work, practitioners

concentrated only on the goals of community work, the features of the people and the social-economic conditions of communities. To achieve their goals and objectives, community practitioners set up plans and procedures. When establishing these, practitioners centred in CWCs and WNGOs initiated the action, but failed to give residents the opportunity to participate. CWCs concentrated on one complex, whereas WNGOs operated in several complexes or widened their remit to other areas. To make contact with residents, practitioners preferred face-to-face meetings in formal and informal settings that built rapport between practitioner and key residents.

Practitioners of both organisations used meetings to contact residents, but they approached the work differently. The practitioners of CWCs limited their work to key people within the boundary of the community, whereas those in WNGOs contacted organisations across the community because they engaged in activities to form alliances. To produce a community profile, community workers were accustomed to researching residents' needs and resources in a community using quantitative methods (Lee, 2007). The two groups revealed few differences in accumulating community profiles for their areas. Additionally, the building of organisations to improve self-help communities was created by mobilising volunteers and supporters. This was carried out by way of a top-down process whereby practitioners in both centres had previously determined which participants would take part in these organisations while ignoring the residents' opinions and engaging them in voluntary participation. Educational programmes for residents were conducted in a one-off or "banking educational style" (Freire, 1972) of support used in the models of community care and community development. As part of community networking, the workers in CWCs paid little attention to networking with other CWCs, WNGOs, and political groups, whereas they were actively included in creating alliances with other NGOs beyond the communities. Both groups also conducted different activities to enable residents to participate. The CWCs did not involved residents in making decisions about programmes of community work (Jung, 2000). Although the WNGOs enabled residents to be involved in the community, they remained at an elementary level of participation (Lee, 2007). The evaluation of practice used by both groups was different. The CWC's evaluations were conducted once every three years by the Korean National Council on Social Welfare (KNCSW). This evaluation focused on the extent to which the CWC effectively performed on those programmes that supported maintenance and therapeutic approaches including attracting volunteers and supporters, the quantity of training, and research on people's needs (Park et al., 2001). This evaluation did not involve residents.

For WNGOs, an evaluation has not been formally conducted yet. In the next section, I will outline strengths and weaknesses of traditional community work in SK.

Strengths and weaknesses

The strengths of traditional community work can be summarised in a few points. Firstly, it is capable of moving poor people from positions of powerlessness to building self-help skills through their own endeavours. Secondly, it has strengths in securing human resources and materials that will help clients through community organising for voluntary action. For the WNGOs, the traditional model includes a strong position in community action to monitor the government's authoritarian decisions (top-down policies) and engage in advocacy. Thus, the TKCW of both organisations sought to establish the professionals as enablers in developing self-help skills and advocacy for changes in institutions and policies. Along with these strengths, I highlight their weaknesses.

The CWC's weaknesses are as follows. Firstly, it assumes a pathological view of residents, and fails to empower them as transformative agents by drawing them into participation. Secondly, by focusing only on the micro-level that includes clients and locality, the traditional model lacks skills and knowledge in how to link the global and national levels to the local one. Due to these factors, it could not enhance practice for community action. Their limitations made it difficult for practitioners to conduct emancipatory practice as advocates and activists trying to actualise the values of social justice and equality. As a result, traditional community work has operated as a means of supporting the status quo or a neo-liberalistic economic system (Dominelli, 2004; Berner and Phillips, 2007).

For the WNGOs, the weakness is that although they conducted community action to change structures together with community organising to engage volunteers and supporters, they were likely to fail to enable residents to become active citizens to control their lives and make a decision that affected them through the grass roots organisations created by residents' voluntary participation. Although they valued residents' participation and advocacy, their practice centred on practitioners themselves rather than on becoming involved with residents in the decision-making process (An, 2001), which may include a category of "traditional professionalism" that can be characterised by dominance of practitioners in Thompson's (2007:55) terms. Thirdly, while providing service activities for community care like the

CWCs, e.g., programmes offering medical services for elders and care for children, they sought to ensure that professionals played advocacy roles in their community work (Lee, 2007). However, their community care activities were not recognised as a professional practice (An, 2001). In the next section, I will analyse their attitude regarding community empowerment and how community practitioners obtained and shared information needed to conduct the CEP.

INNOVATIVE KOREAN COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT PRACTICE IN THE PRELIMINARY PHASE

The principle of evaluating community empowerment concerns process as well as outcomes. Empowerment practice is considered as the process whereby people obtain power to control their own lives and communities as a significant aspect of the process of engagement rather than only as an outcome (Adams. 2008; Dominelli, 2004). To follow this principle, I need to evaluate practitioners' activities of each stage based on the traditional Korean community work and a modified Western model of community empowerment. As I evaluate practice at each stage, I identify some significant tasks related to factors Korean practitioners have to challenge in order to go forward from their current practice.

Before and after entering communities

Before becoming involved in the CEP, participants had to acquire the information and knowledge needed for practice. This is what Henderson and Thomas (2000:35) called "thinking about going in and negotiating entry". They had to obtain information and knowledge about the practices of community empowerment because they had little previous experience of it.

The necessity and functions of training

Practitioners were strongly motivated, but the CEP made great demands on them from the start. One strong motivation arose from taking part in CEP as pioneers breaking new ground. Another was that those involved in the CEP project would receive financial support for both labour costs for practitioners and programme costs. This had never previously been the case

in community work. There were considerable pressures on practitioners to learn their trade as most of them had little understanding of the concept of community empowerment and few community workers possessed either the skills for it or the information needed to do it.

The situation pertaining to community welfare centres meant that there was little consensus about either the concept or definition of community empowerment. CCK recognised the necessity of having guidelines for carrying out the CEP because it ran workshops that began when the project started on 20 November 2002. After a workshop which began as part of the opening ceremony, they ran five other workshops at the rate of one every two months.

The workshops had some significant functions. They provided baseline information and orientation for practitioners. Participants learned how not to be frustrated by people in the process of practising and not to discriminate against marginalised groups. They were told to keep to the principle of inclusivity when involving people, even those who derided the project and refused to participate. They attended a lecture about skills for communicating with participants and introducing them in meetings with experts who had had a lot of experience in community organisation. Rather than offering skills, the workshops enabled practitioners to gain the feeling of companionship and identity that resulted from their homogeneity as participants who shared their pride as a pioneer group and who practised in fields previously untapped in SK. This was evidenced by a community worker who stated:

> As there were no models of empowerment suitable for Korean society, we
> experienced many trials and errors. This could provide the basis to create some
> useful results. If CCK could let ten centres be free to carry out their own plans,
> they could compete with each other to produce a good outcome. But we could
> all cooperate for desirable effects, because we and the CCK were unfamiliar
> with the characteristics of this project… Thus we naturally cooperated strongly with
> each other. In the community welfare centres, it is usually difficult to have a network
> with other welfare agencies. Nevertheless, all the practitioners tried to take part in the
> workshops, in the coming and going between the local centres and Seoul. This passion
> could produce some desirable consequences that could form the basis for practising
> community organisation. (Lee)

The workshop gave them an opportunity to empower each other by listening and sharing their experiences as practitioners who sought to cope with difficult tasks in their own communities.

However, there were some negative consequences too. The education arranged by the CCK did not give practitioners practical knowledge for community empowerment practices because one of them (Kyung) said, "It offered knowledge that is written in the textbooks." By sharing information with community practitioners, the CCK pointed out that it is difficult for each centre to find a specific program of their own. The other involved the circumstances of 'othering', which means to be disregarded by participants, brought about by differences of positions between other practitioners.

> When expressing different positions, we sometimes got the feeling we were being bullied. We had different positions from other centres so that our practices were totally different from theirs. So we often received criticism from the other centres. (Won)

While most participants agreed about building the tenant representative council (TRC), the development centres had difficulty reaching consensus on how to build it because each centre faced different community contexts in creating it. This will be discussed in the section on building a community organisation.

Although there were negative responses to the orientation workshop for the project, most participants understood it as a community of learning that did not merely share their experiential information and knowledge about empowerment, but also fostered 'the friendship of like-minded practitioners' through sharing experiences and ways of coping with their difficulties.

Evaluation and task: before and after entering communities

The orientation and workshops needed by participants made an important contribution to education and training for community empowerment. Korean workers who had little experience in this area viewed education and training as very important. It is necessary for practitioners to create an opportunity for dialogue to share information and think about strategic developments like supervision (Banks, 2007b).

I wondered whether the workshops were acting as a 'space for sharing critical dialogue' about their own programmes and practices. A participant (Won) depicted the experience of othering in expressing opinions that differed from those of the others community workers,

although most participants described the workshop as a meeting that motivated workers and became a place for exchanging information. Thus, the workshop was not likely to be developed as a space for critical reconstruction of their practice whilst recognising differences and critical reflections in practice between them.

In addition, the workshops rarely emphasised education about the importance of empowering values for CEP work. The documents that the CCK provided for practitioners were primarily materials focusing on social economic conditions of communities, how to become involved in the programmes and to improve the financial transparency of an organisation, introducing the importance of an 'integrative practice' to combine caring services with actions needed to change policies (Community Chest in Korea, 2002; Nam et al., 2003). There were a few documents that introduced the key values that workers were to implement or explained how to cope with contradictions between values that could arise in the processes of empowerment practice. But there were no documents in their CEP education that introduced the key values that workers faced or how to cope with problems that could arise. And my analysis of the interview data found that participants rarely assessed the educational contents which they were given during their orientation and the workshops, except for one participant (Kyung). Instead, they focused more on sharing experiences from their practice. As community practitioners are considered as moral agents in a moral activity, not neutral agents, identifying and practicing the value of social justice is extremely important in the CEP (Dominelli, 2002b). I argue that an effective education and orientation would provide knowledge and skills based on experience and cases of CEP together with practical knowledge about community empowerment and the values that underpin it.

The first stage of the Western neighbourhood model emphasises knowledge of the conditions of local communities and deciding the values and roles of practitioners in the pre-action phase. A modified Western model suggests training practitioners as a precursor to practice, and creating a learning organisation with supervision groups as the output of the first stage. The first stage practices of a modified Western model could also apply to the Korean situation. However, an important difference is that participants lack knowledge, skills, and information on CEP compared to their Western counterparts. Thus, education and training that offers these has to be provided from the early stage to the end of a project. Moreover, the CCK, as the agency that managed the CEP, did not provide the criteria for practitioners to evaluate the CEP. If the agency could offer practitioners lessons in how to measure

community empowerment during the first stage, it could strengthen their practice. I will now analyse practices in setting up plans, goals and values.

Setting up plans, goals and values

The second stage of the modified Western model is for practitioners to formulate the values and goals for practice and assign priority to the issues they identify. Korean community development centres set up plans and values to achieve the goals of the CEP, even though each differed partly in contents and methods of practice.

The ways of setting up plans and goals

Participants made plans to achieve the overall project goals by focusing on sub-goals to be achieved each year. A participant briefly expressed those that the CCK recommended to the centres as follows:

> The first year gives weight to getting to know local people and to their
> education, giving the opportunity for asking questions about their
> neighbourhood as well as thinking about their problems. The second year
> focuses on organising local people. The final year targets building
> organisational capacity to address the problems they have identified.(Jung)

Setting up these sub-goals and planning how to carry them out did not differ much between each centre, although there were a few differences in the composition of the specific sub-goals. In the data I collected, interviewees talked more about their experiences in establishing plans rather than focusing on the sub-goals. This may be because the overall goals were suggested by the funding agency. Most centres did not seem to stick rigidly to the plans that they had initially set up. Practitioners modified them to suit the situation of their particular community.

A few patterns emerged in making the plans. By identifying the patterns evident in these, the reasons for modifying a plan can be uncovered. The first pattern is the 'grand plan'. Most practitioners modified the grand plan because these focused on broader areas and were too ambitious for practitioners to be able to deliver.

Because we had the money, we were too greedy. Our areas had twenty one

public rental apartment complexes. We chose them all as a project target.

There were 20,000 households. We ambitiously set up the plan to encompass

all of them with the intention that each complex could form one community

organisation. After finishing the first year, we learned the lesson that this plan

was impossible for us to implement. When we did not have enough money, we

practised within a small scale programme boundary.(Song)

Because the *Won Min* received funds which community practitioners had never expected, its practitioners set up a grand plan covering a large area. After one year, they reduced the number of complexes covered from 20 to 5. Another cause may lie in the lack of experience in practising community empowerment.

The second is a 'type of caution' in creating their plan and having experienced failure in the form of a representative organisation before conducting the CEP. A participant (Lee) attributed this failure to the practitioners' thoughtless activities in building the organisation within short a time. As a result, some residents who were involved in it were isolated from other residents who deemed their organising activity a failure. Thus, they approached the CEP plan prudently and carefully.

Another cautionary tale came from a practitioner of a WNGOC (the *Kang Nam*) which had attempted to oppose the government's policy of compulsory demolition for regional redevelopment and sought to secure residential rights for homeless people. Because a WNGO spread such a radical or reformist movement, they were labelled a struggle group or 'communist group[2]' by some community residents. A participant (Kim) confessed that "we sought to establish a soft plan to counterbalance their biases, which we are always fighting against." Negative images of WNGOs made them cautious in establishing their strategies for practice.

The third is a 'type of reflection' whereby participants continually modify their plans for practices when unexpected outcomes occur. Plans may be poorly formulated because practitioners lack experience and skills for empowerment practice. Consequently, we can

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[2] The term communist group in the SK has a stronger negative meaning admiration or support of North Korean government. This language of the Cold War still shapes thinking in SK.

assume that differences in planning depend upon whether the participants have relevant experience in conducting the project.

Another issue is CCK's intervention in setting up the centres' plans. The CCK as the funding agency required all centres to follow the programmes for practice that it had created in the first year and sought to monitor their practice. Community practitioners took different positions about the agency. A participant (Myung) in a DCWC said, "In a situation where we have no information and knowledge about the empowerment project, CCK's intervention was needed to guide the project effectively." For her, CCK's activities were crucial for the project to work well. In contrast, a participant from a WNGOC expressed a counter-position to such statements. She reported that the CCK gave the centres little autonomy in developing activities.

> The feeling in conducting this project is that the start of every programme was
> scheduled to follow the Chest's plan. We were not in a position to develop the
> programme independently. The requirements of the Chest varied from month to month,
> which did not leave us able to meet their requirements.(Kyung)

Two participants differed by focusing on the backgrounds of their activities. The DCWC workers are accustomed to complying with organisational rules from their own centre so that the CCK's intervention and guidance were deemed unavoidable and seen as unproblematic. Yet, the practitioners of WNGOCs had attempted activities of a horizontal organisational nature which gave them more autonomy in formulating their activities than did the DCWC workers.

Establishing the values of practice

Along with setting up their plans, practitioners had to acquire the values appropriate for the conduct of the CEP. The values participants identified were of five kinds: strengthening self-determination; enhancing mutuality in a process of 'win-win' solution; building trust and participation; holding decision-makers accountable; and practicing equality between practitioners and residents.

Most practitioners emphasised that residents were helped to become self-determining in the project by valuing self-help. Community ownership was defined as people being in control of their own lives, managing their own apartment complexes and monitoring the services provided. This relates to the concept that residents have 'power within' and the ability to judge matters and make decisions about them. The values of 'shared power' that residents and practitioners develop in cooperation for the 'well-being of the community' should be prioritised in such a project. The valuing of social capital is about building up trustworthiness between practitioners and residents. A participant said that trust is likely to be regarded as the most important thing in the project of CEP. Another worker identified rapport, as another way of forming trust through friendly relationships that built sympathy between worker and clients. The value of participation was also emphasised by a participant (Myung) who said, "Empowerment could not proceed without participation." A further value gives greater stress to responsibility than trust. Yet, another participant (Kim) defined empowerment as a process of preventing fighting among residents over the matter of money. To prevent such conflicts, the value of responsibility was seen as important. Another practitioner (Soo) accentuated the 'rights of tenants' when he persuaded them of the importance of building the TRC. The last value mentioned was equality between residents and practitioners. A participant described realising such equality thus:

> I took some advice. Even though I was constantly telling myself that I should
> not regard residents as objects, I could not take up a position of equality
> whenever I met with residents. I came to realise that I am not equal to them.
> (Kyung)

I can epitomise the values they identified in the following way: community practitioners sought not only to foster equal and co-operative relationships with residents, but they also tried to construct a self-help community that built the capacity of trust and participation in actualising their rights.

Evaluation and task: setting up plans, goals and values

The sub-goals established at the start could be evaluated rationally in that participants set up a sequential 3 step plan: 1) informing residents about the project and acquiring a detailed knowledge of residents, 2) conducting and organising people, and 3) setting goals at the

community level for the project over a three year period. Setting up these plans exposed problems that resulted from the practitioners' lack of experience of community empowerment, the failure to organise a grassroots based representative organisation because practitioners actively led residents, and minimising the 'image of a struggle group' against government policies. Practitioners showed few characteristics that differed from practice undertaken according to the traditional Korean community work that community workers were familiar with in establishing community plans.

The characteristics and conditions that the practitioners encountered in setting up plans differed when compared to those of the modified Western model. The modified Western model requires practitioners to choose 'small-scale' projects as the basis of community empowerment practice. The WNGOC practitioners undertook large ones covering huge apartment complexes difficult to empower them, unlike DCWCs. At the same time, some practitioners were accustomed to leading residents, which conforms to traditional Korean community work. Another factor was the traditional consciousness of Korean people and social conditions that restricted activities linked to struggles aimed at changing policies. In SK, there has been a tendency for organisations struggling to transform oppressive structures to be seen as 'centre-left groups' or 'communist groups' set on challenging the 'system of state security' rather than simply opposing government policies. This has been an important factor in restricting the spread of 'transformational practice' amongst Korean practitioners and also acting as a barrier against changing such social conditions.

It was important for me to observe who was involved in setting up community plans. Were they created only by the practitioners who did not discuss them with residents or was there cooperation between workers and residents? Although the practitioners were aware of the values of CEP in conducting projects with people, they did not say that residents participated in the process of creating both the plan and the project goals. Once they had set up the plans and goals of the project, they unilaterally informed tenants. This is not good practice according to the values that they had identified as being relevant to them during their interviews.

When discussing the goals of the project, it is important for community workers to support the development of goals with specific content that people can easily sympathise with and be involved in through using familiar language. These are part of the continuing process of

increasing practitioners' familiarity with the community and identification with its inhabitants (Henderson and Thomas, 2002). High levels of identification can improve participation by local people (Lowndes et al., 2006). If project goals are either too abstract or too obscure to residents, they will stay at home. For example, a participant (Myung) of the DCWCs described its goal as a creation of "the well-being community by organising people to tackle community problems and empowering them to become active agents." A community practitioner (Jin) also indicated that the goal or vision of the project he composed should have had even more specific contents so that a tangible outcome could be produced. To produce such goals for the community, practitioners should attune themselves to local languages and use these.

Differences of position regarding autonomy of practice were exposed between a practitioner and a donor agency. Conflict between the donor agency and practitioner occurred through complying with the instruction of donors who saw practitioners in a subordinate role rather than by communicating through a value-oriented dialogue that a neighbourhood model proposes when an impasse develops between the worker's values and agency-determined priorities (Henderson and Thomas, 2002). Creating a 'space of dialogue' could minimise the conflict. Otherwise a donor agency needs to adopt a flexibility that allows the centres to develop practices suitable to the communities they are located within.

The values that the practitioners sought to actualise in practice were distinctive. In traditional community work, practitioners in WNGOs preferred social justice as the basis of their working with community residents and acting as advocates, whereas the CWCs workers preferred the values of learning and co-operation with residents by enabling them. However, practitioners of the CEP set up the values that are partly suitable to the project by stressing values such as mutuality, trust, responsibility, equality and trust, and participation. Their values are not so different from those contained in the traditional Western model of CEP. While acknowledging the significance of trust and equality between practitioners and peoples, one worker stressed responsibility for financial transparency. One of the chronic problems in these communities is financial uncertainty that creates conflicts between the residents and representative organisations. These tensions increase distrust in the community. Another Korean participant emphasised the responsibility of organisational leaders. Most participants will put their energies into the values of harmonious human relationships between clients and practitioners as these are based on cultural attitudes and an emotional exchange or

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'psychological rapport' between them. Although one worker sought the value of equal relationships that minimised power differences between workers and clients, other interviewees expressed little belief in the values of equality and difference needed for a transformational practice. This is at odds with the values expressed in the modified Western model that I developed in this research.

From a perspective of the modified Western model, the absence of the values of transformative practice or critical practice to achieve social justice and equality enables practitioners to contribute to a maintenance and therapeutic approach that does not focus on structural inequalities (Dominelli, 2009). As a result, they help 'dominant power groups' more than the poor people. For instance, without being aware of critical consciousness about the structural dimensions of the problems the residents faced, advocating the 'value of self-help' can mean the facilitator gets caught in a "neo-liberal trap" whereby the state does not take direct responsibility for the enhancement of poor people's welfare (Berner and Phillips, 2005). The CEP could also become a disempowering practice if they have no capacity to understand and address the complexity and dilemmas of values and use critical reflection to do so. Participation also can become manipulative participation that can operate as a tool to justify existing power relations. Participants need to build professional capacity that understands and critiques the 'double-edged values' of participation. Strengthening such capacity enables practitioners to acquire the values for transformational practice concerned with tackling the structural inequalities that erode poor people's quality of life and actualise the values of equality (Dominelli, 2004). Ways of making contact with residents are discussed below.

Making contact with residents

Henderson and Thomas (2002: 104) argued that making contact with local people is "essential work" in the community work process because it is relevant to all phases of practising community work. Failure to meet with residents at the early stage will make it difficult to proceed naturally with planned programmes. In this section, I consider the forms of outreach that the practitioners tried; how they contacted key people in the communities; how they made informal contact; the patterns of the contacts initiated; the effects of the meetings brought about by festival events; and the reasons for refusing contact with practitioners. I also evaluate these activities in the last part.

Outreach

Practitioners reach out to local people during the early stages in several ways. The first is that of sharing with residents for a long time while the practitioners are staying in the place where local people usually hold meetings. "We went to their event places and we stayed to help serve the event all day long" (Won). Another way is the street work of speaking to residents (Henderson and Thomas, 2002:119), wandering around the community in order to be visible and greet people. The third is an 'aggressive' way of doing street work. They went to communities in order to become acquainted with residents. Unlike DCWCs, the WNGOC's office is not located within the boundary of the apartment complexes that WNGOC practitioners work in so they had to enter communities by holding meetings in the marquee where practitioners were. As Kyung said:

> It was very hard to meet residents. In the evening, when we went there, it was
> so hard to meet them because we worried about intruding on their private life.
> So we would do anything to meet them. We went to see them with a marquee and
> stayed there all day long.

Community practitioners in WNGOCs who were not based in offices within particular communities bounded by a specific apartment complex had more difficulty in making contact with residents than community workers involved in the community welfare centre.

In the early stages of outreach, getting to know the community and introducing the project to the people, practitioners worked hard to communicate their identity to many local people. They were reaching out to them in various places such as shops, leisure centres for older people, and rest sites where there were many residents. They struggled to make contact with them and choose a convenient time to meet them either in the early morning before residents go to work or later when they return home. Thus, tenants' living conditions imposed constraints on their outreach pattern as to the appropriate time for residents. Another distinction of WNGOC outreach is that the practitioners in WNGOCs had to work harder than the DCWC workers because their offices were located outside of the apartment complex boundaries whereas the DCWC were located within their centre's community.

In addition, WNGOC workers targeted several scattered apartment complexes whereas the DCWC workers covered just one complex located within one boundary. This situation is described in Figure 5.1. The DCWCs' offices were located within the boundary of a PPRAC (Figure; 5.1.A), whereas the WNGOCs' offices were located in the commercial street area outside the apartments blocks (PRAC 50) (Figure: 5.1. B). It was easier to identify with them in the former because practitioners and residents lived within the same boundary. But the WNGOC worker was hard to identify with because the office lay outside of the residents' living area. Consequently, the DCWC workers have an environmental advantage in making contacts with residents.

Figure 5.1: The Spread of Community Development Centres within PPRACs and PRA 50s
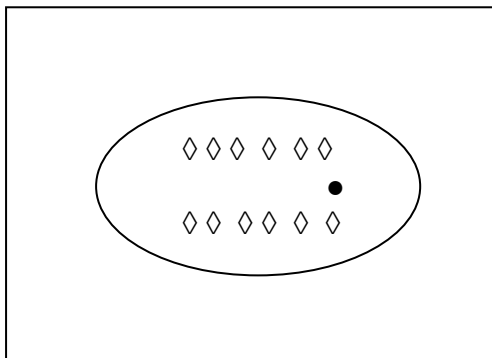
(Figure 5.1.A: PPRAC)   **(Figure 5.1.B: PRA 50 complex)**
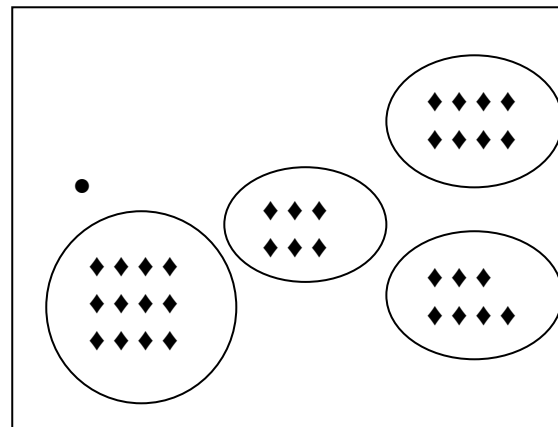
Note:

Figure 5.1.A : A type of a PPRAC that DCWCs were responsible for

Figure 5.1.B : A type of multiple PRAC 50s (50 year lease) that WNGOCs were responsible for

◯ signifies a boundary of apartment complex

◊ signifies an apartment block within a PPRAC

♦ signifies an apartment block within a PRAC 50 (50 year lease)

● signifies an office of the CDC (the Community Development Centre)

Contacting key people

After the outreach stage, practitioners attempted various activities to contact key people who were influential in their communities. The first key people were the *Tong Jang and Ban Jang*[3] (TJBJ). In SK, they are 'transmitters of public information' as the leaders of small

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[3] The institution of *Tong Jang* and *Ban Jang*, created by President Park in 1976, is operated under Article 4 item 6 of the local self-government law. According to this, a chief of a community centre, a public servant of senior

groups helping in the administrative affairs of a local authority at neighbourhood level. As they had information about residents that they obtained as part of managing and checking their residencies and moving in and out of apartments, most interviewees regarded the group of TJBJ as key and influential people in the communities. They met with influential people recommended by workers of a DCWC because they had good relationships with them. Practitioners selected the men and women who showed a lot of interest in their activities and a desire to be involved in how the centres' activities were conducted. This type of meeting is called "mediation contact" by Henderson and Thomas (2002). Making contact with key people involves using information about people obtained through qualitative research and in-depth interviews conducted during the course of compiling a community profile.

> We decided upon research based on an interview method because we have often
> researched using statistics methods. Ten workers visited each house, and we
> interviewed 100 people on a one-to-one basis. In the research we found high
> levels of need. We also gained information to decide whether or not they were
> passionate about becoming engaged in our project.(Lee)

The method of making contact with people was primarily face-to-face meetings with small groups or in one-to-one encounters. These were carried out to build closeness and rapport through conversation with community people in order to introduce the purpose of CEP to them. This was not only to go beyond simply making contact but making people aware of their presence from the start. The place where the workers made contact with the people was different from the sites of the first stage in which practitioners give and receive information about themselves to establish their identity with local people in the street and playgrounds, or the sites where they can meet a lot of people at once. The meetings to inform people about the goals of the project and to discuss the practice of programmes tend to take place in a restaurant, a pub, or the office of a centre. A participant said the following about these meetings:

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level who governs a neighbourhood in a Korean administrative unit, appoints local people called *Tong Jang and Ban Jang* in order to conduct local administrative affairs effectively. They take responsibility for the following things: guiding and monitoring local people's movement; reporting the people's opinions to the administrative agency of the neighbourhood and delivering public leaflets to them; managing and certifying residents when they settle and move; supporting the *Saemaul Undong*; carrying out publicity activities and delivering the necessities of life in the situation of war; holding a meeting with group members each month, this is called *Ban Sang Hae*: and assisting administrative affairs if necessary according to the law (Ministry of Government Legislation, 2009). Thus, this group can be regarded a key group having information about neighbourhoods in SK.

> We set up the targets for the leaders of *Tong Jang* for making contacts. Among
> them we selected three persons who showed leadership and undertook action on
> a face-to-face basis. Our staff met with them three times in the restaurant. When
> meeting for the third time, we discussed affairs relating to our lives.(Myung)

As part of the work towards establishing good contact with residents, the workers invited them to take part in drinking parties. In the course of these meetings, workers identified themselves, introduced the project goals, requested support from them, received information about their communities, and created rapport, trust and understanding of people's daily lives. Accordingly, even though they were meeting key people in existing community groups, for example, members of tenant representative councils and leaders of small groups, the interviewees mentioned the key people of the community as those in the group of TJBJ. They had information about resources that the residents had. They acquired this through activities undertaken while living in these communities for long periods so that they had influence at the grass-roots level. They may be called a 'small power group of communities'. Thus, SK practitioners had to make contact with the groups of TJBJ in the neighbourhood unit to conduct CEP.

Informal contacts

Besides formal meetings, a significant factor in making contact with the people of the community is informal contact. Informal contact-making is regarded as a "crucial part of a worker's task once he or she has formulated a plan of action" (Henderson and Thomas, 2002: 42). Because local people go to work early and return home late, practitioners find it difficult to meet them in formal meetings. They also said that informal contact involving drinking at parties and residents' favourite sports facilitated their work. A participant (Song) described this as follows: "We also met them [residents] day and night. Like other practitioners, we drank and played with them."

However, the practitioners set up principles for use in making informal contact with residents. During the earlier stages, the frequency of informal contact was high to build rapport. After that, they believed that the ratio between formal and informal contact was about 7 to 3. But when it reached this level, the amount of informal contact was gradually decreased. A participant talked about finding a balance between the two in the following way:

> The rate of meeting worked out as a percentage was about 70 per cent formal meetings
> to 30 per cent informal meetings. However there are some problems if informal
> contact is too frequent. So I tried to change this ratio with more
> formal meetings.(Gong)

As a general principle, informal contact with local people occurs frequently in the earlier stages of community work to secure trust and establish identification. After developing some level of communication and a degree of trust between them, the worker can change informal contact into formal ones. So practitioners do not stop informal contact altogether, for example, in a situation where local people need consolation and support if a misfortune or accident occurs. They employed informal contact-making with local people as a means of: encouraging residents to become involved in programmes; helping some residents in trouble; and discussing an agenda with leaders before holding a formal meeting.

Contacts initiated by residents

There were types of contact in which residents had access to and met community practitioners or visited a community development centre. These are called "contacts initiated by residents" by Henderson and Thomas (2002:127). This type of contact usually occurs when community practice is becoming better known or trust between practitioners and service users have developed to some degree. The motivations whereby residents seek to meet the workers are: 'contact for offering information' when residents provide workers with information about a neighbourhood or person in need of help; 'contact requiring help' when a resident asks for help; and 'contact for strengthening friendship with workers' when local people visit to encourage workers who are working for their community, while residents bring money and food into the centre. A participant (Jin) said, "After a few months in the project, there were residents who gave us such things as money, beverages, and fruit." These contacts were carried out after trust between the worker and local people had been created. This phenomenon in the DCWCs leads residents to form deep friendships with workers and to identify with the Centre. The DCWCs located within an apartment complex attract a greater degree of identification with practitioners than those affiliated to WNGOCs.

Public meeting: festival events

Practitioners used other forms of contact to build relationships with residents. One of them is the public meeting arranged as a festival event. Each community development centre organised one or two festival events per year for the residents. They hold parallel events that mirror the residents' needs. This included planning the event, managing its proceedings, and evaluating its results with residents. To decide upon the type of event, some participants conducted surveys by telephone; others met with key people. A participant revealed that there was a mismatch between the tenants' needs and practitioners' expectations, and spoke of it thus:

> Our view was that because they are mostly poor people, we needed to provide
> cultural events for them. In this way we were considering a public performance
> event. And then we asked fifty residents by phone, which event they preferred?
> Additionally we met with some people to find out what they thought about the
> event. As a result, we learnt that they wanted a singing contest.(Myung)

Through festival events, practitioners can use human resources to form community organisations and build trust with people. Such events created opportunities to communicate with neighbourhood people and to keep in touch with many residents, workers, community leaders, and especially with disabled people who have difficulty going outside their homes. Organised events could build bonding social capital between residents and workers within the community as well as enabling residents to gain a sense of achievement by holding the events through cooperation with residents, their representatives, or community practitioners. After a successful event, those involved in the event gained confidence. Jin said:

> We held the festival event inviting a popular singer to help us achieve our
> objective of strengthening community involvement. The committee of the
> festival event allowed residents to sell food within the apartment complex. The
> profits produced by the event were shared with residents by distributing toilet
> paper to households. Thus we became closer to them.(Jin)

Such social events could also function as a means to transform the image of a community centre and enable practitioners to collect information about the resources residents had.

Especially, the WNGOC could change the negative image of the centre into a positive one by holding frequent festival type events that gave emotional satisfaction. A participant in WNGOC said:

> To change our negative image, we often held festival events at the
> beginning of the project. Another reason for holding such events is that there
> were no cultural facilities or opportunities to enable people to enjoy art, music
> and other cultural activities… With this intention, we held various festival events.
> Through these events, we came to know who the active participants were. They gave us
> information which helped our practice in the project.(Kim)

These social events also helped to improve the negative image of communities and their tenants. Neighbourhood people in general apartment complexes have regarded the public rental apartment complex as being a place where people with a lot of mental disorders, disabled people, and heavy drinkers live. The apartment has been deemed the locus of "a cycle of disempowerment" where social exclusionary phenomena occur as the site is isolated from people nearby. Festival events contributed to breaking this cycle. Won said:

> We also opened a festival event in our apartment complex. Neighbouring
> residents came to our complex to see it. They saw our apartment in its reality
> and I think they realised that this is also a place where people like us live. So the event
> seemed to offer a motive to enable neighbours to change their perception.

In the meantime, some participants in WNGOCs expressed negative issues regarding festival events. One of these was the difficulty of being consistent, as there was a need for funds to support the continuation of events. As these were funded by the CCK, it was difficult to sustain these in the long term. Additionally, large festival events do not encourage residents to become involved as 'subjects with agency' but as a 'passive audience' waiting for other players to do things for them. Another participant (Kyung) pointed out that a lack of planning power could produce poorer outcomes than expected.

Resistance to being contacted

A few local people resisted practitioners' attempts to contact them. One reason for this resistance is the "othering" of practitioners by residents. In such othering the residents

excluded the worker as an 'outsider' who was not living in the community. This othering process is determined by their definitional criteria for inclusion and exclusion (Dominelli, 2002). One worker told me a story about their mistreatment as an outsider:

> Who are you? Why do you order us to do it this way or that way, while you do
> not live in our community? Why do you work here without our permission?
> I know you. What you are trying to do here is to work in order to get as much
> money as possible. That's why you are here, isn't it? (Soo)

Most workers heard such sarcastic remarks during early meetings with practitioners. The words may be cautious reflections of the fear of a newcomer who does not live in the community. Resistance can be particularly evident when a new programme is being introduced or a new practitioner comes to their community (Beresford and Hoban, 2005).

A further reason can be 'differences around goals' between the worker and the residents. When a participant met the leader of the women's association of the apartment complex who wanted to transfer the right of ownership of his rental apartment from local government which has the right of ownership to the apartment, the practitioner was blocked by the leader of the residents who wanted to transfer ownership. The resident stubbornly refused to have the project in the apartment complex. There can also be 'antagonistic resistance' when residents cut off community worker's access because they have had negative experiences in the past, especially if these involved workers and residents in conflicts over money matters. Another type of resistance is 'resistance to interference in a private life'. This occurs when residents think that community workers' interventions are impeding their personal routines. 'Indifferent resistance' arises from residents' belief that they will soon move out of the apartment complex. A participant (Jung) described this as follows: "Sooner or later, I will leave this complex. I will not live in this complex for long. So do not bother me." The final reason is residents' 'sense of refusal' of a tenant representative council. In one situation, key influential people and tenants had perceived tenants' representative organisations as composed of groups fighting over money rather than promoting their interests, so they refused to participate in their development.

Practitioners tried to minimise resistance through the practices of offering formal programmes and informal contact-making. They hinted at strategies to address residents'

resistance. One approach was to form close human relationships through informal contacts by going to places where residents went to drink and exercise. They also attempted to prove that they were genuinely interested in helping residents. When residents acknowledged that the worker had come to help them and had dialogue with them and engaged in welfare programmes aimed at helping them, resistance was reduced progressively. Community practitioner's status was important to how they were received. For example, a religious status as a pastor of the Anglican Church can weaken resistance in terms of residents' perception that "a pastor is acting with good intention in the community rather than other practitioners" (Song). Some practitioners sought to overcome barriers of resistance by building rapport and making emotional appeals around the difficult situations that practitioners faced vis-á-vis key people. This is what Henderson and Thomas (2002:115) called "the way of introducing practitioners' oneself" to residents.

But there was one interviewee who talked about a situation that failed to overcome resident resistance. She attributes this outcome to the lack of time to work with such residents:

> There were some residents who saw our project negatively. We did not have enough time to be able to address their concerns and their biases that evaluated our project negatively from the start.(Lee)

Although this participant knew the principle that workers should not exclude those who refuse to engage with them, she blamed the lack of time for this outcome rather than not having skills or the know-how to deal with opposition to them.

Evaluation and task: making contacts with residents

Even though there were difficult conditions in making contact and building relationships, practitioners tailored their formal and informal activities to their communities. As increased social exclusion accompanies poverty together with the processes of othering, poor people might make fewer contacts with outsiders or participate less in social ceremonies or in projects designed by other people (Dominelli, 2002; Narayan et al., 2000). Thus for community practitioners, the work of making contact with local people is a difficult and time-consuming practice, and requires high levels of skills and commitment to the residents' well-being. These barriers are exacerbated by a Korean culture that favours informal meetings to

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create good human relationships and encourages practitioners to invest more time in informal contact-making than in formal ones.

Another difficulty is that practitioners in WNGOCs faced more problems in making contact with people than those in DCWCs because they covered several scattered apartment complexes and their offices were not located inside a limited area of an apartment complex like DCWCs. So practitioners in WNGOCs need to target one or two apartment complexes and to locate their offices inside apartment complexes to enable residents to become familiar with them and develop a sense of identification like DCWCs.

Practitioners need to develop skills of political contact to introduce themselves and the project to public agency personnel to overcome a traditional community work seeking to avoid contacts with politician and policy makers. They mainly targeted the group of TJBJ as key people within communities. As the group is influenced by the administrative agency of the neighbourhood unit, they should have had political contact with administrative senior staff to obtain the support of the group and resources from the agency at an early stage. At the same time, they need to strengthen the extent of their "professional contacts" with the skills of rapport to be able to: accept others, empathise, give feedback, accept and even encourage views that are socially contentious, and to speak the language that the residents speak (Brager and Specht, 1973 quoted in Henderson and Thomas, 2002: 115). Interviewees rarely mentioned establishing rapport by speaking the language of residents. Thus, they missed what Alinsky (1971) argues, namely, that speaking within the experience of community is a better way.

Practitioners employed festival events as useful means to make contact with residents. The project participants were not different to the traditional community worker in conducting practice that made contacts with residents and key ones through informal meetings. But they tried to distinguish themselves from the traditional work by conducting festival events and informal meetings depending upon the principle of frequency of formal and informal contacts. Holding festival events was a valuable means to enable workers and residents to obtain a sense of achievement, improving the negative image of communities. The festival event may be considered as a programme with significant functions besides making contacts.

Practitioners should not underestimate the need for running successful public meetings to empower active citizenship where residents can give their opinions and take part in decisions that affect their lives, while strengthening the capacity to hold successful festival events. Although festival events have various advantages as a type of public meeting, it is difficult to see how these events can build capacity in active citizenship. And although some centres (the *Hwa Jin*, the *Hyun Dae*, the *Kang Buk* and the *Kang Nam*) held public meetings as a means to create an organisation or to hear opinions of political candidates, it was not easy for them to create sustainability. So, while developing festival events, Korean practitioners need to arrange and activate the space for public meetings in which residents can express their grievances, and public officials and service providers can hear residents' claims and address community issues together with them. This type of public meeting is called a "cold meeting" by Henderson and Thomas (2002: 125).

Practitioners also need to develop skills of conversation that minimise resistance in establishing contact during earlier stages. They need to consider that residents may reject representative organisations including the TRC because they perceive the organisation as a body fighting over money. When introducing the goals of the project and establishing rapport in contacting residents, practitioners should be careful in selecting key words and in putting forward an agenda for action. For example, giving too much or too little information to residents can raise resistance and cause conflict with existing organisations (Henderson and Thomas, 2002). Effectiveness in dealing with resistance to the project depends on a community practitioner's interpersonal skills and ability as well as the human resources of the centre. As there is always some resistance to community work practices, specific programmes to address resistance and minimise its impact should be delivered. In next section I will discuss practices of community profile to find out community resources.

Implementing a community profile

Compiling a community profile aiming to identify community needs and resources can be a significant practice in the preliminary phase of community empowerment to bring about awareness of the communities (Dominelli, 2006). The practitioners conducted research to identify community assets and residents' needs and consciousness.

General characteristics of the research

The main issues covered in the practitioners' research are the method and objects of the research. The differences in the research derived mostly from methods. Before identifying their differences, I explore general features of research about community resources and residents' need.

Most Centres carried out research to map community resources and assets and to look into the conditions of communities. The focus was to identify physical conditions and human resources of a community by having community workers undertake field research, observe the areas, make contact with key people, and visit agencies relating to the community. Its objectives were described by a community practitioner in WNGOC as follows:

> The aim of the research was to identify whether the facilities of the public
> rental apartments were equally distributed, where agencies for supporting the
> apartments were located, what opinions residents had about the representatives
> of their apartment, and whether the agencies had been supportive or not.(Kim)

Through research to make a map of resources, practitioners became aware of the external conditions of the apartment communities and agencies which were helping the project. They also obtained information about the centres showing the pros and cons of public rental apartment complexes. In finding human resources with community leadership, they were collecting information related to people helping with the members of TJBJ. Although the practitioners discussed research activities that found out about physical and human resources to gain help in conducting the project, they did not say much about residents who were mistrusting or antagonistic toward the centres and its practitioners.

The research pattern

Practitioners' research into community resources and community needs to be conducted early in their involvement with residents. There were few differences between the survey of physical resources within communities and the observations made by workers visiting them, even though the features of individual communities are varied. However, the research into residents' needs and their ideas about them displayed clear differences in the methods used.

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These fell into three patterns: a quantitative method based on a questionnaire survey; a qualitative method based on interview; and a type of co-producing research that local people and practitioners conduct in partnership. The *Doo San* could not use a qualitative method due to a lack of human resources, even though participants knew the disadvantages of a questionnaire survey.

Community workers who used survey questionnaires attempted to identify the general characteristics of residents, their needs within the community and perceptions about their community. For example, the *Noh Hyun* composed questionnaires with the help of supervisors and students from a university social work department, and then researched 300 respondents. A participant had more interest in the results of research rather than the methods used, saying respondents were likely to rate their self-esteem at a lower level than it was rated by other people living outside the estate.

> We wondered what perceptions people who live in a general apartment complex would
> have about residents of public rental apartments and what residents have about
> people in general. Thus, when we researched these through survey questionnaires
> during the first year, the result was that residents assessed themselves lower than
> external people's assessment of them.(Jin)

Practitioners who conducted quantitative surveys by questionnaire said little about the problems they encountered in using this method. In contrast, others who used qualitative methods like interviewing people to get information raised concerns about surveys. A participant commented as follows:

> Generally, a community welfare centre is used to holding a survey by
> distributing a questionnaire, checking them, and then collecting them because the
> centre has often used this method. In my case, we did not choose such a
> method because it has been done too often. So I suggested to team members
> that we do research using deeper methods. Our workers visited 100 selected
> households and interviewed them about their needs face-to-face. A quantitative
> method is not effective for collecting residents' opinions, deviating from the scope
> of survey questionnaires. Using the in depth interview, the contents are deep
> and it is easier to find out individual opinions.(Lee)

Practitioners used the interviews to introduce the characteristics of the project to interviewees, to collect information about human resources, obtain their opinions, and create better understanding between the workers and the residents. To utilise these advantages effectively, another development centre (the *Kang Buk*) used five workers to interview 500 households in a month. The *Hyun Dae* also applied interview methods to an apartment complex of 400 households, while raising the problem of questionnaire research.

They took different positions according to their perception of a problem regarding the particular research methods. The practitioners who raised problems about the contents of results from a questionnaire method favoured the qualitative method based on an in-depth interview survey, whereas the Centres more concerned with the problem of a researcher's reliability in the interview method used questionnaires.

The co-production of research where residents and community practitioners become involved together was conducted mainly when the centres (the *Kang Nam* and the *Won Min*) wished to initiate programmes at the middle stage of the project, not the earlier one. Two developmental centres used this research method to address researcher's mistrust and to identify sensitive issues in the communities. For example, one Centre (the *Won Min*) employed this approach before running a programme of education for the residents' children. The workers and women residents composed questionnaires together and the research was carried out by a few women acting as researchers who lived in the apartments. The other Centre used this method when investigating sensitive community issues. As a result, it identified the current situation about residents' non-payment of rental and management bills. The residents strongly opposed such research because they were fearful that they might be evicted when exposing their own delayed payments. To deal with these, community practitioners persuaded tenant representatives of the necessity for such research if they were to receive social support to reduce the burden of these bills. Then, after receiving the residents' approval for the research, residents, research experts, and workers together composed the questions. The research involved 300 respondents because practitioners and residents worked together.

Other Centres failed to conduct both qualitative and quantitative methods but did research to map community resources by visiting residents and undertaking observations in the field. Quantitative research was frequently undertaken before launching the project. Researchers have seldom shared any results of these surveys with residents. But they overinflated

residents' expectations about the research and what could be done with the findings. This created mistrust between them. One chief of a community development centre (the *Doo San*) prevented community practitioners from implementing a survey questionnaire. A participant said:

> After doing the research, the researchers did not give them the
> results of the survey. So the people did not trust the research. This pattern has
> occurred continuously up until now. Thus we decided not to use this research
> method. When a necessity for research is raised by residents, they themselves
> should be made to research their needs as the subjects of research… But we could not
> conduct the research for three years.(Kyung)

The project practitioners argued that the residents as researchers had the confidence and skills to diminish the risks that the research brings. These risks are that a researcher can become an investigator who exercises power over participants like an interrogator over a person suspected of a crime.

Evaluation and task: community profile

Those employing an interviewing method and co-producing research with residents I consider as being positive in their approaches in that they tried to get away from the traditional method of depending upon survey questionnaires. But there were some centres that did not use new methods to collect data, even though some of them knew the problems of traditional research in SK. The reasons for their responses may be found in both the practitioners' problems and the conditions of the centre in which they worked. When the practitioners knew the limitations of traditional methods and had an environment capable of supporting and involving residents in conducting the research, they developed community profiles by using an interview method and co-operative research. Thus, I argue that if practitioners wish to use new methods in developing community profiles, they will need research methods training to practise qualitative and quantitative research effectively. Community workers also need to build the capacity to mobilise the participation of both

colleagues and residents in compiling community profiles even though conditions make this is a difficult.[4]

From the perspective of a modified Western model, practitioners found some limitations in new methods of compiling community profiles. They were interested mainly in collecting information about human resources, the physical environment, existing organisations and economic description. But they did not emphasise "political descriptions" (Dominelli, 2006) or "power maps"[5] (Beck and Purcell, 2010) which identify the political organisations and power relationships 'within' and 'across' communities in configuring a map of community resources. This may arise because practitioners try to prevent residents from misunderstanding CEP as having some political objective. Practitioners in some DCWCs avoided contact with local politicians as local people can have a political bias about their practice when they hold different positions from those of the residents. DCWCs' workers sought to turn away from political descriptions, even though they can use political power for community development purposes.

Furthermore, the practitioners need to learn effectively a "listening survey" (Hope and Timmel, 1999; Beck and Purcell, 2010). Research for community profiles is usually implemented according to agency priorities rather than the openly expressed views of local people. To reverse these priorities, the research approaches such as "emancipatory research" led by local people themselves have to be developed in these communities (Beresford, 2002). A listening survey is not research that is led by local people but an approach that the workers use to reverse power relationships between researchers and local people in traditional research and to support people in defining both the needs of the areas in which they live and the solutions to their problems. The survey technique is that the workers find situations where people are involved in informal conversations, for example, shops and bars, and then listen to the issues about which people are worried, happy, sad, and angry, with an open mind. The

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[4] In South Korea, the study of qualitative methods was rarely covered by articles in the *Journal of Social Welfare* up to 2000. From 2003, articles based on qualitative research methods began to increase. In 2006, the Korean Social Welfare Qualitative Study Association was created and ten social work departments of the university opened qualitative methodology courses (Kim, I.S., 2007).

[5] Power maps are needed to identify how to change the power relationships and to use power holders for community development. Beck and Purcell (2010:74) suggest basic tools that workers can use to analyse power relationships. They are: *positional method* analyses about who holds power in formal organisations; the *reputational method* that looks at who holds power in informal settings; the *decisional method* that is based upon analysing who actually makes the key decisions; and the *social participation method* which maps who holds power in the community on the basis of networks of relationships.

workers find and select community issues based on stories which are common to communities (Beck and Purcell, 2010). As practitioners showed positive activities in making contacts with residents and Korean people favour informal meetings rather than formal ones, the listening survey is applied easily to Korean communities. For the practitioners, it requires developing skills of listening to what stories local people tell and summarising and identifying the issues which relate to themes which are common to communities.

Besides political resources, the practitioners have to recognise ideas that those who mistrust workers may also be considered important sources of knowledge, expertise and abilities useful in keeping organisations going (Charkraborti and Garland, 2004 quoted in Dominelli, 2006:88). In addition, the community profile needs to be included in "issue maps" (Beck and Purcell, 2010) in which residents see what they would want to change in the community and take action over. They also need to extend the scope of the community profile by focusing on the regional level of community and take account of the national and global levels in order to network to obtain knowledge and resources.

Additionally, practitioners seem to pay little attention to ideas that residents and the practitioners are able to empower each other by sharing the outcomes of research or by becoming involved in community profiling. Although some Centres collected information through the in-depth interview method, they could not share the outcomes together with residents and they rarely considered the involvement of community members. In the co-production of research, practitioners involve residents to minimise the rejection of the research findings rather than to empower them through their participation in it. The perspective that both researcher and residents can empower each other through collaborative research seemed to be absent because practitioners rarely commented upon empowering residents through their participation in the research. In other words, they did not have a concept of empowerment research. Given that Korean research culture favoured a quantitative methodology (Kim, I.S., 2007), it was not surprising that community practitioners found it difficult to know and practice such research.

CONCLUSION

Traditional community work in SK has developed a dyadic tendency, which is directed towards separate technicist and transformative practices, led by both CWCs and WNGOs. As

a result, each group has failed to develop the skills, values, and knowledge necessary for an emancipatory community work. This development resulted in the problem of each organisation deprecating its professional skills rather than valuing them. A professional social activist evaluated the CWCs as groups focusing exclusively on justifying their profession (Kim, 2001), whereas a social work expert appraised the WNGOs' service activities as groups operating at an "amateur level" in caring for clients (An, 2001).

In the preliminary phase of CEP, participants attempted practice to move away from traditional Korean community work by: fostering cooperation rather than competition between practitioners; realising values such as participation, trust and equality amongst residents; establishing trust through holding festival events; and conducting qualitative methods and co-producing research when carrying out the community profile. From the perspective of a modified Western practice of community empowerment, their practice was exposed as lacking in several aspects. These were: practical knowledge and criteria for measuring the CEP; understanding the importance of transformative values needed to empower communities; having the knowledge and information needed for selecting small areas for effective practice; promoting discussions in public meetings aimed at addressing community issues; and empowering research by residents' participation. In the next chapter, I will explore how community empowerment was implemented.

CHAPTER 6

SETTING UP COMMUNITY ORGANISING IN PRACTICE: THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

After completing the community profile, community workers began activities to organise a TRC (tenant[1] representative council[2]) and form community organisations of several kinds to strengthen their potential to meet service users' needs. A TRC for a public rental apartment complex was envisaged as an organisation that reflected residents' common opinions and interests; mediated conflicts between residents; improved the living environment and disseminated information about community development to residents, while cooperating with the management office which controlled the apartment block (Hong et al., 2005). Ten centres were involved in community organising as a means to achieve the goals of the CEP project.

This chapter explores the practice participants used in forming community organisations. In the first section, I will examine approaches by which they foster TRCs and small organisations, and then differences in the approaches taken in building them.

FORMING COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

Henderson and Thomas (2002) point out that forming a community organisation calls upon the abilities of workers and leaders to make judgements about *when* to act and *what* to introduce while monitoring the situation of communities. Korean practitioners mainly focused on "checking the feasibility and desirability" of existing organisations. Participants were looking to see whether a TRC had existed or not in the communities and whether or not a TRC and other groups had established trust with tenants before making a decision about

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[1] Difference of definition between tenants and residents is that a tenant means a lawful inhabitant who lives in a rental house, whereas a resident means any local person who lives in it. This thesis uses these terms interchangeably.

[2] According to a research report (Hong et al., 2005) of 3,800 respondents who live in permanent public rental apartment complexes all over SK, 21.1 per cent of total respondents claimed that there is a TRC in their communities, 34.0 per cent answered that there is no a TRC, and 44.8 per cent answered that they did not know whether there is a TRC or not. Statistics about the situation of a TRC in public rental apartments with tenancies for 50 year lease (PRA 50) have not yet been published.

what kinds of community groups they would want to build. Thus, they were concerned with strategies for strengthening an existing TRC, or establishing a new organisation to replace it. I examine the ways that they built a TRC or other new organisations below.

Different approaches

Before analysing the ways in which practitioners organised TRCs and small groups, it is important to know whether there was a TRC already in existence in the community. Five of the ten CDCs (the *Kang Nam,* the *Won Min,* the *Min Ju,* the *Young A,* and the *Noh Hyun*) already had a TRC in the communities they took over. The other Centres did not have one at the time when the workers launched the CEP. However, WNGOCs (the *Kang Nam* and the *Dong Sun*) that worked with 5-6 apartment complexes covered both complexes with an existing TRC and those others that did not. So they operated differently from the DCWCs.

There were also some differences in how different individual community workers fostered TRCs. A participant in a WNGOC claimed:

> Community workers in DCWC focused their activities on organising various small
> groups, but we (practitioners in WNGOCs) prioritised the creation and
> strengthening of a TRC rather than small groups. Our activists' objective was
> finding leaders of residents, building up their capacity and organising them.
> (Kim)

Here small groups refer to various kinds of clubs or groups[3] other than a representative organisation of tenants to formally discuss or solve community problems for residents. Opinions about differences over activities are likely to relate to the culture of the organisation they are involved in. As some participants (Lee and Jung) acknowledged, community workers in the DCWC have formed small organisations as a channel for offering 'functional

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[3] Organisation within communities may be distinguished by several criteria: a comprehensive organisation formed to address holistically problems relating to community development, i.e., a representative tenant organisation and committee of self-governance by local people; a classification organisation formed by a specific group, i.e., an old age association, a women's association, a youth association; a functional organisation formed to deal with the specific problems of a community, i.e., an association for cleaning the physical environment and an association for helping the neighbourhood; a hobby organisation to enjoy specific activities, e.g., football; an occupational organisation formed to promote economic interests, e.g., an association of self-supporting businesses; a social club which was formed to strengthen a network of school, native place, or family name ties; and a temporary organisation for coping with a specific community problem (Choe and Lee, 2001).

activities' based on care services to clients by organising voluntary groups which they deem the main component of their community work (Lee, S.R., 2002). Community activists who worked in the WNGOs were accustomed to leading activities that mobilised residents because they had begun to organise activities around residents' living rights and poverty (Jung, 2000; Hong, S.M., 2004). Hence, a participant in a WNGOC (Kim) argued that the centre devoted their efforts to organising a TRC or strengthening an existing one rather than forming small organisations.

The *Won Min* did not follow the same strategy as other WNGOCs. The *Won Min* practitioners concentrated their energies more on forming and strengthening a small organisation called a *Kong Bu Bang*, aimed at improving the children's learning capacity, rather than strengthening the existing TRC. Though this centre had formal meetings with TRCs and provided training programmes to build their capacity, the *Won Min* worker told me more stories about organisation of the *Kong Bu Bang* as a successful case in the project than about activities to strengthen TRCs. This practice might be affected by the conditions in the four apartment complexes that the *Won Min* worked in because it had TRCs, unlike the other WNGOCs.

Table 6.1: Numbers of Apartment Complexes with TRCs in the WNGOCs

Name of WNGOCs	No. of Apartment complexes	No: Existing TRCs
Kang Nam	8	3 complexes with a TRC
Won Min	4 (reducing from 20 to 4)	4 complexes with a TRC
Doo San	4	None
Dong Sun	6	4 complexes with a TRC

The *Kang Buk* that worked with eight apartment complexes already had a TRC in three apartment complexes. TRCs were built in the remainder through its practitioners' intervention. The *Dong Sun* worked with four complexes with a TRC amongst six complexes it took over. It created two new TRCs during three years. These situations are shown in Table 6.1.

As WNGOCs prioritised activities that built and strengthened the TRCs, apart from the *Won Min*, they did not produce visible outcomes in creating other organisations as compared with the DCWCs. Based on the report of the ten Centres' practices (Lee et al., 2005), the outcomes that the WNGOCs created through organisations during three years are drawn in Table 6.2.

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Organising activities of WNGOCs shared some common features except for the *Won Min*. They focused on organising: TRCs, TJBJ groups and a group for educating children. The *Won Min* fostered organisations that addressed problems of the apartments and families and building up capacities of the four WNGOCs to improve empowerment practices.

Table 6.2: Organisations that the WNGOCs Formed

Name of Centre	Kinds of Organisation
Kang Nam	▪ Three TRCs ▪ Tong Jang and Bang Jang (TJBJ) ▪ The Group for a Night Safety Guard Group
Won Min	▪ Committee for strengthening *Kong Bu Bang* ▪ Group for Addressing Problems of the Apartment ▪ Network of 4 WNGO centres ▪ Committee for Helping Crisis Families
Doo San	▪ One TRC amongst 4 complexes ▪ Group for Education of Children and Parents ▪ Groups of Women/Older People/TJBJ
Dong Sun	▪ New Two TRCs ▪ Night Safety Guard Group ▪ Group of Mothers for Education Children ▪ TJBJ

Community workers in DCWCs differed in how they organised a community. Their activities also depended on whether a TRC existed or not and whether the TRC was trusted by residents or not. Practitioners of the *Young A* and the *Noh Hyun*, which already had TRCs put their weight behind forming organisations such as a group of teachers and older people, and an association for improving the physical environment of the apartment complex, while maintaining friendly relations with the existing TRC. The *Hyun Dae*, that did not have a TRC, made efforts to develop one, while forming other organisations that offered welfare services and were capable of supporting the creation of the TRC. Additionally, there was the *Hwa Jin* which had experienced a failure in organising a TRC before commencing the CEP. This Centre emphasised the creation of other organisations, while retaining energy for forming a representative organisation of residents like the TRC.

In the case of the *Min Ju*, where the TRC existed before community practitioners became involved in the CEP, practitioners emphasised their work in specific groups for older and disabled people. When a TRC had a conflict with a women's association over the matter of money, the *Min Ju* took a position of supporting the women's organisation because a

practitioner judged that the TRC did not make transparent decisions in dealing with financial management. Taking this position brought about a deepening of the conflict between both the groups, and as a result, it happened that a leader of the TRC took a practitioner in the *Min Ju* to court. Facing this situation, the Centre had created too many organisations so that a practitioner (Gong) acknowledged that it was hard to manage all of these organisations and to establish a core organisation that had the confidence of all residents. In another Centre (the *Kang Buk*), the residents disbanded a TRC because it did not manage its finances in a transparent manner. Hence, most residents were hostile towards it. The workers of the *Kang Buk* thought that creating a new TRC was nearly impossible. A worker described the situation in the following words:

> When we [workers] were going to create a TRC, we could not do it. There had
> been one before we started the project of CEP. But it produced problems and
> utter confusion. So some members of TRC were forced to leave by the residents.
> In this situation it was difficult for us to create a new TRC. Some people
> asked "Why did you run wild?" "By whom were you polluted? You should not need
> to waste energies in making a useless TRC."(Won)

The situations of DCWCs are summarised in Table 6.3. Organisations that they created during the three years are depicted in Table 6.4. The activities organised by DCWCs had a few common features apart from the *Hyun Dae*. WNGOCs prioritised organising TJBJ, a TRC, and a committee for strengthening children's education. However, most DCWCs fostered organisations for: improving the physical environment of the apartment complexes; making a community newsletter; and offering care services for vulnerable people.

Table 6.3: TRCs in the DCWCs

Name of DCWC	Number in the Apartment Complex	Whether or not a TRC exists	Situation
Kang Buk	1	No	There was not a TRC because it was disbanded by residents' resistance
Hwa Jin	1	No	There was experience of a failure in creating a TRC
Min Ju	1	Yes	There was a strong conflict between a TRC and residents
Young A	1	Yes	There was a TRC recognised as a good one
Noh Hyun	1	Yes	None
Hyun Dae	1	No	None

Table 6.4: Organisations That the DCWCs Built

Name of DCWCs	Kinds of Organisation
Kang Buk	▪ Group for Sharing Joy with Vulnerable People ▪ Group of Teachers involving Residents ▪ Study Group on the Local Traditional Culture ▪ Press Group for Making a Local Newsletter ▪ Committee of Local People for Creating a Happy Community (*Ju Sa We)*
Hwa Jin	▪ Group for Decorating the Gardens of the Apartment Complex ▪ Press Group for Making a Local Newsletter ▪ Group for Improving Disabled Peoples' Facilities ▪ Group for Securing Traffic Safety ▪ Committee for Addressing Removal People
Min Ju	▪ Groups for Disabled People/TJBJ/Women ▪ Welfare Network with Local NGOs ▪ Group for Helping Local People ▪ Group of Local Community People
Young A	▪ Group for Helping Neighbours ▪ Group for Helping Unemployment Families ▪ Press Group for Making a Local News Paper
Noh Hyun	▪ Press Group for Publishing Village News ▪ Groups for Youth/ Women ▪ Group for Sharing Friendship ▪ Group for Decorating Gardens of Apartment ▪ The Group for Addressing Problems of Car Parking
Hyun Dae	▪ A TRC ▪ The Group of TJBJ/Women/Old People ▪ The Group for Improving Physical Environment of Apartment.

Consequently, whether a TRC had existed in the community or not accounted for the different ways of forming organisations. I summarise these as follows. First was the situation in which a TRC had been created. The WNGOC (the *Kang Nam*) stressed the creation of a representative organisation and endeavoured to empower people regardless of whether or not the TRC was a democratic organisation. Second was a situation in which a TRC had been created but practitioners thought it lacked the trust of or had a conflictual relationship with residents as a result of an undemocratic and non-transparent management. The DCWCs (the *Min Ju* and the *Noh Hyun*) tried to build a new empowering organisation to address specific problems rather than to empower the existing TRC. Third was the situation in which a TRC had been created and practitioners thought it was not problematic. Practitioners in the DCWC (the *Young A*) and WNGOC (the *Won Min*) attempted to create functional or other kinds of organisations while cooperating with the existing TRC. Fourth was the situation in which a TRC had not been created. The WNGOCs (the *Doo San* and the *Dong Sun*) and DCWC (the

Hyun Dae) put their energies into building a representative organisation and other kinds of organisations. Fifth was the situation in which the DCWC practitioners (the *Hwa Jin*) had experienced failure in fostering a representative organisation. They prioritised creating small organisations and empowering them. The final one was a situation in which residents had broken up a TRC that they did not trust. The DCWC (the *Kang Buk*) endeavoured to build and empower new organisations capable of playing roles similar to those of the TRC. To sum up, in situations of the third (the *Young A* and the *Won Min*) and the fourth cases (the *Doo San*, the *Dong Sun* and the *Hyun Dae*), practitioners sought to empower the representative organisation and foster small organisations through cooperation with an existing TRC. In situations reflected in the second, fifth and sixth cases, practitioners endeavoured to build a representative organisation that could operate on behalf of a TRC. The representative organisation functions as an infrastructure organisation which is capable of establishing a new TRC in a community for the future.

The practitioners' approach to forming an organisation depended upon the values that the practitioners hold and their capability to judge existing organisational capacity and understand local residents' opinions about organisations. When forming organisations as the practitioners in WNGOCs did, the focus of their activities was on the creation and strengthening of a TRC. They were not active in building small organisations that would offer care services to vulnerable people, apart from the *Won Min*. In contrast, practitioners in DCWCs stood out as organising activities that could strengthen care services and improve the physical environments, activities which WNGOCs did not even attempt.

Approaches taken in forming organisations

Along with differences in the priorities in their work, community practitioners also differed in the way they formed organisations. When considering the roles that practitioners applied in the practice of forming organisations, these could be divided into two types—"directive" and "non-directive" as identified by Henderson and Thomas (2002:94-99). The directive approach means that practitioners intervene directly in forming organisations by giving their particular point of view to residents or service uses. Rothman (1969) defines this approach along three points based on the strength of practitioners' interventions. A strong directive approach is one in which the practitioner asserts a point of view with supporting arguments and documentation and channels his/her thinking directly towards a given goal. It is called

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channelling. Second is a funnelling function. This is a very directive approach in which the practitioner gives a range of possible choices while subtly funnelling thinking in a given direction by asserting his/her preferences for a particular goal and the rationale for that choice. The third approach is scanning. This is a mildly directive approach in which the "practitioner scans the range of possibilities related to solving a particular problem, presents them impartially and on the basis of parity" (quoted in Henderson and Thomas, 2002:94). The other type is a non-directive approach whereby the "practitioner enables residents to make a decision for themselves by providing opportunities, information and incentives about how they can create organisations and make their own choices" (Henderson and Thomas, 2002:95). Unlike directive approaches, the non-directive ones do not specify the ways through which practitioners should intervene.

According to my analysis of the empirical data of the CEP, practitioners' approaches in forming organisations can be divided into five types depending on the extent to which practitioners intervened and residents participated voluntarily. Residents' voluntary involvement means that residents engage voluntarily to form an organisation 'doing for' community development and 'doing with' other people and agencies (Putnam, 2000). The five types were: non-directive approach with high levels of voluntary involvement; non-directive approach with low levels of voluntary involvement; self-directive approach with high levels of voluntary involvement; directive approach with high levels of voluntary involvement; and traditional Korean approach with low levels of voluntary involvement. Below, I examine how those approaches emerged as a result of practitioners' practice in forming organisations.

The Centre using non-directive community work was the *Hwa Jin.* The main reason why this centre chose the non-directive approach stems from the failure of the community organising that it carried out during 2001, before it engaged in the CEP project (empirical data; see Appendix V-1:pp.302-4). Lee said:

> After reflecting upon the failure, we carefully approached activities about organising. We concluded that the organisation is formed by those residents with sufficient time engaging voluntarily.

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At that time, workers in the *Hwa Jin* attempted to form a representative organisation following a schedule they had set up within a short time. Residents became involved if they got in touch with workers or had been selected by them. This practice is defined as the traditional Korean way (Lee) and was directive. As the organisation was created by workers taking the lead and ignoring residents' opinion, the residents had rarely been able to act autonomously. After reflecting upon a failure of organising under a directive scheme led only by workers, they attempted to utilise a non-directive approach. This enabled residents to form an organisation by limiting the workers' role to providing residents with the opportunity of holding a meeting where they could address community issues. As a result, around 100 residents attended the first meeting to create an organisation for decorating gardens and improving the environment in the apartment complex. Around 23 of them voluntarily joined the organisation. Since these practitioners followed non-directive practice whereby the workers intervened indirectly in forming an organisation based on reflecting about the traditional approach, I regarded this practice as resulting in a low level of voluntarism. Nonetheless, having reached this number of volunteers (i.e., 23), the level of voluntary participation in *Hwa Jin* was regarded as being higher than that in the other Centres because their number of volunteers was less than ten. So I show this approach in Figure 6.2 and 6.3. The X axis expresses the degree of practitioner intervention ranging from high to low; whereas the Y axis reflects the degree of residents' voluntary involvement, ranging from high to low. The *Hwa Jin'*s approach is posited in area I in the Figure 6.2 and 6.3.

Like the *Hwa Jin*, the *Noh Hyun* and the *Hyun Dae* also practised according to a non-directive approach. The *Noh Hyun* decided the way in which workers arranged public lectures for residents to convince them of the necessity of forming an organisation themselves and acquiring the motivation to become involved in it voluntarily (see Appendix V-2:pp.305-6). Therefore, I considered the *Noh Hyun* as one of the Centres that used a non-directive approach to community engagement. I did so because it provided a space for the involvement of residents and left them to get on with forming the organisation themselves. A participant described this as an unusual way of forming an organisation. Jin said:

> We used a detouring way rather than directive one to form an organisation by publicity
> activities to residents… As a way to create an organisation, firstly we offered a lecture
> relating activities of organisation to residents, For example, when we tried to form a group of
> woman, a lecturer interested in enhancing women's right was invited.(Jin)

In the case of the *Hyun Dae*, workers provided a meeting opportunity for residents to discuss community issues (Appendix V-3:pp.307-8).

> So we offered an opportunity that enabled residents to become involved in the organisation. It was a meeting where residents discussed community issues. For example, we encouraged residents to talk over issues such as the community physical environment, what residents should do to address it.(Jung)

Two Centres intervened indirectly to build an organisation by offering an educational programme and a meeting for a light hearted discussion rather than the workers intervening directly and asserting their position. In the *Noh Hyun* about 10 voluntary participants who joined an organisation at the initial stage were involved in its formation. But after forming it, the numbers of volunteers increased gradually as residents came to look more favourably on it. The *Hyun Dae* also linked a few people in an organisation like the *Noh Hyun*. There were more active residents than workers. Yet the *Hyun Dae*'s volunteers did not increase the sustainability of the organisation, and so it became weak. A worker in the *Hyun Dae* stated that residents involved in organisations are not willing to act without practitioners' intervention. Thus, although these two centres can be included the category of a low level of practitioners' direct intervention, they are not lower than the *Hwa Jin* in that workers in the two centres did not mention their reflection upon a directive approach led by workers. At the level of residents' voluntary involvement, *Noh Hyun* moved away from a low level into a high level whereas the *Hyun Dae* shifted from a low level to a lower one. The *Noh Hyun*'s approach is posited in Frame I and III in Figure 6.1 and 6.2, whereas the *Hyun Dae* is located in area III to show a low level of worker direct intervention and voluntary involvement.

The *Won Min*'s approach also conducted a practice toward a non-directive one. Like the *Hwa Jin*, a participant (Song) in the *Won Min* also defined traditional Korean practice as that in which the practitioner forms an organisation to protest about government policy's failure to address problems without fostering trust between the residents and themselves (Appendix V-4: pp.309-10). This practice demonstrates that when practice no longer sustains an organisation, it is dropped. Song emphasised the value of trust in building an organisation. With this in mind, the *Won Min* encouraged residents to form an organisation whereby they took the initiative. They proposed that when residents are involved voluntarily in an organisation it is called *Kong Bu Bang*, and workers can actively support it. Rather than

creating a new organisation, practitioners in the *Won Min* decided to empower an existing group that was run by two mothers. A participant (Song) claimed that activating this organisation of active mothers made sense because they were champions of voluntary involvement and had strong passions about the enhancement of learning for their children as well as neighbouring ones. Many participants were more active in forming and operating the organisation than practitioners. This approach is called a 'self-directive approach' or community self-organisation in that a few women had already formed a group before the Centre intervened and they managed the organisation for themselves. The participant said:

> As *Kong Bu Bang* organisation was created by mothers' initiative, we proposed a condition
> that parents should be involved in it. Since then, we gave them opportunities so they can
> participate.(Song)

The number of voluntary residents involved in the organisation increased considerably from three at the outset to twenty three after three years. Thus, among the centres that followed a non-directive approach, the *Won Min*'s organisation can be evaluated as the highest in residents' involvement and the lowest in interventions by practitioners. When the *Won Min* and the *Hwa Jin* are compared for the lowest level of practitioner intervention, it is not easy to decide which centre is lower. I suggest that the *Won Min* is lower by considering the point that when residents operate an organisation at the start, the worker's direct intervention can be lower. The *Won Min*'s self directive approach is posited in Frame I in Figure 6.1 and 6.2.

On the other hand, the *Kang Buk* Centre created an organisation by a directive approach. The *Kang Buk* also experienced the failure of forming a representative organisation because residents strongly mistrusted it. The failure of the *Hwa Jin* was triggered by strong intervention from workers, but the *Kang Buk* stems from residents' mistrust about the representative organisation (see Appendix V-5:pp.311-12). With this frustration workers in the *Kang Buk* once again challenged the practice of creating an organisation of *Ju Sa We* to replace a tenants' representative council. Unlike the *Hwa Jin*, they used a directive approach by presenting a vision of community and the necessity of establishing an organisation by working together for nearly a month. A participant in the *Kang Buk* said:

> We failed to create a TRC due to tenants' resistance… To develop a vision of the necessity
> for the organisation to residents in a public meeting, our four practitioners live together for a

month… At that time it was January and cold winter. When a leaflet giving notice of a meeting time and a place has been put into a letter box, it went easily into the bin. Thus we made a small signed leaflet which could be seen. We attached it to a key hole of all households (about 2000) with a small cake. We did it over a night. (Won)

The workers funnelled their ideas by asserting the necessity of an organisation in the meeting. This was a type of "funnelling" whereby practitioners play a particularly directive role. Furthermore, to bring residents into the meeting, they conducted publicity activity to attach a leaflet with a small cake to the door handle of all households during a night. This activity is regarded as a stronger intervention that transmits their ideas to all the residents in order to create the organisation. As a result of this practice, about sixty people attended the meeting and fifteen of them joined the organisation. Ten people who did not have a relationship with workers registered voluntarily in the organisation. In a year the number of voluntary residents doubled from fifteen people to thirty one. Thus, the practice of *Kang Buk* can be included as a directive approach with a higher level of practitioner directive intervention and a higher extent of voluntary residents' involvement. This approach can be put in Frame II in Figure 6.1, and 6.2.

Besides the *Kang Buk*, there are the Centres that adopted a directive approach. These Centres have a feature similar to the *Kang Buk*'s in that the practitioner intervenes directly with a plan for forming the organisation which they had already decided upon. But there are some differences. The *Kang Buk* provided an opportunity for the voluntary engagement of residents. Among participants of the organisation, self-determined volunteers are many more in number than those who joined at the practitioner's request. Other Centres reveal other characteristics. One is having fewer voluntary residents than those responding to the practitioners' call. Another is that the organisation is difficult to sustain because of the low level of voluntary involvement. I called this practice a 'traditional approach' because it is similar to the traditional Korean practice whereby the practitioner controls the total process in a pre-determined plan for forming an organisation. Lee, a worker in the *Hwa Jin*, defines it as such. The traditional approach is indicated Frame IV in Figure 6.1 and 6.2.

The *Min Ju* attempted activities approaching a traditional type in creating an organisation. The worker (Gong) from the *Min Ju* argued that it is difficult to foster the organisations by

residents' voluntary involvement without workers' intervention in caring activities, while explaining the conditions of the community (Appendix V-6:pp.313-4). He said:

> Activities to form a small organisation were carried out by a plan we established. Because residents have little education and ability of working, our workers cannot avoid intervening.(Gong)

The practice was carried out by a plan that the worker set up. The worker persuaded key people to become involved in creating the organisation through face-to-face meetings. Residents do not take part in these activities simply because they are leafleted. Although the centre intervened actively with caring services and face-to-face meetings to encourage involvement in the organisation, it brought out a low level of voluntary participants. Thus, the *Min Ju* can be included in Frame IV in Figure 6.1 and located in Frame IV of Figure 6.2 on p. 183.

The *Dong Sun* also tried to form an organisation using a traditional approach like the *Min Ju*. A worker in the *Dong Sun* persuaded a group of key people of the necessity of an organisation (Appendix V-7:pp.315-6). He had successful experiences in creating this organisation. Risks of community organising brought out by practitioner's directive intervention were rarely mentioned. Soo said:

> I took part in this project. The chief of the centre knew me that I had succeeded in creating a representative organisation by my initiative. So he employed me. We tried to persuade residents of the necessity of representative organisation. I said it can give rights to you. Your rights are being taken away.

Although some residents attended the meeting which gathered in the restaurant and the closing ceremony of the organisation, few became involved in its organisational activities. Thus, the worker attempted a direct approach using face-to-face contact with key people. This approach did not bring out a high level of voluntary participants for the organisation. The *Dong Sun* was lower than the *Kang Buk* and *Min Ju* at the level of practitioners' intervention because neither did it target all households like *Kang Buk* and nor did any activities provide care services for residents like the *Min Ju*. Thus, the *Dong Sun* can be included in Frame IV in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2.

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The *Doo San and the Kang Nam* favoured a practice that included a traditional approach. The *Doo San* argued that it emphasised various attempts to create an organisation (Appendix V-8:pp.317-8). The worker said:

> There was a successful case in the forming of an organisation. After learning a fact that there is no a community centre offering rest for elder people, we raised the issue of constructing it to residents. Several people engaged in our activities. By raising this issue, we built an organisation. (Kyung)

It focused on becoming involved by raising community issues (e.g. constructing a community centre for elders to relax in) that practitioners had selected. When addressing the issue, a lot of residents took part in the organisation and its activities. However, residents' involvement was not sustained and, as a result, the organisation was gradually weakened. This practice is defined as a traditional Korean way, which means that the workers form an organisation to address issues without building trust between residents and workers, as suggested by a practitioner (Song) in the *Won Min*. The *Doo San* took a direct approach to create an organisation by raising the issues that residents want addressed, but it did not sustain or develop the organisation by involving voluntary participants. The *Doo San* is similar to the *Dong Sun* in the level of practitioners' intervention. When comparing it with the *Dong Sun*, the *Doo San* can be evaluated as moving from a high level of voluntary participation to a low level. Thus, this Centre can be included in area IV in Figure 6.1 and indicated by an arrow going down from Frame II into IV in Figure 6.2.

In the *Kang Nam*, a worker (Kim) also selected a practice toward a directive approach (Appendix V-9:pp.319-20). He said:

> There have been some people who took part in the movement that resisted the policy of regeneration through the removing of residents. To form a representative organisation, we met them. We believed that they understood the activities of our centre. They helped us by introducing influential people. We made a lot of efforts to get close to them. (Kim)

The Centre often held festival events to encourage residents to become involved in an organisation. Through holding them, the worker tried to find active residents who were able to take part in it. This is not a practice that enables residents themselves to feel the necessity

for an organisation. In building the organisation and holding these events and meeting, the worker made contact with residents, who then joined the movement to protest a government relocation policy that moved residents out to regenerate urban regions. These methods are directive because they were led by the practitioners rather than voluntary participants. The *Kang Nam* rarely mentioned the necessity of a non-directive approach in creating organisations. This practice produced a result whereby participants who had developed some degree of relationship with the workers were many more in number than the voluntary ones. Unlike the *Doo San* and the *Dong Sun*, the *Kang Nam* could sustain the organisation consisting of many participants directed by the worker. Hence the *Kang Nam* is similar to *Doo San* and *Dong Sun* at the level of practitioners' intervention, but it is a little higher than the two centres at the level of voluntary involvement. The *Kang Nam* approach can be located in Frame IV in Figure 6.1 and 6.2.

Finally, a worker (Myung) in the *Young A* also formed an organisation by a directive approach whereby she tried to intervene by building rapport with a few influential people (Appendix V-10:pp.321-2). Along the way, the *Young A* made contact with helpers, who were active in the self-sufficiency project, and had time to work together and become involved in the organisation that the worker wanted to create. After fostering trust by contacting them, the worker asked those who had a good relationship with her to join the organisation in order to help vulnerable people in the community. She described these as the following:

> In the case of a group to help difficult people, it was organised in seven months from the start of the project. We became aware that the reason was a lack of trust between residents and us. So as a practice to develop trust, we worked together with helpers who support self-sufficiency projects.(Myung)

As a result of this practice, the Centre created an organisation which involved participants who had trust in the worker. This can be described as community organising led by the practitioner's initiative. The level of voluntary involvement is not high because the resident's participation is induced by the worker's intervention. When comparing voluntary participation with the *Kang Nam*, the *Young A* is lower than the *Kang Nam* because all practitioners in the *Young A* are those who had a good relationship with the worker. Two years after its creation, volunteer numbers have doubled. The level of practitioners'

intervention can be evaluated higher than that of the other centres conducting a directive approach except for the *Kang Buk* because the practitioner built trust with ten residents and increased the number of volunteers. Thus, the *Young A* can also be included in area IV in Figure 6.1 and development indicated by an arrow from Frame IV into area II in Figure 6.2. I will now turn to evaluation and task.

Figure 6.1: Five Approaches of Community Organising by Residents' Involvement and Practitioners' Intervention

Voluntary Residents' involvement
High

Self-directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement

I

II

Directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement

Non-directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement

Practitioner's Directive Intervention
Low   High

Non-directive approach with low level of voluntary involvement

Traditional Korean approach with low level of voluntary involvement

III

IV

Low

Figure 6.2: Degree of Voluntary Involvement in Creating Organisations within Ten Community Centres

Voluntary Residents' involvement

High

♦ (*Won Jin*)

(*Hwa Jin*) ■   I   II

(*Doo San*)   ● (*Kang Buk*)

Practitioner's Directive Intervention

Low _____ High

(*Noh Hyun*)   (*Dong Sun*) ○

(*Hyun Dae*) □   (*Min Ju*) ○   ● (*Young A*)

○ (*Kang Nam*)

III   IV

Low
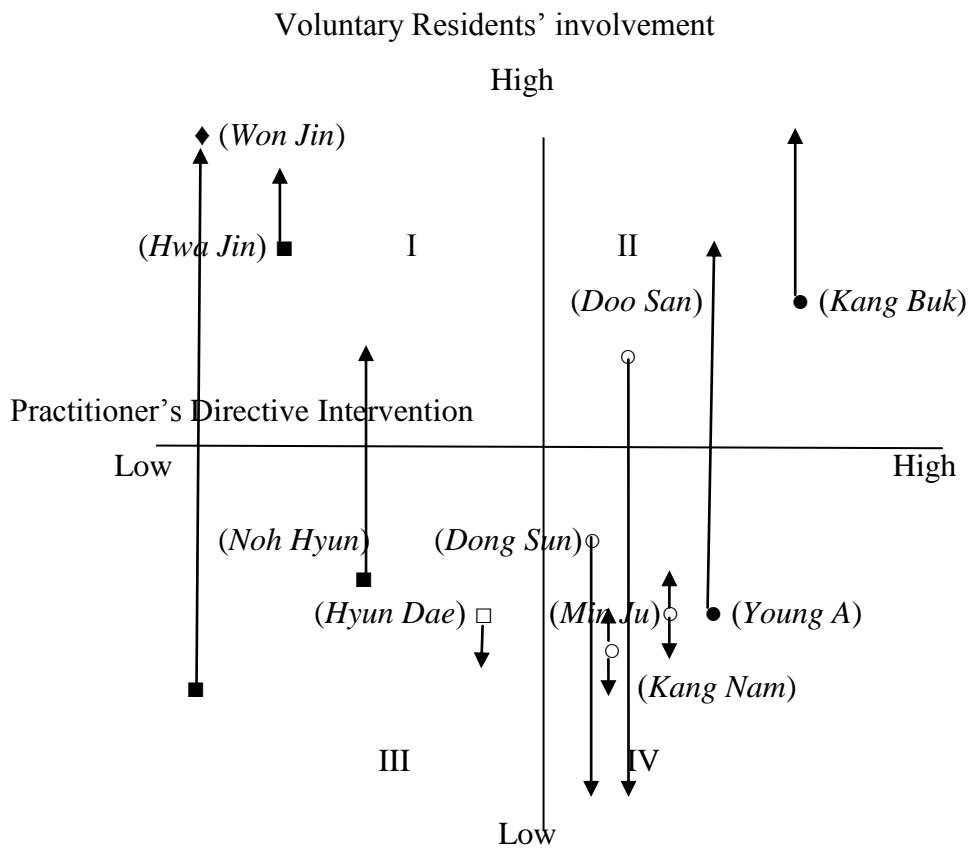
Note: ♦; A practice towards self-directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement

■; A practice towards non-directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement

●; A practice towards directive approach with high level of voluntary involvement

○; A practice towards traditional Korean approach with low level of voluntary involvement

□ ; A practice towards non-directive approach with low level of voluntary involvement

↑ ; Increasing degree of voluntary involvement

↓ ; Decreasing degree of voluntary involvement

↕ ; No great change in degree of voluntary involvement

Evaluation and task

Practitioners organised on the basis of their values and activities to check the feasibility and desirability of whether to use an existing organisation or create a new one. However, practitioners of both WNGOCs and DCWCs demonstrated differences in building

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organisations. The organising practice of WNGOCs had advantages and disadvantages. In a situation where most TRCs were tokenistic or their members had little knowledge of the activities they undertook, practice that valued the TRC was needed to empower communities. Additionally, as practitioners in WNGOCs cared for 5-6 apartment complexes, they thought that the practice of concentrating on the TRC was more effective than practice that created various kinds of small organisations. However, these practices involved risks that could prevent residents from becoming involved in activities that promoted community development. To develop reliable relationships providing human resources that communities can draw upon, practitioners should not depend on one organisation alone (Taylor, 2003). Furthermore, outcomes of research (Hong et al., 2005; Choe and Lee, 2001) can help to indicate what is important to be aware of. These indicate that the TRCs display authoritarian features that seek to assert their own prestige more than they value residents' opinions.

The creation of too many organisations other than a TRC is also not desirable. As one practitioner in DCWCs (Gong) said me, "We made a mistake in creating too many groups and associations. In my opinion, I should have created a core organisation rather than building many organisations." Community organising is risky if it does not produce a core organisation that can develop a community infrastructure. Hence, practitioners need to develop a feasible and desirable organisation that is suitable to the community as well as having the capacity to develop a core organisation with and amongst residents.

There were five approaches used in creating an organisation depending on the extent to which the practitioners intervened and the residents participated voluntarily. The factors that could activate an organisation through resident's voluntary involvement are: a practitioner's capacity to be aware of the conditions of the community and raise sustainable community issues and be passionately committed to building an organisation targeting whole households; whether a champion is a voluntary participant or not because these champion volunteers could increase a committed community worker's chances of success, especially if there is trust between workers and residents; changing residents' viewpoints from indifference to favour toward an organisation: providing community learning programmes and feedback activities for sustainable involvement; and finally, residents having the opportunity to become autonomous actors in the organisation. Combining these factors will help form an organisation as well as ensure its sustainability.

However, there may be risks in forming an organisation. Traditional approaches led by workers risk not being able to sustain an organisation, as evidenced by the *Doo San,* the *Dong Sun* and the *Hwa Jin* . In addition, when a non-directive approach is applied to a general public rental apartment, it can be difficult to create an organisation because most residents prefer to stay at home and only a few people would play an active practitioner's role. Although practitioners played active roles in creating an organisation in the PPRACs, few residents took part in it. The *Kang Buk* had a worker committed to activities that produced outcomes that involved only 15 residents of the 1988 households that were there at the beginning. A directive approach also has some risks. Early in the process of creating an organisation, practitioners' active help presents a risk if it makes residents depend upon them so that they expect workers to take the initiative continuously or adopt the major leadership roles. Thus, Henderson and Thomas (2002) require practitioners to take on quasi-leadership roles temporarily to minimise such risks. Korean practitioners who seek to conduct a directive approach need to know the importance of such leadership roles.

Considering community organising from feminist principles, Dominelli (1995, 2006) argues that residents can voluntarily create organisations through their own power without needing the intervention of practitioners. The self-directive approach of the *Won Min* was a case of a small group that strengthened *Kong Bu Bang* when a few mothers developed a large organisation by getting practitioners involved. Without a champion of participation, it is difficult for practitioners to develop a self-directive approach. Therefore Korean practitioners need to select approaches that are suitable to communities while knowing the risks of both directive and non-directive approaches.

Practitioners demonstrated more similarities in the creation of the different kinds of organisations. The WNGOCs established groups mainly for the TJBJ, parents, and night guards. Other WNGOCs created similar organisations that could produce results as good as the *Won Min*. But they did not succeed.

The DCWCs exposed further similarities around the creation of organisations aimed at improving the physical environment and communications among residents and helping vulnerable people in the communities. Motivation was one of these similarities. A practitioner identified the motivation for creating such organisations.

Residents had also already known that ordinary people are labelling their communities as a dirty apartment complex or place where a lot of alcoholics live and urinate in the road. So we created an organisation as a tool to reduce such negative images. This was agreed by residents who did not want a negative evaluation of their community by outsiders. The press group was formed to minimise isolation among residents. (Lee)

Unlike the WNGOCs, the DCWC were successful in benchmarking their achievements because some of the organisations that they had created received rewards from external agencies and were trusted by residents. I will discuss this in the section on outcomes.

In a situation in which information about CEP is lacking, benchmarking work between workers might be inevitable. As a result, similar organisations could be established on the basis of the work of one of them. However, practitioners should undertake careful benchmarking exercises, because even if the programme that one centre produces has useful effects that can be applied in other centres, it may or may not result in similar outcomes. To produce successful outcomes by benchmarking, they should develop capacity that not only discovers issues that are suitable for communities to address and identify the needs of the residents, but also to develop residents who demonstrate commitment and democratic qualities. Without these qualities amongst residents, the organisation is vulnerable to breaking up.

Research participants rarely mentioned problems brought about by the authoritarian tendency of members who were involved in these organisations. However, a participant (Kyung) said that she had been distressed by communicating with a leader of an organisation who defended his own claims. Other research (Choe and Lee, 2001) pointed out that there was a Korean authoritarian culture in representative organisations aimed at residents. This culture means that when a leader of an organisation makes a decision, its members follow his decision uncritically without discussing it or they entrust the right to make decisions to a leader. Thus, practitioners need to provide educational programmes that enable residents to run organisations democratically.

CONCLUSION

In the approaches to building an organisation, most centres attempted to avoid a traditional Korean community practice whereby community workers lead the whole process by creating an organisation according to plans formulated by them. Some participants implemented approaches to overcome a traditional work practice, whereas others still retained one.

Practitioners in DCWCs and WNGOCs revealed differences in the methods used in creating an organisation and in the kinds of organisation created. The former groups concentrated on forming small groups as well as a TRC, whereas the latter ones primarily prioritise practice that creates a representative organisation and empowers members running it rather than forming small groups. They also took a different approach in creating organisations to the extent to which practitioners intervene and residents became involved in them voluntarily.

Although there are differences of practice among centres in creating community organisations, the important elements in forming an organisation are: the values and passion that the practitioners hold; their capability to judge existing organisational capacity and understand local residents' opinions about organisations; knowledge and information to raise community issues; trustworthiness in relationships between residents and workers; and numbers and the extent to which residents were committed to being involved in organisations. I will now discuss the ways in which communities were strengthened by community learning, networking and participation.

CHAPTER 7

STRENGTHENING COMMUNITIES BY COMMUNITY LEARNING, NETWORKING AND PARTICIPATION: THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

Community development seeks the empowerment of local communities which strengthens the capacity of people through their community organisations, learning, networks and participation (Budapest Declaration, 2004: quoted in Craig, 2007: 339-40). In this chapter, I look at educational programmes and practice aimed at raising consciousness amongst residents and examining practice of networking and participation to empower communities, called the 'development of community infrastructures' (Taylor, 2003). I begin with analysing the practice of community learning:

COMMUNITY LEARNING[1]

Raising consciousness is considered the "heart of the process" in practising community empowerment (Ledwith, 2005). Although empowerment does not always figure explicitly in the literature concerning consciousness-raising, it is seen that consciousness-raising is regarded as an implicit factor in the process of empowerment (Adams, 2008). In this section I identify types of educational programmes and how to conduct them.

Educational arrangements

Practitioners provided two types of education programmes for residents: programmes that satisfied residents' requirements; and programmes to strengthen key leaders' capacity to strengthen organisations. Once organisations and groups were formed, their members and community practitioners felt the need for education tailored to suit each group. For example, when residents needed skills to make local newsletters, practitioners offered opportunities to learn the skills for writing articles and publishing them. There were programmes targeted at

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[1] The phrase community learning as used in this thesis means learning that takes place in a formal setting arranged by community practitioners involved in the CEP project. It indicates that there is a role for community practitioners in the community learning process (Packham, 2008).

key leaders of the TRC, other organisations and the TJBJ. Their contents were: leadership building; cultivating traits as a leader; the procedures for managing democratic meetings; and a transparent mode of managing finances. The latter are mainly related to the democratic operation and financial management of organisations. Educational activities and programmes of the ten centres are summarised in Appendix VI (p. 323).

Most Centres failed to secure the sustainability of the educational programmes. Except for the *Hwa Jin*, the Centres launched their programmes in the second year (see Appendix VI). The programmes also conducted a one-off style that was not sustainable over three years. Yet, the *Won Min* provided continuity of learning for residents by holding an opening lecture relating to issues of community development each month during the second year.

There were not many centres that conducted educational programmes to raise the critical consciousness needed for the CEP. Most of the programmes that the centres provided were directed towards building up leadership skills and strengthening good human relationships and caring skills of children. "The Academy for Grass-roots Communities" of the *Kang Buk* and "Education for Community Leaders" of the *Young A*, the *Noh Hyun* and the *Hwa Jin* were programmes aimed at strengthening leadership. "Education for Rearing Children" at the *Kang Nam*, "Education for Parents" at the *Won Min* and "Education for Mothers" at the *Dong Sun* were programmes that provided for building up parents' educational ability. The *Hwa Jin* offered functional education for publishing newspapers and decorating gardens for members and established new organisations for these purposes. Educational programmes that understand community issues and develop capacity to cope with them were offered by some centres. "Education for Empowerment" at the *Won Min*, "Education for Self-Governing Apartments" at the *Doo San*, and "Creating a Happy Neighbourhood" at the *Min Ju* were programmes whereby residents became aware of problems of public rental apartments and how to develop communities successfully.

The processes of education

Research participants identified effective and ineffective ways of learning. Less effective ones were mainly a 'top-down' style or a "banking educational style" whereby the educator tries to cram his/her ideas and language into residents (Freire, 1972). This form of education

is led by the lecturer's own ideas. It was difficult for residents to understand their ideas and language.

> External speakers nearly always used a cramming method in teaching. Thus
> after a period, we no longer invited them. They have a good deal of information
> and knowledge. But they did not have the language suitable for our community
> and residents. Neither did they have enough knowledge about our community. We
> thought it much better that we become interpreters to get the speaker's content
> across. (Won)

Another ineffective factor was an educational method that did not sustain residents' interests and failed to ensure a voluntary response.

> While carrying out education, residents sympathised with the speaker's message and
> agreed with it. After hearing the talk, when I raised issues relating to the
> contents that that the speaker suggested, they showed little interest in them. (Soo)

Another reason for ineffectiveness was residents' non-autonomous involvement, i.e., when they are forced to be involved in educational programmes by someone else. The barriers that impede useful outcomes in education are: a banking educational method of teaching by a speaker who acts as the expert and others must learn from them and who uses language inappropriate to the culture of the community; an education method that does not sustain residents' interests beyond the immediate context; and participation in learning obliged by others rather than through their own spontaneity.

In contrast, effective educational methods were expressed. Consistency and continuity in campaigns have effective outcomes in changing residents' attitudes towards their physical environment and in helping their neighbours. The *Young A* carried out campaign activities once a month over three years so that the physical environment of the community improved. A participant (Won) of the *Kang Buk* that introduced action-learning also had good results. He explained these as follows:

> All learners were able to present their theme in front of attendants. After hearing a
> lecture, they are given a task which has to be presented in class. With presentation and
> discussion with participants, self-confidence was enhanced. The responses were very

good. The participants talked about the education with self-confidence. Having finished

the class, they said they could do anything. (Won)

An effective method was one which focused on enabling residents to become aware of their own action, thought, feeling, values and identity.

Educational methods and contents are what matter. So we arranged a humanistic

philosophical lecture so that residents themselves could become aware… it needs to be

done well in order to develop awareness of one's own value. (Song)

To succeed in this type of education, a participant emphasised three elements: a ceremony like the entrance ceremony of a university; inviting famous professors to speak; and paying high fees to lecturers. Arranging educational programmes that reflect residents' needs rather than practitioners' ideas was important in having an effective and engaging education. Participants also introduced effective strategies that enabled people to engage in educational programmes utilising residents' psychological traits. For those who the practitioners believed had high self-esteem, they helped them find appropriate ways to express their pride and asked them which kinds of programmes they needed and reflected their ideas. For those who had low self-esteem, the practitioners recommended the programmes they provided to residents with poor self-esteem without asking them for their ideas. Finally, educational outcomes were improved by a workshop that was conducted outside of the communities. Residents found it difficult to go to a place beyond the communities in which they lived. Thus, the *Young A* Centre arranged workshops lasting two days with an overnight stay for key leaders. A worker (Myung) remarked, "This workshop was very effective in building trust amongst participants who exchanged opinions."

A community practitioner at the *Min Ju* conducted an educational programme called "Creating a Happy Neighbourhood through Residents' Power" that enabled participants to learn about the structural problems of a community. This programme was composed of seven stages that relied on the principles of action learning [2] . Furthermore, the community

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[2] This programme is composed of seven stages: 1) How do residents create a happy community? 2) What is a happy community? 3) Looking around their communities by walking through them (or photographing or drawing communities, making a map of communities) 4) Looking around communities by visiting agencies, learning about their histories and helping residents to develop an agenda for their communities 5) Designing for a happy community in discussion with residents 6) What should we do for other people? 7) Writing missions and roles for transforming a community. Except for stages 1 and 2 presented by lecturers, other stages are

practitioner required learners to acquire a critical capacity about their welfare centre. As a result, a participant (Gong) said that residents become aware developed awareness as follows, "They have always seen their neighbourhood as a good place and from a positive perspective. But after taking part in it, they came to know that our community has plenty of problems." The educational programme reached the stage where their participation has enabled residents to know what problems their community is facing. But this programme did not have built-in sustainability because it was implemented for only one session. The effective and ineffective educational approaches suggested by practitioners are summarised in Table 7.1. I will now turn to the evaluation and tasks of community learning.

Table 7.1: Effective and Ineffective Education

Effective Ways	Ineffective Ways
Sustainable education	Banking educational style
Education to understand residents in their own languages	One-off style education
Education to enable residents to reflect upon their own lives	Non-autonomous involvement of learners
Education to reflect residents' needs	
Differential approaches to residents according to the residents' psychological traits in the introduction of educational programmes	
Education by visiting other communities	
Education through action-learning	

Evaluation and task: community learning

Educational programmes and how to conduct them are important because they influence peoples' consciousness, behaviour and the outcomes of CEP (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, as their contents and approaches can be decided by community work approaches that practitioners select, they can become an analytical tool to evaluate those approaches. For

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programmes that participants are directly involved in through discussions, visiting, drawings, and presentations (*Kwang Ju* YMCA, 2006). This programme set up a target of creating a happy community, but it does not identify the target of 'for whom' this is to be done.

instance, educational schemes which strengthen people's self-help to adjust to the requirements of mainstream society result from maintenance or therapeutic community work approaches. In contrast, conducting education based on Freireian ideas is relevant to emancipatory approaches. The data that I summarised above derives from interviewing and documents about CEP project.

The WNGOCs and DCWCs did not show clear differences in the arrangements of educational programmes. Interviewees also suggested effective and non-effective practice in community learning through trial and error. By introducing action-learning to communities, practitioners also broke from the 'traditional Korean way' that used the 'cramming style' of learning. At the same time, some centres (the *Kang Buk,* the *Min Ju* and the *Won Min*) implemented programmes based on action learning and humanistic philosophical learning.

However, there were some weaknesses in arranging and carrying out these educational programmes. The Centres did not secure sustainable educational programmes from the first year to the end date of the CEP project except for the *Hwa Jin* and the *Young A* (education by campaign). As they were not sustained, they failed to increase the quantity of learners. Only a few Centres had simultaneously arranged 'programmes for individuals' to strengthen their capacity in controlling their own lives and 'programmes for communities' that understood the problems of a community and addressed them collectively. Most practitioners lacked ideas about how to improve the quality of education for community empowerment that emphasised active citizenship. Some practitioners learned later about the effectiveness of action-learning and the problems of the traditional way of learning. Two Centres (the *Kang Buk* and the *Min Ju*) conducted programmes using action-learning in the third year of the project.

From a perspective of a modified Western model, practitioners rarely offered programmes that strengthened residents' critical consciousness by organising consciousness-raising groups (Dominelli, 2006) or creating a learning organisation (Senge, 1990). This would have enabled residents to meet to talk about their lives and organise around how to change them. Although the *Kang Nam* did not explicitly implement a programme to build critical capacity in evaluating the policies or fostering a consciousness-raising group, it had meetings that carried out such functions. The Centre offered opportunities for discussion with key leaders like members of TRCs and the TJBJ each fortnight. The meetings could enhance the residents' capacity to understand the community issues and the policies relevant to them. But those

meetings were primarily not for ordinary residents living in communities but for leaders running organisations. In these meetings, practitioners did not provide educational programmes to enhance critical consciousness and collective action for structural change through dialogue with residents. Ledwith (2005:68) called this type of structural approach a "Freireian-feminist approach to story as personal empowerment in the process of collective action for change". Even though Korean practitioners know about this approach, they tend to find it difficult to apply to communities because it is easy to be stigmatised as a 'centre-left group' that is seen as a communist group in South Korea. Using Dominelli's perspective (2009) to identify those occurring in SK, most educational programmes strengthened a "maintenance and therapeutic approach", while the programmes for emancipatory approaches were lacking.

A modified Western model emphasises the building of emotional intelligence as much as intellectual capacity in preparing educational programmes (Dominelli, 2004; Butcher, 2007b). The significance of emotional intelligence which Butcher (2007b: 60) claims enables people "to develop a capacity to perceive accurately and manage emotions, to harness emotions to facilitate thinking; and to use emotions to motivate and to fuel effective action" is recognised. Practitioners need to develop educational programmes that enable residents to control emotions which affect their lives, enhance intelligence that develops active citizenship, and engage in collective action to change and improve oppressive structures. The next section will discuss networking activities.

COMMUNITY NETWORKING[3]

In community work, networks have been considered as "an invaluable resource" in empowering a community because these establish "mutual benefits", "reducing uncertainty of participation" and securing human and material resources and information to address the problems of communities (Gilchrist, 2004; Henderson and Thomas, 2002, Craig et al., 2000; Dominelli, 2006). In this section, I examine differences in networking activities between community practitioners working in DCWCs and WNGOCs, and the reasons for these.

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[3] Community networking as used in this thesis means connecting activities among people and agencies to foster the norms of reciprocity, trustworthiness and sociability (the ability to sustain mutual acquaintance and recognition) that arise from the activities of formal and informal contacts with them within and beyond communities (Putnam, 2000; Taylor, 2006; Somerville; 2011).

Furthermore, I will explore practitioners' work to establish links among internal and external agencies and groups relating to this project.

Different perceptions of networking

Most interviewees perceived networking as activities connecting external agencies across communities rather than fostering relationships within communities. They did so because they acquired information and knowledge as well as the human resources and the funds needed to practice from the staff of the agencies through networking. In doing such work, they played coordinating roles to foster a relationship between residents and private and public agencies which affected the communities. Some of them employed networks as a means for securing better resources. Other workers also related experiences of acquiring help in collecting information by networking with other agencies.

DCWCs and WNGOCs displayed differences in establishing and maintaining these networks. There was a difference in their use of words to identify networking attempts. WNGOC practitioners preferred the word solidarity rather than networking. For example, the *Won Min* employed "A Solidarity Project for Setting up a Supportive-Network for Public Rental Apartments" to practice networking. But the *Kang Nam* did not use this term in order to avoid a negative image of WNGO where residents saw it as a group that opposed the government. In contrast, the DCWCs preferred the term network such as "The Network of Community Resources", "Networking Work with Other Agencies within the Community", "Establishing a Network of Local Welfare", and "Community Network". The WNGOCs preferred the word solidarity as symbolising a strong unity with other groups over actions and values in order to achieve a goal. Practitioners in WNGOCs advocated solidarity as a prime value.

It was difficult for the DCWCs to establish networks with other CWCs and WNGOs that were located in nearby areas but not involved in the CEP. However, the WNGOCs had active networks with other NGOs who had conducted similar activities, regardless of involvement in the CEP. As other community welfare centres perceived that they had a competitive relationship with the CWCs involved in the CEP, they did not actively pursue links with the DCWCs. A worker who tried to develop a network with a community welfare centre located nearby said:

> If the networking activities with them had been done well, the project should
> have been effective. Because they thought that the centre had a
> competitive relationship with us, it was difficult to have a partnership network to
> improve the work.(Won)

The DCWCs (the *Kang Buk* and the *Hwa Jin*) in Seoul received a great deal of help through networking with NGOs that had skills and information about community organising. Three local DCWCs (the *Young A,* the *Noh Hyun* and the *Hyun Dae*) failed to develop links with other CWCs and WNGOs that were not involved in the CEP. The *Min Ju* developed other local WNGOs and welfare centres. But this centre had difficulties networking with them. The chief of the centre was reluctant to engage in such networking because he did not want to develop relationships with external organisations. In contrast, the WNGOCs engaged in active attempts to establish networks with other civil organisations, working with communities and with other CWCs which were located in the districts that the WNGOs were in. But some WNGOC practitioners highlighted difficulties in establishing networks with CWCs that were located in their communities. As a participant said:

> In our districts there had been many CWCs. When considering the numbers of people
> who lived in these areas, welfare centres are not enough. Nevertheless,
> they have not worked well and have no networking activities among them.
> Because the centres show stronger bureaucratic tendencies in delivering services,
> it becomes difficult for them to build networks.(Song)

Other practitioners in WNGOC defined networking with welfare agencies as the most difficult work, describing it thus, "Out of the frying pan into the fire" (Kyung). A participant observed that a social worker had lost his position in the process of making contact with the director of a welfare centre when establishing networks with the WNGOCs. Consequently, it is possible to identify the contrasts between the DCWCs with the WNGOCs in setting up networks, while both groups acknowledged the significance of doing so.

Internal agencies (groups)

There are internal agency (group) activities that impact upon community work within the public rental apartment sector. The main internal ones are the TJBJ, a TRC, WNGOCs and

DCWCs and the apartment management office that manages facilities and collects utility bills and is located within the apartment complex.

Practitioners tried to build a network with the TJBJ group that they regarded as influential in the communities. Even though some members of the group were opposed to the idea, most centres fostered the TJBJ organisation called *Tong Chin Hoe*. It forms friendships among members of TJBJ. Workers strengthened networks by offering educational programmes and communicating through them. Changing local governance structures was a longer term objective used by some members to address problems that TJBJ institutions encountered in the process of building a network. A participant described it as follows:

> We researched the problems of *Tong Jang and Bang Jang* institution in the rules of local government. We required the local government council to change the rules affecting the problem. One of the members had held a position for 15 years. Most members had been in the position for more than eight years. We came to know that they can hold this status for ever. Thus we argued that their terms should be limited and that they should select people who are respected and trusted by the residents. The council received our proposals and changed their official ruling of a term to four years. (Soo)

This participant in the WNGOC can be regarded as working towards transformative practice in that the team tackled the task of empowering the community by changing in the inappropriate governance structures of the TJBJ.

Like the TJBJ, a representative organisation is regarded as an influential organisation in the communities in that its members and the chairman have a tendency to wield power with which they are endowed once they are elected by residents. Networking with a TRC is categorised in three types. The first one prioritises the relationship within a TRC. This is an approach of three WNGOCs except for the *Won Min*. These preferred the approach that changed communities by empowering the members of a TRC. Another is 'a cautious relationship' with a TRC. As there was an established TRC already, practitioners of the centres−the *Won Min,* the *Young A* and the *Noh Hyun*−approached it carefully in order to build a link with it. A participant (Jin) explained that the members of the TRC were nervous about their activities because they were concerned as to whether or not practitioners infringed upon their boundaries. The third is a conflicting relation. This occurs if a TRC makes an

undemocratic decision and is arbitrary in managing the finances. This situation arises when a practitioner advocates for the organisation by siding with the party that has a moral standpoint against a TRC to expose undemocratic activities. A participant described this below:

> A TRC ignored the existence of a women's group because it was created without the agreement of the TRC. As a result, they started to fight. The TRC had seldom acted until it began to fight with the women's group. The TRC made a decision not to recognise the women group. So we [practitioners] fought with the TRC by siding with the women's group. Finally we went to a court of law. I was ordered to appear before the police for an investigation to take place. (Gong)

In this conflict situation, a worker's intervention exacerbated the conflict and finally brought about the breakup of the network. When considering the current problems i.e., undemocratic decision-making, non-transparent financial management, the lack of ability in the leader of the TRC in the public rental apartments of SK (Hong et al., 2005), workers need to develop the skills of networking in conflict situations. Even though a practitioner played a mediating role with residents, it was not easy for the workers to produce a good result to minimise the conflict.

> We endeavoured to mediate in the conflict. But the problem we could not resolve was the matter of the money. Residents wanted to resolve it by resorting to judgement in the courts rather than by rational dialogue. (Kim)

Hence, another participant (Soo) argued that in such a conflict situation practitioners should not intervene but residents should resolve them through their own decisions.

Another agency as an internal group was an apartment management office which monitored its facilities and collected utility bills from residents. Due to this work, the office risks potential conflicts with the residents. Most practitioners regarded the office as an organisation that impeded empowerment practice rather than helping it. The management offices displayed explicitly or implicitly a negative attitude towards practitioners. They occasionally created schism between practitioners and residents.

> The apartment management official said to us [workers], our management official
> recognised that the apartment needs a representative organisation. But when he met
> residents, he said that the management office was sufficient, and asked why did they try
> to foster the representative organisation. (Soo)

Residents also thought that the apartment office was not one that would help them. They disliked it because they had to fight the officials over the matter of utility bills or apartment facilities.

Practitioners played mediating roles to reduce residents' negative attitudes and obtain their support for empowerment practice. They persuaded residents of the necessity of a TRC to address their discontent to the management office collectively rather than to fight individually with it. On the other hand, they explained to its officials the necessity for a TRC that dealt with residents' actual needs rather than address those that they determined before making contact with many residents. At the *Dong Sun* these practices did not bring about a trusting relationship with the apartment offices as officials did not recognise worker's practice as empowering residents by creating a TRC and other organisations. Thus, its community workers chose a strategy that acquired trust from most residents rather than creating a network with the apartment management office.

Practitioners expressed their opinions about the DCWCs and WNGOCs that managed them. They had relationships with the chiefs and staff of the centres. Workers in DCWCs told more stories about their chiefs and colleagues than did practitioners in the WNGOCs. Workers in the DCWCs in Seoul received a lot of support by fostering a good relationship with other colleagues and their chiefs. Two DCWCs in Seoul had seldom had any restrictions placed on the programmes that they undertook and they networked with external organisations around community organising. A Centre worker described their supporters as follows:

> We had total support from the director of the welfare centre and the staff of
> other departments. They supported and encouraged us in the challenges of a
> new field. They were not a barrier. Rather we lacked the ability to do this work. (Won)

In contrast, a local DCWC worker (Gong) was unable to develop a friendly relationship with colleagues at the Centre and its chief. They disagreed about the networks they should have

with external organisations because the chief did not want external organisations involved in the CEP project. A participant (Jin) argued that the chief of the DCWC needed to be educated about networking. "If an empowerment project is to have a good effect, first of all, the chief of the CWC needs to be educated." These accounts can be interpreted as exposing the conflicts in the relationships between workers and chiefs over the directions of practice. A worker (Jin) also pointed out that the chief of one DCWC did not seek to understand empowerment practice that emphasised bottom-up approaches. Most workers believed that most DCWCs and apartment management officials disliked the programmes that sought to empower residents.

The reasons for this can be identified in some of the workers' statements. The first was a lack of information and experience about CEP. Most leaders in DCWCs had little professional expertise in community work because they had not had the opportunity to gain experience and knowledge of it. They feared change. When residents strengthened their rights through empowerment, the chiefs in the CWC would worry that their position might become unsuitable or their workload would increase substantially. Finally, practitioners pointed out that they did not want the financial burden of CEP on the DCWCs. This project was a time-limited programme that was to finish within three years. If this was not sustained beyond this term, the chief of the DCWCs became concerned about the future costs of wages and programmes to sustain empowerment practice. Thus, practitioners in the Centres raised an agenda to appeal to the relevant departments (The Ministry of Construction and Transportation, The Ministry of Health and Welfare, and The Ministry of Home Affairs) of the central government to ask for the project to be funded continuously. The DCWCs' chiefs refused to do so, whereas WNGOCs' chiefs agreed to it. A participant remarked on this:

> We came to realise that it would be impossible for the Ministry of Health and Welfare to offer supporting finance. So we suggested that we go to the Ministry of Construction and Transportation or the Ministry of Home Affairs to ask that they fund the empowerment project continuously. The WNGOCs agreed to it, but the centres of CWCs' did not. They had related mainly to the Ministry of Health and Welfare, so they seemed to have great reservations about empowerment practice entering a new field. (Song)

External agencies

The main external agencies that can influence the project are: the central government by affecting the policy of empowerment; local authorities offering funds and public services for the centres located in their administrative boundary; a CCK that supports the CEP project; supervisor groups; and others such as political groups.

Central government

The practitioners had both positive and negative views about Participatory Government (PG). Most practitioners believed that PG occurred because the government initiated the policy of the empowerment project and saw to its implementation. If the Conservative Party took over, the CEP could be difficult to sustain because a Conservative government would fear a CEP that empowered people, and so would not want it. Under PG and the Kim Dae-jung government that were regarded as progressive, funding could be accessed to support the CEP project and practitioners would be able to encourage residents to participate in it. Some workers believed that the CEP was feasible because it had the support of a secretary who worked in the 'the Blue House'[4] and the secretary was interested in the residents of PPRAC. At any rate, the practitioners recognised that a progressive government could help the project.

Most practitioners had the idea that the CEP should be accountable to the government rather than a private welfare foundation such as the CCK, while acknowledging the PG's contribution in fostering the circumstances for the launch of the project. While making such a claim, they also assessed the officials of the central government as being against the implementation the CEP. A participant (Lee) identified the reason as follows: "The Korean power groups may not like what the people become if they are empowered."

Other workers attributed the problem to the central government departments' habitual practice of 'compartmentalism' by which public servants considered only their own fields and did not wish to cooperate with other departments. The construction of public rental houses is undertaken by the Ministry of Construction and Transportation. Providing a welfare service for poor people falls under the scope of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. The

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[4] The Blue House means the office of the Korean president, like the UK's No. 10 Downing Street.

former focuses on house construction, whereas the latter is concerned with welfare services and material resources for poor people. Neither department has been much concerned with empowering disadvantaged people. A participant described this situation in these words:

> Recently, a resident welfare post was created within the Department of Construction and Transportation. This post's role was devoted mainly to constructing public rental housing by buying land. But they had no interest in empowering the residents living in these houses. They told us that at present the number of rental houses was insufficient. Having heard this, we thought that there was little more to say. The officials of the Ministry of Health and Welfare were no different from them. They told us that they had other things to do than giving poor people urgent help and becoming involved with residents' participation. (Song)

Most practitioners had little contact with central government officials. Therefore, the practitioners rarely expected government officials to bring about changes of policy to support them or facilitate their networking with central government departments. The Centres had little interest in the policies of government. A participant (Song) claimed, "We could not appeal effectively to the policy department of the government." He also commented that "the policy was not for poor people but for the general people."

Another factor that affected networking with central bureaucrats was differences in perception of the outcomes of practices in networking with central government. The bureaucrats hold the position that the centres should prove their effectiveness linked to the amount of financial investment. Their evidence-based perspective frustrated practitioners of CEP. A participant described central bureaucrats' remarks as follows:

> They told us. Each centre has funds of eighty thousand Won invested in it (about £40,000). We have no method that measures the outcomes of the practice. So we acknowledge practitioners' committed activities and would like to encourage these. But they said that it was difficult to reflect our practice in the policy. (Won)

Local government

Practitioners also displayed a more negative attitude to local authorities, which they could contact more easily, than they did central government. This may be because they believed local government to be accountable for local communities. Networking with a local authority can be viewed from the perspectives of two groups. One involves the active practitioners who endeavoured to connect with local authorities to acquire funds or human resources that could help them to operate their programmes effectively. This included training costs, subsidiary money to reduce non-payment of utility bills and obtaining their cooperation as did groups from TJBJ. The other was a group of practitioners who had expressed a view based on their past experiences. However, most of these did not contact local officials directly to carry out the goals of the project. All of these groups revealed that a local authority could either give practitioners help or not. One Centre (the *Noh Hyun*) received cooperation from the groups of TJBJ by communicating with neighbourhood public officials in the local authority. Another Centre (the *Kang Buk*) got support from its local authority through "political contracts" with local councils that had influence on local public servants. But most centres had the experience of being turned away by officials of the local authority who said that they did not have enough finances to support their projects.

Research participants identified why they did not want to network with local authorities. Firstly, local public servants did not usually stay in one position for more than two years. Because Korean local government civil servants moved into other positions for promotion such as moving into the planning section, this discouraged practitioners from networking with them[5]. The second was the local authorities' administrative style regarding welfare services. This tended to operate in bureaucratic ways rather than taking into consideration the residents' needs and rights. Local public servants gave little thought to practitioners' proposals for the financial support of residents' education, informing one of them of the absence of lawful requirements for assisting them or introducing the notion that they should help poor people more than rental residents. Finally, local authorities did not feel obligated to

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[5] To improve this problem, the government developed the position with a public servant taking exclusive responsibility for welfare from 2000. But they have problems dealing with other welfare responsibilities alongside their other main work and general administrative affairs which include selecting recipients of the Minimum Living Standards Guarantee and paying them money (Kim, S.H., 2002; Nam, C.S., 2006).

empower local residents because they thought the groups of the TJBJ were capable of dealing with neighbourhood affairs. A participant (Kyung) described this reasoning as follows:

> There is no a reason that a local authority should assist a project in empowering
> local people through the provision of a new budget. Public servants can
> deal well with administrative affairs in an apartment complex without having
> more difficult things to deal with. If local public servants manage
> effectively a group of TJBJ, they think that there is no problem in dealing with
> their administrative responsibilities.(Kyung)

When local people become empowered they have a strong voice. Those dealing with their routine affairs can feel this as a threat. It is believed that officials want a group to be docile rather than to challenge their authority.

Community Chest in Korea (CCK)

The CCK monitored and controlled the activities of the centres. As a funding agency, the CCK also communicated with them about various activities: educating community practitioners, sending supervisors to each centre, requiring reports regarding outcomes, and the practice of the project and providing supporting funds. So community practitioners regarded the agency as a significant agency that they should network with.

The workers also looked at this agency's roles both positively and negatively. The Centres appreciated that they could have a significant opportunity to practice in the first empowerment project in SK while receiving unprecedented funds as well as gaining precious experience. At the same time, they expressed opinions about its negative aspects. One of these is a bureaucratic tendency to require a lot of reports about the results of activities and the expenditure of funds. Won identified such a tendency, "If we had made more contact with residents at the time to prepare and arrange the various papers CCK required, we would have produced better outcomes." Most practitioners also assessed the CCK as an agency that gave precedence to "short-termism" trying to bring out impressive results that favoured the product over process. Another participant (Kyung) regarded it as the agency for regulating the autonomy that a centre implementing the CEP project could exercise. Participants

evaluated it as lacking the capacity to provide the centres with resources for obtaining the information, skills and knowledge they needed and failing to guide them in how to improve.

Some research participants (Jung, Soo and Won) also commented on how the CCK funded the centres. They pointed out that the agency should have distributed the funds to the centres over a longer period, that is, five years rather than three years. They also commented that the agency gave them the same annual amount over 3 years. But in the first year there were some Centres that did not use the whole fund. A worker commented:

> In the first year the centre bought computers and presentation tools with the
> money that was left over. This was the wrong use of funds. There was a reason
> why most centres tried to spend all their money. It was because a centre that
> had funds left over could be viewed as incompetent. Our centre
> returned the money left over to the CCK. After that, we were pressed to take
> responsibility for it by the CCK. We were told it was a requirement that the
> funds given should be used in a given year. (Jung)

This indicated that the CCK and a few Centres did not manage the funds effectively because they distributed them according to bureaucratic criteria rather than considering the context of the communities concerned. The bureaucratic position of the funding agency has the potential to create differences in the use of funds between funders and community practitioners. In the case of the Centre which had funds left over, the agency needed to show flexibility so that the Centre could save the money to conduct programmes in the following year rather than compulsorily spending the funds allocated for the first year of operation. If some of the funds given to the centres at the beginning of the period had been saved, the remaining funds could have been used to extend the period of this project beyond 3 years. A participant (Jung) pointed out that if funds had been used in this way the Centres would have conducted a few productive programmes. As for the ways to distribute funds, a participant (Won) suggested that CCK needed to shift from a way (Figure: 7.1.1) that regularly supports the project with the same amount of funds over three years to a more flexible way (Figure: 7.1.2) that provides a lesser amount in the first year, and then gradually increases it until the centre approaches the period when it has the capacity for self-funding by networking with other funding organisations. After reaching the point when they were ready for self-determination, then the supporting funds could be reduced.

Figure 7.1: Types of Supporting Funds
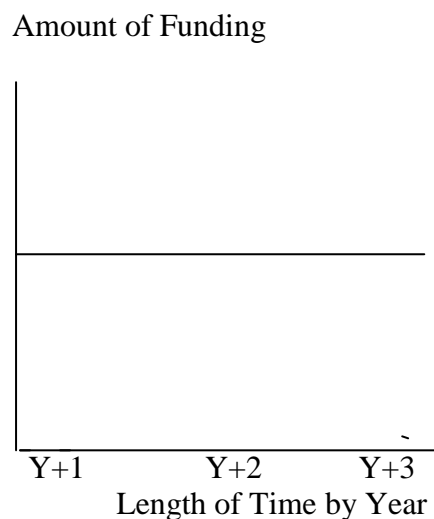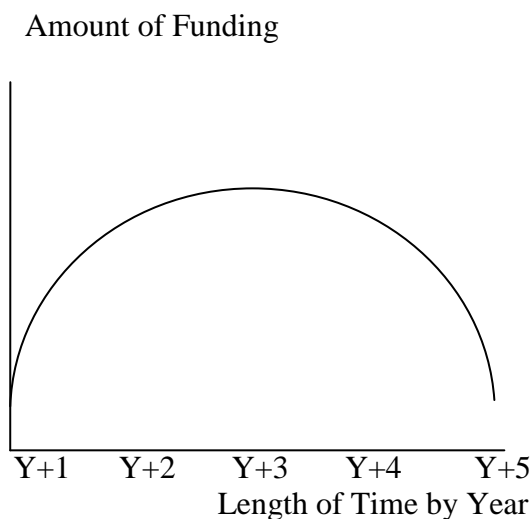
Figure 7.1.1: **Constant way**   **Figure 7.1.2**: **Flexible way**

Amount of Funding   Amount of Funding

| Y+1   Y+2   Y+3 | Y+1   Y+2   Y+3   Y+4   Y+5 |
| Length of Time by Year | Length of Time by Year |

X axis: years
Y axis: Amount of Funding

The flexible way to disburse the funds can be reasonable for the centres. According to Thompson (1998), an effective way of capital investment and expenditure that government agencies and their donors could employ to build up residents' participation is the participatory approach. Unlike the conventional approach (Figure:7.2:B) which invests heavily at the beginning stage and then gradually reduces the funding, the participatory approach (Figure:7.2:A) involves a more gradual release of funds after a substantial period of interaction with local groups and institutions. These types can be applied flexibly depending upon goals of the project and its contexts. But this participatory approach means that at the outset the investment of funds would be small, but significant in terms of human resource development. The development of human resources could be facilitated through training as well as by establishing networks. Thus, the participatory approach (Figure 7.2.B) to building up participation is to some extent similar to the flexible way (Figure 7.1.2) in the types of supporting funds.

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Figure 7.2: **Types of Supporting Funds to Build up Participation**

Amount of Expenditure &
Capital Investment

| | t | t+1 | t+4 | t+8 | Year |

Years
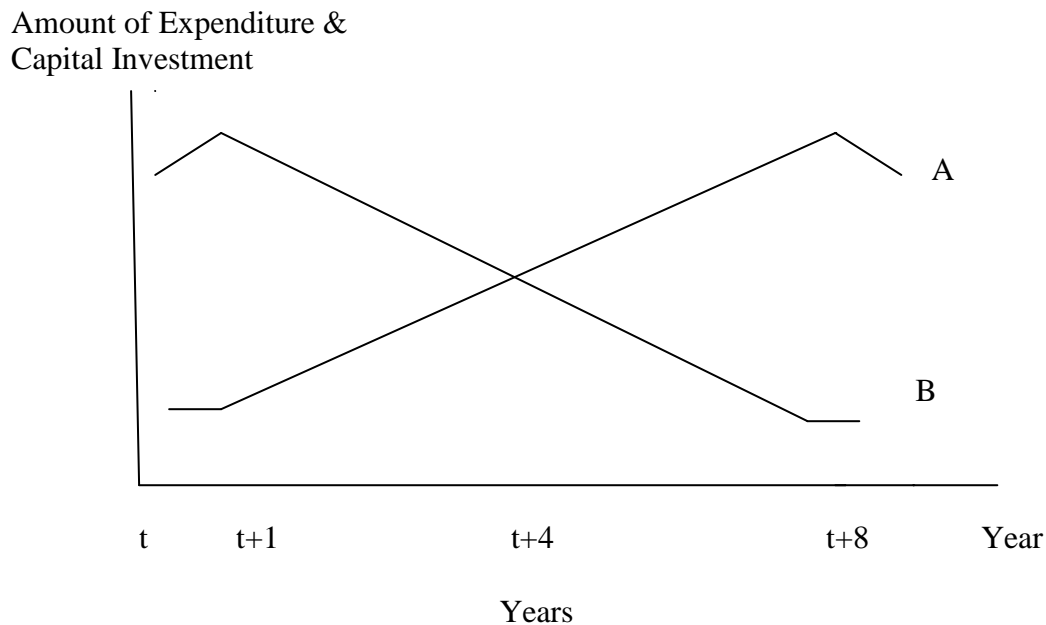
  X axis: Year
  Y axis: Expenditure and capital investment
  A: Participatory approach
  B: Conventional approach
  Source: Thompson(1998: 115).

As well as a lack of knowledge about how to disburse the funds, practitioners saw the funding agency as a poor manager of human resources they had, given that they had spent three years acquiring experience in the project. Participants (Myung, Soo) criticised it strongly by suggesting that the agency was not interested in them once they had acquired precious skills and experiences through the CEP, despite having invested substantial funds in them. The reason is possibly that the CCK did not give them opportunities to use their acquired skills and experiences in other projects.

The supervising group

Supervision is considered one of the necessary activities for becoming a professional social worker as it provides an opportunity for social workers to reflect on their own activities in order to improve their practice while aiming to ensure that service users receive the best possible service (Brown and Bourne, 1996; Bradely and Höjer, 2009). A novice in the empowerment project would need a supervisory group to consult and encourage him/her as a community practitioner and offer skills, information, and feedback about their programmes.

To realise this, the CCK assigned a supervisor to each of the Centres. In the first year these were mainly professors who had studied community work. In the second year, they supervised practitioners' activities through a practitioners' association that practitioners themselves had organised. In other words, community practitioners supervised other community practitioners' activities. In the third year, the centres selected a supervisor that they wanted to invite to do the supervisory work.

The community practitioners had contrasting positions about supervision. Some viewed the relationship as a positive one because they received useful guidance to improve their practice while others saw it as a negative relationship because they did not receive useful information and feedback. The positive relationship between a practitioner and a supervisory group is created by communicating with each other and by making contacts before and after they have implemented their supervision sessions.

> I asked the professor about our consultations by ringing or visiting them
> whenever the programme was going to begin or end. I received a lot of help
> from them.(Myung)

Other practitioners felt that a supervision group had not been helpful. They pointed out the causes. The supervisor lacks practical knowledge about CEP. Won said, "We did not have confidence in their consultations due to their lack of practical experience about empowerment." Another factor was an ethical problem because a supervisor mistrusted the outcomes and practice of the CEP. A supervisor in the *Hwa Jin* expressed explicitly his own position about the CEP project for practitioners. The position was sceptical attitude that it was difficult for the practitioners to produce positive outcomes of CEP. A participant (Lee) pointed out a problem with the supervisor as follows: "A supervisor's sceptical attitude frustrated us [practitioners] greatly early on. After two years, he understood the project and our position." Insufficient participation by supervisors was also pointed out by some practitioners (the *Kang Buk*, the *Hwa Jin* and the *Dong Sun*). They were so busy that it was often difficult to meet with them for supervision. As supervisors, they did not engender much trust in community practitioners. Most centres failed to have sustainable relationships with their supervisory group during the three years of the project. Both parties should have known the significance of the "continuity and obligatory [nature] of supervision" that Scandinavian scholars Bernler and Jonson (1985) suggested as the criteria for effective supervision for

social work practice. From the practitioners' point of view, external supervisors were lacking in: expertise on community work, both practically and theoretically; continuity and responsibility in supervision as a continual activity: and integrity in approaching the project and its workers.

Politicians

When politicians were involved with trying to address the needs of communities and enable local people to achieve and use power, practitioners tried to establish a network with various organisations to secure the resources needed to conduct the project as well as reflect the residents' views and the policies of both central and local government.

Practitioners' relationships with politicians can be divided into three categories: an 'active group', an 'active and passive group' and a 'negative group'. The active group is the group of practitioners who actively sought to utilise politicians and political situations as a means to address community issues during parliamentary or other elections. This group was also active in seeking collective action to address community issues. The 'active and passive group' is practitioners who led residents to make contacts actively with politicians to cope with community issues. But once the issues are resolved, practitioners are not active in connecting with politicians. And they also have little interest in guiding residents' collective actions to improve community issues. The 'negative group' is composed of practitioners who place little value on political activities such as making contacts with politicians and collective actions. This group requires residents not to be involved in political activities.

One Centre, the *Kang Nam,* which formed the first type of relationship with politicians, played an intermediary role in providing a public meeting space that facilitated dialogue between local people and political candidates who ran in the 2004 local election as a strategy to politicise community issues. This Centre provided a public meeting place where a member of the elected parliament and residents could exchange their opinions. This Centre's practitioners were active in relating to the politicians in that they provided opportunities to enable the empowering of residents' over a policy aimed to cope with community issues. The group of practitioners in the *Kang Buk,* the *Hwa Jin,* the *Won Min* and the *Dong Sun* reflected the second group of those who on occasion tried to use politicians to get assistance from local or central public agencies linked to their practical work, but like the former group, they

seldom empowered residents' capacity through networking between them and politicians. This group also used a local councillor who represented the area in which the apartment complex was located. The third is the group of practitioners in the *Min Ju,* the *Young A,* the *Noh Hyun,* and the *Hyun Dae* who did not foster contacts with politicians. A participant (Gong) said that "I made efforts not to have a relationship with political parties and politicians." The reason for this is that practitioners wanted to avoid residents misunderstanding the political significance of such activities. Next, they do not wish to risk mistrust from residents who were antagonistic towards politicians and their policies. The other is that they demonstrate their integrity by avoiding a 'dual position'. A dual position means that they themselves are likely to intervene in political activities while they require residents involved in their organisations not to take part in political activities relating to an election and a political party.

They also required residents in community organisations not to engage in political activities such as campaigning for candidates. Such political activities could cause an antagonistic relationship between residents due to political differences. This could result in the collapse of the organisation and so was to be avoided. A practitioner introduced the example of a politician seeking to use the members of TRC as their election campaigners or staff in a local election.

> Anyway, political candidates who run for office approach the current
> organisations thinking that they can get help to mobilise several organisations.
> When they heard that the organisation has a lot of influence over people, they
> tried to employ its members as staff in their election campaign office. Two
> representatives of tenants became involved in the campaign. Because they worked for
> a different political parties, they [representatives of residents] physically
> fought each other. As a result, one of the two did not attend the TRC.(Kim)

Evaluation and task: community networking

Practitioners involved in the CEP sought to overcome the weaknesses of traditional practice by widening the scope of contacts and networks. However, community practitioners of DCWCs and WNGOCs utilised different networking activities and displayed some similar ones as shown in Appendix VII-1(p.324).

Practitioners in DCWCs and WNGOCs and research by Kim, Kee-sick (2001) and Kim, Kung-hee (2005) pointed out that Korean community welfare centres, which did not take part in the project of CEP, were not active in developing connections with nearby CWCs and WNGOs. Especially, community welfare centres in SK tried to avoid an alliance with WNGOs, even though some workers acknowledged the necessity for this[6]. In Taylor's terms, they are active in creating bonding social capital by networking with internal groups within communities. But they are passive in creating bridging social capital by networking with WNGOs and other CWCs. Korean community welfare centres and their chiefs need to change their position and their use of networks in order to shift the paradigms of practice from clinical or technical practice to an emancipatory one.

Strengths of practice in establishing networks can be summarised as follows. Practitioners performed networking activities with influential groups like TJBJ through organising work. Networking with TRCs was developed by making contacts through formal and informal meetings and offering educational programmes, while not infringing their prestige and power. They reduced antagonistic relationships between residents and the apartment management office by playing mediating roles. Additionally, the *Dong Sun* helped to create a networking structure which enabled residents to become involved in the TJBJ through transformative practices that changed the TJBJ as an institution. But this practice had limitations because it was practitioner-centred rather than resident-centred. In networking with political groups, the *Kang Nam* conducted 'political practices' by offering opportunities for dialogue to residents and mobilising politicians to receive funds. The WNGOCs acted more actively in connecting with politicians. But most DCWCs were careful because they had been supported by local and central government and were subject to political control. Thus, the WNGOs are less dependent on funds from government so they have more autonomy. This enables practitioners to make contacts with political groups.

However, practitioners' networking practices also showed a few weaknesses. In a situation that fostered a conflictual relationship between residents and a TRC the practitioners need

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[6] According to the results of research about the barriers to cooperation between local community welfare centres and local (W)NGOs (Kim, K. S and Kim, K. H., 2005), the barriers that workers involved in this research suggested are: a tendency for each centre to want to be recognised for its achievements in networking activities; a perception of loss of the welfare centre because (W)NGOs are financially poor and have few resources; differences in dealing with work affairs; lack of understanding by the CWC chief; and the fear of political misunderstanding in that residents can evaluate a network with (W)NGOs as political activities . The second and fifth of these are barriers that participants of this research did not mention.

skills and capacity to distance groups in the conflict situation. Additionally, most participants failed to build trust by creative active and sustainable networking with powerful groups that impacted upon the centres with resources, funds and information.

From the perspective of a modified Western model, most participants were not active in fostering linking social capital by networking with policy makers, service providers and politicians who could help them realise the objective of the CEP. For instance, when practitioners found perceptual gaps between CCK and themselves, they needed activities to negotiate their way. After confirming a difference of positions, they downplayed durable networking activities that used social capital to conduct 'critical dialogue' with external power groups. When considering resources and information that the power groups have, practitioners should develop skills and capacities to build "linking social capital" with power groups through networking and negotiate differences of opinion between them. Such skills and capacities help them construct common interests by linking social capital. Furthermore, when considering the fact that most Centres failed to have sustainable relationships with powerful groups, the skills and capacity to strengthen linking social capital can be regarded as intellectual resources that empowerment practitioners develop.

Community practitioners of the CEP face a double-edged sword in connection with political groups or policymakers. One is a situation whereby they use them to acquire resources needed to empower residents and change communities. The other is that when they use them, it can create a situation of the 'dark side' that leads to conflicts between key members or organisations, which could bring out the breakup of an organisation because of their different political positions, especially before and after an election. As SK has had a political culture in which politicians try to employ community-based organisations with its leaders and members, most community workers took a position that restricted residents' engagement in political activities due to being concerned with potential negative results. Despite this condition, empowerment practitioners have to connect with politicians in order to obtain resources and change the social structures in which they are embedded. It may be a challenge for practitioners to tackle this contradictory situation.

Consequently, practitioners have to develop skills and capacities that transfer from networks for bonding social capital within communities to networks for strengthening bridging social capital across communities. Networking fostering bridging social capital between CWCs and

WNGOs is needed as a strategy in order to overcome their weaknesses in doing community work. The former groups are accustomed to technicist approaches through fostering bonding social capital within communities, whereas the latter group are used to transformative practice approaches that build bridging social capital with communities (Kim, 2005). If both organisations are to implement good practice for the CEP in SK, they will need bridging and linking social capital to establish a network involving CWCs, WNGOs and powerful groups at the local, regional and national levels.

Finally, they had little interest in work aimed at widening the horizons of networking on the global level that can share and develop knowledge, skills and training derived from the CEP. Alliances developed through global networking are able to put questions concerning problems reproduced by other sectors of society on the agenda in a fresh, imaginative and critical way (Martell, 2010). This is another challenging task for effective networking. I will next turn to the issue of community participation.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Empowerment practice enables people to possess the power to control their lives. Community practitioners can help them achieve it by providing spaces for them to participate in acquiring the knowledge, skills and resources they need to build empowerment. Thus, for community practitioners, attracting residents into the spaces to build this capacity is regarded as significant work in the CEP (Craig, 2003; Adams, 2008). In this section, I explore the barriers to residents' participation. Practitioners' perceptions of these barriers and the ways that workers enabled residents to become involved in programmes and in the process of decision-making are examined, and then evaluated.

Barriers to, and improvement of, participation

The definition of community participation used in this section means that it takes place where communities work to enable residents to be actively involved in the process and activities that have the potential for action and change (National Community Forum, 2006). The project had the potential for different types of participation but residents did not become involved in these. One of them is participation in which residents have an impact on decision-making processes by being able to express their own opinions when attending meetings of the TRC.

The other is participation in which they work collectively to achieve their needs. But most residents attended the programmes practitioners provided. This meant "attendance-participation" whereby they attended meetings to listen and see rather than to actively participate in making-decision (Plummer and Taylor, 2004).

The factors inhibiting residents' active participation can be identified from research participants' opinions. Firstly, from the psychological view, there is a fear that others could blame them about the outcomes arising from their participation. Next, from the socio-psychological view, a lack of community ownership that stems from a lack of consciousness of their locality whereby residents do not want to live in the public rental apartments because of the negative stigma associated with them. Thirdly, from a social-economic viewpoint, residents are too busy working for survival so that spending time to participate in the CEP might hamper this. From a cultural perspective, because people mistrust the activities of the TRC, perceiving it as an organisation that produces conflict, people do not become involved in it. Finally, there is an institutional factor that highlights the absence of incentives or rewards for participation such paying for the cost of participation by residents.

A fifth factor was identified as the following:

> As they [residents] have living difficulties due to poverty, participation may be something of a barrier in working for the livelihood of their family. There were many cases when a wife prevented her husband from becoming involved in community affairs. Taking part in a meeting would create a burden for her. Being unable to work to attend the meeting caused quarrels between husband and wife. (Soo)

Most residents lived in conditions that made it difficult to take part in community affairs because they work long hours. However, rather than acknowledging the barriers caused by economic conditions, a practitioner attributes the main barrier to their participation to a lack of active citizenship and concern about communities. She (Kyung) remarked that paying for their involvement could assist in recognising this problem. The CCK regulated the activities of the centres and did not reward members of a TRC or residents as paid volunteers. When considering the situation where tenants' representatives want help with the cost of participation (Choe and Lee, 2001), it is important to take account of how hard it is for most

residents to participate in the processes of decision-making. Thus, involvement without pay places residents in a position of having to forego other paid opportunities to provide for their families. Next, I examine the ways in which practitioners encourage residents to become involved in the programmes.

Participation through festival events

Most Centres used a festival event as a convenient way to persuade residents to become involved in community activities. They also mentioned that these offer residents enjoyment and entertainment. The event is regarded as a type of "attendance-participation" whereby many residents could physically attend community activities and also be encouraged to freely express their views and feelings. The event can move residents away from a low level of participation to 'participation at a higher level'.

The festival event provided opportunities for practitioners to act as facilitators who enabled residents to make decisions about activities undertaken in their communities. The event also offered an opportunity to mobilise many communities as well as to make decisions about the level of neighbourhood governance, and it also offered a significant momentum capable of developing people's feel for, attachment to, or inclusion in their community by sharing profits from the event with all residents. Thus, in the perspective of the CLEAR model of participation, the event played the function of "Like to" by improving participation and fostering a sense of attachment that reinforced participation (Lowndes et al., 2006).

These positive aspects of the events were described by DCWC practitioners. A practitioner in the *Kang Nam* argued that a festival event helped residents and people in neighbouring apartment complexes to change their negative image of the rental apartment communities. However, practitioners in WNGOCs (the *Won Min,* the *Doo San,* and the *Dong Sun*) felt that the event did not enhance participation (see the section on making contacts in Chapter 6). This could lead residents to passive participation where most people would not influence the decisions made about the event. And this can be also inherent in the characteristics of one-off participation exercise that residents only attend one or two times without becoming further involved in decision making.

Participation through building trust

Other practitioners emphasised the creation of trust between workers and residents to elicit participation. Practitioners built organisations that raised issues in which residents could satisfy their needs. Before and after creating such organisations, workers endeavoured to arrange a trust development meeting for friendly communication as a way to build trust and understand residents' needs. A participant (Song) said, "To get such meetings we worked night and day." Without forming this group, he argued that the residents' participation would be impossible to achieve.

This position suggests that practitioners should focus on obtaining residents' confidence by making contacts with them and building trust before they conduct programmes about community learning and organisation. The ways to create trust advocated by a therapeutic approach focus on changing the clients' state of mind, e.g., by enhancing self-esteem, and improving interpersonal relationships. In this, residents' lack of trust is deemed their low levels of self-esteem. As a way to enhance it, a participant (Song) suggested that a worker strengthens residents' attachment to their community by differentiating it from other communities.

Residents have a 'strong sense of refusal or fear' about the words 'organising' (*Jo Jik Hwa*), 'consciousness' (*Ui Sik Hwa*), and 'participation' (*Cham Yeo*). They also dislike the word 'organising' because for some, it has connotations of fighting between a TRC and residents. Practitioners also regarded those terms as language with meanings which social activist groups used to resist authoritarian governments during the 1970s and 1980s. To diminish a fear of participation and encourage residents to become involved voluntarily, fostering trustworthiness should not be underestimated in community empowerment projects. All practitioners in DCWCs and WNGOCs acknowledged that building trust between residents and workers is a basic condition that enables residents to be involved in CEP. This does not differ from the Western model of Taylor's empowerment tree (Taylor, 2003) in which he argued that the first step in empowerment is to build the confidence of the people who lived in excluded communities.

Participation through feedback

A feedback process enables residents to respond to practitioners' interventions by enabling them to raise their concerns. Community residents engaged in a feedback process in several ways: boosting residents' self-esteem by publicising residents' activities in a local newsletter, e.g., when residents or small groups performed good deeds for neighbours in the *Kang Buk*; writing a letter or songs for them to form friendly relationships between them, when residents proposed ideas to address community issues; and encouraging residents to become involved in activities by taking part in them together, e.g., when they engaged in activities to clean an apartment complex early in the morning. Practitioners from the *Hwa Jin and* the *Noh Hyun* took part once a month to encourage them and support activities to help residents' with private matters, e.g., attending ceremonies of congratulation and condolence (all Centres). A community worker introduced the possibilities of feedback as follows:

> We embraced it [the way to strengthen participation] with feedback…
> Someone should help neighbours to fulfil the need for them to be recognised
> by other people. With this idea, we approached residents in various ways…
> The ground in which we mobilise many people is, I think, a strategy for different ways
> of feedback. We did not use a traditional method saying "thank you"
> to residents who become involved in programmes. Instead, we responded to them
> at a time and place that they did not expect. We wrote many letters to them
> and sometimes attached them to the doors of their house, or made a song for them.
> (Won)

In the CLEAR model, the feedback activities can be included as factors of "Responded to" that encourage people to participate sustainably when they are listened to (not necessarily agreed with) and are able to see a response. By doing follow-up activities, practitioners enabled residents to become involved in community issues that affect their lives.

Participation through education and organising work

Another strategy to encourage participation is an educational programme in which residents visit other public rental apartment complexes. By providing the opportunity of field learning for community leaders and residents by visiting other communities where active participation

occurs, the practitioners could enhance residents' motivation for participation and encourage key leaders to improve the affairs of the communities they worked with.

The field visits were conducted once or twice in the second or third year in most centres. These visits could give a few leaders temporary motivation for participation. In the CLEAR model's terms, these activities belong to the "Can do" category of people who have resources such that they are able to take part in community issues. However, such education might not be enough to get both a "scaling out and up" of participation (Gaventa, 1998) because education was conducted as a 'one-off' event for key leaders in the communities.

In the ways to build kinds of organisation, practice can affect residents' participation. In the CLEAR model, the existence of organisations or networks that can support participation is vital to the vibrancy of participation. The WNGOCs that focused on practices to empower TRC activities provided the conditions whereby a few representative tenants participated in the process of decision-making. This practice could restrict opportunities for other residents to get involved by creating their own groups. The DCWCs that focused on activities to build up both a representative organisation and small groups that developed specific talents fostered an environment that allowed residents to build up the quality and quantity of participation. Those who engaged in small groups attempted scale-up activities of participation that attracted new members to their own camp to maintain and develop their organisation. Creating small groups can contribute to an increase of quantity in participation. Until now, it has introduced strategies for practitioners to encourage residents to be involved in invited space. Next, I highlight political participation in which tenants conduct collective action or political activities in order to address community issues.

Participation through raising community issues

Enhancing residents' participation is a method whereby practitioners enable residents to be aware of community issues by arranging public meetings and offering them information. In the networking activities of political groups, Korean practitioners in CWCs who were not involved in the CCK project were disinclined to engage in activities that built up the political capacity of residents in order to minimise side-effects brought about by their potential involvement in political campaigning events. Despite this, practitioners from Seoul Centres

attempted advocacy to encourage residents to get involved in collective action that raised community issues.

In networking with political groups, the *Kang Nam* used a political election as an opportunity to enable residents to raise political consciousness of community issues and judge political candidates. Practitioners in the *Kang Nam* provided a public meeting where residents expressed their opinions, and political candidates proposed their opinions and answered questions. Such meetings create invited spaces of participation where residents can express their opinions and discuss with political candidates, in an "expression and discussion of participation" (Plummer and Taylor, 2004).

There was political participation in which residents conducted collective action to address community issues they face. Here, collective action means that representative residents of the community demonstrate and present opinions of people to agencies relating to the issues raised. This participation occurred once or twice in some Centres where practitioners raised issues. The issues were mainly tasks and concerns that they wanted to be resolved in the community. Practitioners hoped that addressing community concerns would attract residents' interest, and offered a space for public meetings where residents could express their opinions and hold discussions about forming an association. The practitioners gave them information about the association, encouraged them to become involved in its activities and identified the agencies which had the power to resolve their issues. As a result of these interventions, residents would be able to achieve their goals such as the construction of an ecological park within an apartment complex (the *Kang Buk*), the construction of a community centre for a *Kong Bu Bang* (the *Won Min*), curbing an increase in the private cable TV licence fees (the *Noh Hyun*), the construction of a community centre for older people called *Kyung No Dang* (the *Doo San*).

Issues around the Seoul city government's reform of PPRACs[7] were problems related to residential rights because it proposed to eliminate long term tenancies. Thus, practitioners of

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[7] The Seoul city government has responsibility for the construction and management of permanent public rental housing. It tried to reform the ordinance governing rental housing to limit the period for which a residential tenancy could be held. In it, residents who were not benefit recipients and had been residents for more than ten years up to 2003 would be removed. The intention for this change was to give opportunities to other people who want to live in the house and necessitated the withdrawal of rights from people who were staying for long periods. The *Hwa Jin and* the *Won Min*, which worked with PPRACs, were involved in the movement against the reformation of the ordinance. As a result, residents produced outcomes that preserved their rights. But the

both centres gave information about the issue and enabled residents to become involved in a social movement against the reform. A participant described this process as follows:

> Residents came to know their power in the process of discussing the
> issues of residential removal. Some people that were involved in it created a
> 'committee for coping with the removal'. The committee led the activities of
> allying with other organisations to resist the reformation ordinance. As a
> result, residents obtained the outcome that preserves their tenancies indefinitely. (Lee)

These collective activities can be viewed from the perspective of Fook's (2002) four processes of empowerment practice. By raising community issues and having a dialogue in public meetings, residents learn about the causes of a problem. In Fook's terms, they conduct "deconstruction and resistance" by questioning those who hold power, although only a few residents participated. I will now turn to the evaluation and task on community participation.

Evaluation and task: the improvement of community participation

Although there were a few barriers to participation, practitioners brought about some progressive outcomes through various initiatives. For example, in a festival event, workers enabled residents to come into the 'open space' of community. The event provided them with an opportunity for tenant representatives, workers, and stakeholders of communities to discuss things relating to it. Participation in a festival event can operate as a 'springboard' for SK's community empowerment project. Asking for feedback shows interest in participants' views and is an attempt to build trust with them and conduct educational programmes that strengthen their motivation to participate. It is also a strategy to maintain or reinforce participation. Political participation resulting from practitioners raising community issues achieved the outcomes that residents wanted to accomplish. The outcomes and process through which these were obtained resulted in community empowerment in that they were created not by individual activity, but collective action within organised communities. Participants raised issues and offered space for discussion that enabled residents to participate. These activities allowed them to create an organisation to address the issues and made them attempt transformative practice. As strategies to build capacity in participation and lessen the

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Kang Buk did not become involved in it because residents did not want to take part in the movement. The practitioner of *Dong Sun* took part in it because he acted as a leader of the 'Organisation for Korean Public Rental Housing'.

fear of it, an emphasis on fostering trust among centres, practitioners and residents at the beginning of the CEP may be a strategy that responds to Korean reality whereby governments have regarded groups and individuals opposing government policies as objects for sanction (Cheo, 2009).

When I evaluated practice to build participation from the perspective of the CLEAR model, I found that participants conducted activities of the "Like to" type whereby participation can be improved by fostering a sense of attachment and identification through holding festival events. They also conducted acts of "Asked to", which are mobilised by practitioners' demand to engage, that encouraged residents to participate decision-making through publicity activities and making contacts by face-to-face meetings. Their follow up activities for residents were of the "Responded to" type, by which residents see evidence that their view and activities have been considered and recognised. These were attempts to sustain residents' participation. The practices whereby practitioners raised community issues and offered educational programmes to visit established apartment complexes enabled residents to have the appropriate resources for participation. This includes the element of "Can do" whereby residents have resources and knowledge to participate. Although they differed in the degrees of participatory practice, most of them conducted activities that are close to categories of the CLEAR model. But there were no sustainable activities of the 'Enabled to' type whereby participation becomes revitalised when residents have the networks and organisations that support participation and provide a communication route for decision makers or between a TRC and residents.

The DCWC and WNGOC practitioners exposed differences and similarities in enabling residents to become involved in the CEP. They commonly emphasised building trust between residents and practitioners. Differences and similarities building means of building trust were identified in making contacts with residents, creating organisations, implementing educational programmes and establishing a network. In this, the DCWCs brought about more effective participation by festival events than the WNGOCs, except for the *Kang Nam.* The practitioners in WNGOCs were critical of residents, e.g., complaining about the passiveness of residents, their lack of interest in participation and failure to aspire to decision-making (Song) and highlighted its unsustainable effects (Kyung and Soo). The *Kang Buk* and the *Hwa Jin* used feedback to produce sustainable involvement. I suggest that such differential practice stems from practitioners' attitudes (e.g.,Won and Lee) that sought to move away

from traditional Korean-style community work in developing a community profile, creating organisations, and promoting community participation. Raising issues to encourage participation was used by workers in both centres.

The practitioners in WNGOCs (the *Kang Nam*, the *Won Min* and the *Dong Sun*) were more active in that they enabled residents to become involved in political spaces or social movements to change policies through collective action and public meetings. Those activities came from the tradition of the WNGOs that acted to change government policies for poor people (Kim, K.H., 2005), e.g., the construction of public rental housing by Roh Tae-woo's government. Another factor focuses on perceptions of the position of practitioners. A participant (Soo) identified his position as a social activist, saying that social workers in community welfare centres are not suited to community organising work because they have carried out caring activities for vulnerable people (Nam, K.C., 2006). Most local DCWC workers had little interest in political issues. The reasons for this can be found in the fact that Korean welfare centres do not want to form a network with external agencies. Consequently, it is important for Korean community practitioners to perceive the value, knowledge, and skills for enhancing participation through organisations, learning and networking needed for effective community empowerment.

CONCLUSION

Although practitioners attempted to overcome the traditional learning style typical of the banking educational approach in their educational practice, they rarely conducted sustainable programmes aimed at developing critical consciousness and active citizenship. In networking activities, some Centres located in Seoul implemented a practice beyond the boundary of a particular community. However, the Centres in local regions were not as active in networking with political power groups and (W)NGOs (meaning WNGOs and NGOs) as those in Seoul. Korean practitioners and chiefs of welfare agencies have rarely built effective social networking beyond their boundaries and this may be rooted in competitive culture among the centres and the absence of dialogue as part of an egalitarian relationship. The Centres endeavoured to promote participation through various activities that aimed to overcome barriers, e.g., fostering trust, following through on actions and raising issues. But it was difficult for participants to find practice that improved participation amongst vulnerable

people in the community. In the next chapter, I will examine the outcomes of, and reflection upon, their empowerment practice.

CHAPTER 8

EVALUATING OUTCOMES AND REFLECTION:
THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

The evaluation of practice is regarded as integral to the process of community development and has a key role in collective action. Barr and Hashagen (2000:17) argue that "evaluation is a key to effective practice" in community work. Craig (2003:3) also argues a variety of rationales for the evaluation of effectiveness, accountability, and the resources for change while at the same time identifying the negative faces of evaluation, "either as a means of undermining programmes which funders might want to abandon or delay the policy process."

In this chapter, I evaluate the outcomes of the practice during the entire three years of the project. My evaluations are based on statements made by interviewees. I analyse these in terms of how practitioners reflect upon their activities after completing them. This work is included as the section on reflection because it contributes to creating a prefigurative Korean model of CEP. The outcomes of the project are explored in the next section.

OUTCOMES

The outcomes of practitioners' interventions will be highlighted using "the three dimensions of community life" based on the work of Barr and Hashagen (2000). These are: the "personal and psychological dimension" which means personal empowerment such as an increase of self-awareness, belief in oneself, and self-esteem, as well as a sense of individual rights; "positive action" for changing the neighbourhood and community; and "community organisation" whereby practitioners built organisations that are recognised as part of the "community infrastructure". I also analyse the outcomes of participation and involvement and finally other outcomes that practitioners suggested, while keeping in mind Craig's measuring elements of community empowerment. I will now start to analyse personal/psychological outcomes.

Personal/Psychological aspects

The aspect of personal empowerment that practitioners suggested is an enhancement of residents' self-esteem. The people had the feeling of improving their self-confidence by engaging in various positive actions like activities for improving the physical environment. The enhancement of self-pride motivates them to attend community activities and acquire confidence in interacting with neighbours. Residents showed an increase of 'awareness of people's self-worth' which was described by the *Won Min* and the *Kang Buk*. In other words, helping people to gain self-awareness enables them to alter their perspective in understanding the world and thereby change their mind about their status in life. A participant (Won) described this as follows: "If I express residents' words, they said that by understanding the world they can change."

Another outcome is an increase in the level of claiming 'individual rights'. At the earlier stage, individuals had a low level of self-esteem. But after launching the CEP, residents gradually reached the level where they were able to demand their rights as residents by getting knowledge and information about those rights.

> Residents began to seek their own right. Even though they rarely conducted
> aggressive activities, those who did such a thing were few. They made great
> changes in order to get their rights.(Kyung)

Some residents who became involved in small organisations, e.g., a youth group in the *Noh Hyun,* acquired the knowledge and information they needed to evaluate the activities of a TRC. As Jin commented:

> At the time the CEP ended, some youth residents and members of a
> Women's group had come to know the problems of a TRC.
> Some of them tried to take part in it. Residents gradually shared the problems.
> And we[workers] heard that there were increasing numbers of people who
> thought the TRC should change.(Jin)

On the personal level, residents had demonstrated outcomes of improved self-esteem, self-value, obtaining knowledge about their rights and community issues. Some research

participants (Song, Kyung, Won, Lee) argued that quantitative methods are difficult to apply to these outcomes and so qualitative methods are needed in order to evaluate them (Craig, 2003). One of them said:

> They told me that voluntary activities for improving children's learning
> ability enabled them to get a feeling of happiness rather than earning money.
> Quantitative evaluative survey methods cannot measure those, but qualitative
> methods by interviews can identify them.(Song)

Positive actions

Positive actions refers to residents' actions that can contribute to achieving the objectives of the CEP such as enhancing residents' capacity to address community problems, promoting integration amongst residents and surrounding communities, and establishing equal relationships between residents and the apartment office and the Centres including the DCWCs and WNGOCs, as a result of conducting the CEP. Positive actions can be categorised by various outcomes to bring about the changes that the practitioners sought. First is an enlargement of residents' own voices about community issues that may result from enhancing their consciousness. Although only a few residents engaged in such acts, they gained a capacity to express problems that arose from the programmes that the DCWC offered. "When they felt dissatisfaction concerning the affairs of the community, they went to meet representatives of the apartment complex and asked them to change them" (Kyung). Those who previously had little interest in the community had changed into people who were trying to make their voices heard. Their willingness to argue for their rights may be activities that challenge power differences in existing power relationships. The WNGOCs argued that their practitioners produced new TRCs and enhanced residents' consciousness of their right to manage the apartment complex by creating TRCs and empowering themselves.

> When there was no TRC in the community, the apartment management
> office exercised power over residents. However, after creating the TRC,
> the residents addressed the apartment office having acquired the consciousness of
> community ownership.(Kim)

There is a strength in self-help activities that creates an independent capacity amongst residents in the communities. This means that they changed from being passive beneficiaries into attempting to build self-competence (Gong). In the *Won-Min*, mothers created an 'independent private learning space' called *Kong Bu Bang* where they taught their children, while working in it as voluntary teachers. Rather than sending them to a private academy school, they sent their children to the community centre of learning. A participant (Song) argued that residents built up the capacity of local self-determination in addressing the educational problems of their children through the organisation. Another positive outcome was a change in the exclusionary attitudes towards 'outsiders'.

> In the past, we got the feeling that they tried not to hear what we and the others
> said. Now, they made fewer impudent responses to us, even though they did not
> change greatly.(Song)

A positive change is that of reducing disagreements between the residents and the apartment officials, which occurred in the *Doo San and* the *Kang Buk*. When the people recognised how it worked for them as stakeholders in the community, they altered their attitudes from fighting it to a dialogue that required the apartment's representative association to address their needs. The change towards positive action was an improvement in the health and safety of the community. An organisation for the improvement of the surrounding environment developed when practitioners initiated sustainable activities to clean up the area. A participant (Lee) described the outcomes as follows, "When compared to the amount of waste of three years ago, the current amount is certainly reduced. This may be a visible change." The visible outcomes such as a reduction in urination and of the amount of dumped waste were identified by most DCWCs. Especially, the *Kang Buk* made an 'artificial streamlet' capable of functioning as an ecological garden within the PPRAC, emulating apartments where middle class people in Seoul lived. As a result of these outcomes, they not only improved the physical environment of the community, but they could change their perceptions and attitudes towards their environment by observing and participating in it directly.

Then there are practices that can actualise a communitarian approach in which people can help each other to develop solidarity as well as take an interest in the neighbourhood. Interactions among residents were increased by providing various programmes such as

festival events, publishing community-newspapers, opening a development centre office, and offering opportunities for making contacts in small groups and attempts at community organising. Festival events extended the opportunities for interaction. One participant described considerable changes and compared exchanges between neighbourhood households now and those that prevailed three years earlier.

> Compared to three years ago, the great change is that first of all, there is harmony among residents. At the earlier stage, we found it difficult to imagine intimate conversation between residents. At that time, there was no event to make contacts with many people. And when they met, all participants were tired. Now, they easily can meet. When problems occurred, they discussed them with each other. Sometime, they consulted with us. These actions were different to how it used to be.(Kyung)

As a result of these actions, a participant (Jin) argued that after launching the project, the rate of residents' suicide seemed to diminish. "I wondered whether our project was a factor in this. I thought our work had impacted on it, even though I have little definite evidence." The worker considered empowerment practice as having had some influence on factors that could help prevent suicide. The improvement in the image of these communities through activities such as making community-newsletters and painting murals had impacted upon local communities. Such actions made a difference to others in the apartment complexes so that they contributed to enhancing residents' self-esteem as well as encouraging others to paint murals. Jung said this effect as follows: "More than 15 apartment complexes took part in mural painting."

There was an attitudinal change that shifted from authoritarian behaviours amongst community leaders to democratic ones, and focused on organisational change. The change occurred in managing meetings that followed rules and kept records. Furthermore, there was a fruitful outcome from rotating power when a woman, who had been president of a women's group for three years, handed over to another woman who had been educated in leadership skills in the *Young A*. There was increasing voluntary involvement (see Chapter 6). However, there were differences and similarities in the outcomes of personal empowerment and positive actions that the practitioners in the DCWCs and WNGOCs identified. These are summarised in Appendix VII-2(p. 325).

Practitioners in the DCWCs and WNGOCs achieved outcomes that built up self-esteem and determination through the CEP. They developed residents' personal capacities for community involvement even though each centre had different approaches. However, workers of both groups had clear differences in positive action. The WNGOCs produced outcomes of positive actions that strengthened residents' rights vis-a-vis the apartment office by creating a TRC and empowering people and their organisation's structure and culture. This minimised power differences between residents and the officers in the apartment offices thus contributing to the goal of the project to establish an equal relationship amongst them. In contrast, the workers of DCWCs brought out positive actions that addressed community issues like the improvement of physical environments, improving relationships with nearby communities, and influencing them by involving them in helping activities between neighbours. These positive actions were activities relevant to strengthening a capacity for community self-help. The DCWC workers mentioned few positive actions aimed at building rights of equality between residents and the apartment office and their centres. Neither did the WNGOCs talk about the positive actions of the DCWCs. The reasons why they gave rise to different outcomes are likely rooted in the tradition of practice in each agency, which is highlighted in Chapter 5, and their priorities in achieving the goals. These different outcomes noted in both groups can be found in activities of community organisations.

Community Organising

The evaluation of functions of community organisations looks at whether the organisations can function as a "community infrastructure" that residents trust; lead community development by supporting residents' participation; and provide a communication route to decision makers/ policy makers (Taylor, 2003). I call such organisations 'key organisations' because they function as a community infrastructure. The key organisations of each Centre are identified in Table 8.1. The criteria I used to choose the organisations are those set up during the practitioners' evaluation of their work, namely, that an organisation is trusted by residents; workers themselves acknowledge that an organisation could contribute to achieving the goals of the CEP project; the sustainability of the organisation or its continuation after the CEP was completed; and recognition of its organisational activities by external agencies.

Table 8.1: Key Organisations of Ten Centres

Centre	Key organisations
Kang Nam	2 TRCs in the two apartment complexes among 8 that the Centre was responsible for
Won Min	The organisation of *Kong Bu Bang* in one apartment complex among 4 that the Centre was responsible for
Doo San	1 TRC in one apartment complex amongst 4 that the Centre was responsible for
Dong Sun	Nothing amongst 6 apartment complexes that the Centre was responsible for
Kang Buk	A Committee for Creating a Happy Community through Residents' Participation (*Ju Sa We*)
Hwa Jin	*Sung San* Village Voluntary Group for Improvement of Physical Environment
Min Ju	Nothing
Young A	Helping Group Neighbourhood activity
Noh Hyun	A Group for Improvement of the Environment
Hyun Dae	1 TRC but was not sustainable after the period of the project

Activities of those organisations that each centre introduced were as follows. The *Kang Nam* that worked with eight apartment complexes reinvigorated two TRCs by holding political meetings and conducting an audit of utility bills. Two TRCs conducted sustainable activities after the ending of the CEP. The *Won Min* produced the organisation of *Kong Bu Bang*. This organisation brought about construction of 'the community centre for the improvement of children with learning difficulties'. The *Doo San* created a TRC in one apartment complex among four complexes that they took over. A TRC alleviated conflicts between residents and enabled residents to obtain rights. This built the hall for older people called a *Kyung No Dang*. The *Kang Buk* created an organisation called the Committee of Local People for Creating a Happy Community (*Ju Sa We*) that functions as a representative organisation like a TRC for residents. The *Hwa Jin and* the *Noh Hyun* fostered an organisation to enhance trust between residents by doing activities to clean the physical environment surrounding the apartments. The *Noh Hyun* presented the organisation's activities for improving the environment as a successful case in a conference of communities from across the country. The *Young A* created an organisation called the 'Helping Group of the Neighbourhood'. In this, people from the apartments voluntarily helped households needing care services. A participant of the *Hyun Dae* regarded a TRC as a key organisation, as it was trusted by most residents and neighbours in successfully conducting festival events and painting a mural. But the TRC was not

sustainable after completing the project. Both the *Dong Sun* and the *Min Ju* seemed unable to create a key organisation, though they formed several organisations (see Table 6.2 and 6.4). Centres' participants themselves acknowledged that they could not build sustainable organisations that were able to achieve the goal of the project.

In the above outcomes (Table 8.1), the observable point is that the WNGOCs selected the TRC as the key organisation except for the *Dong Sun* and the *Won Min*. In contrast, the practitioners in DCWCs selected the organisations that provided care services for residents and improving the physical environment of communities as their key organisations, except for the *Hyun Dae* and the *Kang Buk*. Thus, except for the *Kang Buk* and the *Won Min*, the WNGOCs produced project outcomes that strengthened residents' rights by creating a TRC and activating it to reflect their needs, whereas the DCWCs created small organisations to improve the physical environment of the community and help neighbours and other communities. These outcomes have an impact on the outcomes for residents' participation and involvement.

Community participation and involvement

Not all Centres reached a high level of community participation in which many residents influenced decision-making processes by direct participation in the TRC. Although most Centres built this as a key organisation, they failed to develop it as an organisation that supports residents' participation as active citizens and provides claimed spaces between residents and policy makers/politicians in order to achieve the goals of the residents' project.

When community issues are raised, the existing organisations in some centres organised public meetings to promote dialogue between residents and politicians or political candidates, e.g., the *Kang Nam*. Other Centres also led residents to be involved in organisational activities by raising community issues (see Chapters 6 & 7).

Additionally, there is increased residents' involvement, which I identified in the section on community organising (see Chapter 6). Although every Centre did not show progress, some Centres (the *Won Min*, the *Noh Hyun*, the *Kang Buk* and the *Young A*) showed increased resident involvement. The *Hwa Jin* and the *Noh Hyun* produced a snowball effect whereby the output of key members of the organisation attracted new members to maintain and

develop their organisation. But the *Doo San* and the *Dong Sun* did not achieve a positive outcome.

There were distinctions between the WNGOCs and DCWCs in the outcomes of participation and involvement. The WNGOCs, except for the *Won Min,* conducted practice to empower people by using existing TRCs or creating new ones. They produced outcomes that enhanced or scaled up to some degree residents' participation in the decision-making processes. But they could not bring about the outcomes of having organisations that secured sustainability and increased participation, as I identified in Chapter 6.

In contrast, the DCWCs fostered several kinds of small groups, while keeping peaceful relationships with existing TRCs and creating new a TRC or representative organisations for residents. These brought about positive outcomes that increased opportunities of involvement and participation in community activities. But the *Min Ju* and the *Hyun Dae* also revealed a lack of sustainability in residents' participation due to a conflict between a leader of a TRC and a practitioner (the *Min Ju*) and a lack of residents' active citizenship (the *Hyun Dae*).

Other outcomes

Practitioners mentioned other changes that occurred following the empowerment project. One of these is that many welfare centres and practical trainers who graduated from social work departments in universities took an increased interest in community work. After completing the CEP project, the number of trainees who wanted to engage in community work increased. A participant described this as follows:

> They [trainees] usually wanted to take part in the field of family and childcare
> work. They had little knowledge about community work because they did not
> have the information and knowledge about how to conduct it. Since then, they
> started to show an interest in the field of community empowerment. (Lee)

Community practitioners who engaged in empowerment practice have also obtained the opportunity to play role of lecturer who introduced others to community empowerment using their 'hands-on' experience and skills. Additionally, the *Kang Buk* brought about a change in workers' status by transforming non-regular workers into regular staff, with the result that the

centre received an outstanding award as the First Korean Community to be managed by the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Except for those in some Centres (the *Kang Buk and* the *Hwa Jin*), some community practitioners in DCWCs could not retain their jobs when their contract ended after three years. Furthermore, practitioners had become aware of the importance of 'integrative practice', which combines community care offering welfare services caring for clients with transformative practice that emphasises structural change and residents' rights as active citizens, by involving both WNGOC and DCWC practitioners in the CEP.

> Even though we [practitioners of WNGOCs and DCWCs] differed in the direction
> of practices at the beginning, we reached a common point that each entre should
> complement the others at the end. WNGOCs emphasised the practices of strengthening
> rights or the practices for initiating change. But later the workers of DCWCs
> acknowledged that we did not have enough capacity to follow the practices of
> WNGOCs, whereas WNGOCs' workers also recognised that the practices to improve
> care services for quality of clients' life are also needed. Thus finally practitioners in
> both centres have come to acquire similar ideas.(Won)

There were results which frustrated community practitioners, even though they had produced positive action. One of them broke up a TRC that they had formed due to conflicts between residents and the TRC's members over money, after the CEP ended. There was the unintended consequence of a lawsuit resulting from strong conflict between the chairman of a TRC and a women's association because a worker sided with the women's group. I discuss what practitioners themselves thought about their activities in the next section. Before analysing this, I will evaluate their outcomes.

Evaluation and task: outcomes of the project

For three years, community practitioners carried out activities that transformed residents' consciousness, changing it from one of low self-esteem into one of high self-confidence. Building residents' self-confidence is a basic approach to bringing about a self-help mind-set that helps poor people bring about change in their communities. They also fostered a dynamic force by encouraging them to seek their rights through creating a TRC. With guidance and the help of community practitioners, most centres created a TRC or other organisations as

part of a positive community infrastructure for community development except for two centres (the *Dong Sun* and the *Min Ju*).

Positive action, however, was limited mainly to a few participants who had been involved in programmes that the project on community empowerment had conducted. When the *Young A* carried out comparative research between its community and other apartment complexes, the complex practicing empowerment showed fewer differences than anticipated from apartment complexes without it[1](*Young A* Community Development Centre, 2005). These results mean that positive outcomes may be restricted to a few active participants who are involved in project programmes or who had frequent contact with workers. In the case of WNGOCs which focused on members of TRC and key people while downplaying activities to create small groups apart from the *Won Min*, their positive outcomes may be limited to a few people, rather than whole households. Thus, developing the practice that encourages many residents to get involved in programmes may be regarded as a significant task for community empowerment practitioners.

Practitioners in WNGOCs talked about positive outcomes whereby residents developed their own rights in managing an apartment complex through community ownership, an issue that workers rarely mentioned. Residents' positive activities to secure their rights were mainly directed towards the apartment office. Gaining rights is a step that shifts people away from being "residual citizens" who received charity as deserving supplicants and towards achieving a "citizenship of equals". But the WNGOCs rarely mentioned positive outcomes that improved the physical environment of communities and helped neighbours, whereas the workers of DCWCs did.

In contrast, the participants in DCWCs did not mention residents' right of equal relationships with service providers, even though they cleaned their physical environments and integrated with other communities through helping activities. I can interpret this as indicating that they had little idea of empowerment practices for the improvement of egalitarian relationships between service users and service providers. Rather than egalitarian relationships through the involvement of service users, they may want to keep harmonious relationships whereby their

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[1] The reason why there were differences between a community involved in the project of CEP and a community not involved in it was expressed by a worker (Myung). As only a few people engaged in CEP, it was difficult for their opinions to reflect those of the community.

centre gives residual provisions to service users in a philanthropic manner, so that residents receive care services and resources to keep such relationships going. These continue to reflect a practice that they are accustomed to−a traditional Korean approach based on a maintenance approach to social work rather than an emancipatory approach seeking to promote change at both personal and structural levels, even though they attempted a practice that could transcend the traditional community work.

Furthermore, although most participants created key organisations, these seemed to lack a sustainable political infrastructure that enabled residents to obtain active citizenship and raise critical consciousness about dominant power relations. They achieved the objectives of the CEP project (see Chapter 2:37) that improve residents' capacity for self-determination. But they rarely succeeded in achieving the objectives of developing participatory democracy and establishing egalitarian relationships between community practitioners and service users. Key organisations built in DCWCs also aimed to improve community care services and the physical environment of communities. These results may be rooted in traditional South Korean practice directed to a clinical approach and obtaining government funds to support the welfare centres.

As a method to measure the effects of CEP, it is necessary for an agency to develop a qualitative assessment for measuring the impact of the CEP. A few participants (Won and Song) pointed out the necessity of qualitative methods that measure the outcomes of the CEP. To give a more rounded picture of community empowerment, qualitative methods are needed because quantitative data cannot be used to access the richness of experience unless supplemented by qualitative data. Qualitative methods focus on the outcomes of personal empowerment and positive actions produced by the CEP such as residents' awareness, confidence, and independence, but are not easy to measure with numerical certainty (Craig, 2003). The centres that involved the CEP also should have known methods to measure such outcomes.

Considering the results of breaking up organisations, practitioners need to strengthen 'preventive practice' for reducing conflicts over money. After finishing the project, some organisations were not sustained. Some respondents (Kim and Kyung) argued that the main reason was a matter of money. If they reduce conflicts over matters of money, they will need

to think about whether they had taken sufficient steps in advance to minimise or prevent such conflicts. In the following section, I discuss what participants do to reflect upon their practice.

REFLECTION

Reflection is the process by which practitioners develop self-knowledge, their own values, the structural context of the work and the influence that these have on the work that they do, and to think of ways of making connections between theory and practice (Payne, 2005). This was considered a process of strengthening critical consciousness (Banks, 2008) or an element of complexity thinking as a way of coping with the complex situations facing social workers (Adams et al., 2005). Reflection is about practitioners examining what has happened or is happening in the process of practice. Reflexivity is sometimes used interchangeably with reflection to mean "making aspects of the self strange; focusing close attention upon one's own actions, thoughts, feelings, values, identity and their effects upon others, situations, and professional and social structures" (Bolton, 2005:10; quoted in Banks, 2008:140).

With these two concepts, practitioners' reflection is examined in this section. Here, their reflection is not analysis of practice while they implemented the CEP, but their reflections upon their activities amongst the data that they identified in the interviews after their project had ended. My analysis of their reflection is divided into four aspects. They are: reflection on what practitioners had learnt by being involved in the project or what Schön (1987) called "reflection-on-action"; reflection on what further action is needed to improve the project; reflection on practitioners' roles; and reflexivity through introspection over their own practices.

Reflection upon what practitioners learnt

What participants learnt by being involved in the project can be summarised as follows. They came to understand the concept of community empowerment. Most workers had known or heard little about it before they became engaged in its practice. Meanings of empowerment that they identified after finishing the project are the following: practice relating to individuals, organisations, community and aspects of policy. Empowerment was regarded as work facilitating an ability to practice self-determination. They understood it not only as a practice relating to the seeking of affirmation of residents' rights, but also a practice that

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enables residents to achieve a self-help attitude through the enhancement of individual consciousness and community ownership. It was interpreted as a sense of achievement capable of altering communities and recognising residents' self-value. They defined it as a practice to change communities through building trust among the residents and organising community, increasing residents' participation and enhancing residents' rights in identifying the issues of their communities. Finally, it is identified as an activity to solve community issues through organisation and collective power.

Their concerns regarding empowerment practice were on organisation, policy, self-determination, changing communities, participation, and collective power. Social workers with less experience of empowerment understood the concept of empowerment as a micro practice focusing on the enhancement of individual power and developing capacity for building human relationships rather than changing structures through a macro approach that included the local, national and global levels (Kim and Woo, 2002; Yang and Che, 2005). Practitioners who were involved in the CEP focused on the capacity to change individuals and communities through participation and community organising. This view is not limited to the individual psychological level but also involves a widening of the horizon of communities including the enhancement of individuals' capacities for decision-making, respecting him/herself and other communities, seeking to realise their own rights and trying to address their issues by building organisations.

Practitioners were aware of empowerment as a continuous process after finishing the CEP. They came to understand the fact that this goal could not be achieved within three years. A participant (Song) said, "In practice, I know that without altering residents' consciousness, just organising a TRC cannot solve issues in communities." Change of consciousness is a process of 'becoming', something that cannot be finished within a short period. They also realised that empowerment is difficult to implement in practice, because it does not give rise to the immediate outcomes that practitioners intended at an early stage. The gap between outcomes and practice offered a momentum for reflection by practitioners. They had learnt the importance of the value of residents' knowledge. Practitioners had not only found traits such as powerlessness, egoistic personalities and exclusiveness, but also the valuing of their knowledge to secure funds.

They had learnt about the policies on public rental housing and the characteristics of government servants. The policy made each resident live an isolated life in an exclusive and isolated space in which each tenant lived alone within the boundary of the home rather than living together with ordinary people in their community. Community practitioners came to realise that the bureaucrats had little interest in an 'inclusive housing policy' by which poor and ordinary people lived together in a general private apartment complex. Instead, they focused on having to meet the 3Es of management − economy, effectiveness, efficiency (Dominelli, 2004), through which to obtain more outputs with less inputs in the short term. A participant described a civil servant's position as follows:

> While acknowledging practitioners' commitment toward the CEP project, it is
> hard to reflect on the project and the policy because it had seldom
> produced as much evidential data as the funds invested.(Kim)

Consequently, practitioners underwent significant experiences by participating in the project. Their knowledge about empowerment practice extended broadly away from the micro-level of individuals to the macro-level of governmental policy and they experienced the satisfaction of moving towards the achievement of rights. Understanding empowerment as a process and perceiving the importance of residents' knowledge about their lives is a significant learning achievement for practitioners. They also could take a policy perspective and appreciate the differences of views between themselves and policy-makers. But they did not mention the importance of reflecting upon the gap between practice and practitioner's intentions and how to minimise this. The following section will analyse schemes needed to produce effective practice.

Reflection on further actions

Another activity of reflection focuses on what further actions are needed to make the project effective. The first proposal community workers suggested is to extend the duration of the project. All research participants pointed out the necessity of extending the time limit to produce effective outcomes. They argued that the period of the project should be set at a minimum five years or a maximum of ten years. Another one refers to ideas to achieve institutional change. One of these is a policy shifting from a private donor welfare foundation to a governmental supporting agency in order to conduct sustainable practices. Next, it

establishes an organisation that monitors and supports community welfare centres and practitioners in carrying out effective community empowerment as well as sharing knowledge about it. It also seeks to reform the law to make it a duty to have a TRC within public rental housing as occurs in general in private apartment complexes. These changes would require alteration of central government policies. They also argued the necessity of research for a systematic evaluation of the CEP. To develop the Korean model of community empowerment, a worker argued strongly for research into their practices and evaluations:

> We [practitioners] had known the necessity of research about the project from
> the start . But we did not have enough time to engage in it because
> we were busy carrying out the project. If I could do it again, I would be more
> likely to do evaluation.(Lee)

Reflection on their practices would have produced more effective outcomes, if practitioners had been given greater opportunity for this. They mentioned the necessity for developing guidebooks and textbooks that enable practitioners to acquire knowledge, information and skills about community empowerment. In addition, there is the security of practitioners' employment. Except for a few who worked as full time staff in the CWCs carrying out the CEP project, they were only employed for three years. Many staff resigned during the course of the project due to a fear of unemployment after three years and the low salary for workers. Many practitioners working outside Seoul resigned from local DCWCs. A participant described it thus:

> The total number of practitioners capable of involvement in the project was 29.
> But the over three years nearly 70 people were involved. Many workers
> left during these three years. So, without the security of employment,
> it is impossible to produce the good results that people expected.(Jung)

Reflecting on further action to improve practice and outcomes, they stressed the importance of moving away from a private donor agency to a government supported community empowerment model for public rental residents. This comes from an idea that the government could address several problems raised by practitioners such as the instability of employment and the short-term nature of the CEP. I will now turn to the issues of practitioners' roles.

Reflection on practitioners' roles

Practitioners' roles can be analysed from two angles: reflection on what roles or actions they thought indicated gaps or errors in their practice and reflection on the potential or ideal roles as they conducted the project. The practices that participants regarded as mistaken were activities where practitioners led residents to an objective that they had already set up to achieve within a stipulated time schedule. To use an analogy from international development, not teaching residents how to catch fish but giving them fish, i.e., making them more dependent on others. The practitioners often intervened to attain an objective and thereby hindered the development of residents' self-determination.

A participant (Jung) in a DCWC confessed to not having an advocacy role for change where they had not acted politically enough to mobilise residents collectively in a way that strengthened residents' rights, for example, "through demonstrations to public agencies". A participant in a WNGOC (Kim) also pointed out the lack of a sustainable mediating role for minimising conflict, due to the breakup of a TRC caused by conflict between members of the TRC and residents over the matter of money. Communication skills were mentioned. The workers sought to talk about their own affairs rather than communicating with the residents. One (Won) of them said, "Only the messages that I want to transmit were likely to be passed on to them." Furthermore, participants recognised that workers had limited interest in policies for the enhancement of the residents' lives and community development.

Despite the variety of community conditions, most participants prioritised their facilitative role, which enabled residents to help and support themselves to gain the power to control their own lives. This included acquiring knowledge, skills and information. A facilitator means being an enabler who activates, stimulates, supports and motivates residents to act for themselves by educating and organising them. They also pointed out an ideal role as a mediator who deals with conflict by showing the ability to understand both sides and helping people to build consensus. A participant (Won) argued that a community practitioner should play multiple roles such as an enabler, researcher and educator to find solutions that are tailored to the situation.

At the same time, they mentioned the features of a profession based on community empowerment. This profession is not a trouble-shooting broker who can resolve problems on

their own but contains expertise that tries to bring residents together to address these problems by working in partnerships that share 'power with' service users. Then, they can build the capacity to address the problems that service users encounter. This approach includes criticism of "traditional professionalism", which privileges practitioners' expertise over clients. It also means practice geared towards what Dominelli (2004) calls "the professional social worker" engaging in the "joint creation of new spaces" through egalitarian relationships between practitioners and clients or what Thompson(2007:55) calls "new professionalism" of social work which is seen as part of an ethos of partnership geared towards empowerment. Participants required community workers to act as professionals who had various kinds of knowledge and information and networks that could help them cope with their problems, e.g., knowledge about the law and life experiences. In addition, some of participants argued that a practitioner who carries out the project has to be a worker who has experience (including life experience) and has had substantial experience in the various settings of social work that a younger worker has yet to acquire. Since a public rental apartment complex has many older people living it, it is important to be capable of understanding their suffering. Unlike some people in Western culture, most Koreans have been influenced by Confucianism which stresses that older people should be respected. Thus, a senior worker could be an effective community worker. The following section will analyse activities of reflexivity.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity, which has an introspective orientation on values and ideas about practitioners' own practice, was conducted in the form of exploring whether their practices were functioning correctly or not. When practitioners faced a contradiction or dilemmas that had unintended consequences, one of them reflected upon this as follows:

> There was a case where I faced frequent dilemmas in the course of the practice. We [practitioners] wondered whether our actions produced progress or not. Despite my making great efforts to develop our apartment community, one resident threatened me, saying he will kill me and others threw a pack of ice at me. Having had these experiences, I reflected upon my own practice.(Won)

Another aspect of reflexivity that was explored was practitioners' own actions relating to the values of practice. This included the value of equality between a practitioner and service users. A participant (Kyung) described this as follows: "Despite often hearing the advice that a practitioner should not treat residents unequally and having kept it in mind, I came to realise that I did not treat them equally." A worker reflected upon the objectification of residents. There was reflection on whether a practitioner selected new forms of practice or retained a traditional form of practice that the CWC had become accustomed to. As the CWC established a labour union, a worker (Gong) of the *Min Ju* decided that the practice should be more progressive, requiring residents to criticise the programmes of the CWC and defend its advocacy role in bringing about change in the community.

In contrast, there was another type of reflexivity critiquing Korean 'traditional progressive practice' identified by another worker (Song). Some social activists of the 1970s and 1980s conducted activities that socialised residents into critical consciousness that opposed a regeneration policy implemented by an authoritarian government. In this period, social activists could raise critical consciousness and mobilise residents without building trust between them. After finishing the project, the participant came to know that a traditional progressive approach was no longer suitable to current community practice because there were many stakeholders in the community who had different interests about community issues. Once communities of interests were formed, various interest groups developed that made it difficult for practitioners to raise critical consciousness over the issues of concern to a community without establishing a community infrastructure on the basis of trust between residents and practitioners. Stakeholders stick to their own interests rather than obtaining new views. Before raising critical consciousness or following these of others, Song argued that it is necessary for a practitioner to ensure that the community infrastructures which enable stakeholders and practitioners to enhance and maintain trust are developed.

Most participants had an opportunity to practise reflexivity when they faced uncertainty and hardship in the processes of implementing reflective practice as a significant method to facilitate effective community work. They seldom explored their own actions together with supervisors and other participants, i.e., colleagues, as a mode of reflective practice. I will now evaluate the issue of reflection within this project.

Evaluation and task: reflection on practice

Practitioners had valuable experience and developed knowledge of the project as well as developing an understanding about the concept of community empowerment. They have come to understand the concept of community empowerment from a macro-perspective rather than as social workers with less experience of it. Although community empowerment practice is related to a democratic change of communities, they rarely understood the concept of community empowerment as a practice to develop community democracy. Their understanding focuses on the concept of empowerment shifting from the micro level of the individuals to the meso (national) level of community and government, which may mean a moving from traditional Korean practice into 'innovative practice' proceeding towards community empowerment at the broader levels.

Interviewees suggest alternative measures for carrying out effective practice while focusing on reforms of external agencies such as the central government and funding agency. But they did not refer much to the roles that universities as external agencies could play to support their capacity building and skills acquisition. They had little interest in the side-effects of such endeavours, e.g., the loss of autonomy that can result from government funding of community initiatives.

In reflecting upon their roles, they turn to the deficits in their own practice. While valuing their roles as facilitators, practitioners' perception that they need various roles that are tailored to the situations in communities and residents may be right. When the projects' emphasis on empowerment practices is considered, practitioners require more roles as advocates for changes to policy and the community's power structure along with their roles as facilitators. Yet, the facilitator's role was the one that they emphasised. This role would focus on enabling residents to develop self-help in the community or accept community ownership of their initiatives. Community empowerment practice demands that practitioners play the role of advocate whereby they encourage residents to become involved in structural change.

Some practitioners involved in the project claimed that workers valued the role of facilitator without advocating the enhancement of people's rights or changing oppressive structures. In this way, their practice can easily become part of the maintenance and therapeutic approach

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of community work. This can cause practitioners to neglect an emancipatory approach in community work (Dominelli, 2009). Therefore it is important for practitioners to build their role as advocates who argue for necessary change for the situations facing their communities.

If they do not have critical knowledge about the policy that emphasises the value of community self-help and advocate to alter it, they can fall into the 'trap of community development of self-help' that weakens the accountability of the state in developing their community (Berner and Phillips, 2005) or develop "technologies of the self" that nurture certain psychological characteristics – motivation, self esteem, confidence, entrepreneurship and self-development whereby they adapt to rather than challenge the limitations of a neo-liberal society (Jordan, 2004).

The position of community practitioners and professionals acting as 'co-producers' of empowering community practice by valuing working together is important in community empowerment. But most workers showed little evidence of partnership based on an equal relationship between practitioners and local people because only a practitioner is conscious of the lack of empowerment as a problem. Rather than an egalitarian relationship, practitioners working with older people accentuated the need for a senior worker as a community worker because she/he can sympathise with older people. This can be regarded as reflecting Korean Confucianism that stresses the value of harmonious relationships rather than egalitarian ones.

Practitioners need to strengthen their critical reflective practice and seek active engagement with new ideas to improve their practice. Critical practice includes work that interrogates the ideas, beliefs and assumptions which they use in their work and seeking alternative views and practices based on an assessment of and reflection upon their actions and experiences. In conditions that vary and often contain contradictory trends, it is difficult for them to implement transformational forms of community empowerment practice. Critical reflective practice is required. Although I raise the issue of reflection after the completion of the CEP project, reflection is needed not only in the final stage of the practice but throughout the whole process. This is because critical reflective practice is a holistic process wherein practice for enhancing emancipatory community work that resists and challenges the dominant oppressive structures and constructs possibilities for changing them is a crucial component of practice at all its stages (Fook, 2002, 2004; Dominelli, 2004; Adams et al., 2005; Mullays, 2002; Banks, 2007b).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have examined the outcomes of the CEP and reflect upon practitioners' practice during the three years that CEP lasted. They produced positive results that improved self-help in the community by developing residents' psychological characteristics, improving their participation and building networks through the formation of appropriate organisations. But they did not contribute much to the development of residents' rights and political consciousness to change power relationships within and beyond their community or to secure community infrastructures through increasing the quality and quantity of voluntary participation. Some participants recognised not only a lack of transformational practice in community work, but also a necessity to develop it.

Furthermore, they conducted innovative activities to overcome the limitations of traditional Korean practice in the course of implementing the CEP. I identify these features and compare them with those in the traditional Korean community work during my discussion of the research findings. These are summarised in Appendix IX-1, IX-2 and IX-3 (pp.327-30).

Although their innovative practice revealed insufficiencies in practising emancipatory community empowerment, practitioners offered a lot of clues about how to develop it in SK. In the next chapter, I highlight proposals for developing a Korean model of community empowerment practice based on their comments.

CHAPTER 9

TENTATIVE PROPOSALS IN THE CREATION OF A NEW SOUTH KOREAN MODEL OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

INTRODUCTION

My thesis aims to establish a prefigurative Korean model of community empowerment practice for poor people on the basis of my analysis of the community empowerment project. This chapter discusses the implications of my findings for community work in SK and the strategies that might promote a Korean model suited to the circumstances and the social culture of this country.

Before discussing strategies, I highlight briefly what I think are the Korean specific contexts needed to establish the South Korean model. The strategies have specific relevance to the Korean model. They can also apply to the Western model to some extent in that South Korea and Western countries are influenced by the global economy. The Korean contexts are summarised as follows:

- Underdeveloped knowledge, skills and information regarding community empowerment practice due to university education being influenced by American thinking about social welfare and the policies of community economic development led by authoritarian governments (see Chapter 2);

- Differences between WNGOCs and DCWCs in conditions, practice and values of community work (see Chapter 2, 5, 6,7 and 8,and Appendix VIII:p.326);

- Development of communities that are dependent upon top-down approaches of central and local government and semi-public servants (e.g., TJBJ) rather than the bottom-up approaches based on residents' participation;

- Strong mistrust about community organisations primarily due to the lack of transparent financial management;

- Authoritarian governments for over 30 years and an authoritarian culture formed by them to prevent people from criticising policies or participating in collective action to change oppressive structures

- Persisting cold war between South and North Korea whereby there has been a social-cultural climate in which dominant groups label those who are calling for active participation in decision-making, collective action for changing oppressive structures, and critical activities about government policies as communists and suggesting that such behaviours support North Korea. At the same time, these critics of empowerment practice are not willing to allow the values of diversity, difference, equality and genuine participation ; and

- The dominance of quantitative research methods, while qualitative ones are left underdeveloped (see Chapter 3).

Firstly, I discuss strategies that improve the CEP on the basis of my research results and specific situations in SK, and then suggest a Korean model of community empowerment based on Taylor's (2003) "empowerment tree", tailored to the S. Korean contexts of community work. In addition I highlight proposals to improve community work in the agencies and the relevant institutions by focusing on central and local government, private agencies and universities. In the concluding section I identify what may be learned from the strengths of a modified Western model and how its features may be adapted to Korean practice.

STRATEGIES TOWARDS DEVELOPING A PREFIGURATIVE KOREAN MODEL OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

Below, I suggest strategies based on my research findings that might help develop the Korean model. These draw on the ideas of Western scholars and Korean expertise and highlight the processes of practicing community empowerment.

Before and on entering communities

Korean community practitioners lacked community empowerment knowledge, information and skills. To complement knowledge, skills and information to support the CEP project, CCK arranged an orientation workshop as well as workshops every two months for one year. I evaluated these positively because the workshops enabled practitioners to share information and develop solidarity with each other. They had an opportunity in the workshops to learn

from each other by being involved in the project together with DCWCs' workers and activists from WNGOCs whose direction of practice was different. The workshops were discontinued after less than three years, which was too soon to create the space for learning needed to enable practitioners to carry out "critical and reflective practices" by sharing experiences. Before entering into communities in the first stage of the practice, the following strategies and principles need to be considered in regard to Korean practitioners' knowledge, skills and information.

Firstly, community workers need to know why the practices of community empowerment are important and to be introduced to models of community empowerment practice at the outset. This will enable practitioners to understand that community empowerment as a practice enables residents to acquire the capacity to change policies and resource allocations and make their own decisions while achieving self-development. The models could introduce them to three approaches to practice: technicist approaches which Korean CWCs have been accustomed to; transformation-oriented approaches that WNGOs have valued in community action for reforming policies; and emancipatory approaches that seek to change oppressive structures.

Secondly, the agencies that manage CEP need to enable practitioners to know the significance of values like social justice and equality in empowering communities before launching a community empowerment project. Learning the values needed to practise community empowerment is important for practitioners to transcend Korean traditional community work (see on the next section of setting up the values).

Korean practitioners have to be aware of the importance of the roles of advocate and facilitator in empowering a community. Through this research I found that most participants put weight on their role as facilitator. Advocacy should not be regarded lightly, as "representation" (speaking on behalf of the voiceless) and "mobilisation" (encouraging others to speak with the voiceless) are vital in community empowerment practice (Koggel, 2007).

In addition, the agencies enable practitioners to appreciate the importance of communication skills for contacting residents in the orientation stage. The skills that participants identified

that they needed were: hearing residents' stories[1] rather than speaking of their own stories; holding conversations with residents in their own languages; avoiding contentious issues like organising a TRC at the beginning stage because some residents regarded a TRC as a group that would fight with residents over financial matters.

Before conducting the CEP, it is important to introduce workers to criteria for measuring community empowerment practice. Participants in the research did not know how to evaluate their practices. When they understand them before they engage in an empowerment project, they more easily and effectively develop their approaches to empowerment. These tools will encourage good practice and help practitioners in deciding the priorities of practice at an early stage (Craig, 2003).

Building a 'learning organisation or supervision group' can help the empowerment practice from the outset. An environment that encourages learning and adequate supervision can be fostered by creating a learning organisation and supervisory support to strengthen good practice at the beginning. Practitioners in learning oriented environments gain the skills and knowledge to empower residents to understand, challenge and change the structure of their community (Fook, 2004; Jones, 2004). I will next turn to strategies of setting up plans, goals and values.

Setting up plans, goals and values

In the following paragraphs, I will propose strategies of setting up plans and goals, and setting the values.

Setting up plans and goals

Practitioners set up plans and values tailored to communities in order to reach the CEP project's goals. Most centres experienced a process of trial and error in the setting up of plans and goals because they had insufficient experience and information about them (see Chapter

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[1]Payne (1988) suggests ways to listen to community voices. They are: implying a responsive process in which social services respond actively to what is communicated; sharing the experience of articulating and communicating with members of the community; concentrating on geographical communities because experience of deprivation and oppression is often shared by people living close to one another; and securing a formal structure and organising means of communication for the community's voices.

5: 138-40). Conflict between donor agencies and practitioners in the process of setting up the plan and practice also caused problems. Furthermore, practitioners initiated plans and goals that were more challenging because some were seen as abstract and difficult to translate into the residents' language. Possible strategies to improve agreeing objectives, setting up, and planning are:

Firstly, WNGOs need to target one or two apartment complexes near to them because WNGO practitioners are not so easily identified with the wider community like the CWCs. Reducing the scale of their target area could provide more effective outcomes for WNGOs.

Secondly, WNGOs need to set up plans to minimise a negative reaction when holding festival events to establish rapport, as the *Kang Buk* in WNGOC evidenced. Their strengths lie in empowering residents to be aware of the problems linked to existing power relations and to initiate structural change by raising critical consciousness, an almost impossible thing for Korean community workers in CWCs to achieve. While this has advantages, practitioners in the WNGOs need to keep in mind not only Dominelli's advice (2004:93) that practitioners who seek to conduct a model of community action, should guard against "becoming embroiled in political controversies that may take them from the task at hand", but also Payne's dictum (2005:314) that "it is not empowerment that fails to provide the care services and the support that clients need."

A dialogue took place between donor agencies and welfare centres in setting up plans and goals. The conflict between donor agencies and the centres around planning and practice may not be resolved easily due to power differences between the two groups. By securing 'dialogue space', the different values and ways of practice between them could be better negotiated.

Setting abstract goals needs to be avoided by reflecting the needs and the language of the immediate community through setting goals with a committee of local people, and liaison with the relevant agencies. Abstract goals may result from the work of practitioners who have not involved local people. When residents take part in the process of goal-setting, abstract goals become concrete because local peoples' language, knowledge and their needs can be reflected in these. Chiefs of the centres ought to know this principle that participation, though a time-consuming task, when used successfully, can produce positive outcomes (Plummer

and Taylor, 2004). In a situation where centre chiefs take a top-down approach as decision-makers in implementing empowerment practices, it is impossible to involve service-users in setting up or planning organisations if these chiefs do not support a collaborative management approach. As a practical strategy to involve residents in planning, practitioners need to find a suitable way of getting management to support them. This can be considered by examining case studies of successful models of public involvement in planning[2] (Jackson, 2001).

Setting up the values

Setting up the values that underpin directions of practice is crucial in practising community empowerment. Research participants shared the values that they believed were suitable to a CEP project such as self-help, working together with residents, trust, participation, and equality. They added the values of responsibility to reduce conflicts caused by 'money matters' among fellow residents. These values were difficult to reflect within the whole processes of the practice. In addition, transformative values such as social justice that can be tailored to community empowerment were rarely mentioned, nor had there been discussions about advocating for a change of policies which force people to become poor. With the results of this research, I identify the values that are needed to complement effective community empowerment practice in SK, and then suggest strategies for achieving those values.

First was the value of 'trust' that most practitioners appreciated in conducting the project. Building and creating trust is an important value that operates as a catalyst that enables residents to be involved in programmes that practitioners provide. It also becomes a crucial resource for establishing a viable community infrastructure. However, trust does include some risks. Trust at a low level underpins behaviours that resist suggested programmes and exclude practitioners. For example, when an educational programme to build critical consciousness was implemented without first creating trust with a chief and other staff in the *Min Ju* Centre, the programme could not produce a positive result because of their

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[2]Korean practitioners could usefully refer to Jackson's (2001) model. It has five stages: the information stage which informs the general public of the pending plan; a public education stage in which the general public or participants involved become aware of issues; the test reaction stage which communicates with the public to test reactions and gather feedback; the generating ideas stage which generates creative ideas for plans from participants and external experts; and the seeking consensus stage which embodies collaboration and shared decisions for planning the CEP.

uncooperative attitudes. A high level of trust can also involve a risk that residents become too dependent upon practitioners, which causes a loss of a capacity to enhance residents' self-determination. Practitioners produced positive outcomes to improve the residents' capacity for self-help through fostering trust first. They, however, did not use it as a means to change the structures that wealth inequality reproduces and poverty perpetuates, while raising critical awareness about these matters; nor did they change the inequality between clients and the organisations; and nor did they help residents become agents or active citizens. In Dominelli's terms (2009), if building trust is not mobilised as a tool for structural change in implementing the CEP project, it will not become valuable in promoting substantial practice that empowers poor people and their communities. To ensure that trust becomes an important value for the CEP, it has to combine with practice that reflects the values of social justice and equality.

Values associated with social justice and equality were rarely mentioned by research participants when asked about the programme. Developing residents' capacity to change policies that oppress them and deny them their rights is one of the goals in the CEP (Lee et al., 2005: 7). Building this capacity relates to the values of social justice and equality and means challenging "negative discrimination" on the basis of characteristics such as ability, age, gender, socio-economic status and so on, as well as challenging unjust policies and practices that are oppressive, unfair or harmful (Solas, 2008). Despite these issues, most participants rarely pointed out these values. Except for one participant (Kyung) in the WNGOCs, they had little interest in an equal relationship between a worker and residents. Only one worker acknowledged the lack of a role as an advocate to improve residents' rights. Most practitioners gave value to the facilitator role rather than that of advocate. When considering the goal of the CEP, community practitioners needed to emphasise the value of social justice and practise it.

Another reason to emphasise social justice is that the Korean government has, since 1997, implemented welfare policies that support neo-liberalism and increase inequality of income and poverty by strengthening the flexibility of labour. Those policies have prioritised economic growth in that the policy of social welfare was not to undermine the institutional basis of economic growth. Therefore, they were not schemes which enhanced citizenship for poor people, but tools for propping up global market competition (Aspalter, 2005; Kwon and Holiday, 2006). Furthermore, most Korean welfare centres are dependent on bureaucrats who

value economic growth and are therefore regarded as a 'proxy' agency for the state (Kim, 2005). In these conditions they become more accustomed to controlling and managing vulnerable people. This has been called new managerialism (Clark and Newman, 1997; Dominelli, 2004). These neo-liberal conditions linked to globalisation constrain community welfare centre workers to choose between the values of maintenance and therapeutic approaches and those values that promote emancipatory approaches. If Korean community practitioners are to implement an emancipatory community empowerment practice, they will need to pursue the values of social justice and challenge government policies that favour neo-liberalism.

Third are the values of 'interdependence and solidarity'. Solidarity and interdependence are values for co-operation in the creation of a community and working together to empower communities by allowing mutuality and a dependency of one upon another to be expressed. To implement an empowerment project, community workers emphasise the value of working together with residents, and internal and external agencies. Some participants in the centres demonstrated a practice led by co-operation between residents to form organisations and conduct research to address community issues. Although they emphasised the value of mutuality, there were weaknesses in implementing this in the processes of the project. These include the: setting up of plans and goals in the preliminary phase; backing education and community learning; concentrating on building bonding social capital within the community through networking activities; and challenging inclusive participation to involve marginalised people in strengthening communities. Participants rarely demonstrated interdependency as an observable activity in the stages of evaluating and reflecting upon their practice. It is argued that academic knowledge claims have no more validity than those of service-users. So, social work theory needs to take account of service users' own discussions about knowledge and their own theory building (Beresford, 2000). Practitioners' knowledge has no greater importance in practice than that of residents. Therefore, professionals need to develop relations of "power with" residents to use their own knowledge that is based on direct experience (Dominelli, 2004).

Another reason to value interdependence and solidarity is that collective action is more effective and significant than individual action in pursuing the goal of empowerment for and by vulnerable people, when resisting oppressive structures (Jordan, 2007). In my research findings, some participants attempted to get involved in collective action (see Chapter 7). But

others, and Korean community workers in CWCs, have been discouraged from taking up collective action, as Korean governments have sought to restrict it. To achieve emancipatory community empowerment, Korean community practitioners need to be aware of the value of solidarity that underpins collective action and can minimise the fear of participation brought on by the stigmatisation of those employed by dominant power groups and Korean governments if they do so.

Community empowerment includes the value of difference and diversity that community workers recognise and respect among individuals, families, groups and communities. In the workshop, a participant (Won) talked about experiences of othering and took a different position from that of other practitioners. When workers take an exclusionary attitude towards others who voice different opinions, it becomes difficult to respect their service-users who have different experiences from them. Community workers have been regarded as a professional group. The welfare centre also easily accepts a superior position as a privileged and privileging agency that provides residual welfare for socially excluded needy individuals, families, groups and communities. Thus, they are able to exercise their professional and privileged position to control or dominate needy people. Most participants tried to understand and recognise the residents' situations. One participant (Kim) acknowledged the value of residents' knowledge about how to raise funds. Another participant (Soo) evaluated them negatively, saying that a key factor in the failure to form an organisation was the residents' individual psychological characteristics such as an ego-centric attitude and indifference to issues which ordinary people can have. The practitioners who deem their clients as inferior or deficient or describe them in pathological terms fall into the "trap of exclusion" by perpetuating inequality between clients and workers or between clients and the centres (Dominelli, 2002b; 2004). Korean community practitioners need to value difference and diversity [3] and learn how to reflect these principles in their practice.

Korean practitioners have to acknowledge the significance of the value of social inclusion whereby community workers exclude discrimination. There are a few poor people in the communities who are isolated from other people. In my research, there were people who sneered at the programmes of the project and spread bad rumours about it. This resulted in

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[3] Negative aspects of differences and diversity such as divisiveness and partitioning implying that "anything goes" and that there is no basis for making normative judgement can be found in Fraser's book (1977) and Webb's article (2009).

their being isolated from and by practitioners. A participant (Lee) expressed the belief that workers could not address their isolation because they were so busy achieving the goals of the CEP according to the set schedule. Furthermore, they rarely enacted programmes that enabled residents who found it difficult to have their opinions heard or to become involved in decision-making processes. A participant (Kim) in the WNGOC identified the culture of participation in the communities whereby a few residents became involved in an organisation and often take part in it. In other words, they are seen as the "usual suspects". Thus, community workers need to be required to work towards an inclusive community by enabling many people including marginalised ones to participate in making decision processes without discrimination. To realise these values effectively, community practitioners need to follow these strategies:

- to reflect upon their self-knowledge and values and create learning organisations;
- to understand the values needed to conduct emancipatory community empowerment practice and acquire a deep knowledge[4] about the three levels–the micro-level of practice in the practitioners-clients relations in the community, the meso-level of practice of the nation-state and the macro-level of globalisation to have influence beyond national policies;
- to create the conditions where they can reflect upon their practice and values; develop a capacity to move beyond their "comfort zone"; have a strong belief and be passionate about transformative values; and reward critical reflective practice (Banks, 2007b);
- to develop a learning culture through role modelling and discussing successful and unsuccessful cases in a learning organisation, making assessments about practices in case conferences, team meetings, and role plays (Banks and Gallagher, 2009); and

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[4] The kind of knowledge can be classified as follows: *organisational knowledge*, about government and agency organisation and regulation; *practitioners' knowledge*, drawn from experience of practice, which tends to be tacit, personal and context-specific; *user knowledge*, drawn from user's knowledge of their lives, situation and use of services; *research knowledge*, drawn from systematic investigation disseminated in reports; and *policy community knowledge*, drawn from administrators, official documentation and analysis of policy research (Pawson et al., 2003). Alongside, Payne (2007) adds 'situational knowledge,' which refers to knowledge gained from and about the specific situation which the service-user has dealt with. Furthermore, I add '*emancipatory knowledge*', which refers to knowledge about reflection over community work practice and knowledge that practitioners can raise 'questions why', 'for whom' and 'who benefits' for client and structural change.

- to change the organisational structure and shift it from valuing vertical relationships between workers to horizontal ones and then to establish egalitarian relationships between residents and workers.

I will now turn to strategies for effectively making contacts.

Making contacts with community residents

Making contacts with residents is crucial in community work because this affects the later activities of the project and impacts on its capacity to achieve its objectives. Participants conducted active practices to build up trust with residents through making contacts in difficult conditions. They are: the inconvenient location of WNGOs; residents' exclusionary attitudes towards workers; a gap in understanding the CEP; a lack of awareness of the conditions in their communities; and key people and agencies that were wary of the project. In these conditions, strategies that Korean practitioners could develop in making contacts are as follows.

Firstly, Korean practitioners need to know the risks of informal activities because Korean culture favours informal activities They need to understand clearly the necessity for informal meetings as well as the risks which can increase meeting costs, affect daily work by drinking, and reduce "the accuracy of a worker's community assessment" (Henderson and Thomas, 2002). The ways to reduce the risks are: having a notebook to record formal and informal activities: setting up standards for these informal meetings; and having time to reflect on their activities with colleagues.

Second is the need for training that develops a balanced capacity for political and professional contacts. Most practitioners were not active in connecting with policymakers or senior government administrators, who influence community development as part of their networking activities. Though some practitioners in the *Kang Nam* and the *Kang Buk* employed politicians to address community issues and empower political consciousness, most did not. From an early stage, practitioners need to attempt to make political contact with policymakers and public servants because this can obtain information and the resources needed to implement the community work project. The strategies are: visiting agencies to inform them of the characteristics of the community work project before launching it; having

a meeting to introduce the CEP project and hear opinions of power holders about it; and inviting them to take part in community events and holding public meetings to inform communities of the policies of local government.

At the same time, they need to develop the "capacity of professional contacts" with residents through developing rapport skill in speaking to local people in their own language. It is because participants said little about their rapport in speaking to local people in their own language. The strategies are: having time to learn to understand local knowledge and speak residents' local languages; preparing for contact by selecting people and meeting places, deciding what workers wants to achieve; rehearsing for the meeting; learning rapport and conversational skills; and writing up the contacts and suggesting follow-up actions (Henderson and Thomas, 2002).

Thirdly, reinforce programmes that promote public meetings for discussion, while developing festival events. For Korean practitioners, a significant task is to vitalise the public meeting for claimed spaces as a way of initially contacting people or invited spaces where an invited speaker offers knowledge to residents and discusses issues with them. Although some Centres, which mobilised non-directive approaches in forming an organisation, held public meetings, most Centres rarely utilised these sustainably to build organisations or empower people. The public meeting could be divided in two categories, one to deal with "soft issues" related to caring work and another for "hard issues" linked to employment and housing, which Dominelli (2006) identified in dealing with feminist issues. The former is a meeting with residents to provide skills and information that cultivate individual employment skills, talents, and health conditions and develop residents' individual emotional and intellectual capacities; and build interpersonal relationships within the family and amongst peer groups without being concerned about the structural dimensions of poverty. I call this a 'soft public meeting' or a public meeting that can contribute to the reinforcement or maintenance of therapeutic community work in the terms described by Dominelli (2009). Soft public meetings were held in the educational programmes of most centres, e.g., health lectures at the *Hyun Dae*, educational programmes for building up children's learning capacity in the *Won Min* and the *Dong Sun*. The latter is a meeting in which they discuss issues and policies for empowering communities by strengthening their capacity to make decisions to address individual and structural problems. I call this a 'hard public meeting' or a public meeting for the reinforcement of an emancipatory community work (Dominelli, 2009). Hard public

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meetings were also held in a few centres, e.g., the *Kang Nam*'s meeting with a Member of Parliament over policy issues of public rental houses and a meeting to hear political candidates' opinions, and the *Min Ju*'s conference about policy issues around public rental housing. This hard public meeting ended as a one-off event and did not have sustainability because the *Kang Nam* used the meeting during an election period and the *Min Ju* lacked the funds to carry on with them.

As a strategy for making progress with public meetings, practitioners can begin with a 'soft public meeting' that the residents want. Then, they can introduce the 'hard public meeting' when residents are ready to discuss more difficult issues and participate with the ability and the confidence to speak in public. Practitioners may want to wait until after they have evaluated whether the soft public meeting has energised the community to some degree. They may arrange for the two types of public meeting to alternate to be suitable for the particular circumstances of communities. They need to choose which type of public meeting brings about the best results. And finally, practitioners have to choose the 'right issues', i.e., those which are "salient to residents and presented to them in a concrete and relevant way" as identified by Henderson and Thomas (2002: 125), as well as 'community issues' that people feel passion and emotion for alongside a willingness to take action, which Freire (1972) calls a "generative theme". Setting up the hard public meeting after a soft public meeting may encourage people to take part in the meeting. A hard public meeting should only be held when the meeting is about issues relating to their survival rights. Otherwise, people will stay at home because they have little interest in hard issues. I will now turn to strategies of community profiling.

Community profile

Practitioners conducted a community profile as part of the planning for the CEP. Some Centres employed research methods that differed from a 'Korean traditional approach'. For the community profile, they knew both the limitations of quantitative methods and the necessity of qualitative methods as tools to help practitioners and residents understand their community dynamics, resources and people. Most community welfare centres in SK have been accustomed to implementing quantitative research to find out about residents' needs. But they lack the skills and resources to conduct a community profile that involves residents

and practitioners in its compilation. I suggest strategies to build research methods on the basis of these conditions and this research finding. They are as follows:

Before the centres conduct research for a community profile, practitioners need to become aware of the methods that the centres have chosen as a tool for collecting information about communities. If Korean welfare centres have mainly implemented quantitative methods, they can use qualitative research in order to acquire richer information that quantitative research could not obtain, through, for example in-depth interviews.

It is important for practitioners to learn how to involve residents after considering residents' attitudes and finding out what research themes they are interested in. After some progress in learning about collaborative research, practitioners who feel confident about it can help residents compile a community profile to acquire data in order to influence policy makers or initiate structural change, to engage in what is called "emancipatory research controlled by user involvement"(Beresford, 2002).

When considering residents' mistrust of researchers in SK, due to the lack of follow-up, sharing findings and outcomes, they demand that practitioners share research outcomes. This sharing will not only empower residents to identify community issues and concerns, but can also get them engaged in continuous organisational learning (Craig, 2003).

Community workers should include items relating to community empowerment in a community profile. The reason is that they have rarely focused on power maps that identify the people with negative attitudes towards CEP, or the resources and agencies that encompass the national and global levels in community interventions. Thus, Korean practitioners with community members have the courage and skills to take part in political mapping and develop issue mapping that can be presented in a variety of forms: photographs; drawings representing the needs of marginalised people; and diagrams with flow charts. With these skills, they need to strengthen activities to collect information through various channels such as direct contact with residents, websites and messages offered by key informants and policymakers within, across and beyond the communities.

Finally, the process and outcomes regarding the practice of community profiling need to be monitored for sustainability by colleagues in their agency acting as a learning organisation. I will now turn to strategies of community organising as the practice of community mobilising.

Community organising

There are a few barriers to organising public rental apartment communities. Most residents mistrust TRCs because they lack financial transparency and democratic activities (Hong et al., 2005). Another barrier is that in SK, the term organising (*Jo Sik Hwa*) has a negative meaning for some residents and public officials. Although TRCs were set up in the communities, most of them were tokenistic. But if other organisations carried out activities in the communities, a TRC could interfere in their activities as the named representative organisation for residents. Thus, a representative organisation can cause conflictual relationships with other organisations (the *Min Ju*). Once the TRC was formed, its members tried to promote their own interests rather than those of their community and residents in general. Another feature of a TRC is the tendency for its members to hand over their right to take decisions to a chairman without discussing the issues between themselves and making their own decisions (Choe and Lee, 2001). Furthermore, except for those in the Centres, most Korean practitioners are used to a 'traditional Korean way' in creating organisations. In these conditions, the strategies of community organising that are suitable to Korean social reality are as follows:

Firstly, the practitioners in SK should be careful in using the term organising in activities such as contact-making because most people seek to resist it. Practitioners should listen to what residents want to be addressed, and then enable them to see the need for an organisation as a tool to solve their problems.

They can also select community issues that residents identify in the course of compiling a community profile as a way of being voluntarily involved. To maintain a TRC as a sustainable organisation, research participants (Song, Lee and Kyung) argued the importance of selecting issues that local people wanted to address. Identifying and selecting issues relevant to the community could reinforce residents' motivation and can mobilise collective action and participation together with building the sustainability of an organisation.

Community workers need to develop "analytical skills" to check the feasibility and desirability of involving existing organisations or creating new ones. As my research findings identify (see Chapter 6), they should become involved in community organising only after checking residents' opinions, the conditions of these organisations and their activities.

The traditional Korean approach to creating organisations needs to be avoided, if possible. One reason for the low participation rates in community activities is that Korean workers have preferred a traditional way of active leadership to build an organisation. This makes it hard to encourage residents to become involved sustainably. To overcome this traditional way, some centres selected types of directive and non-directive approaches in creating organisations. But both types have risks such as not involving an organisation and depending upon community workers. Hence, community workers decide not only a way that is tailored to the situations of the community, but they also assess the risks that adopting a particular approach may carry and learn the skills to retain a "fine balance" between intervention and distance that enables them to build and strengthen organisations.

Furthermore, Korean workers must put in the time to find active volunteers amongst the residents. The self-directive approach in the *Won Min* that produced effective outcomes in forming an organisation was triggered by a few factors such as building trust between residents and the worker, raising community issues and a few voluntary people with motivation. The workers should avoid the temptation to go for 'safe' options that draw upon existing leaders and residents who have had good relationships with them (Henderson and Thomas, 2002). The strategies to find out active residents are:

- to have opportunities for the worker to search for them by holding meetings and making contacts;
- to use intelligence of human resources accumulated by interview methods in community profiling and information offered by key informants;
- to make a data base about human resources with high potentials; and
- to find generative themes in communities by community profiling.

The balance that community workers have to find in community organising is the fine line between a tenant's representative organisation and other organisations. In research findings,

participants in WNGOCs should have known the risks of concentrating on a representative organisation while ignoring residents' needs and opinions. When they try to build a new organisation or an existing one without considering residents' opinions, it is difficult for the TRC to produce effective activities for most residents. The risk is high if one organisation comes to dominate and control a community, as it tends to kill off the activities of other smaller organisations (Milofsky, 1987).

In the DCWCs, there was the problem that workers created so many organisations that they failed to build a 'key organisation' capable of operating as a community infrastructure. Although the building of small organisations has advantages which provide opportunities for participation and care services for residents, it is difficult to concentrate and mobilise capacity to take effective action to empower a community. Therefore, it is important for practitioners to develop skilful judgement to determine the number of small organisations that meet the needs of communities, while constructing a representative organisation.

They need to make a professional shift from authoritarian and nepotistic cultures in organisations to democratic ones. A participant (Kyung) confessed that "because a leader of a TRC was too authoritarian, I had a very difficult time and sometimes burned out." Choe and Lee (2001), who analyse the role of leaders in the public rental apartments, point out that the leaders of tenant communities have a tendency to seek privileges to strengthen their own status rather than attempt to improve tenants' welfare overall. The strategies based on feminist principles of organisation (Dominelli, 1995, 2006: see Chapter 3:83) can be applied to achieve this task.

Finally it is important for them to get a capacity of non-judgementalism, that is, a capacity to distance themselves from conflict situations among people and the skills to mediate in conflict situations between organisations or residents (Dominelli, 2009). Practitioners' practical capacities can be enhanced by a learning organisation and supervision. The following sections will suggest strategies for improving community learning, networking, and participation.

Strengthening communities

In the following sections I will suggest strategies with regard to community learning, networking, and participation to empower communities.

Community Learning

Practitioners provided many educational programmes for residents as a means of building up their capacities. In SK, people have been accustomed to a banking educational style. Some Centres made efforts to empower communities by providing these programmes and conducting effective educational workshops such as action learning and using residents' own languages. At the same time, weaknesses in the educational programmes were identified in the research findings (see Chapter 7:190-93) Here, as a strategy to conduct effective learning for residents to become active agents and to realise the power of community, the practitioners need to understand the principles of learning for community empowerment. I then suggest strategies based on Freireian ideas to learn critical consciousness and change oppressive structures in SK on the basis of research findings. In principles of community learning, they are sought as follows (Table 9.1):

Table 9.1: Strategies and Principles for Moving away from a Traditional Community Learning model to an Emancipatory One

from	to
one-off educational programmes	on-going programmes
a didactic way (top-down) led by a banking style of experts	a Socratic way led by dialogue
participation controlled by workers in learning	voluntary participation
key leaders or community leaders-centred	ordinary and marginalised people-centred
tedious education by listening methods	visiting, observing and acting methods (with hand, head and heart)
learning programmes reflecting the needs of workers and agencies	learning programmes reflected by the needs of community
reinforcing norms of the status quo	criticising and challenging oppressive structures in the various contexts
educational programmes for adapting to a market in which learners have skills and knowledge required for the workplace and ones for building self-help at the psychological level	critical education for strengthening active citizenship alongside education for building self-help
valuing conformity	valuing diversity, differences, social justice and participation
targeting individuals, aiming for change at the personal and social levels	groups and collaborative activities
experts-centred in evaluating outcomes and reflecting upon learning	involving service users
depending upon experts or practitioners	independent; led by community members

Korean practitioners are to strengthen professional skills and knowledge that are able to conduct educational programmes for developing critical consciousness and action-learning in communities alongside the formation of organisations. Implementing those principles effectively is not easy for community workers because these are totally different from those in the top-down approach that SK residents are accustomed to.

They also need to study cases through learning from role-models that have successfully implemented these principles mentioned above. Some Centres (the *Kang Buk* and the *Won Min*) brought out positive outcomes in community learning by carrying out action learning and holding public lectures by famous speakers who residents wanted to hear. Thus those principles in community learning which have been shown through analysis to be successful can be applied to Korean communities.

Introducing an educational programme for raising critical consciousness requires 'a step by step strategy'. For Korean workers, an important task may be building critical consciousness

amongst individuals and communities. This is a high risk strategy because residents may turn away from programmes that develop critical consciousness for fear of being labelled as communist supporters, a problem arising from the cold war between South and North Korea. Furthermore, the community welfare centres do not want to practice critical education because they receive government funds and might lose them if they do. Additionally, as residents who live in permanent public rental apartments are entitled to benefits, they may fear being involved in educational programmes that raise critical consciousness about national policies and institutions.

If residents have low self-esteem and strong exclusionary attitudes, education that contributes to maintenance and therapeutic approaches has to be provided for them to raise esteem. After building the community infrastructure that enables residents and practitioners to share trust, and when educational activities have become securely embedded in communities by conducting programmes to strengthen those approaches, critical educational programmes can be introduced by holding a 'hard public meeting' that addresses national policies and issues for structural change. Unless this infrastructure is strong, educational programmes that can contribute to an emancipatory approach have to be held back. Until that point, educational programmes need to develop the capacities that will improve employment skills and training, interpersonal relationships, and knowledge and skills to manage organisations democratically. These can be arranged through holding public lectures in what are termed 'soft public meetings'. For example, although the *Min Ju* had given residents a programme to raise critical consciousness, it failed to produce positive outcomes due to the uncooperative attitudes of its colleagues and chief.

In emancipatory practice, practitioners in SK may also face managerial reluctance which originates from weaknesses in the organisational structures of CWCs including their lack of knowledge and experience in working in these ways. It is important for them to know that emancipatory practice is central to securing change in managerial structures alongside empowering people. As a way to deal with a managerial barrier, workplace relations among employees have to incorporate more egalitarian ways of working with each other. The practitioners set this up as the goal of the organisation and the empowerment. The efforts to keep an egalitarian relationship can flatten not only a hierarchic structure of organisation, but also can flourish as a source of creative energy innovation in developing better and more service for needy people (Dominelli, 2002c). Another way is when the practitioners enable

residents to be brought on board as equal participants when making a decision in conducting the project of community learning. I will now turn to the issues of community networking.

Community networking

The ten Centres sought to procure information, resources, and social capital by establishing networks with internal and external groups and agencies relating to communities. Although most centres showed active practices in widening the scope of their networks, some local practitioners in DCWCs did not, or were restrained by their chiefs in networking with WNGOs and other agencies across communities. Like local DCWCs, Korean CWCs (which were not involved in the project) did not want to have a network within other welfare centres. Participants identified the reasons not to attempt to have a network with other welfare centres and agencies (see Chapter 7). But Korean community workers acknowledged the necessity of networks in empowering communities in my research as well as that of others. Especially, the research argued that an alliance between CWCs and WNGOs was required to develop an emancipatory community work (Park and Sin, 2001; Kim, K.H, 2005; An, 2001; Kim, K.S., 2001). Strategies to improve networking activities are as follows.

Firstly, a strategy is needed to strengthen linking social capital between communities and external agencies with the power to influence decision-makers of central and local government, donor agencies, and politicians. Linking social capital can be developed by a regular dialogue about community issues through public meetings including public lectures and gathering for open discussion.

It is important for community workers to build collaboration between WNGOs and the CWCs in SK. If Korean community work is to move towards emancipatory community empowerment, networks between both types of centres will be helpful in realising this task. Most participants also acknowledged the necessity, but they did not feel it had progressed smoothly in reality (see Chapter 7: 200-1). Although there are many barriers that resulted from different backgrounds and practice, they ought to develop partnerships for the development of emancipatory community work in SK. These strategies are to:

- share the value and practice of solidarity in empowering communities;

- acknowledge the necessity of alliances through recognising the strengths and weaknesses of each organisation and sharing successful outcome by partnership;

- engage a donor agency or government for supporting funds; offer an opportunity for implementing a 'joint project' in order to procure substantial learning through participation;

- build a 'body for community empowerment' in order to negotiate and discuss issues of complexity caused by partnership such as different expectations, goals, skills, power and resources; and

- move forward in a 'self-development direction' rather than 'divisional role' to establish alliances between the CWCs and WNGOs.

Furthermore, I argue that there is a risk in these strategies. These risks can be minimised by creating alliances. To create these alliances, a few Korean social work experts (Ah, 2001; Park and Sin, 2001) suggested a 'role division' of each organisation as follows:

> The welfare agencies assume practical things relating to setting up plans of care services, offering them, and raising funds through using their staff, facilities and organisations. The NGOs assume the roles of fostering public opinions, playing watchdog to monitor the use of welfare budgets, and building plans for co-producing projects. By taking charge of these roles separately, both organisations can cooperate. (Ah, 2001: 200)

I call this strategy a 'position of divided roles' whereby, in terms of community work, it is inappropriate for the CWCs to concentrate on technical practice and assume exclusive responsibility for community care services whereas the WNGOs assume the role of transformational practice and seek alternative policies and institutions. This positioning can be regarded as a rational argument in that these centres can complement each others' weaknesses and strengths in conducting CEP, while taking account of the current conditions that each organisation faces. However, from a long term perspective, this division in roles in Korean community work will become a barrier whereby CEP will fail to take off and it will become more difficult to overcome the weaknesses of traditional Korean practice in each WNGO and CWC. The next section will propose strategies for enhancing community participation.

Community participation

From the perspective of Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969) and Plummer and Taylor's (2004) ladder of community participation, the project practitioners could not reach the higher level of participation for decision-making. Furthermore, when seen from the perspective of the CLEAR model of Lowndes et al. (2006), their practices to promote participation may be evaluated as effective to some extent. However, the workers showed a lack of capacity to create or encourage the space of participation or to communicate with policy makers/political groups in order to impact on structural change. And they rarely seemed to have ideas about community empowerment techniques that are needed to involve marginalised groups who are unlikely to be heard in the process of making decisions or in meetings with policymakers. In these conditions, it is difficult for people to participate in public issues. Strategies to improve participation on the basis of the CLEAR model and other ideas are as follows.

Firstly, Korean community workers have to distinguish between the concept of "participation" focusing on decision making and "involvement" meaning various types of taking part from one-off consultation through equal partnership to taking control (Adams, 2008: 31). Having perceived this distinction, they can use the strategies, opportunities and programmes that enable residents to acquire the capacity to progress to the level of participation.

In addition, it necessary to strengthen the strategy of "Can do" by providing educational programmes with the appropriate skills and resources so that residents are more able to participate (Lowndes et al., 2006:286). Before these programmes are given to clients, all workers and chiefs of welfare centres should acquire skills and knowledge that enable residents to become involved in community activities. This is necessary because the chief and the staff in these centres are accustomed to top-down approaches in decision-making processes. Therefore, after staff of the welfare centres have learnt the skills and acquired the information to improve local people's participation in their community, local people will be given the support to develop the skills and resources that they need to engage. Capacity to obtain such skills and resources can be improved by offering educational programmes of learning and training that are related to the significance and methods of participation, and ability and confidence to speak. These programmes should be complemented by building self-help efforts in the CEP.

Consolidating the participation strategy of "Like to" through festival events enables residents to feel a 'sense of community'. In my research findings, for instance, by holding festival events, practitioners, residents and community stakeholders brought about a shared sense of community. Alongside festival events, Korean community workers need to develop skills and capacities to sustainably practise various programmes that can strengthen a sense of community through benchmarking.

The fourth factor for practitioners to improve is the strategy of "Enabled to" that activates participation by organisations and networks in the CLEAR model. As my research findings identified, some Centres failed to establish key organisations and networks to enhance quality and quantity of participation within three years. In the South Korean context, the organisations and networks in communities need to arrange programmes that activate participation, or provide a communication route to decision makers or policymakers and influential politicians together with practices to strengthen community care and voluntary actions.

They need to strengthen strategies of "Asked to" and thereby increase the number of residents that become involved. Due to barriers of participation (see section on participation barriers: 214-6), community participation can easily become a "minority sport" that only a few people enjoy. As a way to prevent minority involvement, 'asking strategy' should be strengthened. Especially, this scheme has to be applied to marginalised groups within communities, who have difficulties in participating in the process of decision-making. In addition, from the cultural perspective of Confucianism, the asking strategy is suited to communicating with elders through face-to-face contact or telephone calls rather than only delivering a leaflet to give notice of an opportunity for participation.

Strategies of participation by 'follow up' should be applied to the community. Practitioners in the DCWCs effectively employed follow up activities in sustaining involvement such as sending a letter to participants, giving residents' activities in news letter and working together with them. But workers in WNGOCs rarely conducted following up activities. The WNGOs should develop practice to strengthen feedback activities. On the other hand, this strategy of 'following up' has rarely produced positive outcomes in improving participation because participants' opinions are not reflected as much as they expect. Practitioners retain wise practice to inform residents in advance of how to live with disappointment when they meet

with policymakers (Lowndes et al., 2006). Where Korean administrative culture is used in top-down processes, their advice may be needed to prevent a great disappointment in meeting with policymakers.

Finally, along with the CLEAR model, the strategies to improve quality and quantity of participation are to be implemented in five respects: structure, culture, practice, review (Adams, 2008) and community issues (Freire, 1972). Implementing the strategies in the five aspects are:

- developing a culture of participation through a constantly updated process of engaging the commitment of all staff, chiefs and community residents;
- securing community infrastructure to enhance 'inclusive participation' by providing many opportunities for marginalised people to create a system that rewards champions for their participation;
- practising 'sustainable participation' by obtaining and sharing a feeling for positive outcomes rather than negative ones through "initiative participation" managed by residents themselves;
- creating an effective chart to display and evaluate the quality and quantity of participation through an analytical tool to measure its two aspects in the whole process of community empowerment practice; and
- looking at political participation in which people become passionate and show a willingness to take action through raising community issues.

I will now turn to strategies with regard to outcomes and reflections.

Outcomes and reflections

Assessing positive outcomes of practices over the three years, Korean community practitioners not only improved residents' self-esteem but also built up a collective capacity to initiate community and neighbourhood self-help and change by creating 'key organisations' in the CEP communities. Furthermore, it can be seen that their outcomes and reflections offered the clues necessary for developing a Korean model of community empowerment practice. Practitioners also exposed several weaknesses in the activities and processes of

achieving the goal of empowering residents and communities through revitalising community organisations. Seen from the perspective of evaluating their objectives, it may be difficult for them to acquire a high score because they fail to bring out their achievements in building and strengthening organisations capable of operating as a community infrastructure. The strategies to achieve such objectives are mentioned above. In this section, I examine political strategies to challenge structural inequalities within existing social relations. This is because most Centres were not active in political activities. Then I explore strategies to improve critical reflection, which is a crucial component of practice at all stages of CEP for enhancing emancipatory community work, and in the third section I suggest elements to measure empowerment practice.

Firstly, practitioners need to work on the "politics of practice" to change inegalitarian social relations and act as advocates working with and on behalf of needy people (Dominelli, 2010). The practitioners also play a role as advocate in promoting 'power to' relations that empower residents to understand and criticise the ideologies underpinning neo-liberal policies through dialogical educational or 'hard' public meetings as a way of community learning. Using "power to" relations, professionals move on to practice "power with" people in need and engage in mobilisation that encourage others and agencies to sympathise with critics of neo-liberal policies. Another part of advocacy is the power of negotiation. Practitioners cannot help but contact power holders in the process of empowering the people. It is impossible for residents and practitioners to obtain all they want from power holders. Power holders also don't want to become losers in the power game. No one individual can be either totally powerful or completely powerless. The powerful need to legitimate their authority to the powerless, who in turn have opportunities to subvert power by turning these justifications against those who use them. Therefore, practitioners in SK have to equip the profession with negotiating power so that they become useful and effective in creating spaces in which people in need can construct common interests through dialogue and negotiation with power holders regardless of their formal status (Dominelli, 2004; Pitchford, 2008).

It is not easy for them to carry out political activities aiming for structural change in the prevailing cultural climate and Korean welfare agencies have rarely been allowed such acts. The reason is that those who engage in political activities in South Korea risk being subjected to physical attack or imprisonment. If Korean community work, however, wishes to take off, practitioners need wise practice to develop a capacity for political activity. They should form

alliances with social activists and social justice professionals and practitioners who are familiar with the transformation of policies and cultivate those in the general public who sympathise with them. Operating within a wide variety of constraints, they may create community work as the "art of the possible" (England, 1986; Dominelli, 2004; Gray and Webb, 2008).

To practise a politicized profession effectively, the practitioners are to learn about the policy contexts in which they work, at global, national and local levels, as well as gain a profound understanding of community empowerment practice. This would help them to understand how government interprets the problem and what government wants from communities, and to enable the practitioners to work effectively for the benefit of communities. Moreover, an understanding of policy through a learning organisation makes it easier to criticise domination and the localised techniques and tactics for domination by policymakers and functionaries who carry out the exercise of power, which is called hegemony.

Furthermore, developing political capacity and skills for collective action is required of Korean practitioners. To achieve political participation and collective action in a peaceful relationship with those who oppose them, they pay attention to strategies and ongoing analysis for bringing it about (Collins, 2009). First of all, while raising community issues, it needs the effective use of media groups to get people's support and the interest of policymakers. Without such reporting in papers and broadcasting, there is a tendency for policymakers to have little interest in local justice issues. Practitioners need to learn skills for using media groups effectively through activities like writing for publication and contributing to newspapers, radio and TV, and using websites. They need also to persuade experts or academics who support structural change by becoming involved in political activities. They have to meet politicians and policymakers who have interests in law to discuss changing the law as well as creating bonds of solidarity with WNGOs and other organisations that are interested in matters of social justice.

In addition to supporting these political practices is the need to create a new 'independent umbrella organisation' involving egalitarian partnerships of professors, experienced community workers and social activists, and educators with interests in community development. Alongside political activities, this body requires educational functions to transform traditional Korean community work practice including supporting training and

education to enhance the capacity for a practice to deal with uncertainty and complexity that arises from globalisation.

As a strategy to attempt politics of practice, Korean community practitioners need to learn critical reflective practice. A participant (Kyung) said that she has never learned and heard of 'critical reflective practice'. Community practitioners who engaged in the CEP had rarely conducted critical reflective practice systematically and sustainably (see Chapter 8). They learned of the significance of critical reflective practice for practising emancipatory community work through their discussions. The strategies are:

- to enhance critical reflective practice by creating a learning organisation and critical supervision noted in the first stage (Banks, 2007b). A learning organisation by critical supervision has "great emancipatory potential, positioning it as a form of social activism and resistance in terms of creating new possibilities for critical practice and socially just responses to global forces" (Morley, 2008: 419); and
- to strengthen the curriculum in universities in SK. If critical reflective practice is to be relevant to the training of community practitioners and taught effectively, then it should be reflected within the design of the curriculum (Clifford and Burke, 2005). The teaching strategy should minimise the existing divide between the academic arena and practice realities, e.g., contrasting the "theory of university" with the "real world" of community work.

Finally, from a practical perspective, practitioners also need to perceive the elements that measure CEP that I noted in the orientation stage. Keeping these in mind, they may produce effective practice and outcomes. The critical elements (Craig, 2003; Taylor, 2003; Dominelli, 2004; Jordan, 2006) for evaluating 'emancipatory community empowerment' are:

- how to improve the quality and quantity of participation, emotional closeness, support, friendship, respect and a sense of belonging to the community;
- including qualitative and quantitative indicators;
- evaluating processes and outcomes to minimise power differentials;
- securing the sustainability of change;
- how to maintain, build and operate a community infrastructure; and

- including practices and outcomes that enhance psychological or individual capacity and self-help skills, and enable residents to engage in collective action and critical consciousness for structural change and collective benefits.

So far, I have discussed the implications of the practice of Korean community work for practice and the strategies that could enhance a Korean model of community empowerment on the basis of a modified Western model and ideas. These strategies are summarised in Appendix X (p.341-42).

As a way explicitly to identify a prefigurative Korean model of community empowerment, I have drawn up Appendix IX (pp.327-30), X (pp.331-2)and XI (p.333-6) describing contexts for community empowerment, featuring aspects of knowledge, values and approaches, and finally identifying skills and methods in order to show similarities and differences between the three models: a modified Western model of community empowerment (MWMCE); a traditional Korean model of community work (TKMCW); and a tentative Korean model.

In the global context of the CEP model in Table XI-1 in Appendix XI (p.333), these three models have a few similarities in that practices and theories of community work have been developed by the influential features of globalisation across the world's societies. National welfare policies affected by globalisation have also revealed some convergences in that a Western country (the UK) and SK have both implemented policies of self-help for the development of poor communities, even though the titles of their policies are different. The national culture has had a different impact in a Western country because SK has retained the cultural characteristics of Confucianism (see Chapter. 2). But the culture of disempowerment that shows the phenomena of isolation, dependency, marginalisation, and exclusion exists in poor communities of both countries. The organisational culture of the public sector that tackles the culture of disempowerment shows a bureaucratic slant in both the UK and SK. The public sectors in SK have revealed that the characteristics of CWCs and WNGOs have contrasting organisational cultures and practices. A modified Western model of community empowerment demands that the physical conditions in which practitioners undertake targets for effective CEP is small scale at the level of community. But a Korean traditional model has rarely acknowledged physical conditions for effective CEP. In the MWMCE (the UK) and the Korean model training and education for practitioners are conducted by an independent organisation. This is based on the presumption that it is difficult for the

academics and organisations for education and training to implement education for 'emancipatory community empowerment' because the former groups are divided over their own differing visions of the professions, and the latter ones reflect interests of private agencies (Dominelli, 2004). Korean welfare academics and agencies (e.g., KNSCW) have provided little knowledge of and few skills for community practitioners because they are interested in therapeutic practice that has favoured competence-oriented training to reflect the policies of central government (Nam, 2004; Kim, I.S., 2005).

The modified Western and the Korean model have some similarities in knowledge, values and approaches to CEP and some differences. Korean empowerment differs from the traditional Korean model. Unlike a traditional Korean model, the new Korean model and Western models require practitioners to be aware of mechanisms that impact upon the community at the global, national, and local levels.

Since 1997 Korean governments have implemented national economic growth policies valuing economy, efficiency and effectiveness (3Es), which are influenced by neo-liberal globalisation. These policies in turn altered social relations within and between communities to create "regular players" with access to markets and choice and "non-players" who are excluded because they are flexible labourers with insufficient funds to play the market. Against the influences of globalisation producing social exclusion, schemes of rediscovering community have emerged to regenerate fragmented communities such as the 'Balanced National Policy' based on communitarian theory that emphasised family values, self-help, voluntary associations and participation. The policies of community development give priority to more "constrained participation" or "market-led community development" to adjust their behaviour to the requirements of mainstream society under the close supervision of state officials rather than empowerment for active citizenship whereby people become good citizens by active participation in associations to produce distinctive forms and collective benefits including welfare services. This is because when they are aware of such mechanisms, people can understand the significance of the values and approaches needed to engage in CEP and act upon them.

And, they can reflect critically on how they can use practice to deal with consequences and contradictions between policies and practice at the community level (Popple, 2007). The models do not differ much in concept and approaches of CEP in that community

empowerment is regarded as a practice that enables residents to become agents with rights and responsibilities that can transform oppressive structures by collective actions or by mobilising with others who share their concerns in the community. To transform the structure that constrains service users' rights and equality, the values of social justice, equality and participation are regarded as key significant elements. The approach is not limited to a technical form of practice but directed towards an emancipatory approach that integrates technical knowledge and skills with transformative ones. The traditional Korean model is directed towards a dyadic approach, e.g., CWCs are conducting technical practice whereas WNGOs are undertaking transformative practice. Thus, a tentative Korean model also emphasises the value of solidarity between both organisations. A modified Western model concentrates on the reduction of power differences on the basis of the power of powerless people, e.g., by collective actions, mobilisation, and negotiation. While the alternative Korean model follows the principles of a modified Western model, it needs educational programmes to enable residents to perceive power differences between stakeholders within and across communities because Korean traditional community work has little interest in practices that reduce power differences. Similarities and differences about knowledge, values, concepts, approaches, and power differences in the two models—a modified Western model and a tentative Korean model— in community empowerment, are summarised in Table XI- 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix XI (pp. 333-6).

Community practitioners engage in three practice models that reveal more differences than similarities because the external and internal conditions of practice vary greatly. Identifying the practical characteristics of a Korean model suitable to Korean society, while comparing it with a modified Western model, may be important research work for the future. At the same time, it is important that Korean practitioners create an alternative Korean model of CE that can overcome the limitations of traditional Korean community practice. I summarise features of practices focusing on skills and methods in the two models in Table XI-3 in Appendix XI (pp.335-6).

Having described their contents in the above sections, here I identify a few principles from the basis of a Korean model that differ from a Western model. The first is the principle of strengthening the knowledge base. Compared to Western countries, the infrastructure including the organisations and resources to support CEP is lacking in SK. Thus, introducing practical education about community empowerment in the orientation stage, creating learning

organisations, and establishing an independent organisation to support CEP are stressed. The second is the principle of gradual progression. To move from traditional Korean practice towards an alternative one requires time to acquire knowledge and skills and develop a sensitivity of practice that applies a new practice for community practitioners who lack experience of CEP. Most clients did not experience community empowerment. In the social conditions that have remained, the political context that labels people who oppose government polices as a centre-left group, practitioners have to import the emancipatory practice needed to transform policies and instruction gradually, e.g., promoting residents' participation in setting up plans, conducting community profiles, and implementing educational programmes for raising critical consciousness. Third is the principle of role division between CWCs and WNGOs together with development of each centre's capacity. As I mentioned above, building partnership or solidarity between CWCs and WNGOs can enhance practical power for effective CEP.

At the same time, I stress the need to strengthen a capacity that complements the weakness of each centre. The last is the principle that practitioners and residents should develop their capacity to create links with political contacts and politicians. Though a Western model acknowledges the influence of bureaucrats, a Korean model can be influenced more by bureaucrats at the local level because there has been a group of TJBJ that has information about residents and is controlled by local public servants. It is a Korean social reality that public servants are influenced by politicians. Thus, this needs Korean practitioners to develop more skills and strategies in using their resources to address community interests and not just as a means for promoting their individual interests. I acknowledge that these principles have some similarities with a modified Western model. This may be attributed to the lack of a knowledge base about case studies involving Korean CEP. When sufficient research and case studies on CEP have been accumulated in SK, then the specificities of a Korean model will emerge. A tentative model to promote community empowerment can be configured by drawing on Taylor's (2003: 178) "empowerment tree" (Figure 9.1). The next section will discuss strategies to develop CEP as an institutional change.

Figure 9.1: A Prefigurative Korean Model of Community Empowerment

Private Agencies to support, fund and provide education: CCK, KNCSW, Universities /a new organisation for CEP

Central and local government/ Policymakers and Politicians

Level III:
Engaging with policymakers and service providers:
Linking social capital between the centres and national/global agencies

Evaluation with people / stakeholders over practice /outcomes

Empowered as citizenship doing citizen-based action

Empowered as citizens being equal partners (Building people power by the politics of practice)

Building critical consciousness by educating and 'hard public meetings'

Participation/ Collective action

Community infrastructure: a TRC or other organisations

Level II:
Social inclusion and cohesion: Bridging social capital between the centres - WNGOs and CWCs and others

CRITICAL REFLECTION BY A LEARNING ORGANISATION & SUPERVISION

Involvement

Community programmes: Festival events/ public meetings

Community profile: Power/Issue mapping

Community learning: dialogue/action learning/

Community organising: Feminist principles

Level I: Bonding social capital: residents and key people, and the centre

Skills/Knowledge/Values for practice together with residents and workers

Making contact with key people, stakeholders and other agencies

Setting up plans, goals, and values with residents: rights, equality, solidarity, differences with commonality, participation, and inclusion

Acquiring confidence between residents and practitioners

Starting point in the community of SK in the multiple contexts of globalisation

Orientation: values skills and knowledge for empowerment practice with residents and workers

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

In the following sections, I will discuss strategies to enhance community practice that empowers tenants who live in public rental communities by altering policies and institutions. The focus is not on housing policy but on the policy or institutions that strengthen the practices of empowering tenants. The discussion revolves around the policy of central and local government; the donor agency's support; and universities and the Korean National Council on Social Welfare (KNCSW).

Central and local government

Central government can facilitate the practices of empowering the tenants of public rented housing by:

1) Changing the public rental house law from a 'law of selection' by which a tenant representative council 'may be' composed into a 'law of compulsion' by which a TRC 'should be' composed. Unlike a general private apartment complex, a TRC should be given neither the right of inspection about general and financial management of the apartment nor be provided with a regulation to reward members of the TRC. This public rental housing law may mean that tenants have little interest in and do not want to be involved in the TRC (Choe, 2005). The government needs to reform the law in order to energise participation.

2) Increasing financial support to CWCs and WNGOs, which have engaged in community work for tenants of PPRAC and PRA 50. Since their service-users are people of low-income and from the poor class, they provide more activities and service programmes for clients than other welfare centres operating in more general residential areas. The grants that the central and local government give to CWCs offering care services in poor communities need to increase from 80 per cent to 100 per cent[5] for effective practice. Moreover, local government support for 60 per cent of the budget does not ensure sufficient funds at the local level. Some local authorities can give more support to the CWCs according to their financial situations (Choe, 2005). In the case of WNGOs, their financial condition is in general worse than CWCs so that the CWCs hesitate to build partnerships with WNGOs (Kim, J. H., 2005; Park

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[5] The rate of apportionment of the budget of community welfare centres is 60 per cent local government; 20 percent central government; and 20 per cent the centre itself (cited in materials by KNCSW).

and Sin, 2001). Although the central and local government could not support WNGOs like CWCs, they need to fund projects that WNGOs initiate for communities (Ma, 2005).

3) Central and local government supporting budgets to improve and provide 'space' for the centres. Research findings show that the location of the centre office has an important function in facilitating contacts with local people. Choe (2005) points out that the office of the CWC is too narrow or old so that it is not suitable as a place or as a space for action learning or holding public meetings. WNGO offices are worse than CWC ones[6]. Thus, the central and local authorities need to assist in the construction of an 'empowering centre' that can build on residents' capacity.

Donor agencies

Community Chest in Korea (CCK) is a private agency that helps to fund welfare agencies by collecting charity from people and corporations. This agency has supported CEP by launching projects every year to develop poor communities. These projects are chosen by 'committees' selected by CCK and are expected to fund empowerment projects as a part of their activities.

If the CCK has a strong will to accomplish its vision, i.e. the development of poor communities, it needs to provide funds which enable welfare centres to energise poor communities by engaging residents in community empowerment projects. As community empowerment is difficult to realise in the short term, the CCK should consider valuing its activities as a continuous process not an outcome, and launch sustainable projects that will enrich community empowerment practice. By continually assisting such projects, the Korean welfare centres' can be helped to realise a 'happy community'. The CCK's support for empowerment contributes considerably to the development of community work by shifting from micro community practices focusing within communities to macro community practices focusing across communities and offering an opportunity for participants to reflect upon their own practices by comparing these with others.

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[6] The official buildings of community welfare centres were built by a regulation that states that a building for a CWC office should be offered when a permanent public renting apartment is constructed. So social workers are working in the building located within the boundary of the apartment complex. But when I went to their offices in order to interview them, WNGO's offices were located in small spaces in the general building of commercial areas except for the *Won Min*.

To be effective as a donor agency that backs community empowerment projects, the CCK needs to improve the following items: extending the time of support funding from three years to five by modifying its schemes of assistance; moving away from 'time-limited contracts' in employing staff to prevent skilled workers from leaving; showing flexibility in using funds by not forcing centres to spend them within pre-determined criteria; framing community work within a framework of collaboration between WNGOs and CWCs; and accumulating knowledge and information through supervision and management for participants alongside their supporting funds. To conduct effective practice, the bodies of social welfare and Universities should be involved.

Korean National Council on Social Welfare (KNCSW) and Universities

KNCSW and universities are agencies that have considerable influence in the development of Korean social workers' capacity. The former has assisted Korean agencies of welfare in terms of several activities such as research about welfare practice and policies, training and learning that builds capacity among social workers, evaluating agencies conducting social welfare and so on (KNCSW, 2009). The universities are educational agencies that teach and train students who will become social and community workers.

The things that KNCSW can act on to improve community work are two-fold. One is a measure to strengthen the capacity of community workers as a legal educational agency instead of teaching and training for those who engage in work of social welfare. Rather than mainly training in social work qualifications, KNCSW should conduct educational programmes that workers of WNGOs and CWCs can participate in together.

The other is a device to promote a system of evaluating the practices of CWCs every three years. According to an 'index of evaluation for community welfare agency' that KNCSW published in 2009, the part of evaluating the practice of participation, which is directly related to community empowerment, is a criteria used in selection. Since participation to empower clients is not an item considered necessary in traditional Korean community work, the welfare agency would not evaluate the part relating to community empowerment. Rather than participation, the welfare agencies can supplement empowerment by strengthening practices in other fields such as working with children, elders, and families. However, there is an evaluation index for conducting special projects by which the agencies can differentiate

between activities. When community welfare centres have a willingness to empower communities, they can implement community empowerment practice. Without this willingness, or experiences of empowerment, Korean community welfare centres may see little possibility for launching community empowerment projects that value participation. Therefore, when KNCSW strengthens the index of evaluation about clients' participation that can have important influence on the assessment of the centre, Korean community work can take another step forward.

Korean universities have had few professionals to teach and train community workers who can work on community empowerment. Korean community workers have had little experience of CEP, which the research participants highlighted. Like these participants, Korean scholars also point out that it is lacking professors with both experiences of the field and theoretical knowledge (Park, 2001: Park and Lee, 2004); teaching theory-centred social work rather than a practical-oriented practice (Kim et al., 2001; Nam, 2004); lacking integrative education combining practice, theory, and policy (Park, 2004); and preferring clinical/therapeutic approaches instead of transformative ones (Nam, 2004). Community based social work has not been treated as important in the S.K university curriculum or in textbooks. Community work is not a compulsory subject but an option among other subjects for examination in a social work qualification so that community work is regarded as a minor subject in the university. Few textbooks introduce concrete guidance in community practice (Nam, 2004).

In these conditions, Korean scholars propose strategies to enhance Korean community work in two ways. One is a strategy to increase the employment of professional staff majoring in community work. According to the statistics of a professor of employment in social work department of universities in SK, the proportion of full time staff is just 47 per cent in 2004 (Park and Lee, 2004). Since the experts who study community work in social work departments are few, it is difficult to enhance community work without more staff. The other is an approach to enrich communication through building partnerships between community welfare agencies and universities (Choe, 2003; Lee, 2001). By involving universities in community work, scholars provide knowledge and information needed for practitioners but also supplement experiential knowledge by engaging in and examining empirical case studies together with community workers. Interdependence and solidarity can be formed when groups acknowledge the necessity of cooperation to achieve the goal of developing

community work. An interviewee emphasised the need for knowledge to create a Korean model of community empowerment, and a social worker in another research project also stressed the necessity for supervision to promote the practical capacity for empowerment (Yang and Che, 2005). Most Korean community workers want training and to learn how to promote a 'paradigm shift of community work'. Universities in Korea will have to go out to communities to respond to their needs.

CONCLUSION

Implications of CEP and strategies to promote it have been discussed from the perspectives of Western models and ideas. As Western models about the process of conducting CE have rarely been introduced to social work in SK and Korean scholars have conducted limited research on the model of empowering communities (Yang and Che, 2005), I chose Western models and ideas, which are drawn mainly from scholars in the UK because I wanted to challenge the dominance of the American literature in Korean social work. From the 1970s onwards, empowerment and advocacy have been incorporated into general social work practices of Western countries (Payne, 2005). Thus they have much more knowledge to share with others.

Since community work is closely linked to the social, cultural, political and global contexts, applying Western models and ideas to the contexts of SK has some limitations. Hence, I suggest a 'Korean model of community empowerment' that considers the contexts of Korean society, while depending upon a modified Western model and ideas. In my research, I examined how Western models and ideas can be applied to Korean community work, but also can guide directions and inform principles to shift the paradigm of Korean community work. As Western ideas rest on experiential practices and their outcomes, they can provide general and practical knowledge and skills for other community workers. Additionally, as a result of accumulating a lot of research, Western models enable practitioners to be aware of the risks encountered in practice. Although there are some differences of results and practices brought about by applying their knowledge to SK, they can provide resources of knowledge that can minimise risks in practice. Finally, Western models and ideas can inform a theoretical framework developed to evaluate Korean community work reflectively and comparatively. Where knowledge about community empowerment is lacking, Western models can guide the development of Korean community work. At the same time, however, Korean scholars and

community practitioners have a challenging task to develop a model tailored to Korean contexts and communities by going beyond the simple use of the strengths and weaknesses inherent in Western ideas. The next section will discuss key principles for approaching this task.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis has aimed to build a Korean model of community empowerment on the basis of research findings about CEP projects, which were launched by practitioners in SK. The analysis and alternative improvement strategies are expounded in terms of a modified Western model and Western scholars' ideas. This final section aims to discuss the principles, methodology and future research needed for developing a Korean model of community empowerment.

In the first section, I will briefly suggest the principles for developing a Korean model of community practice, distinct from a Western practice model that rests on Korean contexts while sharing some similarities with it. The second section identifies some of the limitations associated with the research methods which were used and which I will use to develop the Korean model whilst suggesting an agenda for future research.

Towards developing a Korean model of community empowerment

Community practitioners, who were involved in the project of community empowerment for three years, acquired significant resources that could be 'handed on' to contribute to a paradigm shift that moves traditional Korean community work towards emancipatory community work. Although the practitioners were lacking knowledge, skills, and information in practicing community empowerment, they left a lot of clues that can be taken up by Korean community workers to transfer practice away from 'traditional Korean ways' and into new ones, e.g., community organising, networking and participation. Korean scholars and practitioners (see Chapter 1) have acknowledged the necessity for developing a Korean model of community empowerment in order to develop Korean community work. Here, I raise the following principles for developing a Korean model of community empowerment based on resources that these practitioners highlighted:

- committing community workers to shift from a community work that engages clients to adapt passively to their environment to emancipatory community work that enables them to take action as human beings holding an active citizenship, as a strategy to transcend the limitations of traditional Korean community work ;

- building up the profession of community work away from a traditional profession controlled by practitioners that exercises power over clients to strengthening residents' capacity to engage with them as professionals who exercise power with local people, obtain resources and knowledge, and promote their rights to make decisions in designing, running and using the services they want;

- strengthening a professional capacity to practice in the context of egalitarian relationships between worker and clients while emphasising harmonious human relationships and emotional ties as this is culturally appreciated in South Korea;

- developing a balance such that community workers are able to negotiate a fine line between active intervention and a watchful distance in the process of empowerment as a proactive measure against conflictual relationships between organisations and community residents ;

- comprehending and criticising practices and policies within the multiple-contexts of communities as a way of moving away from traditional community work focusing on one dimensional practices within communities. These contexts extend from the local community-centred context to those across and beyond communities including the local, national, and global levels. At the same time community practitioners should establish bridging and linking social capital by networks with agencies that are involved in community empowerment;

- recognising the importance of negotiating differences of position between local people and workers and agencies involved in practices; as empowerment practice is different from traditional top-down Korean community practice. There is a need to address the tendency to resist change too;

- setting up strategic directions for change 'step-by-step' from the perspective of the long term rather than a strategy of a one-off in the short term, e.g., in practising community learning based on Freirean ideas and political participation for decision-making, due to the existing context of the cold war between South and North Korea and authoritarian culture;

- accepting the importance of alliances between centres of the WNGOs and CWCs by acknowledging the strengths and weaknesses of each type of centre in order to promote emancipatory community empowerment, and at the same time improving each centre's areas of weaknesses in the context of SK in which both organisations shy away from empowering alliances;

- encouraging universities and research institutes to conduct learning, training and critical reflective practice to help practitioners acquire the knowledge, skills, and appropriate values and ethics that are lacking, and become informed of the risks they might experience when practising community empowerment. This is needed because there is less interest in these activities in SK;

- establishing a 'new association for community empowerment' including experts in community organising, community workers, social activists, educators, lawyers and volunteers who agree with the goal of empowering poor people, when considering the situation that there is no such association in SK. At the same time the new association should facilitate networking activities at both national and global levels; and

- enhancing political capacities and skills to negotiate with residents, key people, colleagues, employers, bureaucrats, politicians and staff in other agencies relating to the community who are likely to be opposed to CEP, and to work in alliance with people and organisations who have an interest in social justice, seek more equal societies, and conduct collective action and mobilise residents to transform oppressive structures. This is necessary because the political and social circumstances that label people who oppose government polices as communists who support North Korea, remain; people who take such risks may be subjected to physical attack or imprisonment.

These are definitive principles for developing a Korean model of community empowerment. There are more ideas that researchers and Korean community workers could discuss and consider. To create a Korean model, other principles have to be added or tested in Korean reality by researchers and community workers. They can analyse these and compare them with Western models and other ideas that can help Korean practitioners develop their own practice further. The model of Korean community work will be developed by those who are seeking to understand people's predicaments and to change them while engaging in community practice in poor communities. The reason community workers should work to

empower local people has been expressed by Dominelli (2004: 253) as an emphasis on the emancipatory approach:

> If social workers cannot engage with clients' every day experiences, they will increase their capacity to disempower and control the interaction to stabilize middle-class power (Margolin, 1977) and use the technologies of governmentality to reaffirm forms of social work practices that produce the clients that the practitioners desire (Pease and Fook, 1996). It is time to reorient power relations within professional client-workers relationships, as well as involving them as citizens in the wider social order, and towards those that are more egalitarian and life affirming. (Dominelli, 2004: 253)

Methodological consideration and future studies

In this study, in-depth interview methods based on grounded theory, feminist, indigenous, and empowerment research approaches were employed to collect data on the practices of community empowerment, in order to develop a Korean model of community empowerment through an analysis of the relevant practices. Those methods provided a variety of significant data reflecting the contexts of Korean community work and the need to establish a Korean model of community empowerment.

However, research based on interviewing has some limitations in terms of the quality and depth of the findings in comparison with participant observation, in which the researcher collects data while actually observing and participating in the work of a community. Participant observation would have enabled me to collect in-depth data through observing action in the field. The research is also limited by: my not including interview data of the experiences of people besides the practitioners involved in the Korean CEP project such as residents, chiefs of the centres, other staff in centres, supervisors, and managers of donor bodies; and the fact that I did not include the opinions about CEP held by policymakers and local civil servants.

Future studies employing participant observation and participatory action research methods are needed to accumulate data by researchers while being involved in actual CEP. Additionally, besides workers, the research needs to include in-depth interviews of other stakeholders such as the chiefs of the centre, the officers of funding agencies and supervisors

involved in the project to reflect the variety of opinions on this matter because this increases the reliability of data, or for taking account of different national and cultural contexts.

Contributions of the thesis

This study provides information and knowledge for Korean community workers who want to practice community empowerment. Western models and ideas about community work are introduced in this study. This study analyses and evaluates the activities of Korean workers engaged in the practical processes of working in empowering poor people. It also proposes strategies suitable in the context of empowering poor Korean communities. This study can help Korean practitioners who need a specific framework or practical model for intervention in carrying out community work.

Secondly, this study can trigger discussions in the Korean academy of social work on how to establish a Korean model of community empowerment. Although the Korean professors of social work have argued the necessity for a Korean model that is appropriate to Korean contexts, they have rarely conducted research to develop and promote such a model by studying cases about CEP in SK. Furthermore, though they have researched subjects relating to it, they have focused mainly on social welfare agencies and social workers belonging to them, while ignoring research on WNGOs which have conducted collective action for poor people. A comparative analysis of the practices of WNGOs and CWCs centres to achieve the goal of community empowerment has not been undertaken. As this study focuses on fields which Korean scholars have rarely researched, it can provoke Korean scholars to discuss and research Korean community work further.

Finally, this study offers an opportunity to examine the strengths and weaknesses of Western models and ideas of community empowerment, reflect upon these and see if there is a theoretical framework of practicing and evaluating community empowerment relevant to SK. As I have analysed and evaluated the Korean empowerment project using a modified Western model and ideas, the usefulness and weaknesses of Western models and ideas when applied to other countries has become apparent. Consequently, this study may reveal some implications for developing the universal elements in Western models and ideas.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM

Community Empowerment in South Korea

Consent form

I consent to participating in the research being conducted by Man-jae Yang which will involve being interviewed, and tape-recorded. I understand the purpose of the research is to contribute to Mr. Yang's PhD and publications that might arise from the data collected. I also understand that:

- **all personal details will be anonymised**
- **the tapes and transcripts may be shared with Yang's Supervisor, but no one else**
- **anonymised extracts from interviews or observation may be used in Yang's thesis or in written/oral presentations and publications derived from the research**

I also understand that the original tapes will be destroyed within one year of the research project being completed.

I also understand that I will be given a summary of the findings if I request it.

I also understand that my involvement in the research is on a voluntary basis and that I can withdraw at any time without having any services to which I am entitiled being affected by my withdrawal.

Name: _____

Signed:_____

Date: _____

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS[1]

1. Would you tell me about your career? (school, age, past careers before being involved the project)

2. Did you have a special motivation to become involved in this CEP project?

3. What thoughts did you have when you were selected to take part in the project?

4. Before launching the project, did you receive any education or training?

5. Did your team set up goals tailored to the communities, besides goals that the CCK suggested?

6. Did you think that the goals and objectives of empowerment that the CCK proposed were appropriate to the situation of your community?

7. What activities did you use to begin achieving these goals?

8. How did you make contact with residents?

9. What kinds of difficulties did you experience in trying to make contact?

10. What do you think are the most significant factors that hindered making this contact?

11. Did you carry out research for practice in the project? If your answer is 'yes', please continue to answer the following questions:

    11-a: Which research methods did you use?

    11-b: What were the difficulties you encountered in conducting the research?

    11-c: In what ways do you think the research helped you in your practice on the project?

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[1] 1: The questions were written in Korean and given to the interviewees in Korean. They were translated into English by me for thesis, as were their replies.

  2: Before interviewing, I did not give interviewees all the items in the interview questions in order to decrease the anticipated burden of answering them. Twelve items (1. 4,5,8,11,12,13,16,18,21,27,29) of the following questions were provided to them as a way of offering them information in advance.

12. As I know that you conducted a variety of programmes, which kinds of programmes did you think were the most effective?

13. Were the educational programmes you offered for residents effective?

14. What are the barrier factors in the education process?

15. Were the educational programmes you received effectives?

16. What were the most difficult things about forming a representative tenant council or organisations?

17. Who or what were the barriers you encountered in forming an organisation?

18. How did you build participations amongst the residents?

19. How did you involve marginalised people in your community?

20. What did you think the barriers to poor people's participation were and in what ways did you try to strengthen it?

21. Did your networking work well?

    21-a: If 'no', what do you think the reasons for that were?

22. Did you think that the CCK's support for the project was effective?

23. Were the supervisors helpful?

24. Which roles do you think are important for practitioners to adopt in practicing community empowerment?

25. What kinds of conflict did you experience in relation to a) internal groups, and b) external groups?

26. What was the nature of the client's relationship with political groups during in the course of the project?

27. After finishing the project did you think that it had brought about changes in the communities you worked in?

28. How did you do reflection on your practice whilst you were working on the project?

29. Having practiced in the project, could you explain what community empowerment is?

30. What do you think are the roles that central government and local authorities should adopt to support good practice in community empowerment?

31. Do you think that Roh Moo-hyun government's policy was helpful in practising community empowerment?

32. Do you think that community empowerment is linked to globalisation?

32-a: If 'yes', how?

The second interview questions by e-mail or telephone in the UK[2]:

1. What values did you have in conducting the CEP project?

2. What similarities and differences do you think were practised in both CWCs and WNGO Centres?

   2-a: What were the strengths and weaknesses of each centre?

3. Were there any organisations that gained the trust of residents and worked actively for residents?

4. What proposals would you make for effective community empowerment practice?

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[2] The second interview was conducted in the UK by email or telephone. Besides the 4 questions above, I asked some additional question to supplement the first interview answers.

APPENDIX III: Interviewees Profile

Date of the first Interview and Respondents Profile

06/11/ 2006

Kim (M): He is a social activist of the WNGO without a qualification in social work. After graduating from a college, he acted as a voluntary teacher helping the children of poor people and engaged in activities of creating alternative school for them.

06/11/ 2006:

Song (M): His status is that of a pastor, He had been involved in the movement to help poor people in the undergraduate school in Seoul. He studied 'theology for people' at the graduate school. After becoming a pastor, he received training in community organising for a year in the Philippines.

07/11/2006

Kyung (F): Her status is that of general director of WNGO with a qualification in social worker. She acted a voluntary teacher for the children of poor people at the undergraduate. She got a Master degree in social work and studied community organising.

07/11/ 2006

Soo (M): As a social activist, he had a successful experience in forming a representative council in his own apartment complex as well as engaging in the activities to construct a permanent renting apartment in the 1980s. He has a postgraduate qualification from the Department of Local government Policy (MSd).

26/07/ 2007

Won (M) has been working for 10 years in the community welfare centre after graduating from the Department of Social Work in a university. His position is a team leader of community work division in the Community Welfare Centre

02/11. 2006

Lee (F) has worked for 8 years and 4 months in the Community Welfare Centre and had practised community work for 7 years. She studied social work at both undergraduate and Master's level.

25/01/2007

Gong (M): After he majored in zoo techniques at the undergraduate in local university, he obtained a Masters degree in social work. He has worked 4 years and three months as a social worker. Since then he worked as a military officer and was entitled to be involved in the project.

17/01/ 2007

Ming (F) studied art design at the undergraduate level in her local university and obtained a Masters degree in social work. She worked as a general director in the YWCA of the local city for 4 years and acted as a part-time lecturer of social work in the university.

10/01/2007

Jin (M) studied Koran Literature at the local university and social work in Master's level. He thought that he was employed because he conducted many voluntary activities.

25/01/2007

Jung (M) is a social worker who has worked for five years in the Community Welfare Centre. He graduated from the Department of Social Work in the undergraduate school in the local university.

These profiles are summarised in the following Table.

Interviewees Profile

	Interview Date	Sex	Age	Years: career	Previous Roles	School Career	Current Status	Location
Kim	06/11/2006	M	30s	13	Social activist	College	Chief of the WNGO	**Seoul**
Song	06/11/2006	M	40s	10	Volunteer (for the poor)	Studying theology	A pastor In Korean Anglican Church	**Seoul**
Kyung	07/11/2006	F	30s	12	Community worker in WNGO	Masters degree in Social work	No position	**Seoul**
Soo	07/11/2006	M	60s	5	Social activist	Masters degree in Policy	A social activist in WNGO	**Seoul**
Won	26/07/2007	M	30s	10	Community worker in CWC	A bachelor In social work	A team leader in CWC	**Seoul**
Lee	02/11.2006	F	30s	8	Community worker in CWC	A bachelor In social work	A chief in Child care centre	**Seoul**
Gong	25/01/2007	M	30s	4	A military officer	A Masters degree in community develop	A officer In local planning centre	**Kwang Ju city**
Myung	17/01/2007	F	50s	6	Director in Local YMCA	Masters degree in Social work	A chief in child care centre	**Tae Gu city**
Jin	10/01/2007	M	30s	4 (as volunteers)	Volunteer	Masters degree in Social work	A social worker in public elementary school	**Bu San city**
Jung	25/01/2007	M	30s	5	Community worker in CWC	A bachelor In social work	A chief in private delivery office	**Nam Won city**

The Second Interview Schedule (by e-mail and telephone)

Name	Date sending questions by e-mail	Date answers received	Date to respond by e-mail (E) or telephone (T)
Gong	10/ 09/ 2008	16/09/2008	17/09 (E and T)
Soo	10 /09 /2008	18/09/2008	18/09 (E) and 25/09(T)
Jin	11/ 09/ 2008	24/09/2008	24/09 (E)
Won	11/ 09/ 2008	03/12/2008	03/12(E) and 05/12 (T)
Lee	19/ 09/ 2008	25/10/2008	25/10(E) and 31/10(T)
Kyung	11/ 09/ 2008	31/10/2008	31/10 (E) and 03/11 (T)
Jung	11/ 09/ 2008	29/09/2008	29/09 (E)
Song	11 /09/ 2008	16/09/2008	16/09 (E)
Kim	11/ 09/ 2008	19/09 /2008 (by telephone)	10/10 (T)
Myung	11/09/ 2008	22/09/2008 (by telephone)	02/11 (T)

The Third Interview Schedule to Share the Results of the Data analysis

Name	Method	Date	Time
Gong	**Telephone**	**04/03/2009**	**25 minutes (M)**
Soo	**Telephone**	**10/03/ 2009**	**20M**
Jin	**Telephone**	**02/03/2009**	**30 M**
Won	**Face-to-Face Meeting**	**26/02/2009**	**60 M**
Lee	**Face-to-Face Meeting**	**26/02/2009**	**45M**
Kyung	**Face-to-Face Meeting**	**27/02/2009**	**65M**
Jung	**Telephone**	**04/03/2009**	**25M**
Song	**Telephone**	**05/03/2009**	**20 M**
Kim	**Face-to-Face Meeting**	**27/02/2009**	**65M**
Myung	**Face-to-Face Meeting**	**19/02/2009**	**60M**

Appendix IV-1: Location of Ten Centres and My Location in South Korea

Appendix IV-2: The Situations of 10 Community Development Centres Practicing CEP

The division of organization	The name of Community Development Centre (CDC)	The name of the Agency Managing CDC	The location of CDC	The numbers of Workers	The number of households (complex targeted)
WNGOC*	*Kang Nam* CDC	*Kang Nam* People Solidarity	Seoul	3	PRA 50* 6,717/(8)
WNGOC	*Won Min* CDC	The Sharing of a House of *Won Min*	Seoul	3	PRA 50 / PPRA 24.534/(20-5)
WNGOC	*Doo San* CDC	The Peaceful House of *Doo San*	*Seoul*	3	PRA 50 1,800/(4)
WNGOC	*Dong Sun* CDC	Peace House of *Dong Sung*	*Seoul*	3	PRA 50 5,400/(6)
DCWC[3] Non-profit Organisation (NPO)	*Kang Buk* CDC	A Community Welfare Centre in Seoul *Kang Buk*	*Seoul*	3	PPRA 1,988/(1)
DCWC (NPO)	*Hwa Jin* CDC	Community Welfare Centre of *Hwa Jin*	*Seoul*	3	PPRA 1.836/(1)
DCWC (NPO)	*Min Ju* CDC	Community Welfare Centre *Min Ju* in K wang	*Kwang Ju* city	3	PPRA 1.133/(1)
DCWC (NPO)	*Young A* CDC	Community Welfare Centre *Young A* in Tae Gu	*Tae Gu* city	3	PPRA 2,610/(1)
DCWC (NPO)	*Noh Hyun* CDC	Community Welfare Centre of *Noh Hyun in* Bu San	*Bu San* city	3	PPRA 1,984/(1)
DCWC (NPO)	*Hyun Dae* CDC	Community Welfare Centre of *Hyun Dae* in Nam Won	*Nam Won* city	2	PPRA 466/(1)

*WNGOC: Non-Government Organization for Welfare in the CEP project *DCWC: Community Welfare Centre in the CEP project*CD: Community Development Centre *PRA 50: Public Rental Apartment for 50 year lease *PPRA: Permanent Public Rental Apartment

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[3]I regard a DCWC as a non-profit organisation. A non-profit organisation is defined as a body of individuals who associate for any of three purposes: to perform public tasks that have been delegated to them by the state; to perform public tasks for which there is a demand that neither the state nor for-profit organisations are willing to fulfil; or to influence the direction of policy in the state, the for profit sector, or other non-profit organisations (Hall, 1987). Korean DCWCs perform the public tasks of offering welfare services that are delegated by the state, receiving funds from government. They have little impact on the policies of government. In contrast, WNGOCs are organisations that seek to monitor and change the policy of government in order to promote citizens' welfare rights, without relying on funds from government like the DCWC. But some of them are funded by government or business sectors through sponsorship.

Appendix V: Empirical Data and Analysis about Community Organising in Ten Centres

Appendix V-1: The *Hwa Jin*; A practice toward non-directive approach by practitioner's low directive intervention and the high level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core[4] Categories)	Axial coding: Sub-Categories[5]; Paradigm[6]	Property[7] & degree	Open/initial coding (concepts or categories)	Participant's Statement (Lee)
A practice towards a non-directive approach by practitioner's low directive intervention and the high level of voluntary involvement in forming an organisation	• <u>Condition</u> (Underline means elements of paradigm) : failure experience of organising led by workers-centred •Low level in the practitioners' direct intervention by experience of failure	• Degree of property; strong opposition of Korean tradition practice	• A failure of organising • Reasons of failure: short time and practice led by practitioners • Importance of voluntary involvement • Securing trust • Needing time to build organisation	• Before becoming involved in this project, we experienced a failure of community organising in 2001 … Because the community welfare centre tried to form organisation within a short time according to a plan the centre set up in advance, we failed. • After reflecting upon the failure, we carefully approached to activities about organising. We concluded that the organisation is formed by those residents

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[4] Core categories refer to significant categories to encompass subcategories and categories in selective coding. I used these such as a non-directive approach, directive approach, traditional approach, and self-directive approach in building organisations.

[5] Subcategories refer to concepts that pertain to categories, giving it further clarification and specification (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101). I used subcategories as practitioners' intervention and voluntary involvement in building organisations.

[6] The paradigm refers to an analytical tool devised to help analysts integrate structure with process. The structure means the conditional context in which a category (phenomenon) is situated, whereas the process means sequences of action/interaction pertaining to a phenomenon as they evolve over time (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 123). I used the elements of the paradigm such as condition, interactive strategy, and outcomes (consequences).

[7] Properties mean characteristics of a category, the delineation of which defines and gives it meaning (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101). I used the properties as an analytical tool to express a degree of categories, i.e., the extent of practitioner's directive intervention and numbers of voluntary residents' involvement. Dimensions refer to the range along which general properties of a category vary, giving specification to a category and variation to the theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101). I used the dimensions as an analytical tool to express categories at high or low level.

	• <u>Interactional strategies:</u> building for trust; finding key people; raising community issues; providing the space for public meeting		• Finding key people • Traditional Korean culture in creating an organisation • Resistance to Korean routine practice • Prior plan • Method of organising through discussing community issues	with sufficient time engaging voluntarily. • To form organisation, we conducted two things. One was attempts to secure trust from residents… The other was works to find people who have a strong commitment to community. • The welfare centre is a strong culture that it organises with an intention where the centre wants to control. The social workers form organisations and select participants according to a plan they had already set up. This is routine practice of a Korean community welfare centre
		• Level of property; low in the practitioners' intervention by providing opportunities for residents	• Arranging public meeting for discussing • Perceiving of residents needs	• We did not conduct the routine practice. We offered opportunities where residents can raise community issues and discuss them. For instance, because our community is dirty, it is easy for us to publicise a necessity for an organisation to clear up community. Rather than this practice we selected the way to publicise public meeting for addressing the cleaning issue.

			• Forming other organisations by indirective way after success	•We became aware that they had interests in community issues as well as their livelihood ones. After discovering this condition, we focused on this way in forming other organisations.
• <u>Outcome;</u> High level of voluntary involvement	• Level of property; high level of autonomy and sustain participation	• Methods of publicity		• When notifying the time and place at the meeting to residents, a lot of people attended it with interest about the issues. We had thought residents had little interest in it. But 100 residents attended the meeting. 23 of them engaged in the organisation for clearing community.
		•Autonomous involvement of many people		
• Keeping organisation by residents' voluntary activities	•Level of property; high level of sustainable organisation	• Sustaining an organisation by residents' themselves attempts		• Although a few people seceded from the organisation, key members remained continuously involved in it and they enabled new people to become involved in it.

Appendix V-2: The *Noh Hyun*; A practice towards non-directive approach by practitioner's low directive intervention and the high level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding: Sub-Categories; Paradigm	Property & degree	Initial/open coding (concepts or categories)	Participant's Statement (Jin)
A practice towards a non-directive approach by practitioner's low directive intervention and the high level of voluntary involvement in forming an organisation	• <u>Outcomes</u>: Building two organisation to produce effective activities •<u>Interaction strategy</u>: providing motivation for creating organisation by offering public lecture; recommendation to become involving an organisation; publicity activities after face-to-face meeting •Low level in practitioners' direct intervention by providing opportunities of involvement for residents	•Degree of property: low level in practitioners' intervention	• Successful outcomes in forming organisations • Organising by an indirective way through offering lectures • indirective way in forming an organisation • Inducing residents to become involving organisation by recommendation • Organising by practitioner's recommendations and publicity activities • Persuading of a necessity of an organisation to people with concerns	• Organisation in which we had a good outcome was two organisations. The one was a group for the improvement of environment and a group of women. We used a detouring way rather than directive one to form an organisation by publicity activities to residents. • As a way to create an organisation, firstly we offered a lecture relating activities of organisation to residents, For example, when we tried to form a group of woman, a lecturer interested in enhancing women's right was invited. • After ending the lecture, we said to participants there is a necessity for

			• Public activities after face-to-face meeting	the organisation and recommended them and those, who we thought have concerns about the issues, to involve themselves in it. Publicity activities such as attaching a flag and in internet website were followed. By these ways, we formed a few small groups
	•High level of residents' voluntary involvement by change of residents' eyes •Outcomes: increasing voluntary participants •Mediating condition: Residents' change to organisations	• Degree of property : progressive high the increase of involvement	• A few residents' involvement at the outset • Increase of participation by change of residents' evaluation	• In the case of an organisation to improve the physical environment of the community, there were not many participants in the start. It was only around 10 people. But the physical environment of community was started progressively by their activities. With increasing residents' praise, voluntary participants increased progressively.

Appendix V-3: The *Hyun Dae*; A practice towards non directive approach by practitioner's low directive intervention and low level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding: Sub-Categories; Paradigm	Property & degree	Initial/open coding (concept: categories)	Participant's Statement (Jung)
A practice towards non-directive approach by practitioner's low directive intervention and the low level of voluntary involvement in forming an organisation	• <u>Condition</u>: Need of community organisation

•<u>Interaction strategies</u>: creating organisations by providing opportunities of meeting for residents; encouraging them

•Low level in practitioner's direct intervention by offering opportunity to residents | • Degree of property; low level of practitioner's' intervention

; | • Perceiving the need of participants for conducting project

• Inducement of residents' voluntary involvement by offering an opportunity of public meeting

• Encouraging residents to become involved in organisation by raising community issues | • It needed those who involve in organisation for conducting the project. So we offered an opportunity that enabled residents to become involved in the organisation. It was a meeting where residents discussed community issues. For example, we encouraged residents to talk over issues such as the community physical environment, what residents should do to address it. Through the meeting, we encouraged them to see the need for an organisation. And then we proposed they should become involved in it. Some people involved in the organisation…. By this way, we created small organisations and a representative one. |

•Outcomes: A few voluntary residents •A low level in voluntary involvement by taking part in organisation for most residents who had relationship	• Degree of property : a low level in voluntary participant	• Involving of around 10 voluntary residents	• There were actually not many people who took part in voluntarily organisations. For example, around 10 people joined the group to clear an apartment complex. Except a few people, most are residents who were joined by our persuasion or had good relationship with our welfare centre. A few people acted positively than our workers.
•Mediating condition: need of practitioner's intervention in condition at low level of self determination	• Degree of property: a low level of sustainable involvement	• Most participants having good relationship with practitioners: a few volunteers • Low sustainable voluntary involvement without the intervening of practitioners • Low level of residents' self-determination • Nearly failure of organisation by voluntary involvement	• It was difficult for residents to become involved in for self-determination. When practitioners' intervention was low, residents' activities were likely to be weak. Organisations should have been activated by participant- self power. We hardly succeeded.

Appendix V-4: The *Woo Min*; A practice toward a self- directive approach by practitioner's lower directive intervention and higher level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding: Sub-Categories; Paradigm	Property & degree	Initial/open coding (concepts: categories)	Participant's Statement (Song)
A practice towards a self-directive approach by practitioner's lower directive intervention and the higher level of voluntary involvement in forming an organisation	• <u>Causal condition</u>: need of trust in building organisation	• Degree of property ; strong importance about trust	• Traits of Korean traditional practice in building organisation: conducting a practice without forming trust; practitioner-centred	• Without trust, forming representative organisation can lead its members to get distorted authoritarian consciousness… Practitioners stimulate residents and enable them to raise unsatisfying things, and then try to form organisation. So they guide residents to get things they want. This is regarded as a traditional way in creating organisation.
	• Lower level in practitioners' intervention by indirect way offering opportunities of decision-making to residents and perceiving of traditional way • <u>Interaction strategies</u>: building trust; suggestion of a practitioner; raising community issues: finding a self-directive residents;	• Degree of property; low level in practitioners' intervention • Degree of property: high level in a few mothers' passion	• A pre-existing organisation led by volunteers (mothers) •The suggestion of a practitioner to develop an organisation • Raising community issues for and with residents	•There were two mothers who taught their own children and these friends in their home. We suggested a proposal to mothers to address learning issue of community together with us. We asked them questions of what we can help you and introduced the English teachers they wanted. In these processes, a *Kong Bu Bang* organisation had developed.

			• Existence of a few self-directive women	• As *Kong Bu Bang* organisation was created by mothers' initiative, we proposed a condition that parent should be involved in it. Since then, we gave them opportunities so they can participate.
	Outcome: increasing voluntary residents		• Suggesting a condition for involving many people in organisation	
		• Degree of property: higher in voluntary involvement of residents		• Question: What are the effective factors in informing a *Kong Bu Bang* organisation? Answer: I think, we catch an issue well and we were fortunate to meet mothers with strong spontaneity. There were a lot of actions based on the voluntary
	• Higher level voluntary involvement by creating trust and community issues and existing a few passionate residents		• Raising community issue to want residents to address	
				• In the start, Only 3 mothers had sympathy with *Kong Bu Bang*. And with conducting activities, the sympathy extended and the participants also increased…
		• Degree of property: higher level in the increase of involvement	• Progressively increasing of the participants by sympathizing with creating an organisation	• In 2005, the organisation was operated by 23 children, 3 teachers as mother (who lives in community), 23 parents and 15 volunteers.
			•Increasing various volunteers from 3 to 41	

Appendix V-5: The *Kang Buk*; A practice towards a directive approach by practitioner's higher directive intervention and higher level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding: Sub-Categories; paradigm	Property & degree	Initial/open coding (concepts: categories)	Participant's Statement (Won)
A practice towards a directive approach by practitioner's higher directive intervention and the higher level of voluntary involvement in forming an organisation	• <u>Conditions</u>: failure of building representative organisation • <u>Interactive strategy</u>: strong commitment of practitioner: prosing a vision of community development made by practitioners; publicity activity offering a carrot to community •Higher level in the practitioners' direct intervention by proposing a vision of community and conducting	• Degree of property; a higher level of practitioners' willingness •Degree of property: a stronger level of practitioner's commitment • Degree of property; a higher level of practitioner's passion for achieving a given goal	• Failure of building representative organisation due to a resistance of residents •Practitioners' strong willingness for forming an organisation • Creating the vision of community development • Strong commitment for creating a vision of organisation led by practitioners • Higher passion of practitioners in publicising activity for forming an organisation • Publicity activity offering a 'carrot' to all households	• Although we tried to form a tenant representative council, we failed to create it due to tenants' resistance. So we attempted once again to form organisation that is able to alternate it, what is called a *JU Sa We* (a committee for happy community through resident's participation). • To present a vision of the necessity for the organisation (*Ju Sa We*) to residents in a public meeting, our four practitioners live together for a month. • So we concerned ourselves with the ways to bring them out of the home. We decided to select a way of publicity. At that time it was January and cold winter. When a leaflet giving notice of a meeting time and a place has been put into a letter box, it went easily into the bin. Thus we made a small signed leaflet which could be seen. We attached it to a key hole of all households (about 2000 ones) with a small cake. We did it

publicity activities for all households			over a night
• <u>Outcome</u>: Increasing voluntary participants

•A higher level in residents' voluntary involvement by involving in many new residents | • Degree of property: a high level of residents' voluntary involvement

• Degree of property: a high level of participants increase | • Many new voluntary residents than people who had a good relationship

• Increasing the participation of voluntary residents | • 60 residents attended the meeting. 15 of them engaged voluntarily in the organisation after the meeting. Excepting 4-5 peoples who gave us advice, around ten people involved themselves in it on their own initiative.
• Participants increased from 15 at the start to about 30 at the end. |

Appendix V-6: The *Min Ju*; A practice towards a traditional approach by practitioner's high directive intervention and lower level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding: Sub-Categories/ paradigm	Property & degree	Initial/open coding (concepts: categories)	Participant's Statement (Gong)
A practice towards a traditional approach by practitioner's high directive intervention and the lower level of voluntary involvement in forming an organisation	• <u>Interactive strategy</u>: a practice practitioner-centred; face-to-face meeting in publicity activity; caring for residents; asking residents to become involved in organisation • <u>Condition</u>: Low level of involvement by low school career and employment •High level in practitioners' directive intervention by plan- led worker and caring activities	•Degree of property ; A high in practitioner' directive conditions •Degree of property: high in practitioner' intervention • Degree of property ; high in practitioners' asking to residents	• A practice led by practitioners' plan • Community condition: low level of involvement by low school career and employment • Inevitable condition of practitioners' intervention • Publicity strategy by face-to- face meeting • Caring for private affairs •Worker's' directive intervention by caring activities • Demanding residents' involvement by worker' asking for it	• Activities to form a small organisation were carried out by a plan we established. • Because residents are low in school career and ability of working, we, our workers cannot avoid intervening. • Only by transmitting by leaflet and attaching it did not enable residents to take part in organisation. • To be involved in organisation, we cared for the residents more than the welfare centre. We cared for even their private affairs. Without doing these caring, it is difficult for them to become involved in organisation. •We went to a meeting face-to-face of key people and a representative one. We made a lot of requests for them to take part in organisation.

•<u>Outcomes</u>: a few voluntary involvement • A lower level of residents' voluntary involvement	• Level of property: lower voluntary involvement; higher level in practitioners' commitment	• Worker's commitment • Hardship of voluntary involvement • A few residents' involvement	• After engaging in the project, I worked late at10 or at dawn for six months. Nonetheless, it was really difficult for us to bring residents out of home. A few residents, around 5-6 persons took part in an organisation.

Appendix V-7: The *Dong Sun*; A practice towards a traditional approach by practitioner's high directive intervention and lower level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding: Sub Categories/ paradigm	Property & degree	Initial/open coding (concepts: categories)	Participant's Statement (Soo)
A practice towards a traditional approach by practitioner's high directive intervention and the lower voluntary involvement in forming organisation	• <u>Initial condition</u>: Successful career in creating an organisation •<u>Interactive strategy</u>: emphasizing of rights by face-to-face meeting; publicity activity and suggesting rewards to key people • High level in practitioners directive intervention by face-to-face meeting targeting to key people	•Degree of property; high degree of meeting face-to-face •Property of degree; low in publicity activities for all residents	• Successful experience in creating organisation by practitioner-centred • Methods of organising: informing a sense of right and face-to-face meeting by practitioner's directive intervention • Publicity activities targeted to key people • Passionately face-to-face meeting	• I took part in this project. The chief of the centre knew me that I had succeeded in creating a representative organisation of public rental house apartment by my initiative. So he employed me. • We tried to persuade residents the necessity of representative organisation. I said it can give rights to you. Your rights are being taken away. We met them in a restaurant. We did not transmit by leaflet. They were persons who *Tong Jang Ban Jang* recommended. At there, I said that if you become involved in organisation, our workers will help and support you actively. We met them with commitment during 2 or 3 months. Most of them sympathised with the activities of organisation.

	• Outcome: A few volunteers •A lower level of residents' voluntary involvement	• Degree of property: A lower in voluntary involvement	• A few people's voluntary involving in organisation • Little sustainability of organisation	• So we had a departure ceremony of organisation. After the ceremony, most of them did not come to the meeting. Only 2-3 took part in it. The organisation was gradually dropped.

Appendix V-8: The *Doo San*; A practice toward a traditional approach by practitioner's high directive intervention and the lower level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding: Sub Categories/ paradigm	Property & degree	Initial/open coding (concepts: categories	Participants Statement (Kyung)
A practice towards a traditional approach by practitioners' high intervention and the lower level of voluntary involvement in forming organisation	• <u>Condition</u>: location of the centre outside community •<u>Interactive strategy</u>: attempts to build trust with residents; raising community issue •A high level of practitioners' directive intervention by community issue led by practitioners	• Degree of property; a high degree in practitioners' intervention • Degree of property: A high degree in participation intervention in raising community issue	• Passion of practitioners • Methods of organising: many attempts to build trust with residents • Location of the centre outside community • Creating an organisation by raising community issue for building a welfare centre	• We did do everything we could in order to form organisation. We educated them, and festival events. …We went to see them with a marquee and stayed all day long. • There was a successful case in the forming of an organisation. After knowing a fact that there is no a community centre offering rest for elder people (which is called *Roh In Jung* or *Kyung Ro Dang* in Korean language), we raised the issue of constructing it to residents. Several people engaged in our activities. By raising this issue, we built an organisation.
	•<u>Outcome</u>: involvement of many volunteers when raising the issue; less volunteers involvement after solving the issue	• Degree of property: high voluntary involvement at the stage of raising the issue	•Voluntary engagement of several people in creating the centre by raising the issues	• However, after addressing the issue, activity of the organisation was dropped gradually. The organisation did not go forward.

•A lower level in residents' voluntary involvement by lacking sustainability of community issue • <u>Mediating Condition</u>: sustainability community issues	• Degree of property; a lower level in sustainable involvement after addressing the issues • Degree of property: low level in developing community issue	• Absence of community issues after addressing a issue • A lack of sustainable community issue • Little sustainable voluntary involvement after solving the issue	• What is empowerment is an act that residents create an organisation for their needs and build their capacity by being involved in it actively. Yet, they did not take part in it and only a few participants were always engaged.

Appendix V-9: The *Kang Nam;* a practice towards a traditional approach by practitioner's high directive intervention and lower level of voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding Sub-categories/ paradigm	Property & degree	Initial open coding (concepts; categories)	Participant's Statement (Kim)
A traditional approach towards a traditional approach by practitioner's high directive intervention and lower voluntary involvement in forming organisation	• <u>Conditions</u>: existence of a few residents who sympathising with the centre; a bias against the centre; community condition at low level of involvement • <u>Interactive strategy</u>: contacting with residents who had good relationships; holding often festival events •High level in practitioners' directive intervention to change image of the centre by opening several events	•Degree of property: ; A high level in practitioner's intervention by face to-face meeting and public meeting •Property of degree; High practitioner intervention in inducing of residents involvement according to strategy	• Existence of participants of social movement • Contacting with residents who sympathised with practitioners • A bias against a WNGO •Perceiving the centre as anti-government group •Implementing a practice to change residents' bias by conducting events • Positive activities toward people who we can involve in organisation. • Inducing residents participation by small festival events	• There have been some people who took part in the movement that resist the policy of regeneration through the removing of residents. To form a representative organisation, we met them. We believed that they understood partly the activities of our centre. They helped us by introducing influential people. We made a lot of efforts to get close to them. Some of them took part in organisation. • Residents got a bias towards our centre. This is fighting groups against the government. The group is always a struggle group. To reduce this image, we held event meetings such as an event for planting trees. These events needed as a way to lead them to bring them out of apartment home. We also held the meeting to explain a necessity for organisation.

•Outcome: a few volunteers	• Property of degree: a lower in voluntary involvement	• A fewer voluntary residents than residents who had good relationship	• Only a few people took part in organisation. The ration between voluntary participants and those who attended it by our asking or good relationship with us was about 7 versus 3.
•Low level in residents' voluntary involvement	• Property of degree; a lower in new voluntary participant	• Few new engager due to community condition	• Q: are there some people who have always been involved or often participate in it? It is a reality in this area that those people initiate the organisation.

Appendix V-10: The *Young A*; A practice towards a traditional approach by practitioner's high directive intervention and increasing from low level to higher level in voluntary involvement

Selective coding (Core Categories)	Axial coding: Sub-Categories/ paradigm	Property & degree	Initial open coding (concept: categories)	Participant's Statement (Myung)
A practice towards a traditional approach by high level of practitioner's intervention and increasing from low level to high level in voluntary involvement in forming organisation	•Interactive strategy: creating rapport with key people in the community; building trust by face-to-face meeting; education for residents • Condition: community situation of needing long period; residents' life conditions being involved in an organisation •High level in practitioner's directive intervention	• Property of degree; high practitioner' directive intervention for building sympathy through rapport • Property of degree; high level of practitioner's intervention by working together • Property of degree: low in perceiving trust in the outset period	• Contacting community leaders • Finding key people in the community • Securing key people to help organising activities through creating rapport • Taking long time in building an organisation • Perceiving an importance of trust • Building trust by making contacts	• I attempted to meet three people who had been regarded as having leadership. They met in the restaurant. There I said to them, we come here in order to conduct the project to organise people. We could not go forward. It is difficult to disclose their minds. With these stories, I told them stories about my life. They also did so about their difficult lives. After communicating, they told me that they were willing to support what I do. • In the case of a group to help difficult people, it was organised after seven months from the start of the project. We became aware that the reason is a lack of trust between residents and us. So as a practice to acquire the trust, we worked together with helpers who support self-sufficiency projects.

	•<u>Outcome</u>: increasing from lower level to high level of residents' in voluntary involvement	• Degree of property: a lower in voluntary involvement	• A barrier of community involvement due to life condition	• Because of life conditions, there are not many people who sense fruits through activities of organisation. Only one or two people's participation should be evaluated as a great outcome. • Ten people among those who had a good relationship with us joined the group.
		• Degree of property: a high in the increase of involvement after building trust and providing education programmes	• Engaging 10 voluntary residents • Increasing the engagement of voluntary residents by education • Twice increase by supporting an organisation	• As a way to enable participants to manage for themselves, we provided educational programmes for them such as role and mission of voluntary worker. • At the ending of the project, members of participants increase twice as many. The organisation did help disabled families and families with serious patient in terms of their initiatives

Appendix VI: Educational Activities and Programmes for CEP

Name of CDC*	Name of Programme	Number of Participant	Year of Implementation	Frequency
Kang Buk	▪ Academy for grass-roots based community	▪ 30 (residents)	▪ 2ⁿᵈ year 06-07- 2003 ▪ 3ʳᵈ year 03-05-2005	▪ 8 session, one per a week (2003) ▪ 6 sessions, twice a week (2005)
Kang Nam	▪ Education for Volunteers ▪ Education for Rearing Children ▪ Education for Community Leaders	▪ 30 (TJBJ and Women Leader) ▪ 9 (Women) ▪ 20 (Members of a TRC, and TJBJ)	▪ 2nd year 2003 ▪ 3rd year 2005 ▪ 3rd tear 2005	▪ non-regularly ▪ 16 session, once a week ▪ 2 session, once a week
Hyun Dae	▪ Education for Empowerment	▪ 100 (Community leaders and residents)	▪ 3rd year 2005	▪ Issues of Community: twice in Speeches by a Lecturer: twice ▪ Field visiting: twice by workshop
Won Min	▪Education for empowerment: Opening learning ▪ Education for Parents	▪ 20 (residents) ▪ 50 parents	▪ 2nd year ▪ 2nd year	▪ Issues of community: 10 session ,once a month ▪ once a year
Doo Sun	▪Education for Apartment Self-Governance	▪10/ per three month (Community leader)	▪ 3rd year	▪ Issues of community: 3 session ,once per month
Min Ju	▪ Conference for the Solution of Community Problems ▪ Creating a Happy Neighbourhood	▪ 120 (community leaders, residents and practitioners) ▪ 20 residents	▪ 3rd year ▪ 3rd year	▪ Once/ a year ▪ 7session one a week/ once a year
Young A	▪ Education for Community Leaders & Residents ▪ Education for Groups of Helping Neighbours	▪ 100 (Community leader & residents) ▪ 30 (Member of Group of Helping Neighbour)	▪ 3rd year ▪ 3rd year	▪ Education for residents: twice a year ▪ Education for tenants' representatives: once a year ▪ Cultivating Education: twice a year
Noh Hyun	▪ Education for Community Leaders	▪ 18 (Community Leaders)	▪ 3rd year	▪ 6 sessions/ three/ a year
Dong Sun	▪Education for Mothers	▪ 20 (mothers)	▪ The second year	▪ twice a year
Hwa Jin	▪ Education for the Members of Organisations that are newly established ▪ Education for Community Leaders	▪ 30 members ▪ 30 members ▪ 8 (Community leaders)	▪ 1st year ▪ 2nd year ▪ 3rd year	▪ irregularly ▪ irregularly ▪ 5 sessions once a year

Appendix VII-1:
Differences and Similarity in Networking Activities between DCWCs and WNGOCs

Activities	DCWCs	WNGOCs
▪ Use of Terms ▪ Relationships towards External CWCs, WNGO and NGOs ▪ Chief attitude	▪ Preference of Network ▪ Seoul DCWCs & a Local DCWC: Active ▪ Local CWCs : Less Interest ▪ Seoul DCWCs: Support in networking activities ▪ Local DCWCs: Reluctance in networking activities	▪ Preference of Solidarity ▪ Active ▪ Support in networking activities
• **Internal Agencies (Groups)** ▪ TJBJ (*Tong Jang and Ban Jang)* ▪ TRC (Tenant Representative Council) ▪ Management Office of Apartment	▪ Creating Organisations ▪ Keeping Friendly-Relationships/ Conflict Relationships (the *Min Ju* Centre) ▪ Playing Roles as Mediators	▪ Creating Organisation/ Transformative Practice (the *Dong Sun* Centre) ▪ Keeping Friendly-Relationship/ Activities of TRC-centred ▪ Playing Roles as Mediator
• **External Agencies (Groups)** ▪ Central Government ▪ Local Government ▪ CCK ▪ Supervisory Group ▪ Political Groups	▪ Less contact but no network ▪ Seoul DCWCs: contact but no network ▪ Local DCWCs: No Contact (Except: *Noh Hyun*) ▪ Less contacting but no a network ▪ Less sustainable ▪ Seoul DCWCs: active but passive relationship ▪ Local DCWCs: less interests in political activities	▪ Less contact but no network ▪ Active contacts but no network ▪ Less contact but no network ▪ Less sustainable ▪ Active relationship/ Active but passive relationships

Appendix VII-2:
Differences and Similarities in the Outcomes of Personal Empowerment and Positive Actions in the DCWCs and WNGOCs

Outcomes	DCWCs	WNGOCs
Personal/Psychological Aspects	▪ Enhancement of residents' self-esteem and confidence ▪ Knowledge about activities of a TRC	▪ Perceiving residents' self-value ▪ Strengthening residents' self-determination ▪ Developing a rights consciousness
Positive Actions	▪ Increasing the degree of self-reliance activity ▪ Suggesting some proposals about community development to the centre ▪ Decreasing the amount of fly tipping ▪ Vitalizing activities of helping neighbours ▪ Decreasing the rate of suicide ▪ Increasing activities to improve the image of the community ▪ Changing from authoritarian behaviours into democratic ones ▪ Increasing residents' involvement	▪ Increase voices to express residents' right ▪ Decreasing number of fighting between residents and management office of apartment ▪ Democratic running of the TRC

Appendix VIII: Conditions and Differences in the Centres of the DCWCs and WNGOCs

CONDITIONS	DCWCs	WNGOCs
Background of Birth	The government policy of the Roh Tae-woo administration	*Bin Min* movement of 1980s
Financial Basis	Supporting 80% of total finance by government/ stability of finance compared to WNGOs	Donations by contributors/ Implementing projects to raise funds/ Fragility of finance
Human Resources	Social workers having a qualification	Paid-volunteers having experiences as a social activists
Targets	PPRAC/ One complex/ Small scale units	PPRAC and PRC 50/ Several complexes/ large scale units
Characteristics of Organisation	Activities favouring hierarchical relationship	Activities favouring horizontal relationship
Perception of Residents	Welfare agency providing only care services for vulnerable people	Struggle groups against the policies of government

Appendix IX: Features of Both Traditional Korean Model of Community Work and Innovative Community Empowerment Practice

I drew up features of both a traditional Korean model of community work (TKMCW) and innovative CEP project (ICEP) in following aspects: 1) contexts; 2) knowledge, values and approaches; and 3) skills and methods for practice.

Appendix IX-1: Multi-contexts of TKMCW and ICEP

Multi-Contexts	TKMCW	ICEP
Global Level	▪ Globalisation after the financial crisis (1997) and before it	▪ Globalisation after the financial crisis (1997)
National Policies	▪ Governments of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun: Self-Help and Self-Sufficiency Schemes on the basis of MLSG and Balanced National Development policy (BNDP)	▪ Participatory Government (PG) of Roh Moo-hyun: stressing community development on the basis of BNDP and devolution policies
Social-Cultural of Community	▪ National level: Authoritarian administrative culture (Top-down Culture) ▪ Community level: downplaying the importance of local culture by the policy of central and local government-led policies and the existing culture of disempowerment ▪ Organisational level of public sectors: dyadic development and a 'cold relationship' between CWCs and WNGOs; authoritarian management-led by a chief of CWC whereas horizontal relationship in WNGO	▪ National level: both remaining authoritarian administrative culture and developing civil society under the PG ▪ Community level: recognising the importance of local culture and existing local culture led by local government ▪ Organisational level of public sectors: co-operative relationships between DCWCs and WNGOCs; supportive management for the project in both organisations, but remaining authoritarian management-led by their chief in a few local centres
Physical Environment	▪ CWCs: undertaking one apartment complex as a target ▪ WNGOs: having many apartment complexes on the basis of neighbour district	▪ DCWCs: undertaking one apartment complex as a target ▪ WNGOCs: undertaking 5-6 apartment complexes through reducing the numbers of the target
Supporters for Educating and Training of practitioners	▪ CWCs : university and private organisations, e.g., Korean National Council on Seoul Welfare (KNCSW) ▪ WNGOs: university and private organisations, e.g., KORNET (Korean Community Organisation Information Network)	▪ Educational Orientation and supervisor groups arranged by CCK (Community Chest in Korea) ▪ By attending practitioners to KORNET

Appendix IX-2: Practice of TKMCW and ICEP; Knowledge, Values and Approaches

Elements of Practice	TKMCW		ICEP	
	CWCs	**WNGOs**	**DCWCs**	**WNGOCs**
Knowledge of CW and CEP	▪ Perceiving clinical knowledge and self-help for clients and community, while paying little attention to knowledge of globalisation and national policies that affects the local level	▪ Perceiving knowledge about self-help of community development and policies of central and local government for community action	▪ Perceiving technical knowledge to support technicist practice, while no having practical knowledge to conduct CEP ▪ Understanding influences that globalisation affects community, but having no critical knowledge about community work practice for neo-liberalism	▪ Perceiving ideas to empower residents for structural change through participation, while having practical knowledge to conduct CEP ▪ Like DCWCs,, understanding the forces of globalisation, but having no critical knowledge about community practice for self-help
Concept of CW and CEP	▪Understanding self-help or self-sufficiency for enhancing people's own capacity to overcome disadvantage: stressing voluntary action and supporters	▪ Understanding on community organising to help poor people and change institutions or policies for them	▪ Understanding practice for empowering poor people as agent to address community problems by his/her own endeavours; ▪Moving the position away from psychological empowering of individuals into empowering community level	▪ Understanding practice for empowering poor people as agent to address community problems by his/her own endeavours and by stressing residents' right
Values and roles of CW and CEP	▪ Emphasising values like self-help and cooperation between practitioners and clients: playing the roles as an enabler, a counsellor ▪ Showing little interest in practice that reflect the values of social justice and equality, even though practitioners in CWCs know about them	▪ Emphasising values like self-help and social justice; playing the roles as an advocate and activist ▪ Showing no interest in practice for equality relationships between practitioners and residents	▪ Emphasising the value of mutuality, participation, and learning: playing the roles as a facilitator rather than advocacy ▪Little mentioning the values of equality ▪ Suggesting multiple roles depending upon community contexts	▪ Emphasising the values of right, self-determination, trust, and responsibility for financial transparency ; playing the roles as a facilitator and mediator rather than advocacy ▪ Little mentioning the value of equality except a practitioners
Approaches of CW and CEP	▪ Depending on Rothman's the model of community care and community development through self-help skills	▪ Depending on the model of community action led by practitioners rather than technicist practice	▪ Developing community by creating(empowering) small organisations and representative organisation to support technicist practice, but doing little attempt to seeking structural change	▪ Developing community by creating(empowering) a tenant representative organisation (TRC) to enable residents to empower, but little attempts to strengthen technicist practice for them
Power relations between stakeholders	▪ Downplaying aspects of power differences between stakeholders of community, but stressing harmonious relationships ▪ As a result, less valuing practice that reduces power differences ▪ "Traditional professionalism" by practitioners-centred above service users	▪ Little conducting practice to minimise power differences between stakeholders of community, even though valuing social justice ▪ "Traditional professionalism"	▪ Showing unconcern about reduction of inegalitarian relationships between residents and DCWCs or practitioners ▪ Doing less actively practice to negotiate with powerful agencies ▪ Trying to implement "new professionalism" based on the idea of power with clients	▪ Showing unconcern about reduction of inegalitarian relationships between residents and practitioners except a worker. ▪ Confronting actively with powerful agencies ▪ Trying to implement new professionalism

Appendix IX-3: Processes of TKCW and Innovative CEP: Skills and Methods

Processes of CW and CEP		TKMCW		ICEP	
		CWCs	**WNGOs**	DCWCs	**WNGOCs**
Entering the Community (orientation)		▪ Knowing goals of community work and the feature of the people and community ▪ Fostering competitive relationships between centres for obtaining good evaluations	▪ Knowing goals of community work and the feature of the people and community ▪ Fostering co-operative relationships with other (W)NGOs	▪ Being introduced goals of the CEP project by funding agency ▪ Learning skills and principles for conducting CEP through workshops ▪ Fostering co-operative relationships between centres rather than competitive one	
Setting up Plans & Objectives		▪ Setting up plans and objectives of community work led by practitioners-centred in centres without involving in residents		▪ Little different to TKMCW, but revising the plans to reflect residents opinions (e.g., community organising in the *Kang Buk*)	▪ Little different to TKMCW, but revising the scope of target
Making-Contacts		▪ Preferring professional contacts for creating rapport based on face-to-face meeting ▪ Conducting less political contacts with other agencies and organisations across the community	▪ Conducting professional and political contacts with residents, (W)NGOs, and other agencies (e.g., central and local governments) across the community)	▪ Using informal meetings (e.g., involving drinking party) ▪ Widening scale of contacts across community, while making professional contacts with key people within community ▪ Contacting with mass residents by holding festival events	▪ Using informal meetings like DCWCs ▪ Conducting actively outreach to cover several sectors ▪ Using as a way to alter negative image of the centre by holding festival events
Community Profile		▪ Implementing researches to identify community needs and resources ▪ Research led by practitioners-centred who are used to performing quantitative methods ▪ Focusing on resources of community level		▪ Collecting data by interview methods(Centres in Seoul) and quantitative ones (Centres in local city) led by practitioners ▪ Avoiding descriptions of political actors of the community and resources organisation across country and global level	▪ Collecting data by co-producing research involving residents and practitioners ▪ Not conducting the research needed by the TKMCW to prevent residents mistrust (e.g., the *Dong Sun*)
Building and Strengthening Community organisation and Developing Community	**Community Organising**	▪ Creating organisations to improve self-help communities by mobilising volunteers and supporters ▪ Building organisations led by the way of authoritarian top-down	▪ Creating organisations to improve self-help and confront with national policies ▪ Building organisations led by activists, stressing encouraging residents to involve in them.	▪ Mobilising directive or non-directive approaches by checking the feasibility and desirability of the existing organisations ▪ Creating and empowering simultaneously a TRC and small organisations	▪ Preferring traditional and self-directive approach in community organising ▪ Valuing the approach to create and empower the TRC rather than small organisation to support technicist practice

	Community Learning	▪ Conducting education run by cramming style ▪ Arranging 'one-off' educational programmes to support maintenance and therapeutic approaches	▪ Raising critical consciousness guided by social activist's bank education way in the informal place ▪ Less securing sustainable educational programme	▪ Moving away from cramming style to action learning one ▪ Aiming to improve democratic leadership for key people and human relationships & self-help skills for lay residents	▪ Remaining at cramming style ▪ Arranging the programmes to improve democratic leadership and self-help skills like the DCWCs
	Community Networking	▪ Concentrating on practice creating "bonding social capital" within community ▪ Paying little interest to network with other CWCs and WNGOs and political groups to improve residents' responses to needs	▪ Being accustomed to having alliance with other (W)NGOs to mobilise human resources	▪ Attempting practice to wide a scale of network (e.g., (W)NGOs) with by moving away from within community into across community, except a few local centres ▪ Remaining at the practice of the TKMCW in connecting with political group, except for one centre	▪ Attempting practice to wide a scale of network with (W)NGOs and political groups
	Community Participation	▪ Having little residents involvement in making decisions about programmes of community work	▪ Remaining at an elementary level of participation, even though encouraging residents to become involved in making decisions	▪ Enabling residents to be involved in organisations by various ways (e.g., trust, feedbacks), but not reaching high level of participation and collective actions through grassroots mobilisation	▪ Improving little scale-out (quantity) of participation because of valuing empowering a TRC and key people, except for one centre
Evaluating Outcomes		▪ Conducting evaluation of practice by KNCSW focusing on the extent to which the CWCs effectively perform programmes that supported maintenance and therapeutic approaches	▪ Having no formal agency to evaluate practice in WNGOs	▪ **Personal and Psychological aspect and Positive actions**: (see chapter 5)	
				▪ **Community organising as a community infrastructure** : establishing organisations to improve community care service and physical environment ▪ **Community Participation**: enhancing 'quantity' & quality of participation rather than the TKNCW	▪ **Community organising as a community infrastructure**: establishing a TRC to address and discuss community issues (e.g., political issues and debt utility bills) ▪ **Community Participation**: enhancing 'quality of participation by enabling key people to involved in a TRC
Reflection/ Roles				▪ Recognising that practitioners in both centres need emancipator practice	
				▪ Lack of a mediating role and enhancing equalitarian relationships between residents and workers	▪ Lack of advocates and communications skills

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Appendix X: A Tentative Korean Model of Community Empowerment

Phases	Constraining Factors	Practices for Improvement
Entering Community	▪ Lack of knowledge, skills and information about CE	▪Noticing importance of CEP in communities: introducing practical knowledge; teaching the significance of values (social justice and equality) and the fine lines roles; emphasising proactive practices to minimise conflicts of money matters; informing criteria of measuring CE; composing learning organisations & supervision ▪ Creating a independent organisation to support the CEP
Setting up Plans, Goals, and Values	Setting up plans and goals : ▪ Lack of knowledge for effective CE ▪ WNGOs' covering several complexes ▪ Tenants' negative image about WNGOs ▪ Donor agency's bureaucratic slant	Setting up plans and goals: ▪ Undertaking of small-scale complexes in WNGOs ▪ Approaching tenants through soft strategies(e.g. festival events) ▪ Securing a space for dialogue between practitioners and donor and other agencies involved in CE ▪Phasing in the involvement of local people in setting up plans and goals in order to increase their being owned by communities ▪ Avoiding setting abstract goals by reflecting local language
	Setting up the values of CE ▪ Lacking practices connecting with its values ▪ Little education about the values and ethics ▪ Tenants' lack of knowledge about community work for transformative practices ▪ Limitation brought about by government funds in CWCs	Setting up the values that back up CEP: ▪ Creating the values for transformative practices: ▪ Understanding the importance of the practices reflecting upon their values by education and training on the basis of studying other role model or case study ▪ Appreciating the values of social justice and equality together with the values of participation and learning which are lacking in practices even though Korean community workers know about them ▪ Alongside these values, it needs other values: trust; solidarity and interdependency; valuing difference; and inclusion. ▪ Building capacity for advocacy through learning knowledge about oppressive structures in the multiple contexts of communities
Making contacts with people	▪ Tenants' job structure - earlier leaving and returning home later ▪ Korean culture favouring informal contacts ▪ Some key leader controlled by local public servants ▪ Exclusionary attitude towards outsiders	▪ Arranging a note to record formal and informal meetings ▪ Comprehending important functions of contacts to obtain information and build trust through 'professional contacts: rapport through local language ▪ Setting up ethical standards of informal contacts ▪ Understanding risks of informal contacts ▪ Building a capacity of 'political contacts' to mobilise key leaders (*Tong Jang and Ban Jang*) and to build linking social capital between communities and policy makers/services providers beyond boundary of community-based ▪ Complementing a capacity to hold public meetings while strengthening a capacity to hold festival events
Community Profiling	▪ Lack of research knowledge and skills appropriate to CE ▪ Tenants' mistrust attitude towards research ▪ Lack of human resources for community profile	▪ Understanding functions of community profile to obtain information needed to set up issues of community, to build trust and capacity about ownership of community in the process of creating a community profile ▪ Building skills of research through partnership with universities or research institutes ▪ Step-by-step introduction of user involvement in research ▪ Including resources about political description and anti-groups toward the project in the community profile ▪ Including agencies and human resources that obtain information and resources in global and national levels

	Community organising	▪ Understanding risks of both directive and non-directive approaches as well as the risks of approach of building both a representative organisation-centred and many functions or others-centred organisations ▪ Finding a sustainable issue tenants want to address in building and strengthening an organisation ▪ Developing 'sensitivity of passive intervention' to make and run an organisation democratically ▪ Creating a TRC and simultaneously small organisations rather than empowering a TRC and fostering many small organisation ▪ Building a few core organisation that can operate as a community infrastructure in the community
Creating Organisations	▪Tenants' negative attitude about representative organisations ▪ Korean Culture of authoritarian organisation/connectionism base on school, native areas, and kinship ▪ Practices of building both representative organisation-centred and functional and others organisation-centred	
Strengthening Communities	**Community Learning** ▪Little knowledge about the way of learning suitable to CE ▪ Cramming educational/ top-down style ▪ Negative attitude on critical consciousness-raising challenging existing political relationship	▪ Understanding Freirean principles of learning for CE: action learning ▪ Developing a capacity for analytical skills to apply in the field ▪ Introducing step by step education for raising critical consciousness after building community infrastructures e.g. moving from 'soft issue' education for building of an maintenance and therapeutic approach into 'hard issue' education for strengthening emancipatory approach ▪ Combining cramming with action learning ▪ Providing sustainable educational programmes
	Community Networking ▪ The negative attitudes of CWC chiefs ▪ Practitioners' turn away towards political groups and policy makers ▪ Institutional memory of community workers and CWCs	▪ Acknowledging necessity of networks of CWCs and WNGOCs by recognising strengths and weaknesses of each centre for transformative practice, while develop practice to complement weaknesses practice in each centre ▪ Providing an opportunity of co-conducting through involving both centres ▪ Building a capacity of 'political contacts' needing informal networking to enhance linking social capital
	Community Participation ▪ Fear of participation ▪ Lack of settlement consciousness ▪ Hampering of working activities to earn money ▪ High mistrust about community organising itself ▪ Few rewards for participation ▪ Lack of human resources	▪ Understanding distinction between involvement and participation ▪ Conducting programmes according to the model of CLEAR by creating 'core organisations' ▪ Learning and training to spread culture, structure, practice and evaluation of participation (systemic approach of participation) together with chief of the centre ▪ Rewarding costs of residents' participation by institutionalising, e.g., providing law to be given rewards for members of TRC like general private housing
Evaluating Outcomes and Reflection	▪ Little improvement in enhancing residents' rights and equal relationships with residents' and the AMO and the CWCs in making efforts to seek structural change ▪ Little knowledge about mechanism to disempower communities at the global, national, and local level ▪ Absence of professional organisation for supervising and encouraging reflective practices as well as to develop a 'core organisation' capable of operating as a community infrastructure ▪ Culture that constrains political activities for conducting transformative practice ▪ Not developing indexes to measure CEP	▪ Knowing epistemological base of CEP in the multiple contexts. ▪ Learning not only the limitations of self-help approaches, but also the limitations of a facilitating role versus an advocacy one in conducting community empowerment, ▪ Tailoring roles to contexts applying to specific communities by reflecting upon practice ▪ Building alliances with people and experts, and groups to accomplish community empowerment and build organisations to support these practices. ▪ Developing strategies of political activities: raising communities; using media groups; contacting politicians and NGOs; and building political contacts ▪Knowing indexes of evaluation including following elements: building self-help, improvement of right, equality, participation, networking with both CWCs and WNGO, and connecting political groups, and whether community infrastructure to support these activities exist or not while depending upon evaluative indexes of Western model(Craig, Taylor, Dominelli, and Barr and Hashagen, Jordan)

Appendix XI: Comparison a Modified Western Model of Community Empowerment (MWMCE) and a Tentative Korean Model of Community Empowerment (TKMCE)

XI-1: Multi-Contexts of CE

MULTI-CONTEXTS	MWMCE	TKMCE
Global Level	▪ Globalisation as neo- liberalism	▪ Globalisation, after the financial crisis
National Policies	▪ New Labour Government (the UK): New Deal, Work and Community-Based Self-Help Schemes	▪ Governments of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun: Self-Help and Self-Reliance schemes on the basis of MLSG and BNDP
Social-Culture of Community	▪ National level: the extent to which civil society develops ▪ Community level: valuing local culture: moving from the culture of a cycle of disempowerment to empower residents to reverse the cycle; ▪ Organisational level of public sectors: increasing government regulation and competence-based approach	▪National level: both weakening authoritarian administrative culture (Top-down Culture) and developing civil society; ▪Community level: recognising the importance of local culture and the existing culture of disempowerment and reversing it ▪Organisational level of public sectors: seeking to change from an authoritarian culture into horizontal one that recognises the interdependence of both CWCs and (W)NGOs.
Physical Environment of Community	▪ Neighbourhood: small-scale	▪ CWCs: one apartment complex ▪WNGOs: reducing from many apartments complexes to one or two sectors
Supporters For Educating and Training of practitioners	▪ Creating an independent organisation that involves clients, practitioners, educators and policymakers in egalitarian partnership	▪ Creating an independent organisation that involves clients, social activists, community practitioners and professors who are concerned with emancipatory CEP.

XI-2: Practice of CE: Knowledge, Values and Approaches

Elements of Practices	MWMCE	TKMCE
Knowledge	▪Requiring practitioners to know about the mechanisms and structures that influence CEP at the global, national, and local levels	▪ Requiring practitioners to have knowledge about mechanisms and structures that influence on CEP at the global, national, and local levels in order to promote the values of social justice and equality and carry out collective action
Concept of CE	▪Transformation of the individual and the structures in order to become clients with as agency and having citizenship rights	▪Transformation of the individual and structures in order to become clients with agency having citizenship as the basis for self-help
Values of CE	▪ Social justice, equality, learning, participation, differences, solidarity and interdependent, trust (social capital) and inclusion	▪ Social justice, equality, learning, participation, differences, solidarity and interdependence, trust (social capital) and inclusion
Approaches of CE	▪Emancipatory approach combining both technicist and transformative approaches	▪ Emancipatory approach drawing on the bond of solidarity between CWCs and (W)NGOs, while developing the capacity of each centre to realise it
Power relations between stakeholders	▪ Building equalitarian relationships by strengthening solidarity and recognising interdependence, negotiating power differences between different stakeholders, looking at mobilisation and collective action to work effectively with communities, and implementing reflective practice	▪Reducing inegalitarian relationship by valuing differences ▪ Implementing programmes of community learning to enable stakeholders to know the importance of equal relationships ▪ For practitioners, conducting reflective practice and occasionally, conducting collective action to change dominant power structures

XI-3: Processes of Conducting CEP: Skills and Methods

Processes of CEP	MWMCE	TKMCE
Entering into community (Orientation)	▪ Knowing the contexts of the community and learning the skills of CE ▪ Building learning organisations	▪ Noticing the importance of orientation: introducing practical knowledge; emphasising differences with the TKMCW in knowledge, values and practices. ▪ Building learning organisations ▪ Informing practitioners evaluating index for CEP
Setting up Plans, Goals and Values	▪ Setting up plans with practitioners and service-users ▪ Targeting small-scale of community ▪ Practising to reflect the values of social justice, empowerment and equality	▪ Setting up plans: moving from the stage that provides opportunity for participation and enable residents to the stage that practitioners to co-produce plans ▪ Targeting small-scale of complexes (WNGOs) ▪ Practising to reflect upon the values of social justice and others
Making-Contacts	▪ Emphasising both professional and political contacts within and across the community ▪ Holding public meeting for creating a claimed space	▪ Developing skills of both professional contacts (by rapport, communication, local language of residents) and political contacts with other agencies (public servants) ▪ Strengthening festival events and developing public meetings ▪Understanding the risks of informal contacts
Community Profile	▪ Empowering community by involving service-users in developing community profiling. ▪ Sharing results of research with people ▪ Using in redistributing power and resources in egalitarian directions	▪ Step-by-step introducing user involvement in carrying out community profile ▪ Including political descriptions of actors and oppositional groups in the community profile ▪ moving away from community-based towards global and national levels beyond it
Creating Organisations	**Community Organising** ▪ Checking feasibility and desirability in creating organisations ▪ Constructing community infrastructure ▪ Community organising by feminist principles	▪ Selecting directive or non-directive approaches of community organising by checking the feasibility and desirability of existing organisations ▪ Finding a sustainable issue that residents want to address in building and strengthening an organisation ▪ Developing 'sensitivity of passive intervention' to make and run an organisation democratically ▪ Creating a TRC and simultaneously small organisations rather than empowering a TRC and fostering many small organisation ▪ Building a few core organisation that can operate as a community infrastructure in the community
Strengthening Communities	**Community Learning** ▪ Action learning ▪ A Freirean-feminist approach to collective action for change	▪ Understanding Freirean principles of learning for CE: action learning ▪ Developing a capacity for analytical skills to apply in the field ▪ Introducing step by step education for raising critical consciousness after building community infrastructures e.g. moving from 'soft issue' like education for building of an maintenance and therapeutic approach into 'hard issue' like education for strengthening emancipatory approach ▪ Combining cramming with action learning ▪ Providing sustainable educational programmes

	Community Networking ▪ Building bonding, bridging, and linking social capital within and across community through creating networks	▪ Acknowledging necessity of networks of CWCs and (W)NGOs by recognising strengths and weaknesses of each centre for transformative practice, while developing practice to complement weaknesses in each centre ▪ Providing an opportunity of co-conducting through involving both centres ▪ Building a capacity of 'political contacts' needing informal networking to enhance linking social capital
	Community Participation ▪ Improving quantity and quality participation with CLEAR model and a systemic approach that includes culture, structure, practice and review to improve participation	▪ Understanding distinction between involvement and participation ▪ Conducting programmes according to the model of CLEAR by creating 'core organisations' ▪ Learning and training to spread culture, structure, practice and evaluation of participation (systemic approach of participation) together with chief of the centre ▪ Rewarding costs of residents' participation by institutionalising, e.g., providing law to be given rewards for members of TRC like general private housing
Evaluating Outcomes and Reflection	**Evaluating Outcomes** ▪ Evaluating CEP by Craig's model (2003) including participation, on the index of quantitative and qualitative, aspects of both processes and outcome and a reduction in power differences ▪ Evaluating the extent to which a community infrastructure operates to empower residents (Taylor, 2003) ▪ Evaluating transformative practice in order to change policy and institutions that improve citizens' rights to equality and technical practice for self-help activities (Dominelli, 2002; Barr and Hashagen, 2004) ▪ Evaluating intimacy of people, the sense of belonging to community, and collective action to change oppressive sturectures (Jordan, 2007) **Reflection** ▪ Reflexiveness practice about CEP	▪ Developing indexes of evaluation including following elements: building self-help, improvement of right, equality, participation, networking with both CWCs and (W)NGOs, interactions between members for producing collective goods, and connecting political groups, and whether community infrastructure to support these activities exist or not while depending upon evaluative indexes of Western model(Craig, Taylor, Dominelli, and Barr and Hashagen, Jordan) ▪ Learning reflective practice through a learning organisation together with as supportive supervisor

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