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A Case Study on the Community Organizations' Characteristics and Neighborhood Participation: The Case of Korean Community in Los Angeles*

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This article is to describe these different characteristics and outcomes of the community non-profit organizations in neighborhood participation. The ideas of local governance have emerged from the tension between rationalism and participatory democracy. The intriguing discussions throughout the tension encompass the importance of the community organizations in neighborhood participation. The major findings of this study are that the effective organizational characteristics tend to enhance its outcomes in neighborhood participation. The multiple characteristics and the dynamic qualities of organizational capacity are both important. The important point for enhancing neighborhood participation is that the organizations must take into account the change in community profiles and capacity and set up strategic plans to address these significant changes, establishing an effective institutional design for close generational collaboration.

[Key Words: Community Organization, Nonprofit Organization, Neighborhood Participation, Korean Community, Los Angeles]

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Ⅰ. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960s, a growing number of Korean immigrants have come to the United States and have tried to enhance their economic status in a demographically and socio-economically diverse Korean communities. In so doing, the Koran community has developed increased psychological capacities such as willingness to participate, sense of community, and political efficacy. Nevertheless, the Korean community's associational capacities, organizational infrastructure, and access to resources have not yet been fully developed because of the short history of immigration and the preoccupation with individual economic life.

A series of influential events in the 1990s, including the Los Angeles Civil Unrest in 1992 and the Northridge Earthquake in 1994, has produced a new line of thinking about the first generational community organizations. Korean Americans were notably absent from the leadership and confronted with unprecedented crisis in the aftermath of the Civil Unrest. In this environment, political ties with mainstream political institutions and an increasing communication cometence have largely determined a generational shift of political and social action. Many of the first generational leaders stepped aside as 1.5 generation leaders and organizations gained traction from the mainstream political arena.

The emergence of Koran American Coalition (KAC), Korean Youth Community Center (KYCC), Korean Health, Education, Information & Research Center (KHEIR) as key political advocacy organizations in Koreatown appears to support these explanations. These 1.5 generational organizations are successful in neighborhood participation with effective infrastructure, cohesive organizational culture, and collaborative network of relations. Despite these common backgrounds, they have different goals, characteristics and outcomes in community participation. This article is to describe these different characteristics and outcomes of the community non-profit organizations in neighborhood participation.

Ⅱ. COMMUNITY PROFILE

1. History

Over the last hundred years, the Korean community has adapted as its Korean inhabitants sought their niche as a newcomer community. The major incentives for change in Koreatown were the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, and the Los Angeles Unrest of 1992. This section will describe the three phases in the growth of Koreatown, from its establishment in the nineteenth century, through the 1965 immigration reform law, and ending with the recovery from the destruction caused by the Los Angeles Unrest of 1992.

Korean American relations began with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Korea in 1883 but the Korean discovery of the U.S. did not occur for another twenty years, with the arrival of the first immigrants in 1903. Between 1903 and 1905, 7,400 Koreans (6,725 men, 675 women and children) arrived in Hawaii (W.Y.Kim, 1959; Son, 1988). These first Korean immigrants had responded to organized efforts by American companies to attract cheap labor to work in sugar plantations on the islands (W.Patterson,1988).

According to the testimonies of the early Korean immigrants(Y. Kim, 1996), in the early 1930s, several Korean families lived near what is presently the downtown Music Center. This neighborhood was within walking distance of Little Tokyo and Chinatown, and on the outer edge of the upscale homes along Temple Street, between Los Angeles Street and Broadway Street. Col. Young Kim, a retired U.S. army officer who grew up there, recalled that Korean-owned businesses, including a grocery store, a laundry, and a shoe repair shop operated in the vicinity at that time.

In 1965, the immigration policy of the United States became more liberal. The Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the race-based national origin quota system, and allowed Korean families to immigrate to the United States (Hurh & Kim,

1984). Before this reform, Korean immigrants came on their own, as individual laborers, students, picture brides, warbrides, and orphans (W. Patterson, 2000). However, the boundary of the old Korean community did not change until the late 1960s. A small number of elderly residents living along Jefferson Boulevard between Hoover Street and Western Avenue were all that remained of the Korean community that had appeared in the 1930s (Yu,1996).

The “Koreanization” of Koreatown was in full swing throughout the 1970s. Korean businesses were spreading north as far as Melrose Avenue along the two major arteries of Koreatown: Vermont Avenue and Western Avenue. By the late 1970s, Koreans were operating a majority of the businesses on Olympic Boulevard and 8th Street between Hoover Street and Western Avenue (Bonacich & Jung, 1982).

By 1990, most of the shops and service outlets along Wilshire Boulevard and 6th Street in Koreatown were owned and operated by Koreans. In 1992, these merchants and small businesses were damaged or burned to the ground during the Los Angeles Unrest (K. W. Lee, 1999; E. H. Kim, 1997). However, the disaster revealed how the Korean American community, although fairly successful in the economic sector, lacked real political influence (Park, 1998). Although some of the Korean merchants left the area, by the mid-1990s, many Koreans had managed to rebuild their businesses along the major thorough fares of Koreatown. They had also learned importance of forging social and political relationships (Chang, 1995; Regaldo, 1995; Norman, 1995).

Koreans now own nearly 90 percent of the businesses and service establishments along Western Avenue between Pico Boulevard and Beverly Boulevard (W. Y. Lee, 2002a). The situation is much the same along 6th Street and Olympic Boulevard, between Hoover Street and Crenshaw Boulevard. Furthermore, Koreans own about a dozen high-rise commercial buildings and most of the small business outlets along Wilshire Boulevard between Hoover Street and Crenshaw Boulevard (W. Y. Lee, 2002b).

In conclusion, over the last century, the boundary of Koreatown has changed,

becoming prosperous commercial property. Koreans now control most of the business in that area. On the other hand, their residential patterns are pushing west, bypassing Koreatown. The next sections will examine the residential patterns of Koreans and the ways in which socioeconomic factors influence the racial distribution of other ethnic groups in Koreatown.

2. The Population

As shown in Figure 4.3, in the 2002 boundary set by the Greater Wilshire/Koreatown Neighborhood Council consists of 32 census tracts, nine of which pass over the boundary of Koreatown. Koreans show a relatively high degree of residential dispersion throughout Koreatown. The Korean population constitutes roughly 23.1 percent of the total population within the intended boundary of the Greater Wilshire/Koreatown Neighborhood Council and 20.1 percent in Korean American Coalition - Census Information Center (KAC-CIC)'s boundary (52 Census tracts).

Table 1 Number of Census Tracts by Race/Ethnicity in Korean Community in Los Angeles, 2000.

Percent of Total Population	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Korean
Less than 10 %	0	30	1	3	10
10% - 19.9%	6	2	3	8	6
20.0% - 29.9%	16	0	6	5	5
30.0% - 39.9%	10	0	10	9	7
40.0% - 49.9%	0	0	4	4	4
50.0% - 59.9%	0	0	7	3	0
60.0% - 69.9%	0	0	1	0	0
70% and over	0	0	0	0	0
Total	32	32	32	32	32

Note. From Census 2000 (Summary File 2), [Data File] by U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, available from U.S .Census Bureau WebSite, http://www.census.gov.

The number of Koreans residing in Koreatown, as defined by the Greater Wilshire/Koreatown Neighborhood Council (30,287) accounts for just over 33.1 percent of the total Korean population in the city of Los Angeles, at least 16.1 percent of all Koreans in Los Angeles County, and 11.7 percent of the 257,975 Koreans in the five-county area of Southern California. Koreans living in Koreatown constitute 2.81 percent of the 1,076,872 Koreans in the United States.

Table 2 presents the concentration indices of the Hispanic and Asian populations in Koreatown for 1990 and 2000. The index of Korean concentration 10.3 in 1990 and 13.8 in 2000, about 10 times greater than that of the general population in 1990, and 14 times greater than that of the general population in 2000. The corresponding index for Koreans in Koreatown in 1980 was 8.6 (Yu, 1985). In other words, the relative number of Southern California Koreans in Koreatown increased substantially between 1980 and 1990, and the Korean concentration in Koreatown continued growing into the year 2000.

All other ethnic groups showed an index far below that of Koreans in 1990 and 2000. Hispanics constituted approximately one-half of the total population in Koreatown in 1990 and 2000. However, their index of concentration in Koreatown was 1.50 in 1990 and 1.27 in 2000; that is, during those years their relative degree of concentration declined. Between 1990 and 2000, Koreans and whites were the only two groups that showed an increase in the concentration index in Koreatown. While for Koreans the change resulted from the higher growth rate in Koreatown compared to that in other areas of the county, the increase of the index for whites was attributed to the rate of decline in Koreatown being less than that for the rest of the county. Non-Korean Asians, including Chinese and Japanese, showed an index less than 1, indicating that they are under-represented in Koreatown when compared to the total population.

Table 2 Index of Concentration of five-county Area in Korean Community in Los Angeles by Race/Ethnicity, 1990, 2000.

		Population		Proportion in Koreatown	Index of Concentration
		Five-county	Koreatown		
Total	1990	14,531,529	161,830	0.0111	1.0000
	2000	16,373,645	139,716	0.0085	1.0000
White	1990	9,388,957	33,177	0.0035	0.3173
	2000	9,028,873	36,467	0.0040	0.4733
Black	1990	1,229,809	9,002	0.0073	0.6573
	2000	1,245,039	6,600	0.0053	0.6212
Hispanic	1990	4,779,118	62,044	0.0130	1.1657
	2000	6,598,488	78,783	0.0119	1.3992
Asian	1990	1,292,436	35,693	0.0276	2.4799
	2000	1,701,740	43,020	0.0253	2.9626
Chinese	1990	304,588	1,476	0.0048	0.4351
	2000	414,582	948	0.0023	0.2680
Japanese	1990	173,370	1,712	0.0099	0.8867
	2000	155,959	961	0.0062	0.7221
Korean	1990	194,437	22,296	0.1147	10.2968
	2000	257,975	30,287	0.1174	13.7587
Filipino	1990	291,618	6,869	0.0236	2.1151
	2000	371,421	7,159	0.0193	2.2588

III. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

1. Overview

Over time, Koreans in the United States have developed a complex network of churches, recreational clubs, business and professional associations, alumni organizations and civic groups. These organizations have provided diverse services, particularly to insular first generation Korean Americans with many of the organizations specifically catering to the needs of recent immigrants. In the meantime, a growing number of younger Korean Americans have been founding their own associations, as the percentage of younger population has increased since the 1980s. The key to understanding the organizational dynamics in the Korean American community is the recognition of two different generational bases: the 1st generation and the 1.5 or 2nd generation.

Actually, the terms, “1st generation” and “2nd generations” are demographic terms that indicate the place of birth of a person. According to B. H. Kim (1995), the 1st generations are “those who have been raised through their adulthood in Korea. As a result, they have limited English language skills and lack access to the mainstream culture of this country” (p. 152). The 1.5 generation can be defined as people who were born and grew up through childhood in Korea but immigrated to the U.S. during their shaping years as children or young adults. The group called “1.5 generation” is considered to be effective in working with the older generation leadership and many English speaking 2nd generations also with bilingual and bicultural skills. In particular, 1.5 generations are important in the sense that they have made a notable contribution since the 1980s in founding their own community organizations.

2. First Generational Community Organizations

As for the 1st generational community organizations in Koreatown, previous research has noted the dominance of three groups within the long-established ethnic elite population of Koreatown in the past. These are: Korean American Federations (*Haninhoe*), ethnic entrepreneurs and the church (Chang, 1999; Park, 1998). These groups have taken on a higher status within the political structures of the Korean community because of their greater access to social, financial, and human resources

The Korean American Federation has been the most influential immigrant organization in Southern California. Throughout its history, the organization has centered on mutual assistance to immigrants, but it did not highly engage in political advocacy except on behalf of the Korean government. The Korean American Federation mainly derived its legitimacy from the Korean Consulate General. Because the Consulate provided some financial support for the Korean American Federation, the organization acted as a front organization for Korean government activities.

Ethnic entrepreneurs developed national business guilds such as the Korean American Grocers Organization (KAGRO) and the Korean Dry Cleaning and Laundry Association. They began and prospered to protect the specialized interests of different businesses in the area. These entrepreneurial elites became influential because of their roles as financial contributors to the other community organizations. In particular, the Korean American Federations depend greatly on these financial contributions in order to maintain its various services.

Frequently, Korean churches in the United States have become the foundation for Korean American communities. Beyond the basic religious functions, churches have assumed multiple secular roles, providing direct services to both established residents and newer arrivals. Churches mainly provided an informal role for the Korean American community. They eased the interaction among community members and offered counseling on various aspects of life, including

immigration and naturalization, tax, health, and social security issues.

3. The Impact of the 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest

The 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest became a major thrust in the development of the Korean American community because it changed the political perception and increased the eminence of 1.5 and 2nd generation community leaders. The event erupted in Los Angeles after the verdict came down from the first Rodney King trial. The announcement of the police officers' acquittal triggered rioting and looting in South Central Los Angeles, eventually spreading to Koreatown and other areas. During the course of the Civil Unrest, the violence was so intense that 46 Korean Americans were injured and more than 2,000 Korean-owned business were looted, burned or both in violence by blacks and Latinos (Min, 1996, p. 90). Although the Civil Unrest was the most devastating event for Korean American merchants and the community as a whole (See Table 3), the Korean Federation was believed not to be the one to represent community interests properly. The organization was confined with the Korean American media and had little impact on mainstream discourse, bounded by language barriers and lack of institutional ties with mainstream society.

Unable to articulate or settle the conflicts through either traditional or mainstream power groups, the 1.5 and 2nd generations gained political awareness from mainstream society, as will be discussed in the next section of this dissertation. The incorporation of 1.5 and 2nd generation organizations into the political dynamics in Koreatown introduced new discourses about Korean American community organizations. The Unrest required these organizations to develop new capacities: collaborative network of relations with other ethnic communities and effective communication function to deal with external affairs. Those requirements fueled the rise of a new generation of the Korean American community organizations.

Table 3. Korean Stores Damaged in the Los Angeles Civil Unrest, 1992

	Total	Koreatown	South Central LA	All other area
Number of Stores	2,073	460	761	852
Value Damaged	$359 Million	$73 Million	$158 Million	$128 Million
Median Value Damaged per Store	$70,000	$60,000	$85,000	$60,000
Damage Type in Percent				
Fire	38%	37%	48%	29%
Looted/Partially Looted	52%	56%	43%	58%
Unknown	10%	7%	9%	14%
Amount of Damage, in Percent				
Less than $10,000	5%	9%	1%	7%
$10,000-$50,000	27%	29%	21%	31%
$50,000-$100,000	27%	24%	31%	25%
$100,000-$250,000	24%	25%	25%	22%
$250,000 - $1 Mil	14%	9%	19%	12%
$1 Million and over	3%	3%	3%	3%

Note: From The Asian American Almanac by S. Gall & I. Natividad (Eds.), 1995, Gale Research Inc.: Washington, D. C. p. 127.

4. 1.5 Generational Community Organizations

After 1992, many 1.5 and 2nd generation organizations created a large coalition called the Korean American Inter-Agency Council (KAIAC). KAIAC was an attempt to respond systematically and effectively to demands of the community members and to strengthen their relationship with others. The Executive Directors (EDs) of the KAIAC organizations regularly meet and discuss community and organizational affairs. As a sign of this effort for inter-organizational cooperation, five major community organizations – the KAC, the KHEIR, the Korean American Museum, the Korean American Family Center, and Korean Youth & Community Center – created the Koreatown Organizations Association (KOA). KOA purchased a building at the heart of Koreatown and created the "one-stop community center."

Besides the stated generational factor, two other factors – ideological orientation and the purpose of organization – are important for a better understanding of Korean community organizations. Ideological orientation refers not only to political partisanship but also to different ideas about where the communities should be heading. Both progressive and conservative organizations exist in Koreatown. In general, the purpose of the community organization is grouped into the two categories of political advocacy and service provision. Some organizations claim political representation of the Korean community within mainstream society while others value the clientele, program and agenda of an organization as a social service agency.

The progressive-advocacy organizations gear themselves toward the political representation of the community, pursuing the mitigation of social inequalities based on race and class. Their management style is sometimes adversarial toward mainstream society. The Korean Resource Center (KRC) and the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocate (KIWA) are notable examples of this category. In particular, KRC argues against the neighborhood council governance system, pointing out that immigrant communities do not have adequate knowledge, interests, and resources to participate in a neighborhood council.

The conservative-advocacy organizations focus on the advocacy role of an organization, playing more strongly to the interests of entrepreneurs who dominate the economic resources in the ethnic community. KAFLA largely relies on the financial contribution of local entrepreneurs who are usually appointed as board members and attempts to stabilize the existing structure of the community.

The organizations that constitute KOA are considered to be nonpartisan and non-ideological. Therefore, KAC and KHEIR are located in the middle of the transverse axis, but still they center on political advocacy and service provision, respectively.

As a whole, a major factor that operates to differentiate between characteristics of Korean community organizations is generation. Every community organization in Koreatown attempts to produce effective outcomes from its community

participation but the outcomes vary across the organizations. This study hypothesizes that organizational capacity influences the outcome and tests the hypothesis using the case of neighborhood participation.

Figure 1. Four Patterns of Korean Community Organizations in Los Angeles

Toward Advocacy

I. Progressive - Advocacy	III. Conservative - Advocacy
KRC **KAC** **KIWA**	**KAFLA**
Progressive	Conservative
KHEIR	
II. Progressive - Service Provision	IV. Conservative - Service Provision

Toward Service Provision

Note: KRC - Korean resource center, KIWA - Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates, KAC - Korean American Coalition, KAFLA - Korean American Federation of Los Angeles, and KHEIR - Korean Health, Education, Information & Research Center.

IV. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS' PARTICIPATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL FORMATION

KAFLA does not play an important role in representing Koreans to form the Koreatown neighborhood council. Normally, the executive office of KAFLA does routine desk work and the President is in charge of planning sophisticated external affairs. Thus, it is very hard for the part-time President to be actively committed to any real neighborhood participation.

KAC has been fully engaged in neighborhood council project for the Koreatown area in the early stages. Since 2001, several community agents, including The Wilshire Center Chamber of Commerce and Business Improvement District, Beverly-Kingsley Neighborhood Association, KAC, and KHEIR have been working to create a neighborhood council for the area. They completed a series of planning meetings and are currently working on a general meeting to decide organizational structure, draft bylaws, and draw organizational boundaries.

KAC has taken charge of outreach efforts. To achieve certification from the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment and the Board of Neighborhood Commissioners, each proposed neighborhood council must demonstrate that it has conducted sufficient outreach to all of the various stakeholders in the area. KAC is conducting outreach that consists of informing community stakeholders about the formation of a neighborhood council in the area and inviting them to participate. Thus far, the outreach efforts have consisted of mass email, fliers, and surveys.

Mass emails have been useful in communicating to those who have email addresses, such as professionals and non profit workers, but it has not been useful for non-email users. Fliers have been used at big events like the Wilshire Farmer's Market, but their effectiveness was hard to determine. Finally, there is survey improved outreach. It allows community stakeholders to voice concerns and require the survey volunteers to canvass the community one by one. This strategy took the most time but with enough volunteers, was the most effective method of outreach. Taking this survey also allowed KAC to demonstrate proof of the

organization's outreach. Thus far, survey of the white population has been completed, and the survey of Hispanics and Asians is expected to be finalized until the end of September, 2002.

The major thrust of KHEIR's neighborhood participation policy is to enhance its constant advocacy, support, and commitment to the health and well-being of the Korean American community. The Development Coordinator regularly attends both planning and general meetings and chairs the Governance Committee of the Greater Wilshire Neighborhood Council. During the early period of the neighborhood council project in Koreatown, KHEIR and KAC worked together on the outreach committee, and KHEIR provided considerable help in establishing geographic information system bout the area.

Recently, KHEIR has played a crucial role on the Governance Committee of the Greater Wilshire Neighborhood Council and is involved in the development of the neighborhood council's bylaws. The committee is reviewing draft bylaws recommended by DONE which include these goals: To research and compare the organizational structures, officers, bylaws, and legal and tax statuses of other local neighborhood councils and make recommendations for their fair representation on the Greater Wilshire Neighborhood Council governing board of business and resident interests, respectively. Also, the KHEIR is reviewing the election process for placing members on the governing board.

V. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS' CHARACTERISTICS AND NEIGHBORHOOD PARTICIPATION

The 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest and the 1994 Northridge Earthquake provided an impetus for Korean Americans to realize their desperate need of improving communications channels with other ethnic communities and the government, so the role of English speaking 1.5 or 2nd generational community

organization has been increased for better communication results. In the same vein, the first generation organization, KAFLA is less effective in neighborhood participation than that of 1.5 generation organizations, KAC and KHEIR.

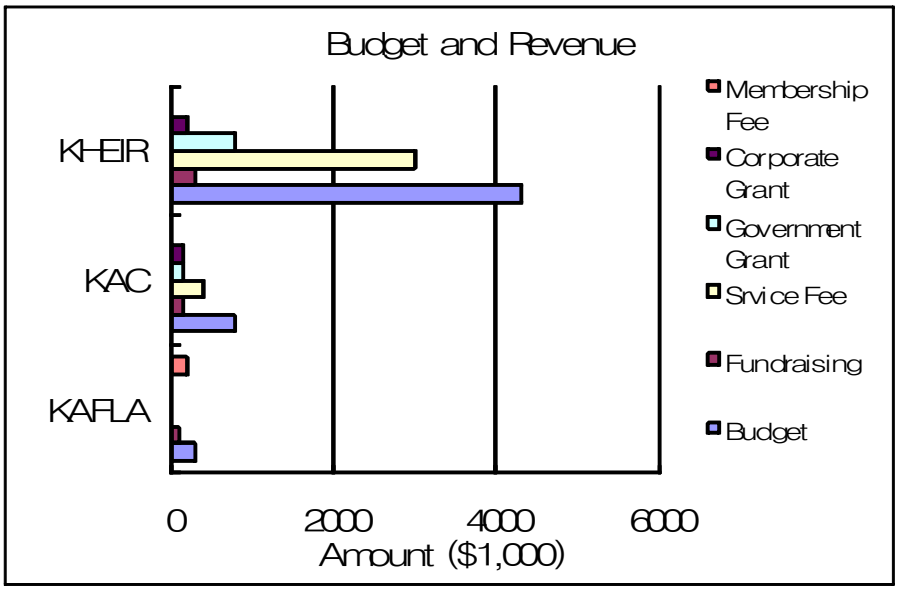
Table 4. Profile of Korean Community Workers, 2000 and 2002

	KAFLA	KAC	KHEIR	KYCC	KIWA
Gender					
Male	2 (66.7)	7 (63.6)	6 (85.7)	14 (46.7)	5 (35.7)
Female	1 (33.3)	4 (36.4)	1 (14.3)	16 (53.3)	9 (30.0)
Age					
Under 22	0 (0.0)	1 (9.1)	0 (0.0)	5 (16.7)	0 (0.0)
22-29	0 (0.0)	3 (27.3)	2 (28.6)	10 (33.3)	7 (50.0)
30-39	0 (0.0)	2 (18.2)	3 (42.9)	8 (26.7)	5 (35.7)
40 +	3 (100.0)	5 (45.5)	2 (28.6)	6 (20.0)	2 (14.3)
N/A	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.3)	0 (0.0)
Generation					
1st	3 (100.0)	5 (45.5)	2 (28.6)	7 (23.3)	4 (28.6)
1.5	0 (0.0)	2 (18.2)	3 (42.9)	7 (23.3)	5 (35.7)
2nd	0 (0.0)	4 (36.4)	2 (28.6)	15 (50.0)	5 (35.7)
N/A	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.3)	0 (0.0)
Education					
High school grad	0 (0.0)	1 (9.1)	0 (0.0)	4 (13.3)	3 (21.4)
B.A. degree	2 (66.7)	6 (54.5)	4 (57.2)	15 (50.0)	6 (42.9)
M.A. degree	0 (0.0)	1 (9.1)	2 (28.6)	3 (10.0)	0 (0.0)
Post-grad degree	0 (0.0)	3 (27.3)	1 (14.3)	3 (10.0)	2 (14.3)
N/A	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (10.0)	2 (14.3)
City of Residence					
In/Near K-town	3 (100.0)	2 (18.2)	2 (28.6)	9 (30.0)	5 (35.7)
Outside K-town	0 (0.0)	9 (81.8)	5 (71.4)	20 (70.0)	9 (64.3)
Language					
Mostly English	0 (0.0)	3 (27.3)	3 (42.9)	13 (43.3)	3 (21.4)
Mostly Korean	2 (66.7)	1 (9.1)	4 (57.2)	3 (10.0)	4 (28.6)
Korean-English	1 (33.3)	7 (63.6)	0 (0.0)	12 (40.0)	2 (14.3)
Korean-Spanish	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (7.1)
Kor.-Eng.-Spa.	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.7)	4 (28.6)
Years with Org.					
Less than a year	0 (0.0)	5 (45.5)	1 (14.3)	8 (26.7)	4 (28.6)
1-3 years	2 (66.7)	4 (36.4)	3 (42.9)	9 (30.0)	5 (35.7)
More than 3 years	1 (33.3)	2 (18.2)	2 (28.6)	11 (36.7)	5 (35.7)
N/A	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.7)	0 (0.0)
TOTAL	3	11	7	30	14

Note: KAFLA, KAC and KHEIR data are from 2002 Dissertation Survey by the author. KYCC and KIWA data are from A. Y. Chung, (2000). The Politics of Ethnic Solidarity, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles. p. 210.

In particular, the 1.5 generational organizations have advantages in participating in the neighborhood governance system because they employ more English speaking high profile human resources who urge their participation in early stages of neighborhood council development and provide greater insight into the significance of neighborhood participation as shown in Table 4. Also, the stabilized financial practices of the 1.5 generation contribute considerably to a reliable level of participation. (See Figure 2)

Figure 2. Comparison of Budget and Revenue



Secondly, KAFLA is not fully involved in neighborhood participation although the organization has succeeded in absorbing political legitimacy from the community and increasing recognition of community members within the organization. Despite strong leadership by President of KAFLA, the organization fails to provide other supporting infrastructures (e.g. human capital, financial practices, and decentralized decision-making structures). Vice versa, the 1.5

generational organizations have effective organizational capacity overall, but the institutional design for securing community support by drawing on the legitimacy is not brought forward successfully. Thus, they have some difficulty in having their plans penetrate into the community and mobilizing first generation Korean Americans to participate in neighborhood governance.

KAC develops the multiple characteristics of social capital and values and has provided multiple sorts of specialties. In other words, different cultural factions within KAC complement each other by sharing the same visions of the organization, its political empowerment and organizational commitment to social education.

KAC and KHEIR center on the development of good networking with other ethnic communities and among the other 1.5 community organizations, but they fail to motivate the participation by community members. Such results are related to a lack of participation for the selection of leadership position by the community members. Hence, the network of relations both inside and outside the 1.5 community should be more emphasized.

In sum, the multiple characteristics and the dynamic quality of organizational capacity are both important. Not all organizational capacities are constructed in an equal manner. Rather, community organizations focus on different kinds of capacities dependant on the historical background and community context of each organization. Organizational capacities vary as well, according to the different components of each organization. Further, the interaction among internal infrastructures, organizational culture, and the network of relations is dynamic and flexible and it often becomes a major factor that can influence organizational outcomes. Unfortunately, however, the two-way relationship between capacities and outcomes could not be tested for this paper because of the short history (eight months) of the neighborhood governance system in the Koreatown area. Obviously, this article witnesses that organizational capacity affects organizational outcome but the influence of outcome can hardly measured in this early stage of neighborhood participation.

VI. CONCLUSION

Since the 1960s, the Korean community has developed increased psychological capacities, such as willingness to participate, sense of community, and political efficacy. Nevertheless, Koreatown's associational capacities, organizational infrastructure, and access to resources have not yet been fully developed because of the short history of immigration and the preoccupation with individual economic life.

In order to recapitulate and solve the puzzle of reluctant participation from immigrant communities, community organizations capacity, as well as community capacities, should be enhanced. Since the community organizations make a significant role in developing community capacity, including the much-needed sense of community, commitment, ability to solve problems, and access to organization resources, capacities, and infrastructure, the organizational culture and network of relations must be effective in the process of community participation and empowerment.

Cooper and Musso (1999) point out that the creation of citywide neighborhood council systems does not increase the general level of participation; however, the neighborhood governance system does develop the quality of participation so as to reduce divisive conflict and the feeling of alienation, increase citizen efficacy, and make governments responsive and accountable. In this early period of creating a neighborhood council in Koreatown, the community organizations in Korean community have not significantly increased the level of participation, but they must take into consideration such an increase of both quantity and quality of participation in the future.

The second important point for enhancing neighborhood participation is that the organization must take into account the change in community profiles and capacity and set up strategic plans to address these significant changes. The decline of immigration from Korea and the increase of an elderly population may result in a significant transformation of community and a dismantling of first

generation-centered community politics. Against the prospect of such profound change, each organization should establish an effective institutional design for close generational collaboration.

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□□□□■□□□ 국문초록

지역 공동체 비영리조직의 특성과 참여에 관한 사례연구: 로스앤젤레스 한인 공동체를 중심으로

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이 논문은 지역공동체에 기반한 비영리조직의 다양한 특징과 지역공동체 참여의 결과와의 관계를 설명하는 사례분석이다. 지역공동체 거버넌스의 주된 이론과 쟁점은 합리주의적 관점과 참여민주주의의 관점의 대립에서 나오며 이러한 이론적인 대립 가운데 지역공동체 비영리조직의 중요성이 강조된다. 비영리조직의 다양한 특성은 서로 역동적으로 연관되어 있으며 이러한 특성이 조직적 역량으로 이어지기 때문에 중요하다. 이 논문의 사례분석결과에 따르면 지역공동체 비영리 조직이 지역공동체 참여에 보다 많은 기여를 하기 위해서는 지역공동체의 특성이 변화하는 과정을 적절하게 이해해야할 것이고 그러한 특성변화로 인하여 유발되는 지역소재 자산의 변화도 분석해서 중요한 변화에 대응하기 위한 전략을 세우는 것이 중요하다. 나아가서 효과적인 조직적 제도 설계는 이러한 대응에 중요한 기반구조가 될 것이다.

[주제어: 지역공동체 조직, 비영리조직, 지역공동체 참여, 로스앤젤레스]

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