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**LEARNING TO LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER:
COALITION BUILDING AMONG KOREAN MERCHANTS GROUPS, COMMUNITY RESIDENTS,
AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS**

A Thesis in

Adult Education

by

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ABSTRACT

Organizations can be crucial agents for changes of social structures. One of good strategies for social changes through organization is to make relations to other organizations according to their necessity and ideology. In this process, learning may be produced when people participate in this activity. This study is an inquiry into the relationship between coalition buildings between and among community organizations and groups, and learning produced by coalition building activity. To understand this inquiry, I reviewed perspectives on the groups, theories of group relations, perspectives on coalition buildings, and Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) as theoretical frameworks. Using critical ethnography, I conducted research in one community located in a big city in Pennsylvania. Through my research, I was able to find structural features that distinguish groups from community organizations and the challenges and hindrances in coalition buildings among groups and community organizations. In addition, this study found that learning was one of outcomes of activities related with relationship building. Findings of this study support different perspectives on learning that based on CHAT. This study suggests that learning can be considered as the processual outcomes of human activities, not the process itself.

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When I was a young graduate student in master degree, I believed that I had clear understandings and knowledge about the world and social phenomena. At that time, I seemed not to be able to stand confusion and uncertainty of anything. All things should have been clear and certain. I was full of intellectual self-conceit and judged all things under the dichotomy. However, this kind of self-conceit was one way for me to evade realities of the world rather than I had enough and deep knowledge.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

When I determined to study adult education, I had belief that adult education can contribute to changes of social structures. When I have pursued this theme, two basic questions have come across my mind continually. First question is how the social movement can be conducted in more effective and efficient ways. Second question is how I can understand changes of social structure from adult learning perspective.

During investigating this theme, I came to be interested in organizations, groups, coalition among them, and human activities as a clue to my questions. This study is one of my efforts to find answers. In this chapter, I first present overview of this study. After that, I explain how I come to this study and, finally what was my purpose of study.

Overview

This study is an inquiry into the relationship between coalition buildings between and among community organizations and groups, and learning produced by coalition building activity. Using critical ethnography, I conducted research in one community located in one big city in Pennsylvania. This study consists of seven chapters. In the chapter 2, I present theoretical frameworks that help to guide this study. To get help from theoretical frameworks, I reviewed perspectives on groups, theories of group relations, perspectives on coalition buildings, and Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT). In the chapter 3, I lay out how I conducted research. I present research question and methodology, and describe the process of data collection, data analysis and ethical problems and limitations and so on in this chapter. Chapter 4 includes the detail profiles of participants in this study. In this chapter, I try to present vivid cultural historical contexts of their life and activities. In the chapter 5, I focus on the specific actions associated

with coalition buildings. The focus of this chapter is on what and how actions associated with coalition buildings happened rather than who did what. In the chapter 6, I try to compare each action analyzed in the chapter 5 and to analyze structural features of each action. Basing on this analysis, I also analyze the structural features that distinguish groups from community organizations and the challenges and hindrances in coalition buildings among groups and community organizations. Finally, I proposed several suggestions related with coalition buildings and suggested a new approach to learning based on CHAT in chapter 7. In chapter 7, I also raise some following research questions that require further investigation.

Coming to the topic

Personal experiences of coalitions

Within my experiences, successful coalitions among different collective subjects can lead critical changes of society effectively. As an example, when South Korea became democratized in 1980s, it was possible because of the power of coalitions. At that time, many social movement organizations put their power together and resisted tyranny although each organization and group had different political position and method to be democratized. After democratizing Korea, they were scattered again and competed with each other.

When I participated in student movements, situations were same. At that time, student movements were largely divided into two groups according to political ideology. One party focused on labor movements influenced by Marxism, and the other party emphasized the unification of Korea influenced by the *juche* ideology. These two groups sometimes competed and made conflicts with each other. However, when they put together, they was able to make big changes in Korea society such as increasing the labor right and human right and so on. However, when they achieved their goal, they were divided and competed with each other again. If they

had sustained their coalition for a long time, they could have achieved their ultimate goal more effectively without wasting energy. Sometimes, Korean society lost its chance to change society in more radical ways because of this division and competition.

Considering my experiences, coalitions can be very effective and useful strategies to achieve social goals and purposes. Especially, coalition can be the most critical tools for the oppressed groups and people who do not have the vested right to use. From this perspective, how the oppressed groups and people can build and sustain coalition become important issues.

Importance of coalition building among diverse subjects

Recently, scholars and activists interested in social movement come to recognize that coalitions across differences should be created and sustained in order to transform society (Bickel, 2001; Foster-Fishman, Berkowitz, Lounsbury, Jacobson, & Allen, 2001; Roth, 2003; Wolff, 2001a). According to these discussions, one subject who wants to change society cannot but have limitations to pursue goals because of the lack of resources, networks, professional knowledge, and experiences and so on. Thus, the subject who wants to structural change of society need to seek connections to other subject who shares same or similar goals and purposes in order to achieve goals more effectively and efficiently.

All subjects, however, cannot always make success of building coalitions. Here, individuals, groups, and organizations can be considered as subjects of coalition buildings. Even though they make a coalition with another subject, this coalition also cannot always ensure successful results. Then, how to build workable and sustainable coalitions comes to be important problem. If workable and sustainable coalitions are established, the power of coalition goes beyond the ability of single subject. However, coalition building is a really complicated and

dynamic process which must consider multiple identities and interests. Managing and dealing with these complexities and dynamics is the key to successful of coalition building.

The majority of studies on coalition buildings have been conducted in sociological field (Ashmore, Jussim, & Wilder, 2001; Blalock, 1989; Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001; C. J. Kim, 2000). They examine relations among diverse subjects: some researchers focus on coalition buildings among organizations, while others focus on conflicts among different groups or organizations. These studies give good senses to understand what kinds of relations (conflicts or coalitions) happen and how these relations proceed. However, what they miss is to understand what kinds of conditions lead subjects to make relations in the first case, and how different structural features of organizations yield different modes of coalition. Moreover, they don't give focus on how to build relations among different forms of 'gatherings' such as between a group and community organization.

Dissatisfaction with previous learning theory

As an adult educator interested in community development and movement, I have met a diversity of persons and encountered various phenomena in practical fields. Working with community members and conducting research under these situations often involves a chain of confusion and uncertainties. They include numerous considerations and complicated processes such as power and human relations, the acquisition and allocation of resources, and so on. These events do not happen in a single manner or in harmonious agreements. They are collective and dialogical processes in which different perspectives and voices conflict and merge.

As most researchers do, I cannot but depend on various theories and perspectives to analyze and understand complicated phenomena. Although dominant theories of adult learning (such as self-directed or transformative learning) make general claims about how adults learn, I

find in them little guidance regarding how to systematically observe and analyze learning that occurs in the everydayness of life. Consider, for instance, five assumptions of adult learners in self directed learning (SDL), namely, adult learners are (1) self-directing human being, (2) growing reservoir of experience, (3) ready to learn depending on the developmental tasks of social roles, (4) oriented to problem solving, and (5) more motivated to learn by internal factors than external ones (Knowles, 1980, 1984). Based on these assumptions, many self-directed learning theorists build or modify learning models that basically consist of the learning circle among motivating, planning, fulfilling, and evaluating (Spear, 1988; Tough, 1979; Garrison, 1997). This perspective on learning cannot but restrict understandings to individual level because of individualized assumptions and process of learning. Also, learning in daily life takes numerous forms and happens in various contexts. However, because SDL tries to standardize and universalize the process of learning, it is inadequate to explain dynamic characteristics of learning.

Moreover, theories of adult learning fall into a trap of a subject-object dualism that continues to plague classical behaviorist and cognitivist learning theories (Engeström, 1999; Vygotsky, 1978). In most adult learning theories, the subject and object of learning remain conceptually separated from each other; with no adequate mechanism provided for their interaction. Dewey (1938) proposed two principles of experience, continuity and interaction, to overcome the problem, but he did not articulate a mechanism by which these two principles operate (Youn & Baptiste, 2007).

Another concern is how to examine learning that is produced and enacted by a collective subject. Adult learning theories do not deny that collectives can and do learn; but in most theories the focus is on individual learning. Here, we need to carefully discern a collective

subject from a collection of individuals. A collection of individuals is just an aggregation of individuals. Among individuals in an aggregation, they do not need to share and pursue the common goals or purposes entirely. Also, this collection of individuals does not need to sustain for a long time. While, collective subjects are established relatively for a long time through sharing identities, goals, motives, cultures and so on. In other words, collective subjects share their own collectiveness among subject.

Even when collective subjects are emphasized, a mechanism for empirically observing and analyzing the learning of collective subjects is not articulated (Youn & Baptiste, 2007). For example, Senge (1990) who is prominent by organizational learning presents ‘fifth disciplines’ and the methods of ‘dialogue’ for the learning organization. Senge’s fifth disciplines consist of two personal levels (personal mastery, mental models), two organizational levels (shared vision, team learning), and one total perspective (system thinking). Among the fifth disciplines, Senge emphasized the importance of system thinking that means thinking processes which enable us to unify the other four disciplines and ‘learn to better understand interdependency and change’ (Senge, 1999, p. 32).

Surely, established system thinking could represent the collectiveness of collective subjects because it has been build up by sharing process among participants in an organization. However, Senge’s explanations on process of organizational learning seem to focus on individual learning in collective subjects and just emphasize the importance of establishing collectiveness. He does not articulate what mechanism works on individuals in collective subjects and how collective subjects come to establish collectiveness. Other organizational learning theorists such as Watkins and Marsick (1993) also have similar limitations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical framework for this research study. This chapter consists of three sections. In the first section, I examine a number of perspectives on the idea of group. This section includes discussion of how “group” is defined from different perspectives and the features that influence relationships among groups. In the second section, I review literature on the subject of coalition building. This section includes discussions on the meanings ascribed to and the theories regarding coalition building, as well as the characteristics and processes associated with it. In the third section, I explore Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT). I discuss the philosophical roots, theoretical development, and principles of CHAT in this section. Interspersed throughout this chapter, is an examination of appropriate empirical research; I discuss their contributions and limitations to my study.

Relations among groups

The term of group is familiar in our daily lives. We classify a set of people as a group, such as an interest group, community group, study group, or therapy group. In the academic field, the study of groups has been conducted in diverse disciplines such as psychology, sociology, education, communications, and political sciences. However, the meaning of group varies. Moreover, most studies on groups focus on relationships among members within the groups. They do not place emphasis on inter-group relationships (Abrams, Hogg, Hinkle, & Otten, 2005; Ashmore et al., 2001; Forsyth, 1983). Based on these issues, I examine the different meanings of the term group and the factors that influence inter-group relations. I focus on inter-group relationship because I am interested in coalition building between and among groups.

Diverse perspectives on groups

Among the many different perspectives on the group, I examine four: the functional perspective, the social network perspective, the conflict-power-status perspective, and the social identity perspective. I selected these four perspectives because they are most relevant to the present study.

The functional perspective. This perspective considers groups as “units composed of two or more persons who come into contact for a purpose” (Mills, 1967, p. 2). This perspective sees goal-oriented characteristics as the most important factor in understanding the group. According to this perspective, groups have one or more goals. These goals include social-emotional, group oriented, or task oriented goals (Hollingshead et al., 2005). The functional perspective also considers that group behavior and performance can be evaluated by some criteria such as how well the group achieves its goal or the extent to which the group performs a given behavior effectively (Hare, 1992; McGrath, 1984). Many studies take a functional perspective because its focus on the accomplishment of task-oriented goals offers a basis for relatively easy evaluation.

In particular, numerous studies in the management field are influenced by this perspective. Groups in companies and organizations are usually organized to achieve specific tasks. The reason why the management field favors the functional approach is that this perspective lends itself to predicting and explaining task-oriented group performance based on standardized criteria and static data. Research guided by this perspective focuses on how decision-making, structural, and interaction processes impact the success of task-oriented groups (Hare, 1992; Hirokawa & Poole, 1996; Kelly & Karau, 1999).

There are, however, several limits in adopting this perspective for the present study. Unlike groups in companies and organizations, groups in the community, for example,

community resident group and merchant groups, do not have given shared tasks or goals. In addition, this perspective focuses on how to establish organic relations that do not cause functional problem within groups or organization. As a result, the functional perspective is marginally concerned with relationships among groups. Thirdly, relations among different groups in community where I researched seem to be influenced by social, cultural, and economic factors. In other words, this community has different levels of groups that have diverse social and cultural backgrounds, and different economic conditions. When these groups make relations, these socioeconomic factors cannot be ignored. From this perspective, the functional perspective does not address the characteristics of groups that have socioeconomic diversities (Hollingshead et al., 2005). Finally, this perspective assumes that groups follow a linear process of development; however, this certainly does not hold true for community groups (Craig & Mayo, 1995; Fodayemi, 2001; Warren, 2001).

The social network perspective. In contrast with the functional perspective, the social network perspective focuses on relationships among members of groups. Following this perspective, groups can be defined in two ways: “(1) a group as a structural feature of a network or (2) a group as an exogenously determined or imposed category” (Katz, Lazer, Arrow, & Contractor, 2005, p. 281). Here, a social network consists of a set of actors (nodes) and the ties (relations) among these actors (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). According to this perspective, groups are subsets of connected actors in some degree within some populations. From the social network perspective, a group can be a kind of emergent phenomenon, not an entity. In a similar vein, the second definition also considers the group as a determinate category or boundary that defines a certain population. Following this perspective, for example, residents in the community, attendees at events, and attendees at PTA meetings can all be categorized into groups.

Naturally, the focus of many studies based on this perspective is on examining the types of ties that constitute groups. Here, ties are not established through one or two events or interactions; ties are established through the patterns of relationships among members. These ties include communication ties, formal ties, material ties, proximity ties, and cognitive ties (Katz et al., 2005; Larson, 1992). This perspective also distinguishes between strong and weak ties. This distinction is based on affect, mutual obligation, reciprocity, and intensity. According to this perspective, individuals use strong ties when they seek emotional support or to establish trust, while individuals use weak ties when they look for information such as jobs (Granovetter, 1982).

The social network perspective seems to be helpful for understanding groups in the community. There are lots of groups in community, but they have varying relationship levels. Following this perspective, one can understand what kinds of relationships members in groups establish and how they establish them. In other words, this perspective offers a way to understand the internal workings of the group and the external environment of the group. In particular the notion of ties enables the researcher to assess how coherent the group is.

However, the social network perspective also has some limitations. First, the perspective may not be particularly adept at explaining changes within a group. While this perspective helps to identify what kinds of ties exist in groups, it does less to explain how these ties change and what the effects of changes may be. Second, the social network perspective is effective in explaining the relations in existing groups, but it does not explain how a group comes to exist. Finally, this perspective does not delve deeply into problems of power and resources in the group. Who determines the pattern of relations? What are the resources that sustain the group?

The conflict-power-status perspective. This perspective addresses the dynamic relationships of power, status, and resources in groups. The basic assumption of this perspective

is that there are inequalities caused by differences in resources, status, and power in groups. In more detail, this perspective assumes that actors in the group want to maximize their outcomes. To achieve this goal, actors cannot but make interdependent relations with other actors in the group. However, actors in the group interact with each other under different motives, interests, and resources. In this situation, conflict, power, and different status among actors in a group are inevitable (Lovaglia, Mannix, Samuelson, Sell, & Wilson, 2005). Under these assumptions, this perspective focuses on how these inequalities are generated and reproduced and how they influence group processes and outcomes.

Then, what do conflict, power, and status mean in this perspective? Most studies based on this perspective accept the definition coined by Boulding (1962). Following him, conflicts can be considered “a situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions and in which each party wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the other” (p. 5). Using this definition, researchers identify two types of conflicts: (1) relationship conflicts that emerge from interpersonal incompatibilities (Jehn & Mannix, 2001), and (2) cognitive conflicts that emerge from different opinions or perspectives related to the task (Bourgeois, 1985; Jehn, 1994).

The term, power, is really controversial. The notion of power is also investigated in various disciplines. However, whether power is an entity or a relation cannot be answered easily. In the conflict-power-status perspective, power is defined as “the ability to gain favorable outcomes at another’s expense” (Lovaglia et al., 2005, p. 144). In other words, power emerges from the process of exchanging values or from the process of distributing resources. One important characteristic is that power does not only influence direct interactions, it also affects indirect relations (Willer, 2003). This power is directly related to status. Here, status is “a

position in a social network” (Lovaglia et al., 2005, p. 144). This broad meaning of status includes not only status in daily life but also socioeconomic status. Status then is a position taken on an individual’s social worth; emphasis on creating inequalities in groups (Swell, 1992). One problem of this perspective, however, is it does not define groups very closely. This perspective tries to deal with “groups rang[ing] from intimate groups to alliances of nation states” (Lovaglia et al., 2005, p. 141). This comment on groups can be considered as an example of groups rather than a clear definition of groups. As long as I reviewed this perspective, I was not able to find clear definition of group. They just mention the term of group without clear definition. As a result, like Lovaglia et al., they use the term of group with broad meaning.

Putting together, conflict, power and status cannot be considered separately. This idea is insightful to this study. Any change in one phenomenon cannot but influence the other two. To understand dynamics within or between groups and organizations, we need to consider all three phenomena in groups and organizations. However, this perspective cannot provide theoretical integration for the present study. Although this perspective gives insightful analytic tools to understand hidden power relations in groups, it does not explain how changes of power and status in groups are possible.

The social identity perspective. Unlike other perspectives on the group, the social identity perspective focuses on inter-group relationships, mainly inter-group conflicts. One of the most famous definitions of social identity was coined by Tajfel (1981): “That part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 255). The basic assumption of this perspective starts with the idea that an individual’s salient identity can be characterized on a continuum from very personal level to highly shared attributes. Social

identity is based on these shared attributes among members of groups and categories (Ashmore et al., 2001).

In this perspective, there are two main theories. One is the social identity theory developed by Tajfel and Turner. The defining idea of this theory is that group membership generates in-group/self-categorization and values the in-group relationships at the expense of out-group relationships. Turner and Tajfel (1986) argued that the act of individuals categorizing themselves as group members is sufficient to lead them to display in-group favoritism. After becoming part of a group, individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by positively differentiating their in-group from comparison out-groups.

The other theory influenced by the social identity perspective is self-categorization theory. This theory is on a continuum of the social identity theory, but self-categorization theory focuses on the mechanism by which the self moves from an individual to a member of group (Turner, GHogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). According to this theory, individuals always try to categorize the self and others in a way for them to adjust themselves in specific situations. This categorization polarizes in-groups and out-groups and members involved in in-group tend to think and act from the group level during interactions with out-group. As a result, perceptions of members come to be depersonalized and to start thinking and acting as a member of group, not individual.

Putting these two theories together, social identity perspective argues that people categorize themselves and others according to social identity. From this viewpoint, the group can be defined as a subjective entity that exists to the extent that its members have a sense of shared social identity (Abrams et al., 2005; Tajfel, 1981). This perspective is differentiated from others by its emphasis on individuals' feelings and behaviors as members of groups rather than on a

group's size or goals. This perspective distinguishes between "people engaged in activities together but as a set of individuals" and "people engaged in activities framed by a shared social identity" (Abrams et al., 2005, p. 102). Following this perspective, only the latter is classified as a group.

Factors that influence inter-group relations

I examined four perspectives on the group in the previous section. With the exception of the social identity perspective, the perspectives focus on relations within groups. However, some features of each perspective can be extended to consider intergroup relationships as well (a primary concern in this study). Some studies also identify factors that influence intergroup relations. Putting them together, four factors seem to influence relations among groups: 1) competition, 2) categorization and identity, 3) intergroup contact, and 4) stereotypes.

Competition. Competition among groups for limited resources causes intergroup conflicts. Individuals need food, money, natural resources, power and so on. However, these "commodities" are too limited to satisfy all individuals who want to get them. In this situation, the fact that members of one group obtain limited resources means that members of another group may not receive them at all or may not receive what they consider to be enough of them. As a result, groups usually take positions to achieve two interrelated goals: attaining the desired resources and preventing other groups from reaching them (Forsyth, 1983). This is the starting point of competition of among groups.

Many empirical studies support the idea that groups in competition usually engage in more conflict than collaboration (Forsyth, 1983; Hare, 1992; Horwitz & Rabbie, 1982; Talyor & Moriarty, 1987). These studies imply that competition among groups can be sufficient to change into intergroup hostility. Some studies also show that groups are more competitive than

individuals (Insko, Pinkley, Hoyle, & Dalton, 1987; McCallum et al., 1985). According to these studies, although individual group members personally like to cooperate, as part of a group they tend to have competitive attitudes toward other groups. Such results seem credible. In daily life, we easily observe these kinds of individuals. However, one limit of these studies is that they don't provide insight regarding how to reduce competition and increase cooperation.

Categorization and social identity. Conflict caused by competitions goes some way to explaining relationships between groups, but it is not provide a complete picture. In other words, if there is no competition among groups, then do they compromise and collaborate with each other very well? The notion of categorization and social identity would answer in the negative to this question.

As stated in the previous section, I will not provide detailed explanations of categorization and social identity. Instead, I will point out how this perspective explains relations among groups. According to this perspective, categorization based on social identity assumes that individuals learn to understand their social environments by classifying objects into categories. The individuals may also use a wide range of possible categories to classify people; for example, the basic social categorizations are “member of my group” and “member of other group” (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Wilder, 1986).

This social categorization creates a cognitive distinction between “we” and “they.” Scholars based on this perspective tend to argue that this cognitive distinction functions as conflict factors between groups. Following this argument, many empirical study examine how social identity created by social categorization influence conflicts among different groups (for example, Haslam, et al., 2000; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996). Considering these studies,

categorization and social identity can be considered as one factor that influences inter-group relations.

Stereotypes. Stereotypes can be defined as “cognitive generalizations about the qualities and characteristics of the members of a particular group or social category” (Forsyth, 1983, p. 406). The stereotype can be considered the result of categorization and social identity, but it functions in different ways; it functions as a cognitive device that makes people judge people based on their categorized memberships (Miller, 1982).

Some studies on stereotypes point out three problems in stereotyping. First, some studies argue that stereotypes of out-groups are often simplistic and nonspecific. Second, stereotypes of out-groups tend to be too extreme. In other words, the stereotype polarizes the in-group and the out-group. Based on this polarization, the in-group judges the out-groups. Finally, people in in-group tend to underestimate the out-group based on the stereotype (Ashmore et al., 2001; Forsyth, 1983; Linville, 1982; B. Park & Rothbart, 1982).

The notion of the stereotype is important to the present study. The community consists of different ethnic groups and different religion groups whose members do not regular face-to-face interaction. In this situation, the way for members of one group to evaluate members of other groups may be mainly rooted in stereotypes.

Intergroup contact. In daily life, one group usually interacts with another group: individual to individual or individual to group. Two theories try to explain the impact of contact among different groups in daily life: the contact hypothesis and the group position theory.

The contact hypothesis owes its main ideas to Allport (1954). Using the individual as the unit of analysis, the contact hypothesis argues that increased contact among individuals from different groups will reduce prejudice against others and, as a result, reduce intergroup conflict.

Allport further argued that because prejudice owes much to an individual's intellectual shortcomings, individual education is of great importance in reducing and even extinguishing intergroup conflict, especially among different ethnic groups.

On the other hand, group position theory focuses on the group level, not the individual level. This theory argues that groups come into conflicts when there is a disjunction between where they are positioned in a racially and ethnically stratified society and where they feel they should belong (Blumer, 1958). This means that increased contact among individuals from different groups may change personal feelings toward individuals from other groups, but attitudes toward other groups cannot be changed easily (Jackman & Crane, 1986; Lee, 2000).

These two theories present theoretical tools for understanding daily interactions between my targeted groups. One of my concerns about the contact hypothesis is that the opposite situation can be possible. In other words, increased contacts might contribute to reduce the prejudice toward different groups, but they might also further the prejudice.

I have examined several perspectives on groups and theories concerned with relationships among groups. Most of them focus on conflict among different groups. They are not directly concerned with how to build coalitions beyond the conflicts. Also, they are not concerned with relations between groups and organizations. As I will try to demonstrate, below, an organization is quite different from a group, and it can be an agent. This means that there are interactions between groups and organizations, and that these interactions (i.e., between groups and organizations) may be different than those between groups. Likewise, inter-organizational relationships may also be distinctive.

Coalition Building among Organizations

In this section, I explore the meaning of coalition building and how social theories approach this process. After that, I examine the characteristics and processes of coalition building.

The meaning of and perspectives on coalition building

The notion of coalition is similar to concepts such as alliance and collaboration. Some scholars distinguish between coalitions and alliances. Accordingly, coalitions are defined as short-term efforts around a single issue, and alliances are considered long-term efforts based on deep knowledge of others (Albrecht & Brewer, 1990). Thus, a coalition is usually defined as “a temporary alliance or partnering of groups in order to achieve a common purpose or to engage in joint activity” (Yarn, 1991, p. 81). Theorists also distinguish between coalitions and collaborations. Collaborations are usually regarded as being more tasks oriented, and focus on coordination and specific problem solving within the short term, whereas coalitions are regarded as a broader type of collaboration, voluntary with an external focus (Schopler, 1994).

According to these discussions, most scholars agree that the longevity of the relationship and boundary of issues are crucial criteria by which to distinguish among coalitions, collaborations, and alliances. However, the term coalition is used differently by different scholars. Albercht, Brewer and Yarn consider a coalition to be a short term effort around a single issue, while Schopler uses the term in a way that is close to how Albercht et al define alliance. On this basis, I will use the terms alliance and coalition interchangeably. In fact, some scholars consider an alliance and a coalition to be the same (Bickel, 2001; Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001; Lindholm, Ryan, Kadushin, Saxe, & Brodsky, 2004).

However, I cannot agree with one criterion: relationship longevity. To be defined as a coalition or alliance, how long should relationships endure? This time-based criterion is not clear. Certainly, many organizations start relationships with other organizations in order to achieve a particular goal or address a single issue. However, during working together, if they find many shared goals, they may work together in the future. I think such a relationship is a coalition. In other words, a depth of understanding between the organizations and the possibility of working together on other issues form the basis of my notion of coalition. Putting together these discussions, this paper considers coalition building to be an expansive effort to pursue common goals based on deep knowledge of another organization or group.

Theoretical discussions about coalition building have largely been conducted in sociology of social movements and organizational theory. In organizational theory, coalitions are considered to be interorganizational relationships (Aldrich & Marsden, 1988; Mizrahi & Rosenthal, 2001; Wiewel & Hunter, 1985). Several organizational theories such as resource dependency theory (Pfeffer, 1981), the perspective on bounded rationality (March & Simon, 1958; Simon, 1957), and the institutional approach (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Perrow, 1986) focus on interorganizational relationships.

Resource dependency theory argues that one organization cannot but be dependent upon other organizations for the resources they need (March & Simon, 1958; Simon, 1957). In contrast, the perspective on bounded rationality focuses more on environmental uncertainty as a crucial force driving the formation of coalitions (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). The institutional theory of organizations considers coalitions among organizations in a different way than the two previously mentioned theories. DiMaggio & Powell (1983) argue that organizations try to make connections with and imitate other organizations in their environment in order to enhance

legitimacy. These organizational theories consider coalitions to be “action sets” that imply purposive networks of interacting organizations (Whetten, 1981) or “organizational fields” that refer to the set of organizations oriented toward some collective end (Aldrich & Marsden, 1988; Mizrahi & Rosenthal, 2001).

Organizational theories, then, tend to argue that interorganizational relationships mainly take place for the purpose of resource procurement and allocation, management of uncertainty, and organizational legitimation. However, these theories have limitations. Because organizational theories have developed in the field of management, most discussions about coalition building focus on problem solving for maximization of profit and firms’ behaviors for adaptation to environments. As a result, many explanations based on organizational theory are not useful for considering social movement organizations or non-profit organizations. Moreover, these perspectives have the possibility of restricting the expansive characteristics of coalition building as a tool for social and structural change to areas of problem solving and adaptation (Galaskiewicz, 1985; Goldman & Arquilla, 1998). What my study seeks in community is not just to solve problem or to adapt to environment through coalition building. Rather, this study would examine how community changes their social structure through coalition buildings among groups. From this perspective, organizational theories have limited application to this study.

The sociology of social movement approach to coalition building considers coalition building be political behavior. Traditionally, there are three academic approaches to coalition building from social movement perspectives: a) resource mobilization theory (Jenkins, 1983; Zald & McCarthy, 1979), b) new social movements with the concepts of “collective identification” and “identity politics” (Platke, 1990; Tarrow, 1998), and c) critical social theory (P. H. Collins, 1998; Porta & Diani, 1999).

Resource mobilization theory emphasizes the importance of resources to a social movement's development and success. Here, the notion of resources includes knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from powerful elite (Zald & McCarthy, 1979). Resource mobilization theory explains coalition building with terms such as structural opportunities, leadership, and ideological and organizational networks (Cable, Walsh, & Warland, 1988; Snow, 1992; Staggenborg, 1986). This approach also assumes that each of the different organizations or groups takes part in a coalition with a sense of unity. In other words, this perspective presupposes that if organizations participate in a relationship then they must share similar identities, purposes, and values.

The resource mobilization perspective on coalition building, which is based on the importance of resources, offers an explanation of why some organizations are able to organize movements while others are not. However, this approach neglects the complexity of organizations that form coalitions by focusing only on the importance of resources and organizational structure. Moreover, the resource mobilization perspective does not provide explanations about how organizational and individual identities influence the formation of coalition building because this approach assumes a sense of unity as a condition of participation (Bickel, 2001; Tarrow, 1998).

While the resource mobilization theory focuses on structure, strategies, leadership, and opportunity, the new social movement perspective emphasizes the internal dynamics of social movements and the development of shared identities and attitudes. The new social movement frameworks first developed in Europe in order to explain the emergence of new movements in the 1960s and 1970s that could not be explained by a traditional class-conflict model based on Marxism. The new social movement perspective emphasizes the cultural nature of the new social

movements and views them as struggles for control over the production of meaning and the constitution of new collective identities. Thus, diverse identities such as gender, race, class, religion, sexual orientation, and nationality become the basis of new social movements (Porta & Diani, 1999; Tarrow, 1998).

The strength of the new social movement framework is its emphasis on the cultural dimension of social movements. This framework explains what was ignored in 'old' social movement and what kinds of issues should be emphasized in new social movements through its explanation of the processes of constitution of subjects and identities based on diverse identities established by cultural factors. However, this perspective has the potential to "homogenize and naturalize social categories and groupings, denying shifting boundaries and internal power differences and conflicts of interest" (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 131). Sometimes, we may observe that this perspective opens intense debates among diverse groups but ends without new and challenging ideas for integration.

I think an important limitation of this perspective comes from the dichotomous assumptions on which it is based. Because identity-based social movements need to oppose a socially constructed "other" defined as the enemy, the exclusion of those who are lacking the appropriate identity is usual (Bickel, 2001; Gamson, 1995). From this perspective, the sense of unity within the same identity is likely to intensify. However, coalition building across different identities seems to be difficult. In other words, this perspective lacks an explanation of how organizations with different identities can form coalitions. Bickel (2001) illustrates this danger very well when he analyzes the student coalition at Indiana University. According to him, the subordinated groups are likely to take the position of a hierarchy of oppression that refers to which group is more oppressed. In such a situation, a coalition cannot be sustained.

How then do different groups of people effectively integrate without abandoning their differences? I think critical social theory offers possibilities for addressing this challenge. Critical social theory means firstly, social theory which is capable of taking a critical stance towards itself, by recognizing its own presuppositions and its own role in the social world. Secondly, this theory takes a critical stance towards social reality by providing grounds for the justification and criticism of the institutions, practices, and mentalities that make up that reality. So, critical social theorists have tried to link up theory to the immediacy of lived realities (Calhoun, 1995; Dant, 2003). Certainly, critical social theory has a broad category of theoretical production, including subsets like sociological theory, race and ethnic theory, cultural theory, feminist theory and literary theory. In other words, critical social theory can be considered as covering the interactions between the explanatory, the normative, and the ideological dimensions of social and political thought (Rhoads, 1991).

Regarding coalition building, this perspective recognizes the importance of differences among people and organizations participating in relations with respect to gender, class, race, sexual orientation, political position, or ideology. These differences enable people to have multiple identities within and across groups when they begin coalitions. In contrast with the perspective of resource mobilization theory and new social movements, critical social theory argues that identities do not need to be unified. Rather, this perspective pursues shared identities across diverse identities (Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001). More specifically, this perspective focuses on shared social characteristics and experiences as the crucial conditions upon which collective identities can be created. Based on such, we can explore possibilities for how disparate people can come together. This process does not mean the unification of identities. Rather, the creation of coalitions always includes negotiations of difference (Bystydzienski & Schacht,

2001; Calhoun, 1995). In order to establish workable and sustainable coalitions among differences, negotiations should take place at both the idiographic and structural level.

I have reviewed organizational theories and the sociology of social movements on coalition building. Organizational theories usually consider coalition building to be a strategy for restricted purposes, such as making a profit and sustaining a firm. This limited explanation cannot explain the range of interorganizational relationships or the complicated process of coalition building. In the sociology of social movements, the new social movement perspective based on identity politics and collective identity reveals the complexity of coalition building, but this perspective has the potential to hinder coalitions because of its emphasis on unified identity. Finally, critical social theory approaches coalition buildings without relinquishing differences among diverse subjects through negotiations. Because this perspective focuses on changing the structure of society in the interest of justice, it can provide clues regarding how diverse identities and social change can be harmonized through coalition building.

The characteristics and process of coalition building among organizations

Coalitions may be built in any society, for addressing any issue from neighborhood issues to international conflict. Numerous empirical studies report the benefits of this activity (Fanis, 2004; Fodayemi, 2001; Gwartney, Fessenden, & Landt, 2002; Lindholm et al., 2004; Mizrahi & Rosenthal, 2001; Starr, 2001). These reports indicate that coalition building among organizations has an impact on both organizations and individuals. At the organizational level, coalition of organizations increases the potential for success in achieving organizational goals and brings more expertise and resources to complex issues in situations where the technical or personnel resources of any one organization would not be sufficient. Moreover, a coalition can increase the impact of each organization's efforts and build a long-term foundation for change. At the

individual level, coalition building also influences participants. Because participants come from diverse backgrounds and different viewpoints, they should figure out how to respect each other's differences in order to accomplish their goals.

Coalition building, however, requires certain conditions. Scholars and activists suggest that there are some ingredients and conditions that should be considered in the creation of a coalition. Following this suggestion, components such as environment, membership characteristics, process and structure, communication, purpose, and resources need to be considered in building coalitions (Mattessich & Monsey, 1992). In a similar vein, conditions such as political and economic realities; the type and level of resources possessed by organizations; the salience and urgency of the social change goal; the timing of coalescence and action; and the feasibility of “winning” affect coalition formation and development (Mizrahi and Rosenthal, 2001). Some empirical studies also present the conditions and factors of coalition building (Folayemi, 2001; Gwartney et al., 2002; Lindholm et al., 2004; Starr, 2001). These explanations present factors that are influential in building coalitions. These factors and conditions interact with each other to determine the complicated process of coalition buildings.

It is difficult to generalize regarding the process of coalition building among organizations because coalition building take places in many highly varied contexts. However, many empirical studies indicate that there are some common steps in the process of coalition building (Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001; Foster-Fishman et al., 2001; Gwartney et al., 2002; Lindholm et al., 2004; Schmid, 1998; Wolff, 2001a).

As critical social theory points out, negotiation is important in the process of coalition building in order to prevent multiple identities from being relinquished. Most researchers agree that negotiation among diverse individuals or groups is frequently facilitated by “bridge

workers” who contribute to the first stage of relationship building between groups (Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004; Z. Grossman, 2001; Mizrahi & Rosenthal, 2001; Starr, 2001). As these persons usually have some understanding of “others” situations and viewpoints or have a previous relationship with them, they can initiate coalition building.

Generally, many studies suggest that the process of workable coalition building consists of four linear, hierarchical steps: (1) identifying difference; (2) analyzing the power relationship; (3) finding common ground; and (4) changing or creating structure. I describe the steps below, without necessarily agreeing with the linear hierarchy that is suggested. The first step in coalition building is to recognize and acknowledge the differences between and identities of the other parties that emerge from social categorizations such as race, gender, and sexual orientation (Barta-Smith, 2001; Bickel, 2001; Foster-Fishman et al., 2001; Roth, 2003). In this process, members of each party interact with members in the other party, come to know what the differences are among them and recognize which identities are important in the context. Coalition building crosses the boundaries of multiple identities and in doing so may create discomfort, and even, pain, when individuals or groups encounter differences from them. However, this process is surely necessary to build genuine coalitions (Bickel, 2001).

Secondly, individuals or groups need to analyze how privileges based on gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and other factors influence the relationships within the coalition (Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001). Surely, one of the critical issues in coalition building is that of power relations. This problem is especially important to social movement organizations. Although social movement organizations pursue a change in power relationships in society, they frequently tend to ignore the problem of unequal power relations within their groups. More closely, when major and minor groups pursue a coalition, the majority has the tendency to persist

in their privilege and do not accept the equal position of the minority. In this situation, members of the major groups need to learn how to understand the world from different perspectives and experience and listen to the minorities' voices as equal to their own (Harding, 1998).

The third step in coalition building is to find common ground without relinquishing any one party's voice (Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001; Starr, 2001). Organizations need to search for commonality that provides strategic considerations for achieving goals. However, the problem in this process is how to balance different identities and voices in making a decision. Bystydzienski and Schacht (2001) suggest that "although different experiences need to be honored as valid and potentially contributing to the given group's ongoing discourse and activities, a shared commitment to social justice should become more important than potentially divisive identities" (p. 10). Through this process, shared knowledge and respect for each other are constructed.

The final step in coalition building is to create new structures or change the existing structures of organizations (Bell & Delaney, 2001; Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004; Schmid, 1998). Recognizing multiple identities, understanding differences, giving up privileges, and finding common ground is not enough to build true coalitions. To have a chance of making a real impact on the social structure, coalition building should address organizational changes. The new or transformed organization needs to adapt its structure, patterns of management, and human resources in a way that corresponds with needs such as enhancement of the organizational culture, establishment of a common professional and organizational language for all the subsystems, internalization of organizational goals, and establishment of common ideology (Schmid, 1998).

Then, what kind of structure of organization is ideal for coalition building? Many scholars and activists recommend that the structures created by coalitions need to be flexible and

participatory, in other words, democratic structures (Bell & Delaney, 2001; Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004; Lindholm et al., 2004; Schmid, 1998; Wolff, 2001b). Here, democratization efforts include “creating alternative forms of political culture and promoting processes that do not reproduce the marginalization participants have experienced in mainstream organizations and institutions” (Bystydzienski and Schach, 2001, p. 12). This democratic structure is very important to sustain the built coalitions. Researching grassroots organizations, Bell and Delaney (2001) demonstrate how coalitions came to fail when organizations did not develop democratic patterns to enable them to negotiate their differences. When organizations do not function democratically, many coalitions are short-lived and come to be unsatisfactory experiences for participants. Many research, like Delaney, argue the importance of democratic structure of organization for coalition building. However, their arguments are just prescriptions. They do not explain how to create this democratic structure.

Limits of previous perspectives on coalition building

Up to this point, I have provided an overview of various perspectives on coalition building. Coalition building is very important to organizations. If workable and sustainable coalitions are established, the power of coalition goes beyond the ability of a single organization. However, coalition building is a complicated and dynamic process that must consider multiple identities and interests. Managing these complexities and dynamics is the key to successful of coalition building.

Up to this time, the majority of studies on coalition building have come from the fields of sociology and management. While sociologists mainly focus on considering the factors that initiate coalitions and the impact of them (Blalock, 1989; Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001; Coser, 1956; Kriesberg, 2003; Sidaway, 2005; Simmel, 1955), management scholars concentrate on

how to resolve conflict and what kinds of negotiation skills are required for coalition building (Guttman, 2003; Likert & Likert, 1976; Maurer, 1991; Walton, 1987). Each perspective presents useful explanatory tools for understanding the social function of coalition building as well as practical tools to deal with them. However, they focus more on structural factors of organization for coalition building. As a result, these approaches do not address how individuals are influenced or how they react to the process of coalition building. Static socialization/educative structures are proposed; but scant consideration is given regarding the dynamic socialization/educative process.

How the present study will understand and address the complicated processes of coalition building and connect it to the notion and process of adult learning remains unresolved. To resolve this question, another theoretical framework is necessary. The way forward may be offered by CHAT, which I discuss in some detail next.

Cultural Historical Activity Theory

What constitutes social phenomena? It is a question basic to the field of social sciences. Despite the jargon in many academic fields, the answer consistently includes the notion of social action, subjective experience, and their conditions (Carspecken, 1996). However, when the question is asked in this format, “How can these components be related to each other?” it becomes more difficult. Those who take the position of traditional duality between the individual and society, between the subject and the object, and between the agent and the structure, may find this question especially difficult.

Recently, cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) came to be at the center of discussion in various academic areas including adult education because it offers a way to answer this question. The theory was principally developed by north European scholars who combine the

tradition of Marxism with cultural historical psychology (Engeström, 1987; Sawchuk, 2003). In this section, I scrutinize the three major philosophical influences on CHAT: semiotics, symbolic interactionism, and Marxism. Next, I explore CHAT's theoretical development. Here, the focus is on the major figures associated with CHAT, such as, Vygotsky, Leont'ev, and Engeström. After that, I delve into the main ideas and principles of CHAT. Finally, I present the implications of CHAT for this study.

The philosophical roots of activity theory

Engeström (1987) clearly explains three philosophical foundations for CHAT. For him, the three theoretical frameworks—semiotics, symbolic interactionism, and the cultural-historical school of psychology—are usually considered the basis of CHAT. In the case of semiotics, ideas from Peirce to Popper have influenced the theory. Symbolic interactionism raised by Mead also provides clues to the formation of CHAT. Activity theorists also agree that the cultural-historical school of psychology based on Vygotsky's ideas is of great importance in this theory (P. L. Grossman, Smagorinsky, & Valencia, 1999; Guile & Young, 1998; Nardi, 1998; Witte, 2005).

Engeström's classification, however, is different from mine. Many activity theorists consider Vygotsky's works and his cultural historical approach as the beginning of CHAT (Daniels, 2004; Foot, 2001; Nardi, 1998; Richard & Morris, 1993; Sawchuk, 2003). Engeström (1987) also deals with this cultural-historical approach as the first phase of CHAT as well as one of its philosophical bases. I also consider the cultural-historical school of psychology as the first step of development of CHAT. However, I wish to place greater emphasis on the works of Marx (than is plainly apparent in Engeström and others) as one of the major philosophical bases of CHAT. The reason why I include Marxism as a philosophical basis is this: Many notions and ideas that play a crucial role in CHAT, for example, means, contradiction, exchange value, and

use value, rely on dialectic materialism. From now on, I will investigate how three philosophical traditions, semiotics, symbolic interactionism and Marxism, are related to activity theory.

Semiotics. Saussure's ([1916]-1974) argues that "it is . . . possible to conceive of a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life. It would form part of social psychology, and hence of general psychology. We shall call it 'semiology'" (p. 16). The study of semiotics tries to investigate not only what we refer to as "signs" in everyday speech, but of anything that stands for something else. In particular, CHAT seems to be influenced by Peirce's ideas (Daniels, 2004; Engeström, 1987). I will, therefore, focus on Peirce's influence on activity theory.

Peirce is one of the most important figures in semiotics, but he is quite different from Saussure. In Peircean semiotics, signs take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures, and objects. While for Saussure, "semiology" is a science that studies the role of signs as part of social life. For Peirce, "semiotic" is the "formal doctrine of signs" that is closely related to logic (Peirce, 1931-1958, p. 2.227). For him, "a sign ... is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity" (Peirce 1931-58, p. 2.228). His declaration that "we think only in signs" (Peirce 1931-58, p. 2.302) describes the basic idea of semiotics.

Peirce argues that signs take the form of words, images, sounds, odors, flavors, acts, or objects. However, these have no inherent meanings and become signs only when we provide them with meanings. As a result, "nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted as a sign" (Peirce 1931-58, 2.172). To support this argument, Peirce formulated his own model of the sign. He provided a triadic model that includes the "representamen," an "interpretant," and an "object". The representamen refers to the form the sign takes; an interpretant refers to not always an interpreter but rather the sense made of the sign. Finally, an object means that to which the sign

refers (Peirce, 1931-1958). For example, the traffic light sign for “stop” would consist of a red light facing traffic at an intersection (the representamen), vehicles halting (the object) and the idea that a red light indicates that vehicles must stop (the interpretant).

This triadic model of the sign has significant implications for CHAT. According to this perspective, there is no direct correspondence between the symbol and the thing. This relation is always mediated by the interpretant; that is, meanings are constructed by a type of human activity. This argument provides CHAT with the fundamental idea of knowledge and meaning as a mediated construction.

The limit of this semiotic approach, however, is that it considers the individual intellectual process as the only human activity (Engeström, 1987). Let us consider the example of the “stop” sign again: this perspective cannot explain why interpretant comes to have the meaning of “must stop.” The reason why the interpretant interprets a red light as vehicles halting is not just an individual cognitive process. Without understanding the social meaning of a red light, the individual cognitive process recognizes a red light as “just a red light.” In other words, this perspective misses the idea that meanings are constructed by collective activity under specific historical and cultural conditions.

Symbolic interactionism. The tradition of symbolic interactionism also provides a basis for CHAT. Among the various concepts in symbolic interactionism, the idea of “intersubjectivity” and “symbol-mediated interaction” raised by Mead appears to be of greatest influence on CHAT.

Mead’s theory tries to explain the degree to which the self is defined in the socialization process, and through this, overcome the idea of individualism and intellectualism (Engeström, 1987; Joas, 1985). Mead first considers the self as a social emergent. This social conception of

the self involves the notion that individual selves are the products of social interaction. This position is very different from other semiotic traditions that consider selves as the logical or biological preconditions of social interaction (Mead & Morris, 1934).

Based on this idea, Mead offers the notion of the mode of self-consciousness. In the mode of self-consciousness, the “individual enters as such into his own experience . . . as an object” (Mead & Morris, 1934, p. 225). The individual “can enter as an object only on the basis of social relations and interactions, only by means of his experiential transactions with other individuals in an organized social environment” (Mead & Morris, 1934, p. 225). Thus Mead’s notion of the objectified self locates the subject within the realm of intersubjectivity and requires social interaction (Joas, 1985). So, Mead develops an account of the social emergence of the self through three forms of intersubjective activity: language, play, and games.

Language is communication via “significant symbols.” A significant symbol is a gesture that elicits the same response from the individual making the gesture as is elicited from those others to whom the gesture is directed (Cronk, 1973). When the individual who makes a gesture understands the response of another, he is capable of significant communication. During play, the key process in the generation of self-consciousness is that of role-playing: “It is only by taking the roles of others that we have been able to come back to ourselves” (Mead & Morris, 1934, pp.184-5). Games involve a more complex form of role-playing than play. In games, the individual is required to internalize, not merely the symbolized character of a single and specific other, but to internalize the roles of all others who are implicated with him in the game. He should also figure out the game rules that define the various roles (Cronk, 1973).

This perspective argues that there are four basic elements in activity; the individual, the other, the symbol, and the object. One important characteristic of the relationships among the

four elements is the priority of social objects and social consciousness over physical objects. In other words, physical objects can gain meanings through the social and interactive construction of symbols. As a result, symbols come to be crucial mediated tools in any interaction.

This tradition has moved understanding of the construction of reality from an individual intellectual process to that of a social, interactive process mediated by symbols. Accordingly, the self and the meanings of objects are constructed by collective activities, that is, by so-called symbolic interaction. This key idea that social realities are constructed by collective activity has greatly influenced the development of CHAT.

Mead's theory, however, is oriented too strongly toward a model of adaptive intercourse and too little toward objectification and the material production of the new. In other words, this theory is useful for explaining how each individual can participate in and adapt to social activity with the priority of symbolic interaction. However, it does not explain how this symbolic interaction can change. Actually, our symbolic interaction may change in line with changes in practical materials. When Engeström (1987) criticizes this perspective as "construction for the mind, not as practical material construction" (p.58), he points out that this theory lacks an account of the transformational and dynamic relationships among elements.

Marxism, dialectical materialism, and historical materialism. Marxism is an important philosophical basis of CHAT. Marxism, especially historical materialism and dialectical materialism, endows CHAT with the transitional and revolutionary characteristics of human activity. The essence of historical materialism, initiated by Hegel and fully developed by Marx via Feuerbach, can be summed up in one sentence: "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness" (Marx, 1964, p. 51). Historical materialism finds the causes of developments and

changes in human history in economic, technological, and material factors, as well as the collision of material interests among social classes and nations (Cohen, 1978). This theoretical framework yields many important concepts and corresponding conceptual terms. Marx's ideas provide the core concepts such as activity, contradiction, and division of labor, use value and exchange value and so on to CHAT.

Marx first proclaims the importance of the notion of activity when he criticizes mechanical materialism. Given the influence of Marx's work, the *Theses on Feuerbach* deserves to be cited at length.

[1] The main defect of all hitherto-existing materialisms—that of Feuerbach included—is that the Object, actuality, sensuousness, are conceived only in the form of the object, or of contemplation, but not as human sensuous activity, practice, not subjectively. . . . Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, differentiated from thought-objects, but he does not conceive human activity itself as objective activity. . . . Hence he does not grasp the significance of “revolutionary,” of “practical-critical,” activity.

[3] The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of changed circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men who change circumstances and that the educator must himself be educated. Hence this doctrine is bound to divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society. The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-change can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionary practice.

[11] Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it. (Marx, 1845)

These three excerpts give important clues to understanding Marx's notion of human activity. Criticizing both mechanical materialism and idealism, Marx argues that the concept of activity enables us to overcome and transcend dualism between the subject and the object, and the individual and social circumstance. More importantly, Marx points to the possibility of achieving individual and social change through activity. According to him, the coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be understood only as revolutionary

practice. These concepts and theoretical frameworks deeply influence Leont'ev's theory of human activity.

Marx in his classic writing, *Capital*, introduces the notion of instruments as a means of production (Marx, Fowkes, & Fernbach, 1867/1995). According to him, instruments are the unique characteristics of human beings, and they mediate between human and nature. Without considering this notion, the human cannot make connections with nature. Marx also analyzes and critiques capitalism with the concept of commodity that cannot but include contradiction between use value and exchange value (Marx et al., 1867/1995)¹. This dialectical concept is crucial for an analysis of the contradictions between human activity and the human psyche (Engeström, Miettinen, & Punamaki, 1999). The notion of instruments is investigated in depth by Vygotsky, and the dialectical concept of contradiction is adopted by Engeström.

I have discussed the philosophical roots of CHAT. To know these philosophical roots is important because the focus of research varies depending on the researcher's philosophical position. Certainly, researchers who favor semiotics tend to focus on analyzing semiotic structures (Daniels, 2004; Grossman et al., 1999; Thompson, 2004). For example, Thompson (2004) focused on how verbal interactions in classroom are constructed and influence learning with activity system. Researchers influenced by symbolic interactionism tend to explore the formation and function of cultural artifacts (Guile & Young, 1998; Jonassen & Rorrer-Murphy, 1999). For example, Jonassen & Rorrer-Murphy (1999) examined how computer technology as a tool contributed to construct learning environment. Finally, researchers influenced by Marxism are more likely to analyze contradictions in human activity (Engeström, 2001; Livingstone & Sawchuk, 2004; Sawchuk, 2003). For example, Sawchuk tried to examine how working class

¹ How Marx criticized capitalism with the notion of commodification, use value, and exchange value needs another long discussion. For a detailed discussion, see chapter 1 in *Economics of the madness: Capitalism and the market today* by Harman, C. (1995) or *The capital* by Marx (1867).

people establish their consciousness while managing learning with the aid of computer technology. Sawchuk also paid attention to contradictions associated with the activity.

The theoretical development of activity theory

In this section, I investigate the theoretical development of CHAT. Many activity theorists agree that three generations played a crucial role in developing this theory (Engeström, 1987; Engeström et al., 1999; Foot, 2001; Sawchuk, 2003). For these scholars, CHAT has its origins in the cultural-historical school of psychology and the work of the Vygotsky. The second generation is Leont'ev's theory of human activity, which develops the concept of activity. The third and current generation of CHAT is composed of activity theorists who focus on explaining how the function of and changes in the activity system can be articulated. Among the third generation of theorists, Engeström contributes much to the theoretical development of CHAT, and thus his work deserves consideration here. Based on this classification, I elaborate how three important theorists' ideas contributed to the development of this theory.

The first generation: The cultural-historical approach to human action. The cultural-historical approach to psychology began with Vygotsky. Before Vygotsky's work, there were two main theoretical trends in psychology. One is behaviorism offered by Watson and Jameson in the early part of the 20th century and developed by Thondike, Tolman, and Skinner (Hergenhahn & Olson, 2000; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). In essence, behaviorism consists of three assumptions. First, observable behavior is the focus of study. Second, the individual's behavior is shaped and determined by her/his environment. Third, the principles of continuity and reinforcement are crucial to understanding human behavior (Hergenhahn & Olson, 2000; Skinner, 1974).

The second trend in psychology was cognitivism based on Gestalt psychologists' work and Piaget's theory. Contrary to behaviorism, cognitivism emphasizes the cognitive process of internalizing knowledge (Hergenhahn & Olson, 2000; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). How the individual shapes a proper response through given stimuli constitutes the main interest of the cognitivism. Scholars generally, although not always, place Piaget in the individual constructivism camp (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). However, I think individual constructivism is very close to cognitivism because it too focuses mainly on cognition in describing and explaining knowledge and learning. .

In the behaviorist framework, the object determines what the subject is. Conversely, in the cognitive perspective, the object has meaning only after the subject interprets it. However, the relationship between the subject and the object is not clear in either perspective. In other words, the answer to how the subject is connected to the object is always in a black box.

Both the behaviorism and cognitive perspectives pay attention to learning as a conceptual tool for explaining human behavior and cognitive processes. However, Bereiter (1985) points out that both positions yield a "learning paradox." For example, these theoretical frames cannot provide answers to questions such as "How can a structure generate another structure more complex than itself?" (Bereiter, 1985, pp.204-205). The answer to this question seems to be possible when "two classic dilemmas" in modern developmental psychology—the problematic relationship between learning and development, and between individual and social development—are explained (Brown, 1982; Engeström, 1987).

Vygotsky's theory sheds light on these two dilemmas. Pointing out the limitations of the previous psychological approach, Vygotsky (1978) presents the triad of subject, object, and mediating artifact as a new way to understand learning processes. This idea is revolutionary

because it provides a different perspective on the relationship between the subject and the object. The subject is always connected to the object via mediation. Without considering mediation, we cannot make connections between the subject and the object.

Vygotsky (1978) distinguishes between two interrelated types of mediating instruments in human activity, tools and signs. In his analysis, the function of tools is to serve as the conductor of human influence on the object of activity. Here, tools are externally oriented and must lead to changes in objects. Tools are a means by which an external human activity is aimed at mastering, and triumphing over, nature.

Signs can be considered psychological tools. Vygotsky (1978) points out that they are directed toward the mastery or control of behavioral processes just as technical means are directed toward the control of processes of nature. The essence of psychological tools is that they are original instruments for cooperative, communicative, and self-conscious shaping and controlling of the procedures for using and making technical tools.

The notion of mediation is very important for understand learning. Tools and signs as mediation can be understood only when we consider historical and cultural contexts because they change with changes in history and culture. Due to the characteristics of mediation, the subject and object can be connected with each other and, furthermore, a dynamic relationship between them becomes possible (Engeström, 1987; Foot, 2001; Gindis, 1999; Sawchuk, 2003). The introduction of cultural artifacts (i.e., mediating tools and signs), enables us to open up the door to understanding learning using a cultural-historical approach.

Another contribution made by Vygotsky to CHAT is to present a relationship between learning and development with the notion of “zone of proximal development” or ZPD. Before Vygotsky, theories of learning considered learning to be either independent of development

(cognitivism) or considered learning to be development (behaviorism). Critiquing both positions, Vygotsky sets up a relationship between learning and development in different way. He first defines ZPD as “the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). Based on this concept, he points out that “properly organized learning results in mental development and sets in motion a variety of developmental processes that would be impossible apart from learning” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 90). This means that learning is not itself development, but it is a necessary and universal aspect of the process of development.

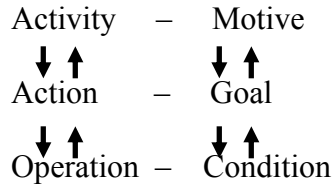
This relationship between learning and development is important because it suggests how evolutionary and creative development is possible. As a matter of fact, Vygotsky does not mention the creative process of ZPD directly (Engeström, 1987; Gindis, 1999; Jonassen & Rorrer-Murphy, 1999). The potential of the creative process inhering in the notion of ZPD are to be found in later generations of CHAT.

The second generation: Activity as collective work. The second generation was strongly influenced by Leont’ev’s work (Engeström, 1987; Sawchuk, 2003). Leonte’ev provides concrete theoretical concepts to CHAT. For example, he articulated the hierarchical nature of activity, action, and operation. Moreover, the idea of activity gains collective meaning through his work.

The second generation points out the limitations of preceding work, viewing Vygotsky’s as limited in its reliance upon a unit of analysis that remains centered on the individual. Leont’ev (1978) points out this limitation of individual approach. Drawing on Marx’s notion of division of labor, he tries to discern collective activity from individual action.

To illustrate his point, Leont'ev examines the primordial hunt as a collective activity. Using the example of the role of a bush beater in the collective hunting activity, Leont'ev (1981) explains how the product of joint labor activity is achieved. Based on this example, he sheds important light on the difference between action and activity. In his analysis, without consideration of the overall collective activity, the individual's action (in this case the bush beater's action) is senseless and unjustified. Leont'ev shows that individuals' action by themselves, do not necessarily meet the objective of a collective activity. The objective of a collective activity can only be completed with the other members who take on other roles in the activity. In short, collective activities are realized by goal-directed actions under the division of labor.

Here, what makes the difference between collective activity and individual action comes to be problematic. According to Leont'ev (1981), what distinguishes one activity from another is its object. The object of an activity is its true motive. Thus, the concept of activity is necessarily connected with the concept of motive. In a similar context, actions are carried out in variable concrete circumstances. The methods through which an action can be accomplished are called operations. Whereas actions are related to conscious goals, operations are related to conditions not often consciously reflected by the subject. With practice and internalization, activities collapse into actions and finally into operations because they become more automatic, requiring less conscious effort. Leont'ev (1981) argues that the development from conscious activity to automatic operations could be considered a consequence of division of labor. However, he notes that the reverse dynamic is also possible. The hierarchical relationship from activity to action to operation can be indicated like this:



This hierarchical structure of activity, action, and operation does have some problems.

First, the term “action” is not used exclusively by activity theorists; psychology, cognitive science, and other academic fields also adopt this term, but for different purposes (Engeström et al., 1999). Moreover, in the field of sociology the notion of action is used to overcome the dualism between structure and individual experience (Fielding, 1988; Giddens, 1984). This conceptual confusion between academic fields, therefore, needs to be clarified.

The second problem is the possibility of misunderstanding the hierarchical structure of activity. When Leont’ev suggests this idea, he also argues that activity develops into actions and vice-versa. This does not mean that he proclaims activity as being superior to the other behaviors. However, some researchers ascribing to activity theory view activity as having a fixed hierarchical structure (Grossman et al., 1999; Issoroff & Scanlon, 2002; Thompson, 2004). I think this confusion comes from insufficient elaboration of how activity develops into action. Leont’ev only suggests the developmental characteristics among activity, action, and operation; he does not account for how and when this change happens.

Leont’ev (1981, p. 46), however, does offer a clear account of activity: “The real function of this unit is to orient the subject in the world of objects. In other words, activity is not a reaction or aggregate of reactions, but a system with its own structure, its own internal transformations, and its own development.” As a result, activity can be defined as “systems of collaborative human practice” (Engeström, 1987, p. 30).

Leont'ev's specification of the hierarchical structure of activity has certainly contributed to the development of CHAT. In addition, his attempt to investigate the implication of the division of labor based on Marx at least suggests how collective activity works. These contributions make it possible to take a systematic approach to the study of activity and to consider it as a unit of analysis. This systematic approach is the work of the third generation.

The third generation: Defining the role of contradiction in the activity system. The third generation of CHAT was developed by radical scholars in north Europe. As many scholars agree, Engeström's contributions to activity theory in particular deserve to be investigated. Here, I deal with Engeström's major contributions to CHAT.

Engeström extended activity theory in three ways. First, he put together the tradition of the cultural-historical approach from Vygotsky to Leont'ev in which he included the role of mediating cultural tool, placing them in a broader social dimension of practice. Basically, he enlarged, refined, and formalized activity theory by undertaken investigations neglected by previous scholars. For example, Engeström combines the basic mediation triangle offered by Vygotsky with the structure of activity set up by Leont'ev, and as a result, creates the triangle of activity (Engeström, 1987).

Engeström's second contribution is defining the role of internal contradictions in activity and explaining how practice undergoes change. In other words, Engeström (1987) gives an account of the possibility of both internal and external changes through the notion of internal/external contradictions. To do so, he elaborates four types of contradictions: primary, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary. He also redefines the zone of proximal development (ZPD) originated by Vygotsky. Engeström defines ZPD as "the distance between the present everyday actions of the individuals and the historically new form of the societal activity that can be

collectively generated as a solution to ‘the double bind’ potentially embedded in the everyday actions” (Engeström, 1987, p. 174). Here, the double bind means the situation where a person encounters different or contradictory demands or expectations (Bateson, 1972). In this situation, people cannot solve this problem within current knowledge and skills. Through these conceptual tools, he explains the relationship between individual and societal development.

Engeström’s final contribution is that he suggests a way of conducting research based on activity theory. Engeström (1987) spends the last chapter of his book, *Learning by expanding*, developing a research methodology. Here, he suggests a methodological cycles consisting of four steps: (1) phenomenology and delineation of the activity system, (2) formation of new instruments, (3) practical application of new instruments, and (4) reporting. Based on this idea, Engeström’s recent works focus more closely on empirical analysis and on interrogating the nature of a particular activity system’s enmeshment in a multi-dimensional network of activity systems that interact with, support, destabilize, and interpenetrate each other (Engeström, 1992, 1994, 2001; Engeström et al., 1999). Some researchers, based on Engeström’s work, provide more concrete research processes (Jonassen & Rorrer-Murphy, 1999). In fact, many empirical studies pertaining to activity theory have been conducted in broad fields such as information systems and human computer interaction (Favorin & Kuutti, 1996), communications (Lewin, 1969; McCafferty, Roebuck, & Wayland, 2001), education (Beach, 2000; P. L. Grossman et al., 1999), communities of expertise (Engeström, 1992), organizational analysis (Holt & Morris, 1993), and workplace learning (Guile & Young, 1998; Sawchuk, 2003).

To summarize, Engeström provides a systematic theory of activity that encompasses not only epistemology but also research methodology. However, it is debatable whether CHAT can provide a methodology that is distinctly different from other research approaches. As some

theorists point out (Holt & Morris, 1993; Koschmann, 1998; Nardi, 1998), it is more useful to consider CHAT a theoretical framework than to consider it a methodology.

Key principles in CHAT

In this section, I discuss key ideas and principles in activity theory. I begin with a discussion of activity system, followed by a discussion of contradiction (arguable one of the key ideas in CHAT). I end this section with a brief examination of five principles of CHAT, as summarized by Engeström.

Activity system. CHAT is a form of cultural-historical analysis that focuses on the activity system as the unit of analysis rather than individual. According to Engeström (1987), the components of any activity can be organized into an activity system depicted in Figure 1.

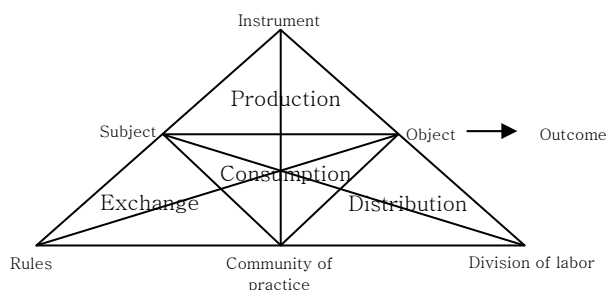


Figure 1. The structure of human activity system (Source: Engeström, 1987, p. 78)

In this structure, the production sub-triangle at the top consists of three components: subject, instrument, and object. The subject refers to either an individual or aggregate of individuals seeking to fulfill goals or motives through action or activity. As the definitions suggests, activities require collective efforts, usually involving several different classes of actors. In a single investigation, careful attention every actor or class of actors is often impossible, given limited time, resources, and expertise. Consequently, analysts must select particular actors or classes of actors on whom to focus. The decision to focus on a particular actor or class of actors

does not mean that the roles of other actors are unimportant or even less important. It simply means that, for some compelling reason(s), the analyst wishes to privilege the perspective of this particular actor in this particular investigation. In such cases, the analyst has a responsibility to articulate those reasons." So for any given investigation, investigators must choose to foreground particular subjects. Choosing which subject to privilege is an important political act, because, as Engeström (1991), notes, division of labor creates different perspectives.

The instrument is the means—including both abstract and physical artifacts—used in the transformation process. This instrument mediates the subject's activity toward the object. The object is the modifiable ends toward which activity is directed and from which an outcome is expected. This sub-triangle originated with Vygotsky.

Engeström's contribution is that he expands the triangle to include community, rules, and division of labor. Here, rules are essentially an incomplete guide for action or activity as set by a community. A community can be defined as an interdependent aggregate of individuals who share a social setting, and who has a common interest in the object under consideration. Division of labor refers to specific tasks of the individual members or groups belonging to a community. Finally, outcome refers to the actual result produced by human activity. Basically, the activity system consists of these seven components: the subject, the object, instruments, rules, community of practice, division of labor, and outcomes.

This activity system includes four sub-triangles referred to as production, consumption, exchange, and distribution. These terms represent the higher order functions that arise from the mutual relations among components (Holt & Morris, 1993; Nardi, 1998). To define these terms, Engeström relies on Marx's distinctions:

Production creates the objects which correspond to the given needs; distribution divides them up according to social laws; exchange further parcels out the already divided shares in accord with individual needs; and finally, in consumption, the product steps outside this social movement and becomes a direct object and servant of individual need, and satisfies it in being consumed. Thus production appears to be the point of departure, consumption as the conclusion, distribution and exchange as the middle (Marx, 1973, p.89).

This model suggests the possibility of analyzing multiple relations within the triangle of the activity system. However, this model always places emphasis on the systematic whole, not just separate connections. Although these four functions are differentiated at the theoretical level, as Marx points out, relations among the four functions include a foundational contradiction. If the activity system tries to produce something, the activity system will also consume other things. In other words, production is not only production; it is also consumption.

The important point of this contradiction is that it provides a rationale for the existence of activity. Production emerges in order to satisfy the needs of members of engaged in a particular activity. However, production A, which was undertaken to satisfy needs A, is itself triggered by consumption of the outputs of another production, B. And consumption of the outputs of production B creates the need for new human activities; and so the cycle of human activities continues in perpetuity (Marx, 1973). This is the motive force driving all activity systems (Engeström, 1987). From these theoretical underpinnings, this question may be possible: “How does system change happen?” To propose an answer to this question, I want to investigate the four types of contradiction in the next section.

Contradictions. Engeström (1987) argues that the force of system change arises from four types of contradiction. Figure 2 depicts the mechanism of conflicts in the activity system.

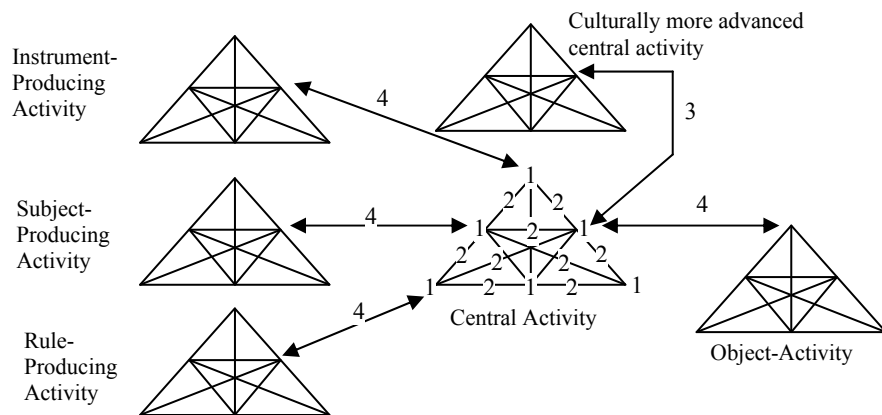


Figure 2. Four levels of contradictions in the activity system (Source: Engeström, 1987, p.89)

Here, the primary contradiction (level 1) refers to the inner contradiction within each constituent component of the central activity (intra-component contradictions). Contradictions also emerge from the relationship among each component of the central activity (inter-component contradictions). Engeström terms this latter contradiction secondary (level 2). Tertiary contradiction (level 3) emerges when representatives of culture introduce objects and motives of a culturally more advanced form of activity into an existing activity system (intra-activity contradictions). Quaternary contradiction (level 4) indicates contradictions that arise between the central activity and its neighbor activity (inter-activity contradictions).

Let me give an example. We can assume one graduate program in university A (say adult education). This graduate program has its own activity system. This graduate program has subjects (students, faculty, secretary, and so on), rules (rules for master course, doctoral course, management of program, and so on), division of labors (faculty's task, secretary's task, and so on), objects (developing academic level, educating students, and so on). As a student in this program, I may want to study what I really want regardless of job. However, I may want to be

hired for a high salary after graduating. To do so, I cannot study what I want. This contradiction can be considered as the primary contradiction (i.e., contradiction within the subject, me). There may be contradiction between me (a subject) and program's rule. Program's rule may designate a rigid process to get a doctoral degree. However, I may feel that this rigid process is too bureaucratic and desire a more flexible process. This is a case of secondary contradiction. Now, university B may also have an adult education graduate program. Moreover, many persons whom I respect may believe that university B's program is of a higher quality than mine, university A. The chair of the program in university A may therefore seek to apply systems of university B to ours. This is a case of tertiary contradiction, i.e., contradictions between the systems of university A and B. Finally, university A has lots of programs—some similar to and some quite different from mine. Interactions between members of the different programs may reveal inter-program contradictions, as between say, the adult education and workforce education programs. This is a quaternary contradiction.

Through examples of analysis of the activity system, Engeström (1987) argues that the primary contradictions give rise to need states. These primary contradictions are driven by the elements of culture and history. So, identification of the primary contradictions provides the first step of in explaining inevitable changes in the activity system. Next, an account of how the activity system can evolve into a culturally more advanced activity system needs to be described. To do so, Engeström suggests the tertiary contradiction. The phase of tertiary contradiction begins with “finding the first new specific instrument which functions as a ‘springboard’ for breaking the constraints of the double bind and for constructing a new general model for the subsequent activity” (Engeström, 1987, p. 189).

This explanation of contradictions is actually quite subtle and complex. In particular, the distinction between the tertiary and quaternary contradiction is confusing. Because Engeström does not elaborate the distinction between the “culturally more advanced activity system” and ‘neighbor activities,” the role of quaternary in effecting change in the activity system is problematic. To find a way of clarifying the roles of the different levels of contradiction requires the completion of a more practical study. However, this principle of contradiction does strongly imply that personal and social changes do accrue through both internal and external contradictions. This explanation also inheres in the complicated and dynamic relationships of human activity.

The five principles of activity theory. Engeström (2001) summarizes the current theory by reference to five principles: The first principle is that “a collective, artifact-mediated and objected-oriented activity system, seen in its network relations to other activity systems, is taken as the prime unit of analysis” (p. 136). The second principle is “the multi-voicedness of activity systems” (p. 136). The third principle is “historicity” (p. 136). The fourth principle is “the central role of contradictions as sources of change and development” (p. 137). And the fifth principle is “the possibility of expansive transformation in activity system” (p. 137).

For my purposes, discussion of the second and fifth principles will prove most relevant. According to Engeström (1991), an activity system necessarily has multiple points of view, traditions, and interests because division of labor creates different perspectives. Based on the division of labor, participants create their own history. As a result, the activity system is created from multiple historical strands. This multi-voicedness is multiplied further in the networks of other activity systems, and, as such it (multi-voicedness) can be a source of trouble, innovation, negotiation, and change. The fifth principle implies that an expansive transformation is achieved

when the object and motive of the activity are reconceptualized to embrace a radically wider horizon of possibilities than was envisioned in the previous mode of the activity.

I think these two principles of CHAT prevent us from assuming a linear model of development. This is a key point. If we do not consider these two principles, the notion of development has the same meaning with the idea of Enlightenment. Engeström mentions that the meaning of development refers to a horizontal notion rather than a hierarchical one. This notion of expansive process seems reasonable.

Difficulties of applying CHAT to research

Many studies have stated they have used CHAT as a theoretical framework. One insightful study among these is that of Holt and Morris (1993). In their study of NASA, they show how CHAT offers a holistic understanding that goes beyond the dualism of mind and material, individual and society, and agent and structure. However, it is difficult to find studies that give a powerful explanation of their own object of study from the perspective of CHAT. Most of the studies that claim to use CHAT in their theoretical framework, do not actually apply the theory to an analysis of their research. I think this problem seems to be rooted in the challenges that CHAT presents.

First, I want to point out some of the confusing points in regard to the structure of the activity system. The activity system's seven components and four functions enable us to understand the process of human activity. However, the distinctions between the six components are difficult to apprehend. The three components, subject, object, and instrument are distinct. However, boundaries of the six components are blurred. First, the relationships among community, rules, and division of labor are not clear. The notion of community already includes both rules and division of labor. Moreover, the division of labor comes about by rules. A second

confusion comes from the relationship between the subject and community. According to Engeström, the aggregate individuals can be the subject. Given such a statement, how we can discern the subject from the community?

The second problem is the confused notion of the unit of analysis. Basically, this theory considers the activity system as a unit of analysis (Engeström, 1987). However, theorists of CHAT admit that the individual and the instrument can be also units of analysis depending upon research focus. Some empirical research based on CHAT are restricted to the narrow boundary of analysis. They use instruments as units of analysis and explain the role of instruments in terms of the subject and the object (Grossman et al., 1999; Guile & Young, 1998; Lim, 2002; Trowler & Knight, 2000). An important problem of these studies is that they fail to deal with the dynamic interactions among components. This confusion of unit of analysis certainly has the potential of undermining all the work that is possible through this theory.

Another challenge is the difficulty of applying CHAT to real research. While activity, by definition, is everywhere and in everything at any time, research has temporal and spatial boundaries. By comparison with the activity that is everywhere, any research focus is necessarily arbitrary (Witte, 2005).

Although CHAT has challenges to meet, it still provides a powerful theoretical framework. When Minnis and John-Steiner (2001) ask “are we ready for a single, integrated theory?” it may be that the perspective of CHAT comes close to answering this question in the affirmative. What CHAT does offer is a strong inclusive and subtle approach to human activity and learning, one that engages directly with the dynamic qualities of relationships. However, to apply this perspective to research, articulating the components and their dynamic interrelationships is very important (Jonassen & Rorrer-Murphy, 1999). This cannot be achieved

in only one discipline. As CHAT suggests, human activity has collective characteristics, therefore, it is most fitting that its perspective be employed in multi-disciplinary collaborations among many academic fields.

Implications of CHAT for this study

How the present study might understand the relationship between coalition building and learning remains problematic. To engage with this problem thoroughly, I must begin by clarifying what I take learning to be. Indeed, there are plenty of studies on the subject of learning. I have already discussed perspectives on learning with particular reference to the problems of behaviorism and cognitivism because they are dominant to this subject. Although there are basic differences between behaviorism and cognitivism, they also share a major common characteristic. Both positions assume that the unit of analysis of learning is the individualized subject. Both assume too that the process of learning involves internalizing external knowledge into the mind of the subject (Hergenhahn & Olson, 2000; Piaget, 1972; Skinner, 1974). These two positions rely on the traditional notion of dualism between the subject and the object, and between the individual and society. Moreover, cognitivism restricts learning to cognitive process.

The influence of this individual and cognitive approach to learning is strong. Actually, many adult education theorists also tend to assume that learning is an individualized action, a cognitive process arising consciously or unconsciously and depending on dualism (Boud & Miller, 1996; Knowles, 1984; Knox, 1980; Mezirow, 1991). The individualized cognitive-oriented interpretation and understanding of adult learning, on one hand, have allowed the development of theories such as genetic epistemology, self directed learning, human resource development, and so on. However, on the other hand, these individualized and cognitive-centered explorations of learning bring about the dilemmas emerging from the trap of dualism.

One of these dilemmas is the problematic relationship between learning and development; the other dilemma is the problematic relationship between the individual and social development (Brown, 1982; Engestrom, 1987).

Most studies interested in these dilemmas present some solutions, but these solutions are sought either by reducing and subjugating one side of the dilemma to the other or by postulating a former ‘reciprocal’ relationship between the two sides of the dilemma (Brookfield, 1987; M. Collins, 1991; Jarvis, 1987; Welton, 1995). However, a complete theory must take learning as including both a complex cognitive process and a social process that necessarily interacts with the world. It is more than a change of behavior or the retention of information in memory.

CHAT provides an alternative perspective for understanding learning processes and outcomes in more integrative ways. This is not a view of learning to which I completely subscribe. I describe it here, because it provides the basis for my own conceptualization of learning, which I present later. In keeping with CHAT, learning can be considered one type of activity that shares the same structure as other activities. However, learning activity does have its own specific characteristics. According to Engeström (1987), “the subjects must become aware of the contradictory nature of their present activity and relate it to a future form of the activity that realizes a broader, more general life relation that includes the given, concrete activity” (p. 114). This specific activity is the learning activity.

Engeström (1987) elaborates the notion of learning activity in more detail: learning begins in the form of learning operations and learning actions rooted in other activities. However, the learning activity has its own object and systemic structure. The essence of the learning activity is the production of an objectively, societally new activity structure resulting from action. In short, the learning activity can be defined as the “mastery of expansion from actions to a new

activity” and “an activity-producing activity” (p. 125). This notion of learning activity basically incorporates expansive and transformational characteristics that do not form any part of previous learning theories.

This definition of learning by Engeström, however, does have a critical problem². According to CHAT, all activities have motives. To qualify as a human activity, the behavior must not only be a collective effort; it must also be directed by one or more specific motives. It is this motive that gives definition and impetus to the activity. That activity, in turn, is properly identified, not by its outcomes but by its motive. However, there are no specific motives associated with learning. People are always interested in learning something. As such, then, learning cannot be considered as specific activity.

To understand what learning is, we need to revisit the notion of outcome. Outcomes are the intended and unintended results of collective effort. They include material objects, such as new and/or improved equipment as well as non-material objects such as new knowledge and skills. Learning is per force related to knowledge and skills. Dewey’s assertion that “knowing is something that we do” (1916, p. 331) breaks down the categorical distinction between knowledge and skills, knowing and doing. Indeed, skills are a specific kind of knowledge; skills are more obviously processual. In arguing that knowledge is “shared procedures” Toulmin (1999) reminds us, however, that all knowledge is also processual. According to him, when someone says that “I have this or that knowledge,” s/he is asserting that I am able, in some small or great way, to communicate (with myself or another) a set of procedures about how to do something. It is the shared aspect of the exercise that makes it knowledge. My knowledge is a measure of how well I am able to communicate those procedures. In summary, learning can be

² The credit of much of the discussion that follows goes to my advisor, Dr. Ian Baptiste. For greater elaboration see Young & Baptiste (2007).

defined as processual outcomes of human activities that take the form of new and/or improved human operations (Youn & Baptiste, 2007).

A major research implication that learning is not an activity is this: to empirically examine learning, I don't need to search for any special learning process. Instead, I simply analyze everyday human activities and actions based on this question: "What new and/or improved repertoire of operations has this or that activity generated?"

Conclusion

Thus far, I have reviewed the theoretical frameworks for this study. As I have mentioned, previous perspectives on coalition building provide accounts of the external process of coalition building, but they do not provide analytical tools to reveal the dynamic interactions in the process of coalition building. To understand this process entirely, this study requires another theoretical framework. The theory, as I have explained, most fitting in the context of my work, and most likely to yield a complete understanding of the subject at hand, is CHAT. Because it offers an account of dynamic relationships and structural change in the units of analysis central to my research, CHAT forms the theoretical frame of this study. Notwithstanding the challenges of CHAT, considerable insights can be gained by using it as a guide in a study about relationships.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

In this chapter, I describe how I designed and conducted my research. The chapter consists of eight sections; (1) presentation of my purpose statement, (2) a discussion of my research approach, critical ethnography, (3) selecting a research site, (4) sampling and related issues, (5) data collection, (6) data analysis, (7) ethical issues in this study, and (8) limitation of this study. What follow are the descriptions of each issue.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to describe structural features of the process of coalition building between and among community organizations (COs) and groups in the Wimbledon's Pinedale area. (I shall refer to these groups and COs, subsequently, as participants of my study). In this study, I also examine "learning", as a by-product of the coalition building process. Applying my theoretical frameworks to my study, five key terms are important; (1) structural features, (2) coalition building, (3) groups, (4) community organizations, and (5) learning. I already conceptualized them in the chapter 2. As a reminder, I briefly present my definition of each term here.

Following institutional approach, I define structural features as established and standardized patterns of behavior of groups or organizations as a result of interactions among behavioral, normative, and cultural cognitive aspects (Scott, 2003). Coalition building refers to an expansive effort to pursue common goals based on deep understanding of another organization or group. I define the group as a subjective entity that exists to the extent that its members have a sense of shared social identity, relying on social identity perspective (Abrams et al., 2005; Tajfel, 1981). In the case of community organization, Nyanungo (2007) defined it very

succinctly. Following her definition, I define community organizations as the formal structuralized organizations that have primary goals oriented to the interests of the community, and local residents are encouraged to be primary participants (Nyanungo, 2007). Finally, revising CHAT's perspective, learning refers to processual outcomes of human activities that take the form of new and/or improved human operations (Youn & Baptiste, 2007)

Before going into the field, I had proposed the following research question: *How can the perspective of learning activity be related to the process of building coalitions among different organizations and groups?* This research question reflected the idea that learning can be considered a process embedded in activity. However, as data collection proceeded, I came to change my perspective in this regard. As my perspective on learning changed, I came to think that learning cannot be the activity itself. As it was a critical change, I needed to revise my research question for this study. Accordingly, what emerged were two primary research questions and number of secondary questions, namely:

- 1) What are the structural features of the coalition building process in which participants of my study engage?
- 2) How has this process of coalition building shaped learning at the individual and social level?
 1. In what actions associated with coalition building do the organizations and groups in my study engage?
 2. What are the structural features of these actions? What are the contradictions between and among the actions?

3. What structural features distinguish organization from group that participated in my study? How do the structural features of groups and organizations influence (shape) the ways in which they engage in coalition building activities?
4. How do the structural features of groups and organizations contribute to the various forms of learning produced in the coalition building activities?

My research approach: critical ethnography

Coalition building is a cultural process. Accordingly, ethnography seems, to me, to be a fitting approach to examining and describing it. Generally speaking, ethnography is the study of “the culturally shared, common sense perceptions of everyday experiences” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 177). One of the benefits of ethnography is that it provides a researcher with a depth and breadth of experience over a significant period of time. During the observation period, the researcher can witness what people do in particular situations. By going to the field, the researcher can become familiar with the complexities and dynamics of daily life, such as the dilemmas, frustrations, routines, relationships, and risks (Carspecken, 1996; Fetterman, 1998; Madison, 2005). These vivid experiences can provide an “in-depth” or “intensive” understanding of the phenomenon under study. Different from quantitatively oriented approaches that focus on testing hypotheses under strictly controlled conditions, ethnography opens up to the emerging possibilities of change in the real world. In such a situation, a researcher may question what had previously been “taken for granted.” I find the question of what is “taken for granted” to be the starting point of examining social changes.

Some methodologists point out that there are several types of ethnography that depend on correspondingly different philosophical foundations. For example, Sanday (1979) classifies ethnography into the holistic, semiotic, and behavioristic approach, and she further breaks up the

semiotic school into thick description and ethnoscience. However, there is no agreement regarding how to make typology on ethnography. I determined, among the many types of ethnography, to adopt critical ethnography for this study. Coalition building consists of complicated processes including political and cultural interactions and conflicts. Underlying these processes, concealed power relationships and hidden agenda may play important roles in the formation of relations. So, determining how one should observe these complicated processes and how interpret them is of great importance.

Given the purpose of this study and my political stance, critical ethnography provided a useful perspective to guide my research and a lens through which to analyze data. Thomas (1993) provides a succinct explanation of the characteristics of critical ethnography as follows:

Critical ethnography refers to the reflective process of choosing between conceptual alternatives and making value-laden judgments of meaning and method to challenge research, policy, and other forms of human activity.... Critical ethnographers accept an added research task of raising their voice to speak to an audience on behalf of their subjects as a means of empowering them by giving more authority to the subject's voice. (p. 4)

Some methodologists distinguish between critical ethnography and conventional ethnography: critical ethnography is guided by the cognitive interest of emancipating people from unnecessary forms of social domination by identifying and challenging them; traditional ethnography aims to understand the world interpretively by deciphering meanings (Carspecken, 1996; Thomas, 1993). So, critical ethnographic researchers take the position that “by uncovering what is normally concealed, critical ethnography contributes to the emancipatory project that conventional science fails” (Thomas, 1993, p. 70). From this perspective, critical ethnography is “the study of the process of domestication and social entrapment by which we are made content with our life conditions” (Thomas, 1993, p.7).

Surely, this critical epistemology is rooted in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School with its focus on developing an investigative approach and course of action for the social sciences. This school's main concerns are to reveal the historical forces that restrict human freedom and to uncover the ideological justification for those forces.

I think, however, that critical ethnography is not different from ethnography in terms of the process of conducting research. As Thomas (1993) also pointed out, "critical ethnography is conventional ethnography with a political purpose" (p. 3). In other words, on the surface, the procedures employed by critical and conventional ethnographers may look alike (document analysis, interviews, and direct observations). What different about the two are the epistemological and axiological assumptions that guide their observations and analyses. Critical ethnography can be characterized as the value orientation of researchers who follow the principles of critical epistemology (Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2005). Critical ethnographers do not try to describe phenomena from 'objective' position. Rather, they try to reveal their social and political perspectives in describing the phenomena. Therefore, critical ethnographers focus on two works through research, ideology critique and calling for actions.

Considering these characteristics, critical ethnography can be used as a tool to resist domestication and change from "what it is" to "what could be" by producing a critical perspective based on empirical research (Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2005; Thomas, 1993). In other words, critical ethnography can contribute to eliciting knowledge and promoting discourse regarding social justice.

Selecting the research site

In this section, I describe how I selected my research site, outlining my prior experience with the field and the values that guided my choice. My research site is the area between 40th St.

and 44th St. on Macon Ave in West Wimbledon; its official name is Pinedale. The main reason for my selection is that the area is accessible. Another is the marginal status of Pinedale. Pinedale is a low-income, predominantly African American, neighborhood.

When I started my doctoral work in 2003, I joined the Researchers for Community Based Research and Adult Education (RCBRAE); an organization co-founded and chaired by my academic advisor. As a member of RCBRAE, I was introduced to the Pinedale community by my academic advisor, who has been doing research and community service in the area since 2002. Under the auspices of RCBRAE, I have been working in Pinedale since 2003. This dissertation is an outgrowth of that work.

As an international (Korean) student, I had little exposure to real life in poor areas in the U.S. I therefore welcomed the chance provided through my involvement in RCBRAE. I vividly remember my first visit to the Pinedale area. The visit took place in the beginning of winter 2003. I was shocked and a little scared when I arrived because the environment was worse than I had expected. The area was very poor. In addition, the population was predominantly African-American, which was very much outside of my experience. We, my advisor and I, stopped by one community organization, Macon Avenue Business Association (MABA) to meet its president. During the meeting, a man came into the office and greeted us. I introduced myself to him, and he immediately made a comment regarding Korean merchants in the area. At that time, my English skills were not enough to understand his English entirely, but I was sufficiently aware to understand that he was expressing negative feelings toward the Korean merchants. During our drive back to State College, my academic advisor and colleagues informed me that he had mentioned several problems in regard to the Pinedale area's Korean merchants. He had

characterized the merchants as being indifferent to community activities, as taking money away from community, and as holding negative attitudes to the residents.

In the summer of 2004 (5/25-06/01), I visited Pinedale again. During these ten days, I met with some Korean merchants, community organizations, and community activists. During fall 2004, I also worked with the MABA because one course in which I had enrolled required students to undertake volunteer work for a community organization.

My second research trip in this area was for one week (2/18-02/23) in 2006. At that time, my focus was on deciding whether this site would prove suitable for my research. As I mentioned earlier, I had access to this area. However, this reason was not enough for me to select Pinedale as my research site. During my stays with a colleague who had conducted her research in the Pinedale area, I had met several Korean merchants from both within and outside the area. I had also met some members of community organizations and attended a PinCUP (Pinedale Community and University Partnership) meeting is a collaborative effort between and among community organizations in Pinedale and university. Inaugurated in summer 2002, the partnership is an initiative of faculty of Penn State University. There has been two phases to PinCUP to date. Phase one began in 2002 and ended in 2005. Phase 2 began in 2007. In this study, PinCUP, phase 2 is examined as a key instrument for coalition building between and among participants of my study. A detailed description of PinCUP, phase 2 is provided in chapter 5.

What I needed to be sure of was that the social phenomena in this area would provide enough information related to my research. As Fetterman (1988) points out, the selection of a research site should be shaped by the research purpose and the questions to be explored. In other words, researchers should select a research site that provides the possibility of finding relevant

data. From this perspective, the make up of the Pinedale area is interesting (containing predominantly African American residents and predominantly Asian merchants). As a result of continuing meetings and discussions, I found that this area also has lots of dynamic relationships among the community organizations and groups concerning community-development issues. This area includes commercial corridors and a residential community. Most residents in Pinedale are low-income African-Americans, while most merchants are Asians who do not reside in this area. In addition, some community organizations are trying to develop activities in the Pinedale area. This complicated and dynamic situation can cause inter-organizational conflicts and/or many kinds of coalitions. This possibility was closely related with my research purpose and questions.

Finally, I also needed to confirm the possibility of building rapport with potential participants. The fact that my academic advisor had long associations and good rapport with the people and the organizations in this area did not mean I would be able to establish the same. However, my visits and knowledge of his experience did make my access to the area easier. Although I had made several visits to this area, I had come as an observer and volunteer. I did not have enough interaction with community residents and community organizations at that time. I needed to figure out how I might build my own rapport with them. In considering all my experience thus far, I found that some of the Korean merchants had responded positively to me and even shown an interest in my research. Further, my volunteer experience with a community organization also gave me a way to approach the field. Finally, the fact that my academic advisor and a colleague had already built relationships with the people and organizations there meant I would be beginning my work there with some introductions and some familiarity. Thus the Pinedale area in Wimbledon satisfied the conditions of providing the social phenomenon I

wished to address, accessibility to the field, and rapport with participants (Charmaz, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Sampling and related issues

I conducted my research in Wimbledon's Pinedale area over a four month period (November 2006 to February 2007). The first order of business was to select who and what to observe (i.e., my sample). Making this determination requires attention to my units of analysis and corresponding units of observation. The coalition building process is the main phenomenon examined in this study. A secondary phenomenon is learning produced in and through coalition building. Accordingly, I chose, as my units of analysis, groups and community organizations (COs) operating in Pinedale who were engaged in some aspect of coalition building. (I shall refer to these groups and COs, subsequently, as participants of my study). These participants include Korean merchant groups, community resident groups (African Americans) and community organizations (owned and managed by African American residents). The actions of my participants, associated with coalition building, are my primary units of observation. Below I discuss the process by which I selected participants and corresponding units of observations (i.e., actions).

Selecting Participants

As I said, groups are my units of analysis. Three prior criteria were used to select participants. First, I needed to consider the accessibility. Although numerous groups were in this community, my accessibility was very restricted. Considering this situation, which group I was able to access was very important. Second, participants should have observable relations and interactions with each other. Coalition building could be built among groups and organizations that don't have relation or interaction right now. However, this process requires long time.

Considering restricted time and funds for this study, already established relations and interactions among groups and organizations could meet my restricted research condition. Third, participants should be recognized well in this community. Third criterion was in the same context with second criterion. Minor groups were surely valuable for me to study, but it could take long time to find groups that could fit for my study.

As a result, I selected three classes of participants in this study: Korean merchant group, community resident group, and COs. Among numerous group, Korean merchant group was relatively comfortable to access because I am a Korean. Also, Korean merchant group had relations and interactions with community residents and COs through transactions and donations. Finally, Korean merchant group was considered as major ethnic merchant group in this community.

In the case of COs, I believed that I could access them because I already had some relation with them through my academic adviser and my work in RCBRAE. Those COs with who I had a prior relationship were already attempting to make relations and interactions with community residents and merchant groups to conduct their activities. Also, these COs were well recognized in Pindale.

Finally, community resident group was an important subject in this community. Residents always made transactions with merchants in this community. Also residents got services from COs and gave help to them. I also believed that I could access this group through members of COs.

Although I selected three classes of groups as participants, I still had to determine which members among each group to observe. For example, I was not able to meet and observe all Korean merchants. So, I needed to select units of observation that were able to represent

population among my participants. To select my main units of observation (i.e., representatives of each group as well as actions associated with coalition building), as most ethnographers suggests, I first entered the field with a “big-net approach” because this approach “ensures a wide-angle view of events before the microscopic study of specific interactions begins” (Fetterman, 1988, pp. 32-33). Under the big-net approach, I used the snowball sampling in the first phase of my research (Creswell, 2002; Merriam, 2001; Patton, 2002). When I went to the field during this first stage, I stopped by a small number of persons and organizations selected based on my previous visits.

I used different criteria on selecting representatives from the various groups. At first, criteria for selecting Korean merchants were persons (1) those who had been working in this area at least for 5 years, (2) those who were involved in actions associated with coalition building and (3) those who were interested in my study. The reason why I made these criteria was that I thought Korean merchants who met these criteria would provide a richer set data regarding coalition building activities.

In selecting members of groups to observe, consideration of how to build rapport is vitally important. As many ethnographers suggest, I tried to have attitudes such as mindful rapport, anticipation, positive naivety, active thinking, patient probing, and so on (Glesne, 1999; Madison, 2005; Patton, 2002). I started to stop by some merchants who I already had known. When I first visited after starting my research, I explained again who I am and what I wanted to do in this area. As a second strategy, I tried to share the daily lives of the participants, for example, eating together, giving rides, attending Korean church, and chatting about various topics not directly related to my research topics with more frequent visits. Through these processes, some Korean merchants came to trust me and to introduce me to other Korean

merchant. Also, one Korean merchant gave me a chance to work at her store. After having some confidence about rapport with Korean merchants, I asked whether I could observe and interview them. As a result, I was able to observe eight Korean stores (two grocery stores, two jewelry stores, one fish store, one clothes store, one shoes store and one dollar store) and interview six Korean merchants.

The criteria for selecting interviewees were persons (1) persons who took part in actions associated with coalition building, (2) persons who willingly agreed to formal interviews, and (3) persons who had enough experiences and knowledge related with my research questions. Surely, when I selected formal interviewees, experiences of informal interviews were helpful. These criteria were applied not only Korean merchants but also community residents and members of COs.

To approach community residents, I used the method of snowball sampling because I did not know people in this area. Two community organizational people helped me to select sample. When I asked them to recommend community residents as participants, my criteria were residents (1) who had lived in this area for 10 years at least, (2) who had experiences of community organizational affairs, and (3) who were interested in my study. I believed that residents who met these criteria would be helpful to my study.

Although my helpers introduced me to two community residents, I was not able to build rapport with them very well. I tried to meet them from time to time, but they were busy and did not want to meet me frequently. They just admitted interviews. As a result, I was able to interview two community residents and two organizational people as community residents.

Finally, I selected COs under the criteria that (1) it should be located in my research area, (2) it should conduct actions associated with coalition building and (3) it should consist of

community residents. These criteria were established basing on the definition of COs in my study.

The beginning of establishing rapports with COs was relatively easy because my academic adviser had deep relation with some COs, and I started with them. To make rapports with COs, at first, I tried to know what they needed and what I was able to do for COs. After spending one month, I came to know what was able to do for them. So, I worked as an interpreter, technical supporter, and volunteer for computer setting. As a result, I was able to build rapports with three COs, “Macon Ave. Business Association (MABA)”, “We Always Challenge Everything (WACE)”, and “Shepherd Episcopal Church (SEC)”. Finally, I was also able to observe and interview them.

As Tedlock (2000) pointed out, “ethnography is a continuation work rather than a transparent record of past experiences in the field. The ongoing nature of fieldwork connects important personal experiences with an area of knowledge. As a result, it is located between the interiority of autobiography and the exteriority of cultural analysis (p. 455).” What I came to know through this process is that building a rapport is an endless process. In other words, building rapport has continued throughout the process of this research. At first, I took steps in this direction in order to facilitate my research. For example, the first step was to build rapport and the second one was to collect primary data. However, in actuality, I was not able to discern one step from the other steps, that is, I continued building rapport during observations and interviews. It can be said that I am still building rapports with participants although I have now finished my formal research process. Building rapport is also an interactive process. It is impossible to build rapport with participants through only a researcher’s efforts.

Selecting Actions Associated with Coalition Building

As noted earlier, actions associated with coalition building are my primary units of observation. In this section I discuss the criteria and strategies I used to select particular actions.

Numerous actions associated with coalition building might happen in my study area. However, I was not able to observe and take part in all actions. The criteria on selecting actions associated with coalition building were; (1) actions related with participants in this study, (2) actions happened regularly in the targeted community, and (3) diverse subjects was able to take part in actions.

To observe actions that might provide me with meaningful data, I used some strategies. First, I tried to build deeper rapports with participants. Without their help, it was impossible for me to know what kinds of actions were in this community. Second strategy was to volunteer for each CO. I thought that participations in community organizations as a volunteer was able to provide chances to know and participated in actions held by community organizations.

Based on criteria and strategies for selecting actions associated with coalition buildings, I found four types of actions: (1) meetings in community (informal meeting among Korean merchants and formal community meetings), (2) translations of documents, and (3) acts of service. I described and analyzed each action in the chapter 5.

Data Collection

In regard to the process of data collection and data analysis, critical ethnography shares several characteristics with conventional ethnography. Both positions rely on “the core rules of ethnographic methods and analysis, qualitative interpretation of data, adherence to a symbolic interactionist paradigm” (Thomas, 1993, p. 3).

An important issue in data collection and analysis is how much a researcher should be involved in situations in the research site. This issue can be considered in the similar vein of issue on “emic” and “etic,” or “insider” and “outsider” in traditional anthropology (Harris, 1979; Pike, 1967). There are differing perspectives on this issue. My position is closest to Geertz’s who argues that the relationship between the emic and the etic is a question of degree. According to him, we have misunderstood the work of studying other people if we think our only options are either “ethnography of witchcraft as written by a witch” or “ethnography of witchcraft as written by a geometer” (Geertz, 1974, pp. 28-29). The challenge is to take the experience-near concepts of our informants and to place them “in illuminating connection with experience-distant concepts theorists have fashioned to capture the general features of social life” (Geertz, 1974, p. 29). In keeping with ethnographic traditions, I engaged in 3 modes of data collection: (1) participant and non-participant observations, (2) analysis of pertinent documents and cultural materials, and (3) narrative interviews with individuals and groups. Below I describe each mode.

Participant and non-participant observations

Observation is the fundamental basis of all qualitative inquiry (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000). Even in the interview, researchers cannot but observe an interviewee’s unspoken message, for example, gestures, changes in facial expressions, and so on in order to understand the holistic situation. So, it is quite correct that I conducted observations throughout the whole process of my research.

I conducted both participant, and non- participant observations. Where possible, I tried to use participant observations. The reason I preferred participant observations is that this method allows the researcher to be closer to the field and to participants. My main observation places were Korean stores, the Korean church, three community organizations, and the PinCUP

meetings. The data from observations were used to construct a primary record. To build this, I used thick description and a field journal as many ethnographic researchers suggest (Carspecken, 1996; C. Geertz, 2000; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). I also used other media such as a digital camera in order to preserve the observation situation. Here, I outline how I conducted the observations and for what purposes.

First, I conducted participant and non-participant observation for Korean stores. All observations were conducted under the permission. The purposes of observations were (1) understanding the Korean merchant's life, (2) understanding business, (3) observing the interaction between Korean merchants and customers, and (4) observing the interaction between Korean store and COs. I conducted participant observation in one jewelry store for five weeks and non-participant observations in seven Korean stores. To observe what I wanted, I stayed at least one hour to four hours in one store. During this time, I observed interactions with customers, managing stores, daily conversations, and interactions with COs.

Second, I conducted participant observation for COs. The purposes of observations were (1) understanding COs' actions, (2) building relationships with community residents, and (3) helping COs. I observed three COs, MABA, WACE, and SEC. I had chance to stay at each CO's office for one or two hours for one week. During this time, I tried to observe COs' actions, and interactions with community residents, and members' actions. I also observed each CO, when I worked as a volunteer, technical supporter, and a translator. As a result, I was able to take part in MABA's board meetings and consultation from Thompson Foundation. I also participated in WACE's training volunteers and giving service to community residents.

Documents and cultural materials

I first gathered documents and cultural materials that provided basic information on my research site. Although I have worked in this field since 2003, I was not knowledgeable about the Pinedale area. For example, I did not know how many people reside in this area or how many Korean merchants are in my research site. To collect basic information about this area, I used internet and library resources. Many websites provided a brief history of as well as current information about the Pinedale area. I also found census tracks on the U.S. Census Bureau web pages, which presented detailed chronological demographic statistics.

Gathering basic information, I also collected documents and artifacts relating to each participant and organization. During my research period, I collected several types of documents and artifacts. First, I collected local newspapers and Korean newspapers. I collected these newspapers in order to become better informed regarding the general conditions of my research area and Korean society. Second, I collected documents issued by each organization such as the MABA, the WACE, and the SEC. These data included newsletters, brochures, leaflets, bylaws, reports, minutes of meetings, and so on. Finally, I also took several pictures of my research site and of the activities of community organizations. These pictures would remind me of events and situations that occurred there. Through this information, I came to know what each organization was doing and what the purpose of each organization was from an official perspective. This basic information enabled me to write interview questions easily. Also, I learned to focus my questions on eliciting more specific information from participants.

Interviews

I conducted two types of interviews—informal and formal. Below I discuss each type.

Informal interviews. I usually conducted many informal interviews in daily interactions with participants. Participants in informal interviews were numerous because they happened during observations and daily conversations. There were two types of informal interviews. One was planned informal interview, and the other was unplanned informal interview. Planned informal interviews were mainly conducted as the form of daily conversations when I tried to build rapport and conducted observation. Through planned informal interviews, I tried to understand participants' basic background, basic information on targeted community and the possibilities of formal interviews with them. I also tried to make questions for formal interview based on planned informal interviews. I recorded main points of planned informal interviews in my field note during or after conversation.

In the case of unplanned informal interviews, I did not have many chances. Usually, this type of interview happened when I went to a restaurant or store to eat. I mainly conducted unplanned informal interview with customers at stores. I anticipated that I was able to make relations with community residents, but I failed because of language barriers. However, all unplanned interviews were recorded in my field note and used for describing the scenery of my research area.

Formal Interviews. During my research period, I formally interviewed twelve persons. For all except one, I got signed informed consent forms from them so that I could tape interviews, which I did. Although one person did not sign the consent form, he agreed that his interview could be used in my dissertation under the condition that I would use a pseudonym and never reveal his identity. The interviews were conducted at workplaces and a coffee shop.

I used both unstructured and semi-structured interview guides. Both types of interview guides were based on my research questions, characteristics of each participant, daily

conversations and observations. The guides were not used to restrict the flexibility of interviews. Rather, they gave direction to the interview in keeping with my research purpose. In the case of the unstructured interview, I mainly used it when I interviewed Korean merchants. Korean was the dominant language used in the interviews with Korean merchants; Korean is my native language as well as the native language of all the Korean merchants in my study, so the interviews were conducted in Korean.

Because we both spoke Korean, with Korean merchants, there was no special language challenge in the interview process. I was able, therefore, to conduct interviews using a very flexible style. However, when I interviewed African-Americans, I was not able to use an unstructured interview format because of communication problems. The unstructured interview requires a high level of communication to understand subtle meanings correctly. As a speaker of a different language, I found the semi-structured interview method enabled me to focus on my topic and understand responses more easily. The most serious problem was that I was not always able to understand their speech. Also, when I interviewed them, I depended too much on my list of question. So, interviews were a little stilted at times. To overcome these problems, I conducted interviews with African Americans once or twice. After first interview, I read the first interview transcriptions and tried to find out where we misunderstood each other. At the second interview I tried to clear up the misunderstandings. Actually, I had planned to conduct all the interviews twice, but some participants' situations did not permit this. The participants in the interviews are presented in the table.

<Table 1> Participants in the interview

#	Name	Ethnicity	Age	Sex	Occupation	Time
1	SungMin Park	Korean	Late 50s	Male	Jewelry store B	2:30:00
2	SuJi Kim	Korean	Mid 40s	Female	Jewelry store A	01:20:35
3	YoungMi Lee	Korean	Late 40s	Female	Fish store A	00:56:08

4	JinKyung Hong	Korean	Early 50s	Female	Grocery store A	01:26:36
5	Doha Lim	Korean	Early 60s	Male	Shoes store A	00:57:51
6	JiSook Kwon	Korean	Early 50s	Female	Clothes store A	01:28:36
7	Susan	African-American	Early 50s	Female	WACE	01:21:49 00:57:07
8	Amelia	Zimbabwean	Early 30s	Female	RCBRAE	02:03:21
9	Marla	African-American	Early 60s	Female	Consult group	00:56:01
10	Joan	African-American	Mid 40s	Female	SEC	01:02:55 01:06:22
11	Mary	African-American	Early 50s	Female	MABA	01:47:49 02:08:31
12	Jack	African-American	Early 50s	Male	WACE	01:39:48

Data analysis

Choosing analysis method

Thematic analysis was the main data analysis strategy employed in this study. I chose it because it offers a flexible approach to analyzing different types of qualitative data. Thematic analysis is “a process of encoding qualitative information” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. vi). This process requires identification, analysis, and report of themes in data. Usually, themes are considered patterns that are found in data (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). They not only give a direction to organize and describe collected data, but also enable researchers to interpret characteristics of the phenomena. From this perspective, the term theme indicates “a means to get at the notion we are addressing” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 79). One benefit of thematic analysis is flexibility. Thematic analysis is a kind of analytic lens. In other words, researchers who have diverse theoretical and epistemological orientations can use this analytic method. As a result, it can provide “a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78). This approach to data analysis resonates with my own perspective on data. For this reason, I selected thematic analysis as my main analysis tool. I took three steps to analyze data for this

study: (1) becoming familiar with data, (2) generating initial codes, and (3) making relations and searching themes.

Becoming familiar with data

My first step in conducting thematic analysis was to become familiar with my collected data. To do so, I started (1) reviewing field notes, (2) listening and transcribing my interviews, (3) reading documents issued by participants, and web sites, and (4) viewing pictures. This step was helpful when I later tried to create codes and search for themes. The process of data analysis is to go back and forth between data and writing; in this situation, knowing where to find what kind of data saved time. Moreover, during familiarization with the data, I was able to draw the big picture of how to organize data and themes.

The first step in this process was to review my field note. My field note consisted of two parts. One part was for recording what actually happened in my research field, and the other part was for reflecting my idea. When I review the field note, I focused on actions or events that I had observed or participated in because they implied important meanings and contexts that the interviews had not revealed. During this reading, I would jot down short relevant thoughts at the margin.

After that, I listened to the recorded interviews and make transcriptions. When I finished each interview, I listened to it to confirm the recording situation and to recollect the atmosphere of the interview. I also checked what the interview had addressed and what had been missed. This listening process was helpful in preparing for the next interview and in making transcriptions. In the case of Korean interviews, I transcribed all the interviews by myself. When I transcribed Korean interviews, I focused on nuance and tone because written transcripts cannot deliver feelings exactly. However, in the case of the English interviews, I gave up transcribing by

myself. It took so much time. Moreover, I was not able to fully understand nuances and expressions as English is not my first language and most interviewees spoke with accents and used words with which I was not familiar. To help solve this problem, I hired a professional transcriber. One good thing to come out of this is that I got a clearer idea of how American people really hear my speaking. Sometimes, my accents and pronunciation caused miscommunications and misunderstandings. For example, I said, “cool idea,” but an interviewee understood this term as “cruel idea.” I was able to find these kinds of miscommunications and misunderstandings in the transcriptions. When I reviewed the transcripts from the transcriber, I heard my interview by reading it. I not only checked missing parts of interview, but also added their nuance and tones. I also created an identification system for convenience in order to identify different interviews and different sections of the interviews. One example of my identification format is 1KI2_102. The first digit indicates the interview order: #1 in this case; the next two letters indicate the interviewee’s last name; the digit after the last name (2 in this case) is used to distinguish interviewees who have same last name. I numbered my interview transcripts by stanza beginning with 1; the last digit, 102 in this case, indicates the stanza. I present some examples of how I transcribed my interviews below:

1KI2_293: (firmly) there is no interaction among Korean merchants here. Yes. I’m so surprised.

1YO_192: ... This guy... (glancing at the employee with small voice) ... my husband continually argues I should fire him. Actually, he is so slow. When I cut and trim ten fish, he only does one fish.

2MC_24: (simply but firmly) Sitting down and listen to people talk ... (laugh)

In reading documents and web sites, I focused on recollecting what I had done in the research site and what each document said about each participant. In reading the documents, I tried to compare what I had observed in real contexts with official positions of each participant. These processes were helpful in taking the next step, developing themes and codes.

Finally, I studied pictures that I had taken in the field. Although the pictures and web sites were not used directly in my study, these kinds of data were really helpful when I tried to recall the atmosphere and feelings of that time. When I read the field note, for example, I could not remember who had attended the training program. Fortunately, as I had taken a picture of this training program, I was able to confirm facts and update my field notes. Also, they were helpful for remembering the mood of community events. Below are a few of the pictures I used to recall my feelings, and to help me describe my research site, and to recall the mood of events and training programs held by the community-based organizations.

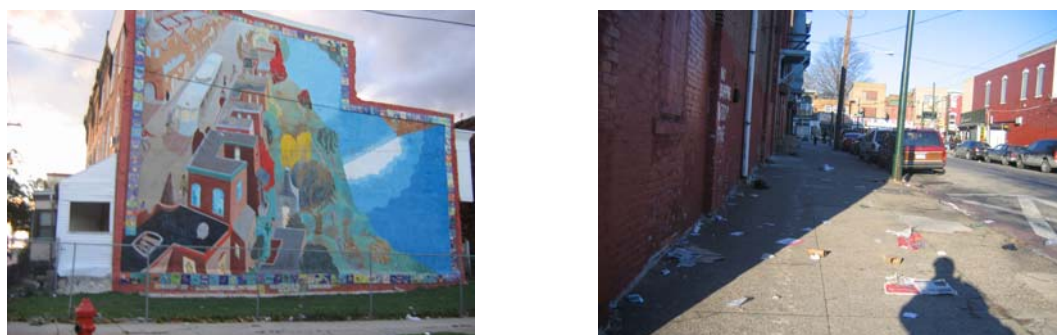


Figure 3. Examples of pictures: Scenery of research site



Figure 4. Example of pictures: Events hosted by community-based organizations

Generating initial codes

The second step I took was to generate initial codes. Codes are “the most basic segment or element of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63). This coding process enables researchers to identify

meaningful data and provide strategies for interpreting data. In this study, I followed the code data strategy suggested by thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In the process of coding, thematic analysis entails two steps. First, it recommends that researchers start analysis with identifying, naming, categorizing, and describing phenomena found in the data. This step requires scrutinizing each sentence and paragraph with the question “what is this about?” or “what is being referenced here?” In this process, researchers need to focus on the holistic and sententious approach. After that, researchers relate each finding found at the first step to each other through combinations of inductive and deductive thinking. This process can be considered a more selective and highlighting approach to data. In this study, I followed thematic analysis steps because this way of organizing codes was clear and easy for understanding the whole picture.

According to Boyatzis (1998), there are two ways to create codes; one way is theory-driven code or prior-research-driven code and the other way is data-driven code. Theory-driven code is usually used in social science research because of its efficiency. This approach can be used when researchers highly depend on theoretical frameworks in research. So, words of codes or themes come from expression of elements of theories in theory-driven code. In the case of data-driven codes, themes are dependent on data. In other words, this approach focuses on revealing the meaning of “what data says” relatively free from previous theories or notions (Boyatzis, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998)

Actually, I started coding data with data-driven codes. At first, I thought this was way best fit an ethnographer because I believed I was not able to distort data depending on my purpose. However, I soon realized that it was difficult to apply only data-driven codes to my study. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, this study was influenced deeply by several

theoretical perspectives and political positions from its inception. Because of this, my observations and interviews were mainly guided by theoretical frameworks. Also, I observed phenomena following my research interests and questions.

In this situation, the method of data-driven codes was not central to my analysis. In other words, when I asked questions of interviewees, most of the questions were based on several theoretical frameworks such as CHAT and coalition building. For example, when I coded my data, I used terms of contradictions, means, rules, community of practice, and so on from CHAT and partnership, collaboration, and coalition, etc., from studies of coalition building in order to label the initial code. From this perspective, I changed my main coding method from data-driven codes to theory-driven codes. However, this does not mean I used theory-driven code exclusively. In my interviews and observations, many aspects were not really related to specific theories, although they did have significant meaning. In this case, I also used data-driven codes. For example, the terms of “Korean merchants’ life”, “rental fee”, “mortgage problem”, “children education”, and “better life conditions” and so on were initial codes that come from the data.

What I realized from the process of coding was that I was not able to use only one code method. Although I mainly depended on some theoretical frameworks, these were not sufficient to address all the data. In the same way, entire data-driven codes were also impossible as long as I could not be entirely free of the theoretical framework.

I used a word-processing program, MS-Word, as a tool for the coding process. There are some useful computer software programs that help code and organize data such as the N-Vivo and the Nudist. However, these did not prove useful to me because their interfaces were inconvenient and sometimes, their compatibility with MS-Word was not stable.

In the process of initial coding, I focused on brief ideas based on the data. So, I tried to use terms from data to code. Also, I added some of my own thoughts as necessary. As table 3 illustrates, I drew regularly from all three data sources (field notes, documents, and interview transcripts) in the coding process.

<Table 2> Examples of initial coding

Data sources	Data extract	Codes and notes
Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no but, there can't be a but. That's what messed up everything. Too many buts out here. Got some big buts. But no seriously, too, I mean, it's like every time you approach, a person says something, but Mr. No there is no but because for real if a person believes and a person has a heart buts don't exist... ..If you really want to break a gap, if you really want to know about the other cultures, don't believe what you see. You see oh, these people act this way. Why in some. Let's flip it. These people act this way. That's because you leave your nice area and you come into our area. I'm quite sure that if we came into a certain part of your area we would say, alright. So we all the same. (1T 121) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Participation in community People always say I agree, but ~ "No but" is important one way to get over cultural barrier Just do what you believe and want → Is it real when we do or think something, considering "but"? → This is also a cultural barrier because focusing on practice is American culture.
Field note	<p>The interactions between owners and customers were really official. Asking price and paying. That was it. However, one of the employees, the chef, interacted with customers very actively. They seemed to talk about some sexual issues (I'm not quiet sure). They were laughing and laughing. I think one of that reasons that Korean merchants should hire community residents is this. Because of language and different culture, it is really difficult to interact with residents without restrictions. Employees can do this instead of them. (110707_2d)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Relations between owners and customers Relations between employees and customers Benefit of hiring residents
Documents	<p>WACE program ... 12. GED program 13. Computer program</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> They did not provide these programs at that time → Why did WACE put on them?

Establishing relationships and generating themes

The third step that I took was to construct relationships among various codes and search themes. As I mentioned above, themes are “means to get at the notion we are addressing.” In other words, themes need to capture more integrated and refined notions of phenomena than initial codes. However, this conceptual definition was really difficult to apply to real analysis.

One difficulty in this process was to construct and understand relationships among codes and themes. The concepts of code and themes are not fixed. They seem to be differentiated depending on researchers, research purposes, and research questions and so on. In other words, some words that I took as initial codes might constitute a theme to other researchers. In this study, I determined which was a theme and which a code according to the depth of its relationship to my research questions. Initial codes mainly come from restricted interview sections, for example one or several sentences, or field note sections. However, sometimes, this restricted section of data represented the answer to my research questions very well. At this time, this initial code would be designated as a theme.

Constructing relationships among codes and searching themes was not one-time event; it was assuredly an iterative process. I reviewed codes and themes again and again and made some notes for organizing themes and codes. During this process, I found three problems and tried to solve them.

First, some codes came to be themes directly. For example, I created the term of contradictions in MABA as an initial code, but I used it also as a theme because this code explained what I wanted to address. Second, sometimes, there were different levels of themes. Comparing two themes such as “Korean merchants’ lives” and “Korean churches as the center of life”, the former theme includes the latter. Many themes showed these different levels. To deal

with this problem, I used the term of sub-themes. Finally, some codes were involved in several themes at once. For example, one sub-theme, “living outside of the community”, was classified into both “Korean merchants’ lives” and “relations between Korean merchants and black community residents.” In this case, I did not restrict one sub-theme to only one theme and gave more flexible classifications. As a result, some sub-themes were involved in several themes.

In fact, I mainly conducted theory-driven code as some levels of themes were already based on my theoretical frameworks. So, I determined important themes following elements of theories, for example, “contradictions in KA-MABA” and “relations among community organizations in PinCUP”, “means to communicate” and “rules of each organization”, and so on. Guided by these themes, I sorted and collated different initial codes that shared conceptual connections. Although the theories on which I depended provided several important themes, some parts of codes did not fit into the theoretical frameworks. In this case, I put together relevant codes and search themes rather than restrict them within theoretical frameworks. “Korean church as the center of life” and “experiences of the middle class in Korea” are examples of themes that did not fit specific theory.

Let me use examples mentioned in generating initial code section. My initial codes are Korean merchants’ life, divorce, rental fee, mortgage problem, children’s education, better life condition. One of my research questions was “What structural features distinguish organizations from groups that participated in my study?” To answer this question, I needed to understand first the Korean merchant group’s life. My initial codes such as “divorce”, “rental fee”, and “mortgage problem” explained Korean merchants’ personal financial situations. Here, the term of personal financial situation was one theme. I also created social situation as a theme that influenced their financial situation. Later, I found that these two themes explained a more

integrated term, the economic situation of Korean merchants. Finally, I realized that these sub-themes can be integrated into one theme, Korean merchants' life. An example below showed how I organized them.

<Table 3> Examples of searching themes

Theme 1	Sub-themes and Codes	Data sources
Korean merchant's life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business hour • Economic situation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Personal financial situation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Divorce ▪ Rental fee ▪ Mortgage - Social situation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Slow economy after 9/11 • Personal history <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What they were in Korea - Why they did not want to reveal their personal history • Living outside of community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reasons for living outside of community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Children's education ▪ Better life condition - Perceptions of community residents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lack of sense of community ▪ Meaning of participation in community - Perceptions from merchants • Korean church as the center of life <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of Korean church - Reasons for going to church <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Making friends ▪ Sharing information ▪ Getting Green Card - functions of going to church <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Positive functions ▪ Negative functions - Becoming a pastor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reasons for becoming a pastor ▪ Ways to become a pastor • Enjoying leisure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reading Korean newspaper <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Korean issues oriented newspaper ▪ Absence of American culture and news - Watching Korean TV - Going to church 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field note, interview • Interview • Interview • Interview • Interview, field note • Field note, documents

Ethical issues in this study

Protecting privacy

Some participants in my research asked me not to use their real names. Some participants were not at all concerned about whether I used their real names or not. At first, I thought it was easy to protect their privacy. However, when I started writing, it became a problem. The main method of my research was critical ethnography, and I needed to describe participants and my research site vividly. If I described them vividly, someone familiar with the area could identify participants easily.

The best way to protect privacy was to change all the names from the name of the community as well as the name of each participant. However, this change still has problems. Someone may know where my research site is and who my participants were through some of the numbers that I used in this study such as the number of Korean churches and the number of residents in this community as well as some of my descriptions of participants such as who ran which businesses and the challenges they encountered.

Informed consent

The other ethical issue that I encountered was getting the informed consent form returned. At interviews, it was easy to get this form from interviewees. However, problems emerged from my observation. I did not conduct only official interviews such as the monthly community meeting, board meeting, and the PinCUP meeting, etc. In these cases, I was able to get permission from participants or the head of the organization.

Relating with informed consent form, my unofficial observation became problematic. I also observed many people passing by on the street, customers who stopped by Korean businesses, clients who visited community organizations and congregations in SEC and a Korean

church. In these cases, it was impossible to get an informed consent form from all of them. To resolve this problem, I tried not to describe the characteristics of participants from whom I had not obtained permission. I dealt with these participants with the terms, “they,” “he,” and “she.”

Limitations of this study

My official research period was four months. These four months were too short to conduct enough research to understand and address my research question in a manner that I would have liked. I was simply not able to spend enough time in the field because of limited budget and time.

Some important data was missed in this research. For example, I needed data on the first generation of the PinCUP meeting to understand the second generation of the PinCUP meeting entirely. In other words, I needed the historical and cultural context of the PinCUP meeting. Although I did try to get data related to this issue, I was able to obtain only limited information.

The problem of my own command of the English language also proved to be a limitation of this study. Because most community resident use English and different accents, it was difficult to conduct research in this language. As a result, I lost many important contexts when I conducted interviews and observations. I tried to get help from participants who were familiar with me, but this method was also limited.

This research was about the coalition building between and among Korean merchant group, community resident groups, and community organizations. I observed numerous ways of building coalitions, and each participant was involved in various relationships to other entities. What I observed in the field was only a small aspect of these relationships. As a result, this research can provide only a limited understanding of coalition building in this area.

CHAPTER 4: PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS

Introduction

In this chapter, I focused on describing the basic profiles of the participants in my research study based on data collected and analyzed from my interviews, field notes, pictures, and documents. This chapter consists of three topics. I first present a brief cultural historical context of the Pinedale area. After that, I provide a description of the Korean merchants group's life and relationships with community residents. Finally, I focus on general descriptions of each community organization I have offered these general descriptions of groups and organizations to provide a foundation for understanding the ensuing discussions presented in the next chapter. I reserve deep analysis of specific activities related to my research questions for the discussion sections in chapters 6 & 7.

Scenery of the Pinedale area: Brief cultural-historical context

The College City section of Wimbledon is neat and old fashioned. Whenever I walk around this area, the scenery evokes feelings of romance in me. Because this area has some universities including a famous and historical university and is adjacent to the downtown of the central city, the fever of youth always overflows into the street. On sunny days, lots of people sit on the grass and enjoy themselves by reading or chatting. People passing by looked animated. Even traffic jams that sometimes happen on the street look like part of a lovely and lively city life. New and old buildings create a kind of harmony that is appealing enough to make me, as a foreigner, indulge in the fantasy of living my life in the U.S.

Abutting College City to the north and west, quite different realities are to be found. A large mural depicts the surrounding lively community scenery and lets people know that they are in Pinedale. In my Korean culture, murals are not familiar. To me, the mural indicates that I am

entering a black neighborhood. A glance tells me that this area must be one of the poorest in Wimbledon.

At one time, this area had a thriving business corridor, Macon Avenue. Built in 1795 Macon Avenue was the first turnpike to connect Macon and Wimbledon (DOT Federal Highway Administration, 2007). Naturally, businesses had developed after this construction.

The Pinedale area is now an economically poor community located in West Wimbledon. This area has similar experiences to other inner-city areas. According to older residents' remembrance, the Pinedale area was also a prosperous and safe area until the 1970s. At that time, most residents and merchants in the area were Jewish. However, they died or moved to the suburbs of Wimbledon leaving newcomers to take over the area. After the exodus from urban to suburban life in the 1970s, inner city areas have been populated by poor people, especially African-Americans.

Macon Ave. extends all the way across from east to west and so divides the Pinedale community. Intersecting Macon Ave., are a few more shopping streets that provide community residents with food and other goods. The rest of Pinedale is largely residential. According to the U.S. Census (2000), about 5,200 residents live in this area. Most residents (about 5,000) in Pinedale are African-Americans or Black. There are no Koreans residing in Pinedale; only seven Asian families (all Chinese) reside there; yet, Asians own and or/manage most of the stores in the neighborhood.

The influx of Asian merchants, especially Korean merchants occurred in the 1980s. Following Jo's classification (1999), most Korean merchants in this area can be considered the third wave of Korean immigrants who came to the U.S. between the 1970s and 1980s. The first wave of Korean immigrants came to the U.S. as indentured servants. The second wave

immigrated to the U.S. to seek employment as the nation tried to rebuild after the Korean War. Unlike other generations, the third wave came to the U.S. in pursuit of a better education and life for their children. An important distinction between the third wave of Korean immigrants and the previous generations is class. Third-wave Koreans are primarily from the middle class whereas the other generations were people from the lower classes. However, because of limited financial resources and lack of English skills, these middle class Korean immigrants were not able to open their businesses in affluent neighborhoods. As mentioned previously, the whites started leaving urban areas, which were then populated by African-Americans. This is true of many inner-city neighborhoods in the U.S. At the time, most merchants in U.S. cities were Jewish. The Jewish merchants who wanted to leave urban areas sold or rented their stores relatively cheaply to other merchants (Jo, 1999; C. J. Kim, 2000; I. Kim, 1981).

The same phenomena occurred in Pinedale: Korean merchants who needed to open their business with only a small investment filled the needs of Jewish merchants who wanted to sell or lease their property to leave Pinedale.

At one time, the number of Korean businesses in the area stood at more than 25. However, when I was in the field, the total was about 20. Each business might have anywhere from one to three employees/workers associated with it. However, considering that the area had a total of 50-60 merchants, Korean merchants were still one of the major ethnic merchant groups. Most Korean merchants in this area were in their 40-60 ages and have run their businesses anywhere from one year to more than twenty years in this area. As well as Korean merchants, Chinese, Indian, and Hispanic merchants also run many businesses in this area.

According to one Korean merchant in this area, some Korean merchants left because they retired or moved elsewhere. Young Korean immigrants, second-generation immigrants, do not

usually want to open or take over businesses in the black community. So, Korean merchants sold their stores to Chinese or Vietnamese people. As a result, the number of Korean merchants in this area has recently started decreasing.

Whenever I walked along the commercial corridor, I was able to see that most buildings were old and worn out. Most buildings had two or three stories, but only the first floors were used for storage and the rest were vacant. Most of the signage was faded and cracked from the sun and rain. Stores that were neat and organized look like they do not belong in this area. Most stores were armed with iron window bars, and many stores also have bulletproof glass. Thefts were usual in this commercial corridor. Most merchants had been robbed by armed robbers. Some merchants became nervous when customers put their hand into a pocket. Merchants were afraid that they might be shot someday. So, the merchants always gave customers a suspicious glance. According to merchants, because stealing methods change, they needed to pay attention to customers and also stayed apprised of what the stealing trends were.

In this area, credit cards were of little use. Cash says everything. In gas station, gas machines did not accept credit cards. Drivers must see a cashier and pay cash to fill up with gas. Many merchants also do not accept credit cards and also have the policy of “No exchange, No money back!” This policy creates trouble between merchants and customers sometimes.

People on the street were mostly African-Americans. It was usual to hear shouting, cursing, and police sirens on the street. In the daytime, many people who did not have jobs loiter and hung out here and there. Some of them begged for money from store to store. In the early morning, some were already drunk. Young people sometimes stopped by grocery stores to buy a “Blunt” (a brand of cigar). Most of them bought Blunt not because they liked the cigar but because the wrapping paper was good for smoking marijuana. On Fridays and Saturdays, the

lottery stores were filled with people who buy stacks of lottery tickets with the dream of becoming an overnight millionaire. One woman I met at a Chinese take out restaurant was really thankful for the warm winter temperatures because she did not need to worry about the cost of heating.

Behind the commercial corridors, there were residential areas. When I first took a walk around these residential areas, I was nervous and scared. Most houses were old and partially ruined. Although there were some newly renovated houses, they were only a tiny part of this area. On a sunny day, three or four people had gathered to hang out together on a porch. They looked at me as if they had never seen a Korean in their residential area before. Their eyes made me shy and nervous. I didn't know what they were doing there. Maybe, they too were glad of the warm weather this winter because their heating bills would be low. Maybe, they were exchanging information on jobs. Maybe, they were discussing how to develop this community and their life. Maybe, they were conspiring about what to do tonight.

At first when I got to the field, all things that I experienced gave me negative feelings. After I got familiar with this community, my thought came to change and I was able to see positive characteristics of this community. Different from a little gloomy scenery of this community, I felt a kind of humanity, 'brotherhood'. Whenever I walked around this area, it was not difficult to watch one group of people hanging out together joyfully; people who knew each other greeted each other whenever they met. After I came to know some residents, they really welcomed me whenever I entered the office or met on the street. I did not have these experiences in the white community where I lived. One older community resident of Pinedale told me that black people and African-Americans are basically oriented to community and have strong sense of community. According to her, this community still had this tradition where community

residents exhibit sincere concern for each other; she noted, though, that the sense of community has weakened over time. This strong sense of community could be an essential driving force for positive community change. However, dire socio-economic conditions seem to dull the effects of this strong sense of community.

As in other poor areas, many people here seemed to be hopeless and powerless. Many people seemed addicted to alcohol and drugs; they depended on government welfare. However, people and organizations that struggled with their reality to achieve their goals were also everywhere. Although their apparent lives in this area looked similar to others, this area might have its own specific activities. I believed that on one hand, this area shared similar concerns with other areas, but on the other hand, it could not but have unique features and results produced from its own historical and cultural context.

This study specifically focused on coalition building between and among the Korean merchant group, the community resident group, and community organizations. To understand coalition building and learning from this process, I needed to understand the daily lives and activities of these people and entities. I will now provide general descriptions of the targeted groups and community organizations.

Profiles of Korean merchants' group: Korean merchants' lives in the Pinedale area

In this study, I treat individual Korean merchants as representatives of their respective organizations, not as mere individuals. I consider each Korean store to be an organization. Korean merchants ran their businesses to achieve their motives and basic goals. To achieve goals and motives, they mobilized and organized their resources and abilities. They in their own ways managed each business and divided work responsibilities. Also, Korean merchants' behaviors,

activities and conversations were not on personal subjects. Rather, they always expressed a business perspective.

There were some criteria for descriptions of profiles of each participant. Many factors associated with these criteria were drawn from the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter 3. Mainly, I used CHAT and perspectives on coalition building to describe each profile. However, this did not mean I restricted my descriptions to within the boundary of the theoretical frameworks. In other words, theoretical frameworks guided but did not dictate what I should describe systematically from my observations.

The main criteria for describing participants' daily lives were (1) what was their personal history, (2) why they ran the business, (3) what were the structures of each business, (4) how they managed their business, (5) what were their daily interactions with customers, and so on. However, these criteria were not applied equally to all participants. Depending on the depth of the rapport, the depth of findings was also different. The following descriptions are based on field notes that included observations and daily conversations with Korean merchants, interviews, and a document issued by the KA-MABA.

Daily lives of Korean merchants in their businesses

The block located between 39th Street and 40th Street in Macon Avenue, was the center of Korean business. Here, 8 Korean stores were open for business on one block. Considering the number of Korean stores, almost half of the Korean merchants were there. Types of businesses that Korean merchants ran were jewelry stores, clothes stores, cell phone and gaming stores, sneakers stores, dollar stores, grocery stores, and fish stores. I focused my observations on five of these Korean businesses.

Jewelry Store A. This store run by Ms. Kim was located on 40th St. and Macon Avenue. Ms. Kim is very active and open minded. She is 47 years old and has been in the U.S. for 23 years. Before coming to the U.S., she was a teacher at an elementary school. While in the U.S., she has had lots of different jobs, such as waitress, cashier, presser in a drop store, dish washer, and so on. At one time, she and her husband ran several different shops such as jewelry shops and a video rental store in Wimbledon. One of these stores was in the downtown. However, after going through a divorce, she lost most of her money and only one jewelry store in this area remained to her. As her financial situation worsened, she was unable to make loan and house mortgage payments. As a result, she filed for bankruptcy. For these reasons, she did not have any bank accounts although she ran a business. She recently joined the Korean church again (after a five-year hiatus) because she really wanted some assistance and she wished to make some friends.

This business opened 11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. from Monday through Saturday. The store was not well organized. After bankruptcy, she had stored all the things from her other businesses at this one store. So, the inner space of this store was, to say the least, disorganized. This store was divided into two sections; selling space and repair space. The repair space was blocked by bulletproof glass. On the surface of this glass, several traces of bullets remained. According to her, this store had been targeted by armed robbery several times. As a way to prevent theft, she ran the business with opened door different from other jewelry store. She told me that it was safer when only one person runs business. According to her, if she encountered crime situation with a locked door, people who tried to help her at outside could not enter this store easily because of locked door. Also, if the theft was not able run away easily because of locked door, she could be in more dangerous situation. So, she wanted to just let thefts go with only jewelry.

This business did not display much jewelry. One reason was that an eye-catching display would encourage theft. The other reason was she did not make enough money to buy a great deal of jewelry. So, this business focused on relatively inexpensive jewelry such as 14K gold and silver. This store originally wanted to make money through selling jewelry to customers, but most of the income comes from repairing jewelry and piercing ears. According to Ms. Kim, piercing ears is stable profit source because most black people love to wear earring and there are always more babies. Because Ms. Kim was the only person who worked at this store, she took both the role of seller and repairer at once. When she repaired jewelry, other customers sometimes left the store because they did not want to wait.

She had to pay rent and utilities every month. The rental fee was about 1,000 dollars a month. It was difficult for her to pay the rent on time because she had financial problems. Also, her business was not going well because of the slow economy. To earn more money, she had to make greater profits from selling. However, this was not easy. There were about seven jewelry stores in this area. So she was not able to gain a higher profit margin because of competition. To save money, recently she cut the heating service. So, during the preceding winter she had run her business without heating.

Usually, 10~20 customers a day stopped by this store to buy jewelry or bring some item for resale or repair. Most customers who wanted to buy jewelry used layaway. In her cashbox, many pieces of jewelry were enclosed in envelopes, waiting for the day their eventual owners would make the final payment. According to Ms. Kim, only half of them would be paid off entirely. The store would also purchase gold and silver from customers. Pieces bought from customers would be used as parts in repair or resold to wholesalers. For repairs, Ms. Kim would

fix the simple things herself. However, if the process were difficult and complicated, she used a professional repairer downtown.

It was not only customers, who visited this store. One young beggar also regularly stopped by this store everyday to beg for money. Whenever he visited, Ms. Kim would give a quarter to him. According to her, she gave a dollar a day but another Korean merchant advised her not to give money because he always used money in bad ways. Sometimes, a young man stopped by to sell odds and ends. He sometimes used this store as a pawnshop. Originally, the store did not do this kind of business, but Ms. Kim gave cash to him because he sometimes provided useful information such as where he could transfer a car to other people, who was a burglar, and so on. A Korean wholesaler visited once a week. Ms. Kim had a longstanding association with this wholesaler. Transactions between this business and the wholesaler were done on credit. Ms. Kim took the jewelry on credit and paid back later.

Interactions with customers were nothing special. Sometimes, Ms. Kim quarreled with and sometimes, chatted with customers. Except customers, no community residents stopped by this store for any personal interaction during my observations. Ms. Kwon who helped her daughter in a neighboring store sometimes stopped by to talk, but with that exception no other Korean merchant came by without a specific reason. One Korean merchant who ran a dollar store came to sell her jewelry because of her financial difficulties. At that time, she also got some legal advice from Ms. Kim because Ms. Kim also had similar experiences.

During her times of personal and financial problems, Ms. Kim had learned to have a new attitude about money. Instead of caring about making a lot of money, she focused on earning enough to make a living. She also decided to open herself up to learning. So, she attended bible

class and learned how to play a trumpet. As well as these endeavors, if there were chance to learn something new, Ms. Kim was ready.

Jewelry Store B. Across the road from Ms. Kim's jewelry store, there was another jewelry store run by Mr. Park. This store was a family business run by Mr. Park, his wife, and his father. They came to the U.S. more than 25 years ago. When they were in Korea, Mr. Park had been a high school teacher and Ms. Park an elementary school teacher. They first ran a jewelry store in another location and moved to this area about 15 years ago. The financial condition of this business was better than that of Ms. Kim's store. The Parks did not pay rent because they owned the building. In addition, Mr. Park held several social offices in some Korean organizations in Korean immigrant society. According to the other Korean merchants, this meant that this business was prosperous.

When I entered to the store, I felt that the look of the place said luxury. This business was neat and organized. They were able to handle all the chores because three people worked there. This store also had bulletproof glass between the hall and the entrance leading to the back of the display. Actually, this store had a wide range of jewelry, and prices were higher than at Ms. Kim's store. This store made most of its money from selling jewelry although it also provided a repair service. However, the store had some experiences not dissimilar to those of Ms. Kim. Ms. Park told me that recently the store's profits had decreased sharply because of the slow economy.

This store was a typical family business. All the workers were family. So, the division of labor was clear. Mr. Park took the role of the owner and technician, and his wife was a seller. His father was the door keeper. Because they were family, they were not concerned about stealing by employees. Also, their communications about works were good.

Mr. Park worked not only for his business, but also for many social gatherings. He was a former vice president of the Korean merchant association in Pinedale. He also took an important role in the Korean immigrant association in Wimbledon. Because of his active participation in social gatherings, many friends stopped by this store to discuss issues. Sister Mary who was the president of the MABA stopped by from time to time and discussed relations to Korean merchants. However, recently he had quit all his social positions because he wanted to focus on the business. He needed to make more money because his two daughters had begun college.

Restaurant A. Neighboring of Jewelry store A, restaurant A provided meals to customers. This store was run by Mr. and Ms. Heo. They have run this business for eleven years. According to Mr. Heo, they came to the U.S. about twenty years ago. They had operated a franchised restaurant in another black community area and then moved to this community.

This restaurant opened at six o'clock in the morning and served fast food such as omelets hoagies, and Philly cheese steaks. This restaurant was always crowded with customers. However, not all the people who came to this store were customers. Some of them just came to hang out in or in front of the restaurant. So, many people came in and out frequently. In other words, this store was a kind of social gathering place.

This restaurant was different from the usual Chinese restaurants in this area. Customers were able to eat their food in the hall as well as to take out the food. Also, this restaurant did not have bulletproof glass between the customers and the owners/employees. Customers were able to watch the process of cooking the food from their tables. So, customers and employees were able to talk with each other.

This restaurant employed four community residents, two as cooks and two as waitresses. This was very different from other Korean businesses. Mr. Heo helped to cook and Ms. Heo took

the counter. Relations between the employers and employees seemed not to be bad. I observed that they made jokes and talked to each other although Mr. Heo talked with Ms. Heo, and the employees talked with each other most of the time. At last Christmas, Mr. and Ms. Heo invited the employees' family, shared food, and distributed gifts.

This restaurant had many regular customers. Whenever they stopped by to buy food, they would greet Mr. and Ms. Heo and the employees. However, quarrels frequently happened because of the price and problems with orders. Most quarrels were solved by Ms. Heo, but sometimes if complicated and serious problems happened, they asked employees to solve them because of their own limited English skills. Mr. and Ms. Heo wanted to have good relations with their customers.

Fish store A. One block from these stores, there was a fish store run by Ms. Lee. She is 50 years old and immigrated to the U.S. about 20 years ago. She has run this fish store for about 10 years. Before running this business, she was an employee for electronic companies such as Aden Vector and General Electronics. Originally, Ms. Lee had run this store with her husband. However, he has not worked at the store for a while because he needed to help a Korean friend who cannot speak English.

Lee's fish opened at 8:00 a.m. and closed at 6:00 p.m. As compared to other businesses, this store had longer opening hours. The store provided many kinds of fish as well as grocery ingredients and seasonings. According to Ms. Lee, selling fish exclusively did not make profits enough. One time, this store also sold cigarettes, but she stopped selling them after thieves stole several boxes. This store seemed to run well because it had a stable customer base. Apart from this store, there was only one other fish store in this area; it too was run by a Korean merchant. So, competition was not severe as compared to other businesses.

This store also had a bulletproof glass in front of the cashier. However, this glass did not separate customers from the owner. Most of the display area was open to the customers. Actually, this bulletproof glass would not work if an emergency situation should happen. This store hired one employee from this community. His job was to trim and cut fish following the customers' order. He had worked at this store for two years. However, his skills were not good. He dealt with fish too slowly and not very delicately. Moreover, he did not come to work from time to time. So, Mr. Lee wanted to fire him, but Ms. Lee disagreed because he was so poor.

In the past, she had been reluctant to establish relationships with community residents because of stereotypes. She changed her mind because of the influence of religion several years ago. She wanted to treat community residents as human. So, she tried to establish good relationships with the community residents. One way to approach people was to remember their names. She was able to learn their names because most residents used the food stamp card when they purchased fish. This effort worked very well. When many customers stopped by this store to buy fish, they did not just have a commercial transaction with Ms. Lee. They talked about daily things and personal stories.

Ms. Lee is also a faithful believer. Whenever she has time, she reads the bible or religious books. Recently, she became interested in English to read English bible. Because she was not able to leave the store, she did not have a chance to form relationships with other Korean merchants. Mr. Park is only close Korean merchants because they are relatives. Except them, she knew only Korean merchants' faces. Ms. Lee was an elementary school teacher in Korea. She was also graduated from college with Ms. Kim. However, the relationship between Ms. Lee and Ms. Kim is not deep. They just said hello when they met by chance on the street. They never visited each other for the purpose of friendship.

Grocery store A. On the 41st block of Macon Avenue, there was only one Korean store. Super Save Market was run by Mr. and Ms. Hong. Mr. Hong recently stopped operating his sneakers store in the downtown to run a small phone shop here. Ms. Hong is about 50 year old; she immigrated to the U.S. 14 years ago. She had run this business for seven years. Originally, this store was her father-in-law's. When she came to the U.S., she started to work for her father-in-law as a cashier. After learning how to run the business, she took over the store. Her recent concerns are about son. Her only son who is 24 years old had participated in the Iraq war during the last year. However, he sustained a serious wound from a suicide terrorist's bomb attack. The attack had left him unconscious. Fortunately, he did recover consciousness and has been discharged from the military.

Ms. Hong had employed an old man as a cashier. Although she had hired him as a cashier, she had more acutely felt the need of a man to protect her. He had worked at this store for two years. However, when her husband joined the business, she had terminated this man's employment because her husband was able to guard her and because store profits had decreased. Ms. Hong still felt bad about terminating the man's employment because they had been good friends. However, he still stopped by to share food and to say hello from time to time. Ms. Hong hoped to hire him again should business improve.

On this block, Ms. Hong's was the only commercial store. Therefore, few people came to the area. Because of this, the store was frequently subjected to armed robbery. Ms. Hong always kept a stack of bills under the counter ready to give to thieves. Although she had endured several robberies, she wanted to run this business until retiring.

Because she had worked in this area for a long time, she had lots of regular customers. She has been here long enough to watch babies become children and then young adults.

Watching people grow from babies to youth makes some of her work difficult. Whenever she sells certain goods to customers, for example the Blunt cigar, she feels a kind of ethical dilemma. She knows that they will use the Blunt to take drugs. However, there seems to be no way for her to solve this dilemma. She has to sell Blunt cigars in order to make a profit. As with all businesses in this area, many quarrels took place in this store. Whenever quarrels happened, she would really feel the deficiency of her English skills. Although she had lived in the U.S. for 14 years, her English skills had not improved as much as she might wish.

Because this store was at a distance from other Korean stores, she did not know many other Korean merchants in this area. When the Korean merchant association existed in this area, she at least knew who ran which business because she received a list of members. However, there was no way to know other Korean merchants after this organization stopped operating.

In addition to these described here, many other Korean merchants ran businesses in this area. I started my research at the beginning of winter. The change of seasons was good for some businesses, but bad for others. Ms. Kim, who owns the jewelry store, welcomed this seasonal change because many holidays such as Christmas, New Year, Valentine's Day, and so on presented opportunities to make great profits. Actually, as of a couple of years ago, the economy has been too slow. So, many businesses were suffering from a decrease in profits. According to Ms. Kim, the jewelry businesses usually go quite smoothly from November to May. Jewelry stores could sustain the rest of year with the profits earned during this period. Mr. Park also ordered many kinds of jewelry from a Korean wholesaler in hopes of making more money during this season. Ms. Hong, however, missed the summer. People in this area usually spend less money on groceries in the winter in order to buy gifts for the holidays. Also, in the cold weather people stay at home and do not feel as thirsty as they do in the summer months. As a

result, the profit in winter decreases considerably. Mr. Lim who ran a shoe store in neighbor of Ms. Kim's jewelry store had wished to sell this store before the end of this winter. He was reluctant to run his business any more because he had partial muscle paralysis and difficulty driving because he now had Parkinson's disease. In addition, Ms. Kwon recently lost interest in running her clothes store and turned her attention to investment in property because of the slow economy and difficulties in meeting the changing taste of the customers.

Until now, I described the basic profiles of each Korean business. In the next section, I will describe the more general modes of Korean merchants' lives and activities.

"Don't ask my past": Experiences of the middle class in South Korea

One of the maxims in Korean immigrant society is "Never ask about the past at first meeting!" This means that they are reluctant to reveal what their lives were like in South Korea. What kind of job he/she has is an important criterion for evaluating people in South Korea. Before the modernization of South Korea, there was the hierarchical order of jobs following Confucian tradition. The most highly valued job was that of scholar (the white-collar employment of teacher, civil servant and so on). Following this, farmers were the second and engineers the third. Finally, the job of merchant is rated very low in Korean culture. Although this order is old and based on stereotypes, it still strongly influences Koreans, both consciously and unconsciously.

This generation of immigrants, different from previous generations, mostly belonged to the middle or upper classes in South Korea. This means that they did not come to the U.S. to escape economic problems. Rather, they came to find a better life for themselves or for their children's education and so on (Kim, 1981; Min, 1996). However, their ideas were strongly influenced by Korean culture. So, they didn't like to think of themselves as merchants and were

reluctant for people to compare their present lives to their past lives. When I met Korean merchants in this area, at first, they would not tell me what their lives had been in Korea. I only came to know something of their lives in South Korea with time. As previous studies have stated, many Korean merchants in this area had belonged to the middle or upper classes and had received a high level of education in South Korea.

At least some of the Korean merchants perceived a class and educational gap between themselves and their customers—a perception that, indeed, caused problems. On one occasion, for example, Ms. Lee who ran the fish store told me about the negative effects of such perceptions. According to her, some Korean merchants, not only within this area, seemed to ignore the black people because they perceive themselves as being superior, both in terms of educational level and social status. This feeling sometimes led to showing a negative attitude toward black customers. As one black community resident told me, “I’ve been in Korean stores where I felt I was disrespected.” Some community residents felt Korean businesses treated them in an ignorant fashion. I don’t know how many black community residents would agree with these statements. However, I think it is not merely a matter of numbers, but a matter of the current and potential danger of this attitude. I address this possibility in my discussion section.

Living outside for a better education and a better life

Although Korean merchants were a major ethnic group in this commercial corridor, no Korean merchant resided in this community. As I said before, the Census in 2000 reported that only seven Chinese families resided in the Pinedale area. All the Korean merchants working in Pinedale resided in suburban Wimbledon. In the morning, they drove their cars from suburb to their workplace. It usually took between half an hour and an hour by car. Ms. Kim was the only person who did not drive a car; she took public transportation to commute to and from this area,

because of her complicated personal and financial problems. For her, the commute took one and a half or even two hours. To them, this area was not the place where Korean people live. When I came here to get a room for my research period, all the Korean merchants I spoke with advised me to find a place outside the area. The question then is simple: Exactly why are Korean merchants so reluctant to live here?

First of all, children's education is the most important reason. Public schools in city have lots of problems ... problems of entrance into college. Their records don't show good results. Moreover, I think relations between Korean and black residents are not good enough for children to live here. So, naturally, Korean merchants run their own business want to move to better area and send their children to better schools (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

Here is dangerous. Children's education problem. Most Korean merchants are reluctant for their kid to get education with black people (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

The main reasons that Korean merchants did not want to reside in the area seemed to be for security, their children's education, and for a better standard of living. Their explanations for living outside the area were in exactly the same vein as the general reasons for Korean immigration. Most Koreans did not immigrate solely for economic reasons. They decided to live in a foreign country with the hope of a better education for their children, better security, and a better life in the U.S. than in South Korea (Jo, 1999; I. Kim, 1981; Min, 1996). However, the fact that all Korean merchants lived outside the community gives a negative impression to community residents:

The feeling is that they don't live in the community. So and if they are renting the properties, they are basically in the community making the money and leaving the community. And they seem not to have any concern for the growth and the development of the community. I don't know of any that participate on any regular basis with community activities. I don't know of anything that they really do in the community. It tends to be whenever we seem to have in this city areas that are predominantly black, I can't speak for other areas. That Korean merchants have come into there seems to be that same type of attitude... They have a product. People buy their product. They make the money and then they leave the community (From an interview with Ms. Marla).

Some Korean merchants, however, disputed this kind of comment from community residents. They thought that working here was not enough reason to live here. The problem is that this community does not have attractions to make Korean merchants live here. Korean merchants argued that the community should change the unsound environment of this area first before blaming Korean merchants. They also pointed out that Korean merchants are not the only people who do not want to reside in the area. According to them, most African-Americans who obtained a high level of education or were concerned about their children and had the means to leave, also left the area:

Parents who have consciousness leave this area after saving some money. Young people who completed high school also leave this area. 100% ... they don't remain. All move out. My usual customers who are good and gentle also move. And bad guys move into here (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

So, why black people who study very well and succeed go to the white community? They buy good house. Why? Good black people leave here and bad guys coming to this area are doing same [things]. I have watched the process of growing of boys. Exactly same with what parents do. Black parents should scold their children when they do bad things. But every day parents speak bad words in front of their children. What children learn? They speak bad words without any thoughts. That's ok because mother always says "fuck, fuck, fuck," children assume that is natural. After growing up, they drug a lot and try to entice women to sleep with... (laugh) (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

Korean church as the center of immigrant life

On Sundays, all Korean merchants in this area closed their stores. Strangely, all Korean merchants I met in this area were Christians. I found this strange because in South Korea, there are as many Buddhists as there are Christians. It was, therefore, surprising to me that all the merchants were Christians, and none were Buddhists. Many of the Korean merchants went to Korean church and spent at least four hours there every Sunday. According to Pastor Lim who served the Korean church in North Wimbledon, there were between two hundred and two hundred fifty Korean churches in Wimbledon. This number applied to only registered Korean

churches. If we included unregistered churches, there maybe more than three hundred Korean churches in Wimbledon. Whenever I met Korean women in this area, they always mentioned church things and tried to evangelize to me about their church.

Usually, Korean churches had two meetings a week. Large churches hold prayer meetings every day at dawn. Most merchants attended at least two meetings a week. One of the interesting things I observed was that when Koreans call other Koreans, they used formal titles in church. Korean merchants in this area were also the same. For example, Ms. Kim always called Ms. Kwon who ran the clothing store “Deaconess Kwon”; Ms. Kwon would call Ms. Kim “Deaconess Kim.” Church seemed to have an important role in Korean merchants’ lives, especially for the women. This phenomenon is not restricted to Korean immigrant society. The society of Korean students in the U.S. is the same. Although Christianity is the biggest religion in South Korea, that is not sufficient reason to explain this phenomenon. Some merchants talked about why they go to church:

Because of chances to meet other Korean. Church takes the role of center for meeting. Church is a kind of meeting place. Maybe, many Korean people go to church to meet and make friends rather than worship or belief (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

In the U.S., places where Korean women can go are just school and church. There is no place where Korean women go. Going to bar? Or going to Casino? Because they should raise kids, they should stay home and take care of kids. When kids are grown up, there is nothing to do. So going to school or church is only option. But, because going to school needs to pay, only women who have special purposes go. Except them, most are going to church with fewer burdens (From an interview with Ms. Kim).

Churches are not the just places for true believers to worship. For Korean immigrants, churches also function as social meeting places. Here, they exchange information on business and make friends. Because they focus on their business and don’t have chance to meet other Koreans during the week, Sunday is the only time to meet other Koreans face to face. After services, most Korean churches provide members with lunch. One Korean church I had attended

also provided lunch meetings. At this meeting, members of church really enjoyed chatting. The main topics at this meeting were rumors about someone cheating on a partner, someone's divorce, and someone's addiction to gambling, and all kind of other gossip. Sometimes, they talked about business, but they did not go into that in depth. They just enjoyed light topics. Ms. Kim enjoyed this time because she did not have a chance to talk about interesting topics in the Korean language on any other day. Another reason, as I heard from Ms. Kim, was that illegal residents could get a green card relatively easily if the church helped them. So, many Korean illegal residents went to church with the hope of obtaining a green card.

When I joined this conversation, I came to think these kinds of conversations were interesting, but not helpful to make good relations in Korean immigrant society. They just shared gossips and rumor, and these conversations finally had the possibility to increase distrust among Korean immigrants. I hoped to change topics from gossips to sound themes and suggested to discuss about different topics such as problems in their businesses such as relations to customers or ways to make good relations. However, they did not like these serious topics. Also, I was not able to influence them deeply because they believed that I was a guest who just stopped by their church for research. As a result, my trial was fail.

It is, however, still a question for debate as to why there were so many Korean churches in Wimbledon. One very large church had about two thousand members. However, most churches were small. A Korean church I attended had only 8 people in the congregation including me, and four of the congregation was members of the pastor's family. According to Ms. Hong, most Korean churches were "family church."

Because numerous Korean immigrants go to church, holding positions in church becomes a kind of business to Korean immigrants. A Korean who becomes a well-known pastor may have

both honor and money. According to Ms. Hong, one seminary near Wimbledon was full of Korean people who wanted to be pastors because this seminary gave degrees easily. After graduating from this seminary and working for churches for three or five years, a Korean man could become a pastor.

Korean merchants in this area were emotionally and physically attached to churches. In other words, they felt a strong sense of membership in or community with church. They did not feel this sense of attachment to the places in which they work or live. Ms. Hong and Ms. Lee said that they felt comfortable and recharged when they work for their church. Through participating in the activities of church and feeling a connection with God, they came to confirm their salvation, knew how to love people and how to live, and make friends. Even Ms. Kim who did not go to church when I started my research had come to hold a similar position by the end of my research.

Korean merchants always asserted the importance of tithes, collection and volunteer activities to me whenever I met them. Most merchants I met in the area donate tithes every week. They also separately paid special thanks collections for special events such as birthdays or child's entrance to college. They did not just donate money. They also organized small groups and volunteered for church activities, for example, preparing food, cleaning the church, and mowing grass and so on. Surely, Korean churches influenced Korean immigrants profoundly. Korean churches provided not only a shelter for the soul but also a social place for Korean merchants. So, in the lives of Korean merchants in this area, the churches played an important role. However, this relationship based on the Korean church did seem to restrict them to Korean immigrant society.

Living in the U.S., enjoying Korean culture

On one visit I made to Ms. Hong's grocery store, Mr. Hong, who ran the small cell phone shop within it, was reading a Korean newspaper. The head line was the analysis of the Korean presidential election in 2007. When I talked with Korean merchants, most of their topics were about Korea. They were well acquainted with the recent political changes, the economic situation, education problems, and gossip about entertainers in Korea. Sometimes, they would tell me this news.

According to the U.S. Census (2000), about thirteen thousand Korean immigrants reside in Wimbledon. This is the seventh largest Korean immigrant society in the U.S. The three biggest newspaper companies in South Korea issue special editions of the daily newspapers for immigrants in the U.S. Also, a number of weekly Korean newspapers aimed at immigrants in Wimbledon are issued by several companies. People can easily pick up Korean newspapers at large Korean grocery stores. These newspapers mainly deal with Korean news. Only very limited attention is given to U.S. issues. In addition, weekly newspapers mainly feature advertisements for Korean businesses in Wimbledon and news of sex scandals in Korea. I had assumed this mass media created a cultural and social bridge between Korean immigrants and U.S. life, but this was not the case.

Korean immigrants were able to watch Korean TV through satellite dishes. According to Mr. Hong, because the cost of the dish was low, he purchased one. He and his wife watched Korean news, soap operas, situation comedies, and so on, using the dish. Therefore, they knew recent Korean slang and trends. Also, the development of the internet helped Korean people to maintain their connections to Korea. Most Korean merchants in this area enjoyed web surfing or online games at work when they had free time. Mr. Hong also enjoyed "The Game Go," an

online game popular with Koreans. The Hongs usually spent their time online viewing Korean web sites and web sites for Korean immigrants.

Many merchants whom I met said Korean immigrants can survive without speaking English in big cities such as Los Angeles, New York, and Wimbledon, because they do what they want within Korean society. Even merchants in the Pinedale area spoke English only when they encountered customers. All their commercial relations were connected to other Korean wholesalers.

Relations among Korean merchants

Considering their Korean-oriented life, I presumed (before my research) that Korean businesses in this area had good relations with each other. However, there was little interaction among Korean merchants in this area. Only old Korean merchants like Mr. Park who was aged 80 or Ms. Kwon who was in her 70s stopped by other stores to chat. They had relatively more free time because they did not run the business, but helped their families with it. They knew the happenings at other Korean stores because they enjoyed visiting and talking with other Korean merchants. So, they transferred news and gossip among the Korean merchants. In fact, they took the role of messenger. However, their boundaries were restricted to only their block. Other than these two semi-retired merchants, most Korean merchants just greeted each other when they met on the street. They would only go to other Korean stores with a specific purpose:

(Firmly) there is no interaction among Korean merchants here. I'm so surprised.... We do not talk each other. We do not help each other. Just public issue such as a security policy. When we need to hire private policemen, we may collaborate about this kind of issue, but never share things about business. We never teach business technique each other. They think only I can make money, you should not make money (laugh) (From an interview with Ms. Kwon).

I interact with the next door and near stores. But, it's difficult to meet and talk with stores a little far from here. There is no chance to meet and talk with them (From an interview with Ms. Kim).

If I'm full enough, that's it. They never concern about other merchants. Like this, every Korean merchant focus on his or her business only. So, they don't know who is who. I also don't know Korean merchants in other blocks (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

When the dollar store run by Mr. and Ms. Kwon closed for one and half months, none of the Korean merchants knew why. They just assumed that they had closed because a bigger dollar store had opened close by. When Ms. Min came to Ms. Kim's store to sell her jewelry one month after their closing, Ms. Kim was able to confirm that the couple had financial problems. Yet when Ms. Min had sold her jewelry, she never explained why they had closed the store.

Although some bad things happen to Korean store, this owner is reluctant to let other Korean merchants know what happens. Because when he/she wants to sell business, this can be problem to sell. So they protect their privacy. This kind of treatment is not only in this area. It is not exaggerated all Korean merchants in the U.S. don't want other Korean merchants know their business problems. I mean any Korean merchant never let people know his or her business problems (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

Another reason that there was little interaction was competition among the Korean merchants in the area. Actually, four "Dollar" stores, two fish stores, and three wig and clothes stores, two sneakers store, and two jewelry stores were run by Korean merchants in the Pinedale area. Considering the number of Korean merchants in this area, half of their businesses overlapped with each other. If one merchant stopped by other merchant who ran a same business, this other merchant suspected him/her because he/she might be comparing prices or taking display ideas.

I also experienced this suspicion from one merchant who thought that I was perhaps gathering information for another merchant. When I first went to one jewelry store, the owner and his family welcomed me and treated me very well. They tried to assist my research efforts and shared lots of information about the area. However, their attitudes changed a little when I informed them that I had started a part-time job as a way of observing another jewelry store.

From that time, they would no longer talk about topics related to business. Further, some of the merchants would sometimes ask me about the situations of other stores selling the same kind of goods; for example, they would ask what kinds of goods they dealt with and how they displayed the items, and so on. Even old Mr. Park and Ms. Kwon did not visit businesses similar to their own although they liked to visit and talk with other Korean merchants. Some merchants explained the reality of competition among Korean merchants vividly:

I don't like to pass by fish store over there because they suspect for me to check up them when I pass by (From an interview with Mr. Lee).

If Korean merchants do same business in same area, they fight each other. In the case of me, I run a clothes store. One man who runs same business over there came from another area. At the beginning, he sold clothes with discounted cost. Once, he knew I sold stuff at twenty dollars. He started to sell same things at fifteen dollars.... Why I do bleeding competitions with him? Surely, that company he uses is the best choice in that situation. However, I don't want to compete with him. So I try to find another company and purchase.... I have avoided competitions like that. But, Korean merchants have the tendency to do like that if another merchant have same stuff. So, he hired some people and let them make rumors like this. This store is expensive, that store is cheap. I also heard he employed someone to do that. Moreover, for a while, he let his daughter take picture of my store with cell phone. She passed my store taking pictures for information. What I sold, how I displayed. Because she cannot remember with a glance, she used a cell phone including function of digital camera (From an interview with Ms. Kwon).

I have focused, so far, on describing Korean merchants' lives and the relations among Korean merchants. Their lives were very oriented to Korean culture, but relations among the Korean merchants seemed superficial. Here, I have not dealt with how these modes of life have influenced coalition building among Korean businesses. I will discuss those issues in the next chapter. Instead, I will focus my descriptions on relationships between the Korean merchant group and the community resident group. What is the reality of interactions between them? How do the groups perceive each other?

Relations between Korean merchants and community residents

In this section, I will focus on the current state of the relationships between Korean merchants and community residents. Here, I will address the general relations rather than any activities aimed at improving matters in this regard. The specific activities aimed at improving relationships will be discussed in the next chapter.

The language and cultural barrier as the initial step of indifference

In commercial interactions, small conflicts between a customer and a merchant were usual and natural. I used to go to one restaurant run by Mr. and Ms. Heo to eat lunch. On one occasion, Ms. Heo quarreled with a customer. The price seemed to be the cause. Ms. Heo tried to explain why she had charged some amount of money, but the customer claimed he had been overcharged. Finally, he paid the price charged, and he left with an obviously unhappy demeanor. After this incident, she talked about having experienced this kind of frictions with other customers.

According to her, the most frequent causes of complaint were price and a mismatch between the food ordered and the food received. She said that there was no difficulty in saying what she wanted to say and hearing the customers' claims. However, the problem was not simply one of understanding the customers, but of how best to resolve conflicts smoothly without misunderstandings. According to her, this process of resolving friction with customers requires more fluent language skills. A Korean proverb says, "'Ah' is one sound and 'uh' is the other sound." This means that a listener's feelings and reactions can be different depending on how a speaker chooses words and expressions. Ms. Heo told me this part is the most difficult. Ms. Hong also talked about similar difficulties:

Because my English is not good, but my husband is better than me. If there are some troubles during transactions, if I can speak English perfectly, I can let customers

understand what are misunderstandings and everything is fine. But, in the case of me, my English is not good, so the way to communicate is different, the way to understand is different, so, the volume of voice becomes high and then fight each other (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

One day, I had a chance to observe what they meant. When I conducted my observation in one jewelry shop, a young black man stopped in to buy gift for his “baby.” He asked Ms. Kim to recommend what would be better and bought a couple of bracelets following Ms. Kim’s recommendation. The next day, the young man came into this store with a young woman. He looked a little upset and complained his bracelet. According to him, this bracelet was too small for his “baby.” It became clear who the baby was. Ms. Kim had understood the baby to be an infant, but the young man had meant his girlfriend. I too had not understood this meaning of baby at the time. He was very upset about her misleading recommendation. Although Ms. Kim tried to explain the misunderstanding, she was hampered by lack of English skills and her own embarrassment and frustration. If she had fluent English skills at her disposal, the situation would have been resolved easily and the episode would have been funny. Instead the bracelet was returned and the young man left having uttered a number of choice slang words.

Most Korean merchants have been in the U.S. at least over ten years, but they still reported having communication difficulties. They said it was really difficult to use English without restriction. Surely, many immigrants in the U.S. encounter great difficulty communicating with native speakers, and it seems to be difficult for them to break through this language barrier. Numerous research studies on relations between Korean merchants and the black community are filled with testimonies regarding how the seriousness of the language barrier (Jo, 1999; I. Kim, 1981; Lee, 2000, 2006; J. Park, 1996; Weitzer, 1997). The focus of these studies, however, seems to be restricted to difficulties in linguistic interaction itself. However, I think the more hidden and important barrier is the cultural barrier.

During my research, I came to realize that the cultural barrier is higher than the language barrier. Some Korean merchants and community residents showed this aspect. They had lots of chances to encounter black people's lives because they have run businesses in the black community for more than ten years. However, length of experience of, and number of interactions with, the other culture had not deepened understanding. In the case of some Korean merchants, they seemed to feel uncomfortable when they encountered different modes of life. They especially seemed to be sensitive to sexual issues:

That's usual thing to these people. A person who I know changes boys a lot. These people don't call husband, just call boyfriend or girlfriend. Today, coming with this woman, tomorrow, coming with that woman. These are their life. It looks like, "Don't touch me. I'll live like this and die" (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

They are really strange. They are really brazen faces. I watched mother and daughter were talking about strange topics. Too strange to me. They were talking about sex life without hesitation. Mother talked to her daughter (From an interview with Ms. Lee).

Traditionally, Korean people believe that monogamy is the one of best virtues. Also, this virtue is applied to women more strictly. So, Korean people have a tendency to consider a woman who changes boyfriends a lot as a kind of loose woman. Basically, most Korean merchants in the Pinedale area were aged between their late 40s and late 60s. Usually, Korean people in this age group have received a more conservative education from home and schools, and as a result, have the conservative attitudes on relations between men and women. Moreover, talking about sexual issues in a public places is a kind of a taboo in Korean culture because of the influence of conservative Confucianism. As a result, some older Korean merchants have an extremely negative attitude toward black people.

Another distinguishing feature of the culture was nonattendance at community meetings. When I attended community meetings held by the MABA or when I visited We Always Challenge Everything, I had a chance to talk about Korean merchants with board members or

volunteers. What they commented on most was that Korean merchants did not attend community meetings. One MABA board member complained that they were not able to form relationships with Korean merchants because they did not join the meetings. I was able to tell him why this was the case. According to Korean merchants, they do not take part in community meetings because of the language barrier and lack of time; that is, they felt they would not be able to understand the discussions entirely, and because of their businesses they lacked the time to attend. Certainly, their excuses made sense to me because I had encountered similar difficulties when I attended meetings. However, his reaction was different. He did not understand the Korean merchants' comments; he told me that if Korean merchants really want to contribute to the community and have good relations with the residents, then they should make coming to the community meetings a priority. Similarly, when I discussed relations among Korean merchants and black community residents with a volunteer in WACE, she stated that the WACE wanted to invite Korean merchants to meetings in order to improve relations:

Well sometimes to me, participation doesn't always mean a donation of money. It might be a donation of coming out and let them know what you do. Coming to a community meeting voicing your opinion on things that matter. That's concerning the community (From an interview with Ms. Claudine).

These different attitudes towards community meetings seemed to be related to the problematic relations between Korean merchants and community residents. In regard to the MABA board member just quoted (himself, an African American resident of Pinedale), one of problems was that he did not know any of the Korean merchants personally. To him, the starting point of relation building was official meetings. From his perspective, if an individual does in fact wish to take part in meetings, there is no reason not to do so. This might be an American way. Some Korean merchants said, however, that it was really uncomfortable to join meetings because no one with whom they were familiar would be there. They also said the community

meetings would be too official. From my perspective, I agree even more strongly that lack of familiarity and difference in culture are even more resistant than is the language barrier. To me, usually, the difficulties of communicating in English are just inconvenient, and not a main reason to avoid activities, such as attending meetings, to which I attach importance.

The Korean people tend not to prefer official meeting places, such as police station and usually like to have meetings at unofficial settings, such as at a restaurant. In this meeting, they not only discussed the agenda, they also exchanged information and talked about some more personal things. What led Korean merchants to join this meeting were personal relations among them, not clear agenda items or issues. In other words, without personal deep relations, it is really difficult to entice Korean merchants to community meetings. Actually, when Ms. Kim realized that I usually attended community meetings held by the MABA, she decided to attend a meeting and did so. She said she came to the meeting because one who was familiar to her would also be there.

During the research, I was not able to hear from black community residents about their feelings or experiences of the different culture of Korean merchants enough. I just heard superficial stereotypes about a different culture:

I'm aware of that. But in America when you don't make eye contact it's a form of disrespect. It's a form of intimidation. It's a form of saying I don't really respect you. You're nobody. So for me you're in this culture. You're here. You're in this country so you have to follow the edicts you could say of this country (From an interview with Ms. Thomson).

I think the end of this comment, "You're in this country so you have to follow the edicts you could say of this country," show very well the contradictions in people's attitudes toward different cultures. I really did not intend to accuse or blame the interviewee for intolerant attitudes. Actually, she continually maintained the importance of harmony among different

cultures during the interview. I think that her comments reflect a frank and honest feeling toward other cultures. People may know that they should respect other cultures at conscious level, but at the subconscious level, they often do not do what they know or think. I met lots of people who argued for the need of open mind in regard to other cultures, but only a small number of people showed a sincere interest in other cultures. It is perhaps commonplace even usual to be indifferent toward other cultures:

Now I don't know the difference between Korean or Chinese. You know the culture. But uh, I do have somewhat of a difficult with him working on my property. He may be Chinese, he may be Korean. I don't know which one, but he's working on my property. My thing is that all entrepreneurs have the right to uh, to a make a dollar. If you do good work then you, then I work with you. If you do poor work, look I don't want ya. I don't care if you pink, blue, white, black, whatever (From an interview with Mr. Jack).

Most Korean merchants in this area seemed to have similar attitudes. As one Korean merchant commented, many Korean merchants did not care whether the customers were white or black as long as they bought their goods. Many Korean merchants also seemed to have little sincere interest in other cultures.

Danger zone: Is every resident a potential criminal?

Another factor that influenced relations between Korean merchants and black community residents was crime problems. Crime and security are a universal concern of Korean merchants in my study. All the merchants whom I met in this area had been subject to robbery, and they had serious concerns about their security. Ms. Kwon told me one ironic situation. Recently, the number of thefts in her store had decreased because one gang member started a vendor business in front of her store. He was selling bootleg video recordings. After that, most petty thieves were reluctant to approach her store because they did not want to make trouble with this gang member. Ms. Kwon asked me whether this situation was good or bad.

One day, I stopped by Ms. Kwon's store. When I entered, I noticed clefts that were not there the day before on the show window. Ms. Kwon and one man were talking about how to repair these clefts. He suggested that she should replace the whole glass. He estimated \$2,000 to change the glass. After he left, she explained what had happened. According to her, the day before, she had caught and tried to detain a thief in the store. The thief tried to resist and run away, and he kicked the door hard, and the show window's glass was cracked. Ms. Kwon let her go because she was afraid that the thief would break the glass entirely.

The danger store owners and employees confront is evident in the bullet marks on many stores windows. Some merchants' comments noted the security situation in the Pinedale area:

Anyway, petty thefts are daily thing to my store. To my mother and father, because they are old, they (thieves) do more. But, if I get stolen once, then many sneaks come to steal hearing the rumor. They steal my stuff because they can sell them and make money. [I] sell them 1 dollar a one pair, but they sell them 50 cent a one pair or 1 dollar a three pairs (From an interview with Ms. Kwon).

Everyone who runs business in black community have experiences of getting armed robber. Thieves sometimes break the ceiling and invade through that hole. Sometimes, I got robbed at parking lot. But I always thank God because I am still alive (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

I got lots of armed robbery. They broke into this store and aimed at me a lot... ..So, I don't know when they will break into this store again. I always prepare for a stack of dollars between fifty and hundred dollars under the desk... (From an interview with Ms. Lee).

The official crime rate in the Pinedale area is not higher than that of other areas.

According to the Wimbledon Police Department, major crime such as murder, rape, robbery, burglary, and theft figures stood at 2,604 in 2001, but decreased to 2,349 in 2004 in Pinedale.

However, this statistics are official, and, therefore, not comprehensive. Considering unreported crime, no one can be certain which areas will be safe to run a business.

Crimes that Korean merchants mainly experienced were armed robbery and thefts.

Korean merchants do not report most cases of crime because they did not want to deal with the process of reporting. Some merchants had reported crimes and in some cases seen the thief go to jail. In order to make that happen, they had closed their stores for several days to go to the court. However, most Korean merchants believed that the loss caused by reporting is bigger than the loss caused by the theft itself.

All Korean merchants in this area considered this community to be dangerous, but they also knew very well that most black communities in Wimbledon have the same security problems. In spite of knowing the danger of running a business in a black community, most Korean immigrants in fact do exactly that. Most Korean merchants hoped to run their business in a safer, cleaner area one day. However, for most this does not happen.

I have no choice. I should survive. I must work to keep my head above water. So I run my business here (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

I think black people are easier as customers. I have run business for both the white and the black. I think running business in this area is easier. First of all, I spend less money for maintain. I mean, I can run the business with smaller money (From an interview with Ms. Kim).

Crime problems are an expect menace in merchants' lives. Moreover, crime problems in Pinedale seemed to influence the relations between Korean merchants and community residents directly and indirectly. Because most thieves or burglars who try to steal something from stores are residents, Korean merchants always look suspiciously at customers when they pick up goods unless they are regulars. Even when the Korean merchants talked with me, they turned their attention to customers from time to time. Actually, some Korean merchants seemed to have negative perceptions of all the community residents based on their experiences of robbery:

These people? Well, they are my usual customers, but, in the end, they are on their [thieves, burglars] side. Black people are on their side. So, I didn't tell my story about

getting stolen, but they already knew about that. They knew everything. People in this community are connected to each other. They are cousin like this, they are cousin like that. You are my brother, he is my cousin. Anyway, so complicated. They are intertwined like that. So, though they know who is a burglar who stole my stuff, they never let me know. Partly, because they are afraid of revenge (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

From the residents' perspective, Korean merchants' suspicious eyes made them uncomfortable and upset. Some community residents told me they had been looked at with suspicion when they had visited stores including those run by Koreans. According to them, merchants of other ethnicities looked at them with even greater suspicion than did the Koreans. So, they told me that they would not go to stores that treat them badly. I think these daily experiences go a long way to establishing one group's perceptions of another.

Perceptions, prejudices, or stereotypes?

As I described above, direct interactions and experiences between Korean merchants and community residents mainly happened in stores. Korean merchants came to have perceptions of community residents based on transactions with customers, conversations with customers or employees, observations of their life and experiences of robbery, etc. They also got information about general or specific characteristics of black people from the Korean community such as the Korean church and social gatherings. Sometimes, they establish images of black people from the movies and the mass media in general.

Korean merchants seemed to have mixed perceptions of community residents. In my daily conversations with Korean merchants, some merchants expressed generally negative perceptions more than positive ones. Because daily conversations and observations were not official interview, they seemed to tell me how they felt without any restriction. They seemed to think that most residents in the area were lazy, powerless, and potential criminals:

Well, about this community, people in this area are a little lazy. The most serious problem is people don't want to work (From an interview with Ms. Lee).

I think these people cannot change. Here is the school system. Completing high school is enough to be well off. U.S.'s school system is really good. They don't need to go to college. They could learn skill and succeed with those skills... ..So, improvement? I don't think so. Although there is a leader who asks people not to live like this, nobody carefully hear that (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

If one person enters into this store, I think, [he or she is] a person who wants to buy or a person who tries to steal (From an interview with Ms. Kwon).

Whenever they characterized their perceptions of the community this way, they always gave examples of residents who depended on food stamps and social welfare programs. One Korean merchant had this to say about social welfare:

I heard some kinds of rumor. In the past, the white people didn't like black people became the upper class. They wanted to monopolize the power. So, they made policies to prevent black people from raise their class by giving free money. It was really good for "right now." So, black people didn't study and work, just enjoyed their lives (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

I don't know if this conspiracy theory is right or wrong. However, social policies and public welfare could categorize people and, as a result, make perceptions of the beneficiary and gaps. However, when I interviewed them, they tried also to point to positive points although the negative points were always present:

Not all residents are bad. I think 10% or 20% of residents are lazy and try to steal stuff. Rests of them are really diligent and gentle and have good personality. It's just my feeling to residents. I don't know how other Korean merchants think. The white area is same. I bet because I have run business in both areas (From an interview with Ms. Kim).

Black people are really simple but sometimes show hot temper like Korean. So, if we treat them smoothly as baby, they are really as mild as lamb (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

Frankly speaking, I never ignore these residents. Someone really mind approaching to black people because they are dirty. Actually, they are dirty, don't shampoo well, but I don't have mind like that (From an interview with Ms. Lee).

In Korean merchants' minds, negative and positive feelings coexist. However, the problem was the disharmony between the conscious and the unconscious levels. Their official

position was always one of respect for black community residents. Most Korean merchants did not admit that they disrespected community residents. However, they treated them with disrespectful attitudes from time to time unconsciously. If they clearly realized their positions and attitudes toward black community residents, it would be easier to improve relations. Mr. Park pointed out this mixed perception as a potential problem. According to him, most merchants seemed to believe they have an open mind in regard to black people's lives and they respect black culture. So, they do not think they need to make specific efforts to improve their understanding.

Compared to the Korean merchants' perceptions of them, the community residents' perceptions of the Koreans were relatively simple. Maybe, because I am a Korean, they did not want to show their real feelings. However, their comments had much in common:

One I don't think that a merchant should come to the community without wanting to be a part of the community. Don't just come into the community. Set up your business. Go home. Come in the community, work every day, take the money, and go home (From an interview with Sister Mary).

I feel that if you've been in my community, and I've been coming into your store for the last six years and I'm ten cents short or a little kid brings every dime that she has soon as she get a quarter she runs down to spend it with you and she might be a nickel short and you send her home to get that nickel, that's wrong. If I spend twenty or thirty dollars a night, if knowing I spend fifty dollars a week with you or more than that buying food from you and I'm a nickel short then that's wrong. You know, you a part of the community (From an interview with Mr. Jack).

It was really interesting to see that whenever I talked about Korean merchants, their answers and reactions were almost the same. All in all, the black community residents whom I met seemed to believe that Korean merchants just take money from the community and contribute nothing to it. Also, Korean merchants only pursue money. This perception was not unique to this area. Spike Lee, a progressive black movie director in the U.S., depicted the daily interactions between Korean merchants and black community residents in *Do the right thing*

(1990). Actually, this was not the main theme of this movie, but several short scenes showed miscommunications between the merchants and the customers because of the Korean's limited English skills. Also, the African-American rapper, Ice Cube (1990) sang about Korean merchants in the black community in his song "Black Korea." Although the lyrics of this song are a little long, I want to present it because this song described well how black people think about Korean merchants in their community:

Everytime I wanna go get a fuckin brew / I gotta go down to the store with the two / oriental one-penny countin motherfuckers / that make a nigga mad enough to cause a little ruckus / Thinkin every brother in the world's out to take / So they watch every damn move that I make / They hope I don't pull out a gat and try to rob / they funky little store, but bitch, I got a job / ("Look you little Chinese motherfucker / I ain't tryin to steal none of yo' shit, leave me alone!" / "Mother-fuck you!") / Yo yo, check it out/So don't follow me, up and down your market / Or your little chop suey ass'll be a target/of the nationwide boycott / Juice with the people, that's what the boy got / So pay respect to the black fist/or we'll burn your store, right down to a crisp / And then w'll see ya! / Cause you can't turn the ghetto - into Black Korea / "I do fuck you!"

From these cultural products and community residents' reactions, I realized that their negative attitudes toward Korean merchants were deeper than I had anticipated. If admitting their reactions, it might be natural that Korean merchants are blamed because they are too selfish. However, when I asked residents how many Korean stores they knew, they did not know very well which the Koreans were or where the Korean stores were. Only Sister Mary knew several Korean merchants and stores because she worked for the MABA. Actually, some Korean merchants told me that most community residents considered them to be Chinese. Only a small numbers of the community residents with whom I spoke recognized the merchants as Korean.

Another perception of Korean merchants is that they want to leave the black community as soon as they have gathered enough money. However, most Korean merchants pointed out that this notion is only partly true. They agreed that they did wish to leave the black community. However, most Korean merchants actually retire in the black community because Korean

merchants know that they cannot be successful in the white community or in a large mall setting. According to Ms. Lee and Ms. Kim, most merchants who had left the black community and opened new businesses in the white community failed and returned to the black community. One Korean church member whom I met also started a new business again in the black community after failing with her business in a mall.

I also heard from some Korean merchants why they run their business in this area. According to them, first of all, they can start their businesses in the black community with a relatively small amount of money because the rental fee is less expensive than in other areas and because there is no need to decorate their stores well. The second reason is that their English skills are not good enough to run businesses in the white community. Running a business in the white community or in a big mall requires a high level of English, but they can just sell goods to black people without fluent English. The third reason is related to the second reason: Korean merchants said that the white people are pickier when they choose stuff. Also, after purchasing goods, they complained often and returned a lot of things. By comparison, they found the black people easier to satisfy. They just purchase what they want and that's it. It is for these reasons that Korean merchants choose the black community as their workplace in spite of the danger.

During my observations, there were no specific and visible conflicts and troubles that caused negative perceptions of each other in daily relations. Some Korean merchants really had good relationships with customers. My curiosity was keen on this point. At the individual level, there did not appear to be any specific problems in relations. Some Korean merchants praised some community residents for their being diligent and nice. Some residents also told me that some of the Korean merchants are really nice. However, when they talked about the group level

such as the Korean merchant group and the community resident group, their attitudes were strikingly different.

I think these contradictions come from fixed stereotypes. Through my observation, I came to think that stereotypes work more on a group level than on an individual level. The problem is that stereotypes create gaps between Korean merchants and community residents, and, as a result, make relations between them worse and worse. Sister Mary's comments represented this gap and potential danger quite clearly:

The other hand is maybe the language barrier. You know communicating them learning the true culture if you will of this community and not use stereotype to deal with every person that they come in contact with. Because in any community you have positive and you have negative. You have the negative that chances are these merchants are probably encounter a lot more than the positive on some notes. And then you have positive people who really want your success and they want to interact with the Asian community but they are not very receiving. They are not very receiving... very receiving to those individuals because of stereotype. So I think on both sides. You have the African-Americans who are stereotyping against the Asian. And you have the Asians who are stereotyping against the African-American. And I think that's a bridge that needs to a gap that needs to be bridged together (From an interview with Sister Mary).

Here, my question: What kinds of efforts have been tried to improve relations between each group? Actually, there were some activities related to this question, but I will discuss this issue in more detail in the next chapter because they are directly related to the purpose of this study. I have so far described Korean merchants' lives and the relations between the Korean merchant group and the community resident group. However, I have not described the organizations that exist within the community resident group. In the next section, I will describe the basic profiles and activities of the community organizations.

Profiles of community organizations in the Pinedale Area

There were many community organizations in the Pinedale area. In the morning, most students go to schools that try to help students achieve intellectual success as well as help them

function well emotionally. In front of a day care center, mothers drop off their children before going to work. Some residents knock on the door of service-providing organizations to get help to pay for their utilities. To achieve their missions, these organizations cannot help but form relationships with other community organizations. Sometimes, one community organization competes with another organization to get resources. Sometimes, one tries to collaborate with others. There are lots of interactions among community organizations.

Although there are various classifications for community organizations, I specifically focused on community-based organizations (CBOs). Considering how much CBOs involve community residents and other community stakeholders in their governance is a crucial issue (Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh, & Vidal, 2001, p. 63). I focus on CBOs because I believe the best way for communities to improve themselves is for community residents to be involved in community activities and decision making.

This section consists of two parts. I first present the problems of this community from the community residents' perspective. After that, I describe the basic profiles and activities of the community organizations. In this section, I discuss four community organizations. First, I describe the Korean Merchant Association that existed in the past. Although this organization is no longer in existence, it was an attempt by the Korean merchant group to build a relationship with community residents, and, therefore, highly relevant to my work. The other three organizations are currently in existence and they are all involved in the Pinedale Community-University Partnership (PinCUP) project. This project can be considered an effort to build coalitions among community organizations. Actually, PinCUP mainly consists of five COs and one research group from the university, MABA, WACE, SEC, PIA, Grace Street Garden and

Literacy Association (GSGLA), and RCBRAE. However, I was able to observe only three community organizations among them; MABA, WACE, and SEC.

In the same way as the previous section, I also applied some criteria for describing the profiles of each community organization. I depended mainly on CHAT because this theoretical framework provided really strong tools for understanding the structure and activities of organizations. The main criteria I used in descriptions were (1) what was the organizational history, (2) what was the purpose or goal of each organization, (3) how was each organization managed, (4) what was the organizational structure, (5) what were the activities that they focused on, and (6) what were the challenges of each organization, etc.. These descriptions are based on field notes that included observations and conversations, documents issued by each organization, pictures, and interviews.

Problems in the Pinedale area

This community, like any other, has its problems. However, the way each group thinks about the area appears to be different. As I have already mentioned, most Korean merchants emphasized security as the main problem in the area. However, community residents emphasized a range of serious problems, as one would expect given that they spend their lives there.

Community residents also considered crime to be a problem. In fact, the residents' experience of crime seemed to be more intense and more frequent than that of the Korean merchants. When one community resident heard that the Korean merchants felt that the crime rate had recently decreased, he reacted very negatively:

No gun crime? No. It's snatch and grab. Go in there and snatch something and run out, go in throw hot coffee on you, rob you. Um, there's many different ways but you know. They say crime has decreased. They're wrong. We have more killings this year. ... last year in 2006, we had over 400 some killings in, more killings in 2006 than we ever had. What I think, there are different owners. They come in, they open up their shops. They hope to make it through the day without any problems. They close up, they go home.

They go home to a nice home, out in the suburbs or wherever. And they have their own culture and they live their own way. Once the sun goes down, then where I live changes. They out on the street tricking, selling drugs, robbing people. So people really don't see this. Come up here in the night time. And walk three blocks. Someone will confront you before you get to the third block (From an interview with Mr. Jack).

A recent campaign aimed at preventing crime in Wimbledon showed how serious crime is in the black community. According to *2005 FBI Crime Reports*, murders in 2004 were 377 and rapes in 2004 were 1024 in Wimbledon. This meant that 25.6 persons per 100,000 were killed 69.5 persons were raped in 2004. This crime rate was higher than national average (murders: 6.9 per 100,000, rapes: 34.6 per 100,000).

Another serious problem is drug addiction. Many community residents pointed out that addiction problems made the community poorer and poorer over time. I was able to observe during my visits to the stores how serious the drug problems were. Many young people came to the store to buy Blunt cigars. According to the owners, they would buy the cigar in order to use the skin to wrap marijuana. Many times, I observed people in the stores who had pale faces and vacant eyes. According to the Korean merchants, nine out of ten of the people who come into their shops are addicted to drugs. There were also lots of drug dealers in the community. They are on the streets and in the Laundromat. It was easy to identify them when I stood and watched the street for a few minutes. They did not leave one place for a long time and sometimes, they would speak to people passing by or to people who appeared to be looking for something. People addicted to drugs are often unemployed. However, their problems extended beyond their jobless state; they exchanged food stamps for cash and with it bought drugs. Although some people did have jobs, they appeared to spend most of their money to purchase drugs.

The drug problem combined with joblessness is a vicious cycle. Because many young people did not have fixed jobs, they would just "hang out" on the street all day. Naturally, they

were exposed to drugs. Why did many young people not have jobs? According to some community activists, the high school dropout rate is high and most stable jobs require at least a high school diploma. In this situation, it was really difficult for the youth in this community to find stable jobs. To deal with this problem, some CBOs and institutions try to provide GED programs, but some community activists pointed out that the GED certification is not much help in getting a job in practice. According to the community activists, lack of employment is a problem of the social structure not individual under-achievement.

AIDS and other health problems also menaced the community. Because infected people are usually reluctant to reveal their disease and because some continue to have a sex life, the rate of infection continues to increase. To combat these problems, some community organizations together with some health institutions launched a campaign to heighten public awareness. However, it did not meet with much success.

In addition to the problems of crime, drug addiction, and other health concerns, the paucity of recreational places and activities in this community was also a serious problem. The youth had little opportunities for relaxation and entertainment. There are few places or programs for the youth. Actually, the nearest library was located almost ten blocks away. According to one community activist, it was natural that the youth were easily exposed to sex and drugs on the street because there was no other place for them to go. The absence of recreational places was not only a problem for the youth. It was a problem for all the community residents.

Although I was able to identify a number of problems, perhaps the community had more problems that I did not discern. It is clear, however, that solving the problems would prove difficult as they are enmeshed with each other. In sum, these problems may be distilled into one term: the poverty problem. The Pinedale area had the typical problems associated with poverty.

The poverty problem can never be solved by individuals' efforts or several organizations' efforts because it is the result of inappropriate social and economic structures. Although the conditions are created by social structures, they are not fixed, permanent realities. The community can create change. Actually, several CBOs tried to change conditions and to develop the community although they knew that it was a difficult and endless process. One CBO volunteer commented on the best approach to create community change:

It's going to have to be a collaboration of different kinds of people, different kinds of organizations, different programs. It's going to have to be a collaboration, an effort on everybody's part. The parents, the teachers, the social services, the city, the state. Everybody has to get in there and do something (From an interview with Ms. Susan).

Once upon a time when the Korean merchant organization existed in Pinedale

Establishing the Korean-American Macon Ave. Business Association. Mediation among Korean merchants and between Korean merchants and community residents in the Pinedale area has not always been absent. At one time, the Korean merchants had their own organization named the Korean-American Macon Ave Business Association (KA-MABA). When I started my study in this area, the KA-MABA no longer existed. I heard about it from some of the Korean merchants. In fact, I heard a brief history from Mr. Lim who had taken an active role in the organization:

There were boycotts one or two times. Maybe, ten or fifteen years ago. So, at that time, Korean merchants felt the necessity of coming together. So, we established Korean merchants association in this area and had meetings a lot. We usually had a dinner together with the meeting. At that time, many Korean merchants joined and enjoyed meetings. We talked many things, such as daily life and business. However, with decrease of problems, activities of organization ended in smoke and come to the present. As long as I know, there is no activity of Korean merchants association (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

According to Mr. Park who had held the position of vice president of the organization, the purpose of this organization was to be a bridge between the MABA and the Korean

merchants in order to form good relations with community residents and to improve relationships among the area's Korean merchants. He told me that the MABA tried to create relationships between merchants and the community through obtaining donations and figuring out how to resolve difficulties with residents. In order to fund its events, the MABA tried to stop by every store in the area to get donation. However, the Korean merchants were not able to understand all that was said to them. Although the Korean merchants can communicate with customers, their use of English is restricted to business. When the MABA would visit the Korean merchants and try to explain why the MABA needed donations and how the donation would be used and so on, they would simply say "OK" without understanding. After that, MABA would return to the Korean stores to obtain the promised donation, the Koreans would not give it. According to Mr. Park, the MABA would think the Korean merchants had broken an agreement. From the black community side, these interactions presented problems. Some of the black residents let some of the Korean merchants know about the residents' negative attitudes, and some of the Korean merchants thought they should do something and determined to translate MABA's work into the Korean language first. So, they organized the KA-MABA at the end of 1998 and tried to get donations from Korean merchants. The KA-MABA also undertook the task of improving relations among the Korean merchants themselves. At first, the organization would meet every month. Usually, Wednesday was the day on which the merchants were able to make them available. However, they would go to dinner rather than hold an official meeting. At the meeting, staff would report on the activities of the KA-MABA and its budget. At first, many merchants would participate in this meeting, but over time, only 3 or 4 people came. So, they changed their meeting schedule to convene every three months.

The organization's entire budget came from membership fees. The monthly fee was twenty dollars, and about four thousand dollars was the annual budget. Among them, about one thousand dollars paid for dinners a year; about three thousand dollars was donated to the MABA for community events bearing the name of the KA-MABA. The staff spent some of the budget on official goods such as ink cartridge and paper. When community organizations informed the KA-MABA of their community events, the board would estimate the scale of the events and decided how much to donate.

Why did the KA-MABA stop operating? The KA-MABA did not survive for long. It ceased operation in 2002 or 2003 because of lack of member participation, board members being overworked, the absence of a new generation of merchants, and conflicts within the organization. In addition, no one who wanted to take over the role of president. Mr. Park confessed the difficulties of managing the organization. According to him, it took two hours to stop by every Korean merchant store to keep them up to date and ask for the membership fee. Whenever he visited the stores, he was not able to just inform the merchants about official matters. He also talked about daily life and personal events. Given this kind of conversation, 2 hours was an insufficient time in which to visit twenty stores. He also ran a business that he needed to take care of. He also found that some of the merchants did not want to give donations. The level of participation was really low. One third of Korean merchants complained that they did not have enough money to make a donation. Mr. Park was very disappointed and upset by this attitude. In fact, he knew a merchant who claimed to have too little money to make a donation had paid one hundred twenty dollars to play golf. Ms. Lee and Ms. Kwon who helped Mr. Park in his work also complained about this attitude on the part of some merchants at that time:

The most serious problem was some merchants' attitudes. They are really not cooperative. Whenever we had meeting, they complained a lot and made trouble. In this situation, who

want to manage this organization with hearing complaints? They were just volunteers (From an interview with Ms. Lee).

Only when negative things happen, they collaborate. And, well, there are always persons who take care of only themselves and do not concern about other people. Someone never paid membership fee during one year ... for several years not because he does not have money. I know he lives in five hundred thousand dollars or seven hundred thousand dollars house. He earns lot of money but do not pay 10 dollars as membership fee (From an interview with Ms. Kwon).

As well as all these problems, perhaps because of them, the KA-MABA failed to find the next president. During the four or five years of the organization's existence, all the active members had held the role of president and they had become tired of the work. According to Mr. Park, four or five years are usually the maximum period for a person to sacrifice oneself for an organization. After that, people cannot but be tired of the hard and tedious work. That's the reason why organization should focus on recruiting new members. However, the KA-MABA failed to find new members and board members. Because of these difficulties, after four or five years, the KA-MABA members decided to contribute to the community individually and stopped working together.

In other area in Wimbledon city, there were still some thriving Korean merchant organizations such as Korean merchant associations in 5th St. and 52nd St.. Some interviewees seemed to attribute the demise of the KA-MABA to a low level of participation and the "selfish" or "greedy" personalities of the some of the merchants. Maybe, they were right. However, this was not able to explain the KA-MABA's end entirely. Then, did the Pinedale area have more selfish merchants than other areas?

Mr. Park's experiences with Korean merchants provided some clues. According to Mr. Park, when he went to Korean stores to collect donations, one merchant said to him with half joke and half truth "a few days ago, someone stole my stuffs in store. About hundred dollars

value.” He knew what this merchant meant. The merchant was asking him “What is the direct profit from this donation?” or “What can I get right now from my donation?” or “What does the KA-MABA do for us?” He tried to explain the long-term benefit, but some Korean merchants were only focused on short term profits. They knew that this kind of activity had the potential to yield much of value to them over a number of years. However, they put more emphasis on today’s profit than long-term gains. Mr. Park also recollected that one merchant claimed, “I paid all fee during the last year. However, what is the benefit from that participation?” He also wanted visible benefits, for example, a safer business environment. However, given the KA-MABA’s small yearly budget, this request did not make sense. To improve security, the KA-MABA had hired private security from the ranks of retired or off-duty policemen. However, to hire them, the KA-MABA paid 60 dollars a person a day, and in order to provide visible security the area needed at least two security personnel. To fund this, the KA-MABA had to come up with more than ten thousand dollars a year.

In addition, facilitating relationships among the Korean merchants did not appear important to many of the merchants. Many of the Korean merchants already had strong relationships with other Koreans because of their involvement in Korean churches. Perhaps, these strong church relationships made forming friendships in the area of little importance. Further, they already exchanged business information through other Korean organization such as the Korean Jewelry Association, the Laundromat Association, and the Fruit Seller Association, and so on.

Do we need another Korean merchant organization? That organizations come and go is to be expected, because they are created by necessity. If members feel their organization cannot satisfy them or the organization does not function well, then it is natural for the organization to

change or die. There is no reason one organization should be sustained forever. From this perspective, Mr. Lim's comments are proper:

If there is no special problem like these days, one may not feel the necessity of Korean merchants organization. But, suddenly special problems happen, then they will need it. I think most merchants share this idea. In this area, there are lots of Korean merchants. So, if Korean merchant organization is around here, frankly speaking, there are some negative points or bothersome. They should pay annual fee unnecessarily. Organization starts working, then they need to pay annual fee and organization interfere in something. "Do that," "Don't do that." Like this. Interference (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

In a similar vein, if Korean merchants don't feel the necessity of a Korean merchant organization, there is no reason for such an organization to exist in this area. However, as I said before, some Korean merchants in the area agreed on the benefit and necessity of establishing good relationships with community residents. Some merchants still thought that the existence of the Korean merchant organization would be helpful in creating good relations not just with the residents, but also among the Korean merchants.

Most merchants seem to feel the necessity of organization when they have problems, but I think it would be better that Korean merchants association should sustain continually because, well, we run business here. So, I think we need to make relations to community residents. Korean merchants association can take a role of mediation to communicate with the black community residents (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

Really, people cannot live as a lone wolf in the U.S. There is no development. It is good for people to come together, solve hard problem, and help poor people (From an interview with Ms. Kim).

Well, we could discuss about how to contribute to community. Or, we could make plans to improve business in this area. Or we could prevent other merchants from opening same business (From an interview with Ms. Lee).

Putting together their comments, they seemed to want a stronger and more active Korean merchant organization than the previous one. For example, one merchant wished it could translate English documents related to their business into Korean. Another wished it could have the power to form relationships with the city and the police station in order to get information.

Another merchant hoped it could prevent other merchants from opening the same kind of business in the area. This merchant also wished for an organization to provide security.

MABA: Creating a bridge between merchants and community

History and structure of the MABA. The Macon Avenue Business Association-Community Development Corporation (MABA-CDC) was established in 1986 by Sheik Abdul Malik . According to Sister Mary who was Malik's wife, he started the MABA to make this community a place where he would be remembered. According to Sister Mary, the widow of Abdul Malik, this community was the place where all businesses of the corridor provided individual and direct service and met the specific needs of the resident community. Malik tried to establish community revitalization by fostering membership participation and building a respectable rapport with the avenue merchants.

Sheik Mary was known as an active leader of the MABA. Some Korean merchants still remember him as a vigorous and passionate person. According to them, when he was the president, the MABA worked well; it issued a local newspaper periodically and advertised each business through it. Also, he personally established good relations with some Korean merchants and was effective in organizing the KA-MABA with the Korean merchants. However, after his death in 2002, some organizational functions did not work. The local newspaper was not issued anymore, and relations with some of the merchants collapsed.

After his passing away in 2002, Sister Mary took over the position. Her official position is president & CEO. Sister Mary has struggled to revive the MABA. She is the only full-time worker. However, in the recent past she has begun to work mornings only as she has started a restaurant. In the afternoons, no one worked in the MABA's office.

The MABA office is located around 52nd St and Macon Ave. Actually, this office was originally located in Pinedale community. However, because of financial problems, MABA gave up the old office and rented a smaller space in a church premise, some distance away. The organization officially tries to reach all the businesses from 34th St. to 63rd St. on Macon Avenue. However, in practice the MABA focuses on the area from 40th St. to 52nd St. on Macon Avenue. The main purpose of the MABA is to organize the businesses to collectively participate in and support the planning, designing, and implementation of the economic development initiatives and also to improve the physical conditions of the avenue. To achieve this purpose, the MABA focuses on the activities of (1) advocating respect for diversity, (2) contributing to the development of the community at large, (3) setting short- and long-range goals for economic development initiatives that involve neighborhood planning, (4) planning, designing, implementing, and operating programs to rehabilitate properties by developing collaboration, (5) collaborating with public and private governmental agencies to achieve the organizational mission and goals, (6) addressing health and welfare, (7) encouraging housing development, (8) advocating and utilizing volunteerism, (9) providing technical assistance to local entrepreneurs, (10) providing training and increased employment opportunities, (11) and operating businesses within the local communities (MABA board meeting document, November 16, 2006).

The members of the MABA were merchants and community residents. According to Sister Mary, about 75 to 100 merchants ran businesses in the targeted area. People could join this organization by completing the application form and paying a membership fee. The annual fee ranged from 100 dollars to 250 dollars depending on the size of business. Among the merchants in the targeted area, about thirty percent had joined the MABA. Members had the right to observe board meetings and also to become a board member. Members were recruited mainly

through Sister Mary's efforts; she distributed application forms and to ask merchants to join when she visited businesses to share information about events and solicit donations. However, when I asked how many members the organization had, she could not tell me the exact number.

In MABA, it appears that board members were selected primarily for special skills they brought. Usually, board members were invited by board of directors of MABA based on what their skills were. For example, if the organization needed IT technical assistance, then it tried to invite individuals who could bring support and service to this organization to become a board member. In this way, the MABA tried to secure community service representatives, educators, bankers and proposal writers, and so on, as board members. Each board member, therefore, represented a standing committee such as recruitment committee and community service committee. In other words, the object of the board was to be the workers of the organizations.

The board met once every month. Usually, five or six board members and Sister Mary attended the meeting. Each board member took the role of the chair in turn. At the beginning, they read and approved the minutes of the previous board meeting. After that, the chair introduced new faces such as guests or volunteers to the board members. Sometimes, a consultant or members of the PinCUP took part in the board meeting. During the meeting, the vice president and president reported on the MABA activities during the last month and raise agenda items. The main discussion topics were fundraising, recruitment, and new bylaws. The entire process of the board meeting was tape recorded and from this the minutes are written up.

The MABA's funds were mainly generated from "public" and "private" donations, fundraising initiatives and grants. According to Sister Mary, public donations come from people who are interested in the organization, while private donations came from members of the MABA in the form of the membership fee. Although the MABA got funds from these sources,

they were not always enough to sustain its work. In fact, Sister Mary has spent her own personal money when funds have been especially scarce.

Activities of the MABA. Although the MABA recognizes the need to address the eleven specific activities as outlined above, in reality, the breadth and depth of that work has proven too much for one organization to accomplish. The current targeted activities of the MABA can be categorized into three areas; strengthening partnerships with other organization, promoting and maintaining the Clean Corridor Campaign, and providing merchants with information and services. First, the MABA focused on strengthening community partnerships. The MABA had relationships with governmental agencies and other community organizations such as the West Wimbledon Weed & Seed project (Weed & Seed), a federally funded organization, the Organizational Effectiveness Grant, funded by the City of Wimbledon, as well as community organizations in PinCUP.

This network of relationship was a big change for the organization as compared to two or three years ago. At that time, the MABA was not engaged in establishing connections with other organizations. For example, the MABA, as an original member of PinCUP, did not want to contact other community organizations. One member of PinCUP tried to reach out to the MABA, but found it to be a difficult task. However, with time, the MABA changed its attitude.

According to Sister Mary, the MABA realized the importance of collaborating with other organizations:

The benefit of collaboration is working together towards the ultimate goal which is the betterment for the community at large. Not just our own individual interests but the community at large. And that's the scope of MABA. Our focus is to stay within the perimeters of that scope. So that we don't lose our leverage because you do that then you're a sellout. You just might as well forget it. You become just like everybody else (From an interview with Sister Mary).

It appears that a consultant, Ms. Marla, provided one of the impetuses for this change of attitude. I participated in her consultations on two occasions. Ms. Marla offered much advice such as how to find funds and information, manage meetings, and organize work orders and so on; however, she always emphasized the importance of improving relationships with other organizations. She gathered information from other community organization meetings and provided them to Sister Mary. As she remained hesitant in regard to expanding the relationship network of the MABA, it fell to Ms. Marla to push her on this issue.

The MABA also put effort into collaborating with other ethnic merchant groups such as Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese. The first thing that the MABA did was to look for translators to translate documents about the MABA into other languages. In fact, the MABA did find two translators for Korean and Chinese and produced the documents in those two languages. These pieces were distributed to each ethnic merchant group when the MABA stopped by their stores.

The second focus activity was the Clean Corridor Campaign. With the collaboration and support of Weed & Seed, the MABA tried to clean up the targeted commercial corridor. The purpose of this campaign was to change the condition of the community by controlling the trash and debris in the corridor. The street between 39th St. and 42nd St. in Macon Ave. was filled with trash and garbage. Before this campaign, the College City had hired street cleaners whose job it was to clean up the streets up to 38th Street. Now, with the help of Weed & Seed, the College City is cleaning streets up to 40th twice a week. Weed & Seed set up seven trash cans on the corners and the MABA also plans to place more trash cans at bus stops and other places where people gather.



Figure 5. Trash cans used in the Clean Corridor Campaign

This campaign could not have succeeded without the help of merchants in the corridor. The MABA planned to go to every store in the targeted area to distribute flyers to and secure pledges from each merchant. The MABA also wanted to get signatures from the merchants to appeal to the City for support for cleaning the streets. In addition, the MABA wanted to recruit as many members as possible at one time. The main content of campaign directed to the merchants was to ask them (1) to clean the sidewalks in front of each store daily, (2) to use the trash cans for litter, and (3) to put out the garbage on collection day.

This campaign process was very slow. They had decided on their plan in November, but, by the time I exited the field in late February, they had not finished visiting each store. Actually, I had also made several appointments to participate in this campaign with a view to assisting with translation, but I only assisted once because Sister Mary canceled appointments several times. Moreover, because of limited time, Sister Mary and I were not able to stop by every Korean store in the targeted area, and this campaign to merchants was postponed. However, this campaign was not conducted any more when I was in the field.

Finally, the MABA focused on providing businesses with access to information and services available through other agencies. Such an effort was, in fact, welcome to the Korean merchants:

If organization or person let us know what happened at meetings or translate them into Korean, then that will be so helpful to Korean merchants. Actually, Korean merchants want to know what will happen around this area, but there is no way to know. The only way to know is big organizations like MABA that have relations to city or police let us know. If they do that for us, our anxious feelings will be crushed (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

This work seemed to be in its infancy. The translations of the documents into two further language versions had been accomplished, but they included only information on the MABA, i.e., campaign and application for membership. More needed to be done. Much of the information that merchants wanted to know was still not accessible to them. The MABA reissued *The Corridor/Community Newsletter*, which provided information about the organization's activities in January 2007. This newsletter would be issued every two months. According to Sister Mary, the MABA distributed newsletters to merchants when she stopped by stores. I got this piece from the board meetings, but many merchants stated that they had not received it.

Another key activity for the MABA was the monthly meetings. I detail these meetings in Chapter 5 in my discussion of the specific activities used to build relationships between merchants and community residents. In addition, the MABA also put on two big community events. One was to help the community parade event held by several community organizations on every Independence Day. The purpose of this parade was to portray the area as vital and so attract more customers. The MABA had wanted merchants of different ethnicities to join the parade and present their own culture, but most merchants did not take part.



Figure 6. Community events: Community parade (left) and Turkey Give Away (Right)

The other big event was the Turkey Give Away on Thanksgiving Day. The MABA started this event in 2003. The funds for this event were generally donated from businesses in this area. In 2006, forty-three businesses and one individual donated money for it. As a result, the MABA was able to give away 125 turkeys.

The Turkey Give Away in 2006 took place between 12:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. on November 20 on an open area next to the WACE office. That day was too cold, for this outdoor event. When I got there, only two people were managing the event. Sister Mary and one guy who took pictures. During the event, some board members came by to spend some time. However, only three people including me were there from the beginning to the end.

When this event started, many community residents came to ask how they could get a turkey. The plan was that the turkeys would be given to people who had vouchers. The MABA had given vouchers to merchants to give to their customers. After hearing this explanation, many of the community residents left without receiving a turkey. On this day, about 70 people with vouchers received their turkeys. After the event, the MABA distributed the remaining turkeys to community residents who did not have vouchers. I would describe and analyze this event in more detail in Chapter 5.

Challenges and problems of the MABA. The first challenge for the MABA was to secure stable funds. Sister Mary spoke of the current financial situation of the MABA:

That's the challenge finding where we can be able to generate stable funding. So most times it has to be done by way of doing fun ways and efforts like if you give in events or if you are giving providing a service to the community where it pays. You have to generate some niche or hook that introduces how we can generate some cash flow into the along with dues maybe. We have board member dues that we offer and ask for as well so membership participation on the board we ask them to donate a monthly due so to help generate it. It does take resources in order to keep it going. For the last three four years, I have privately donated of my own resources in order to help the organization to survive (From an interview with Sister Mary).

The MABA tried to obtain funds from many different sources, but it was not easy. The MABA received only limited support from Weed & Seed and the City. Few new members joined, so most of the membership fees came from existing board members; in other words, there was no new revenue from an expanding membership base. Indeed, Sister Mary spent her own personal money to support the MABA's work. Another possible way to raise funds was through grants from government agencies and other institutions. However, this was not easy either.

This problem was directly related to the second challenge. The MABA simply did not have enough workers for deal with the organization's business. As mentioned earlier, Sister Mary was the only person who kept the office. She dealt with all the work of the organization, managing monthly meetings, organizing board meetings, managing events, visiting each business, participating in other community meetings, and recruiting members. All the works under the name of the MABA were dealt with by Sister Mary. It is no exaggeration to say that Sister Mary is the MABA itself:

I cannot do everything alone. I just cannot and although I have been. I'm trying to wean myself out of that position. I mean in and the position is president and CEO I have a certain responsibility and an obligation because of my position. But that's why I need my secretary. That's why I need my administrative assistant. That's why I need my board members who are working on the committees to help to take some of this responsibility of the chairperson. The vice chair an accountant. I need folks to be in a position to help

me so that I can pass off the work and then they'll be in a position of giving the reports at the meetings as well (From an interview with Sister Mary).

The lack of workers was a serious and fundamental vulnerability of the MABA. Sister Mary seemed to be the only member committed enough to devote consistent time and energy to the organization. If her passion were to dissipate, that would be the end of the organization.

A problem closely associated with the lack of volunteers is that some of the merchants considered the MABA to be Sister Mary's personal organization. Actually, some Korean merchants refer to the organization as Sister Mary's organization, not MABA. This perception made them suspicious of Sister Mary because she tried to maintain the MABA without any official profits. To put it directly, some of the Korean merchants seemed to believe that she made personal and significant profit from her work with the MABA.

Finally, the absence of workers encouraged arbitrary and haphazard management of organizational affairs. When I interviewed Sister Mary, she emphasized the importance of a democratic process for making decisions and conducting works. Officially, all important agenda were to be determined by board members through discussions at meetings. However, whether intentionally or unintentionally, Sister Mary tended to monopolize all the information related to important issues. For example, when I attended board meetings and monthly meetings, one of the issues was to modify a contract with Weed & Seed. All the board members listened to Sister Mary's reports and comments, and accepted her suggestions. This decision-making process was repeated on a number of issues because the board members' judgment depended almost exclusively on Sister Mary's information. Sister Mary did not want to control the MABA by herself and was aware of problems as well. However, the situation was difficult to correct.

The combination of limited funds and insufficient workers seemed intractable. The way they have functioned or the infrastructure, the infrastructure of the organization needs some serious work. For example, we have accountant who is going to now start

working with her. We have a lawyer we met the other day who is going to start handling some things. I'm encouraging her to have the board meet regularly; stay on target. So I think there's two issues. She certainly has the skill and she's willing she's willing. But a big hindrance is no steadiness of money and then also some of the internal things that I'm working on to help her with (From an interview with Ms. Marla, consultant to MABA).

Another challenge is recruitment. Actually, many merchants did not participate in MABA activities although they agreed on the necessity of that kind of organization. Within my observation, I noticed several problems in the management of members. For example, the MABA did not know how many members they had.

One of the problems seemed to come from the absence of proper means to communicate with merchants. Originally, the MABA office was in the targeted area, but a couple years ago it moved to a place ten blocks away. The MABA office had been relatively accessible. However, after the move, Sister Mary had to make specific schedules for going to the street because she did not have a car. As a result, MABA's familiarity with the targeted area and the visibility of the organization within the community seemed to decrease.

A well-designed website can be good communication tool; some might even argue that it's an indispensable one, especially considering the increase in internet use. Actually, many merchants I met enjoyed web surfing when they had free time. Although the MABA had a website for communicating with residents, most merchants did not know about it. The reason was simple. The documents distributed to merchants made no mention of the website. Even during her personal visits to each store, Sister Mary did not mention the website. Thus, important opportunities to communicate with the merchants were missed. As a result, most merchants in this area did not know or they were not sure what MABA did:

We don't know what it [MABA] is doing. One woman is going up and down for it. She frequently stops by my store with one sheet because of a meeting, but Korean merchants including me, 100% don't take part in that meeting. She just stops by to let us know there will be a meeting and ask to attend (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

These challenges and problems have hindered the MABA from producing visible outcomes. Through visible outcomes, people come to recognize the organization and become willing to participate in organizational activities. At this time, the MABA's only visible outcomes were the Turkey Give Away each year and the monthly meeting. These challenges and problems also broadened the gap between what the MABA wanted to do and what it was actually doing. The gap between the eleven ambitious goals and actual achievement was to say the least discouraging. The eleven goals tried to impact all community affairs. However, the actual capacity of the MABA had fallen far short of this mission.

WACE: We always challenge everything!

The establishment and structure of the WACE. The WACE is located at 42nd St. on Macon Avenue. It is a relatively new organization established in 2005. This organization was motivated by the demise of another community-based organization, the Pinedale Improve Association (PIA). The PIA had been in existence for 30 years and had a reputation for contributing to community services such as the energy crisis and housing. This organization was vigorous because its previous president had contacts all over the City and, as a result, the PIA was able to secure resources. Actually, the president of PIA went on to hold an elected state office, based, in part, on his work with this organization. However, the PIA stopped operations at the beginning of 2005 because of both internal and external problems.

The demise of PIA was a major loss to the community. Some people decided to establish a new organization to take care of community service. Some board members and staff of the PIA established the WACE. The founder of the WACE, Mr. Jack, donated 25,000 dollars and a building for its offices.

Mr. Jack knew the problems of this community because he was born and raised there. He had been a drug dealer in his youth, but he had reformed. He had even served as a board member of the PIA. Mr. Jack clearly saw the need for a community organization to provide social services, and when I asked him about the founding of the WACE, he told me a long story including his personal history:

Matter of fact to be very, very honest, I was coming up in like I was a drug dealer. I was a bad boy. I've been to jail. I sold drugs. But I was never disrespectful to no one. I never rob nobody. I never stole nothing from anybody. I was just one of the kids out on the street that couldn't get a job, I sold drugs. Um, coming up after I been in jail, I promise my mother I would never go to jail again. And so, cause I had children, so I couldn't, I wouldn't do wrong.... When I knew anything else everything was a lot of shuffling being done. You know a lot of underhanded sick things was being done. I knew Pinedale was getting ready to fold and people that needed these benefits and everything else, they needed it. They didn't need a service to close up on them. Especially a service that's been in this community for decades. So I opened up. So I seen Pinedale was getting ready to fold and I founded this organization and they came together and had a board and everything and I donated money to the organization to get it going and they um, put on the website furniture and stuff and other people started donating and we been working for the community ever since (From an interview with Mr. Jack).

Based on Mr. Jack's donation, the WACE started work in July 2005. Its goal: to improve "the living conditions, educational quality and the overall quality of life for low-income to moderate-income residents of the Wimbledon area." To do so, this organization tried to focus on "networking, partnering, and developing programs which focus on the prevention of child abuse, juvenile crime, truancy, teenage pregnancies, health issues, and other issues which plague this community" (WACE, Mission Statement, 2006). The name of this organization reflected what the WACE wanted to do. This organization wished to make an impact on all community affairs.

At the top of this organization was the executive board, which consists of 10 community residents. The founder, Mr. Jack did not take part in this executive board because he said that he did not want to take control of it. Under the executive board, there were five positions, the

president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and board members. They had a board meeting every month to determine the direction of organizational affairs.

The WACE had five volunteers who take care of practical business. They had training and meeting session every month, at which time they shared thoughts about how to proceed with various projects and how to work with and serve residents. Two of them, former volunteers for the PIA, had a lot of experience; these two volunteers managed most of the organization's work. Ms. Susan as program director took the role of providing community service, while Ms. Jenkins as a financial director managed the finances. Ms. Wimbish worked on job counseling and providing training for writing resumes. It appeared that only these three people were consistently managing the organization's affairs. All were volunteers; they worked without payment; and none of them had any other steady source of income.

The WACE's funds came mostly from Mr. Jack. In addition, the WACE did receive a grant from the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) through which it receives 5,000 dollars per year. According to Ms Susan, compared to the amount of money the PIA had received from LIHEAP, the WACE received very little. She believed this was because of the WACE's short history. They tried to find other grant possibilities, but this is always a difficult task for small CBOs. To secure grants, the WACE needs professional grant writers, but they could not find anyone to take on this work.



Figure 7. The WACE office (left) and providing community service (right)

Activities of the WACE. The WACE has accomplished a lot for the community despite its relatively short history. Its programs can be categorized as service, namely: crisis support, counseling, and education. In the case of crisis support, the WACE has provided weatherization, LIHEAP, fuel oil grants, utility service negotiations, food referrals, and water conservation. Many community residents cannot pay their energy bills, and in the winter, about sixty residents a day knock on the door to ask for assistance. There are some welfare policies to support these people.

One of functions of the WACE was to act as an agent to help individuals receive the support to which they are entitled. People in need of energy support would bring identifications, bills and other documentation, and the volunteers would complete and submit the application forms. Although the process may look easy, many people had trouble filling out the forms.

The WACE also provided some kinds of counseling such as job counseling, energy counseling, and housing counseling. During my observation, most of the residents who came into the WACE office were there for energy counseling. They visited the office and received advice as to whether they would qualify for assistance and/or how to resolve energy problems. During my observation, few residents asked for the other counseling services on offer.

People did not ask for the other counseling services because they were not aware that the WACE offered them. The WACE did not advertise the other counseling services. In addition, the person who provided job counseling, resume writing assistance and related services was not at the office for the whole day. During her absences, no one else was available to take over her role.

Finally, the WACE offered some education programs such as youth programs, GED classes, and computer classes. Last summer, the WACE provided a summer camp from June to August at the CEP school. About 20 young students took part in the summer camps, working on

arts and crafts from 8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. In addition, the WACE hosts a Christmas party with the help of Marine Toys for Tots and Unicorn University. This event happened at the CEP school, during which the children and parents took time to enjoy each other's company. About 200 children were invited to this party. The WACE provided toys, gifts, foods, and face paintings. Although these programs were one-time events, the WACE has recognized the absence of youth programs in the area.

The WACE held community meetings every month. Unfortunately, I was not able to attend because meetings were cancelled twice because of bad weather. According to Ms. Susan, the WACE reports on organizational activities and listens to what community residents want in this meeting. I did not observe any other, specific ways in which the WACE communicated with the residents.

The WACE emphasized the importance of working in concert with other community organizations. Members of the WACE described the necessity of collaborating thus:

Because one organization can't do everything. Give me one job I can do good or excellent. I could do excellent. Give me many jobs and something is going to go wrong (From an interview with Ms. Susan).

Yes, different organizations come together as one. I think it's networking. Something like networking. You have some organizations that we get along with real good. Then you have one or two organizations that want to be more than what they should be. They want to be everything, they want to be all. So we don't need you. But what they don't understand is that if you got the people then we all need each other. But what you may not be able to do for that person we might be able to do. What contact you might not have we might have a contact. We work with a lot of different organizations that helped us and in return we have helped them (From an interview with Mr. Jack).

Under this premise, the WACE formed relationships with other community organizations such as the Friends, the CEP school, and the Mill Creek associations, the Energy Center and the gas and electric companies. One of the collaborative efforts was the Listening Project. This project is a community organization tool developed by the Rural Southern Voice for Peace.

Community residents and leaders are trained in listening skills and participate in community listening days. Through this project, they discuss community needs and assets with residents (American Friends Service Committee, 2007).

The WACE took part in the Listening Project in October 2006. The Wimbledon Yearly Meeting, the Shepherd Episcopal Church, and the Energy Coordinating Agency also participated in this project. The role of WACE was to teach children how to communicate with people of different ages, religions, and races and to find out what the people in the neighborhood wanted. To do so, the WACE worked with other organizations and recruited people from the neighborhood. After that, the WACE trained them to communicate with people. The next step was for the recruits to go into the neighborhoods, knock on doors, and conduct a survey. Other collaborative works with other community organizations in PinCUP were the GED and computer classes, which I will deal with in a later section.

Challenges and problems of the WACE. I heard about the challenges faced by the WACE from the founder and some of the volunteers. As with most CBOs, the first challenge for the WACE was securing sufficient funding. As I have indicated, the WACE's resources of WACE consisted largely of donations from the founder and support from the LIHEAP. The LIHEAP gave five thousand dollars a year to the WACE in the form of a grant. However, the amount of the grants was too small to run the organization properly. For example, the WACE's phone and internet bill was about three hundred dollars a month. Fortunately, they didn't pay rent because the founder provided an office facility. However, Mr. Jack did hope to eventually be able to pay those currently working as volunteers:

Hopefully, the workers are not going to be volunteers for long because if, they [inaudible] you have to crawl before you walk so if things are going well and people see what we are doing then people are going to start giving what should be giving and the people hear start making a paycheck. They leave from being volunteers to getting a paycheck and

once they move forward and the lords willing they will open up other offices with the people that worked in this office (From an interview with Mr. Jack).

Another challenge faced by the WACE was developing leadership. In their management practice, the WACE placed emphasis on the role of the board members because they had already experienced the problems brought by a president in whom all the authority was vested from the case of Pinedale Improvement Association (PIA). Given this experience, the WACE focused on “empowering” board members. However, it was not easy for board members to provide strong leadership.

No, you need strong leadership. You need a board that knows its job. Most people that are on boards of non profit are neighborhood people that really don't know the ins and outs. Don't know their duties. You know what I mean? So, that's where it's important for board, board training (From an interview with Ms. Susan).

To develop the leadership of board members, the WACE tried to provide training at the monthly board meetings. However, the board members were not always able to participate because they needed to work for a living. So, one hour a month was all training program. WACE tried to figure out how to develop leadership more efficiently.

Word of mouth seems to be WACE's primary mode of getting their message out. When I asked Ms. Susan how the WACE let people know about the organization, she just answered, “Lot of it is word of mouth.” In other words, to let people know about the organization, the WACE relied almost exclusively on people talking informally with others about their work. The WACE also used flyers, to a limited degree, and community meetings with community residents. The organization would also like to develop a website as means of communication, but the process was slow because no one has time to do the work. Despite their short history, though, the WACE has actually produced some visible outcomes such as the summer camp, the Listening Project, and the Christmas party:

Yes, because we have a short history. But the funny thing is that we have the best history of doing our jobs so it was already said that in the six months that we been in existence we have done more than the people that have been in existence for over 20 years (From an interview with Ms. Susan).

During my time in the field, I observed the vigorous nature of the WACE's activities.

However, most community residents seemed not to recognize the outcomes of the work conducted by the WACE. Again, the WACE is a relatively new organization. This means that it has the potential to become a strong organization; however, it has a lot of work before to do. I don't know how the WACE will have changed one year from now. It is really up to the organization itself. The founder, Mr. Jack drew up the blueprint for the organization:

I'm hoping that they have a good board, they have good workers. I'm hoping that they be able to expand. I'm hoping that they will be able to take what I gave them and move forward to open up more buildings to help people in other areas. So, they don't have to come as far to get service. The people that's here really, really dedicated to what they are doing. So they are moving in the right direction (From an interview with Mr. Jack).

SEC: We exist to change the world

Purposes and structure of the SEC. The Shepherd Episcopal Church is located in a residential area. The original name of this church is the Shepherd Episcopal Church Northern Liberties. When this church was established first, it was not located in this community. Originally, the SEC had been built in the northern Liberty section of Wimbledon in 1840 or 1842. However, the building in the northern Liberties section was dismantled and rebuilt in west Wimbledon in 1882. At that time, most members of the church were white.

In west Wimbledon in the 1940s, black people started to move in and so there were only a few white people left in the church. At that time, there was a black Episcopal chapel, St. Michaels and All Angels about two or three blocks away. The SEC invited St. Michaels and All Angels to join with them. These two churches merged and they called Tom Logan, a black person, to be in the charge of the church in 1945. This made a history in Wimbledon because he

was the first black man to head a white congregation. However, within a year or two, all the white people had gone and the SEC became a black congregation. Now, about one hundred seventy members are members of this church and most of them are black people.

The basic purpose of this church was, similar with other religion organization, to provide ways for people obtain salvation through religion. However, the SEC also wanted to contribute to the community through various activities:

We are supposed to be a beacon of light and the beacon of hope for the Pinedale community. At our vestry meeting, I asked them to we are putting together a vision statement. And I so I asked them to give me their goal for Shepherd and I said make it a big hairy audacious goal. I want us to really project where in our hearts of hearts of our dream where we really think Shepherd can go. And so one person said that they dream they believe that Shepherd can become the hub of the community (From an interview with Pastor Joan).

Pastor Joan has worked for this church since 2001. The SEC is the first church for which she has taken the role of pastor. In church, the role of pastor was important in giving direction to church activities. The SEC's concerned about the Pinedale community were then influenced by Pastor Joan's philosophy. She was not satisfied with abstract salvation. She held the philosophy that the church should contribute to the community in practical ways:

I think my philosophy is that the church exists for the world. We exist to change the world. And that's what I mean we exist for the world which means that all of those the things that I believe that Christ came and did for me and the changes that Christ made in my life that I think are so positive and so wonderful that other people deserve them as well. Other people need access to them even if they don't want to become a Christian. I think the church has power and it needs to harness that power to make changes in the community (From an interview with Pastor Joan).

Based on this belief, the SEC has tried to make the community stronger. Pastor Joan wanted the SEC to become the center of the community, but this did not mean the church wanted to have the power to control the community. Rather, she wanted it to be the place where the community people can come in and not only receive help but become motivated to make their

own changes in the world. To do so, Pastor Joan believed that the SEC must become deeply concerned about the needs of the community.

The SEC had three paid workers; the pastor, a secretary, and a sexton. The sexton worked from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Because the income he received from the church was not enough, he also worked as a janitor at the airport. Other than these three people, all the workers at the church were volunteers. The number of paid workers seemed to be too small for this church to function. However, it should be said that the SEC had a good human resource pool as compared with the other CBOs. Members of SEC consisted of different levels of people in education and income and so on. So, when the church undertook its activities, it was able to get people to help more easily than the other CBOs.

In the SEC, the division of labor seemed to be clear. Pastor Joan had responsibility for worship. So, she was able to make all the decisions about what would happen during worship. However, except for worship, decisions for the church were made by the vestry. The vestry is the lay leaders of the church from the congregation. In other words, they are a kind of leadership board. According to the bylaws, the vestry consists of twelve communicants of the church and people who have contributed at least a minimum of five hundred dollars a year. The board meets on the third Saturday of every month. At this meeting, board members accept major expenditures and determine plans for church activities. Pastor Joan also takes part in and guides the meetings. Including board meetings, the responsibilities and duties of the vestry are regulated by the bylaws.

Major resources of this church were collections and grants. As compared with other community organizations, the SEC had relatively stable resources. Collections from the congregation were gathered weekly. Also, after Pastor Joan had started conducting services, SEC

received grants between seventy five hundred and ninety hundred dollars from different organizations. Pastor Joan said that these resources were not enough to do what she wanted though. One of her wishes is to rebuild this church because it is too old. To reconstruct the building, the SEC needs at least five hundred thousand dollars.

The SEC mainly communicated with members through weekly services. After the first service at 9:00 a.m., there was a social gathering in the hall. At this meeting, people made friends and exchanged information. Sometimes, Pastor Joan took part in this gathering and listened to members' concerns. The people could meet with the pastor during the week. In fact, I observed many members came to the church to get advice from the pastor. These face-to-face meetings seemed to be an important means of communicating between the church and its members.

The SEC issued weekly news for the service. This weekly news not only included information on services, but also provided information about important community activities and members' personal news. The SEC also issued a newsletter, *Community Cover*, every two months. Distributed by mail, this too kept members up to date on the church's community programs and activities.

Activities of the SEC. The SEC's main activity was surely to provide a weekly service. This it did, offering two different services on Sundays. The nine o'clock service was conducted in a traditional way. Usually, seventy members attended this service. Pastor Joan would wear a vestment and uses bells and incense. They sang only traditional songs and did not use projectors. During the service, everybody would be quiet. In short, this service was a solemn ceremony. However, the service at 11.30 a.m. was conducted differently. Usually, ten members attended this service. Pastor Joan wanted people to feel free at this service. She wore casual clothes and attendees clapped their hands during the hymns. When she gave the sermon, the attendees asked

questions without any restriction. It looked much more like a discussion than a sermon. Pastor Joan said she feels excited at this service because of its free and open style.

During my observation, the sermons related to the notion of hope. Unlike the sermons of other pastors, Pastor Joan's sermons emphasized hope in the real world. She wanted to let people know that life is not just about burdens and problems, but also joy and celebration. Such an emphasis was exactly in keeping with the pastor's philosophy and the purpose of this church.

The SEC provided several community services: an addiction class, a dance class, a bible study class, and an AIDS program. The bible study class met every Thursday. The dance class had started as a way for community people to experience and to express some in their lives. To make this happen, the SEC provided community residents with a hall to learn and enjoy dance.

An important contribution of the SEC to the community was that it provided a place for community activities. A serious problem in this community was health problems such as drug addiction and AIDS. The SEC wanted to solve this problem by providing some targeted programs. Five or six persons attended the class aimed at helping with drug addiction. However, Pastor Joan was not involved in this program actively. She wanted participants to organize the meeting by themselves. This program started off with education about addictions. It also showed videos to educate people and then tried to find out how people are doing in their personal lives. These processes were organized by volunteers and by the participants themselves. The SEC also provided an AIDS program. This program did not have periodic meetings. With the collaboration of health organizations concerned about AIDS, this program provided AIDS tests and presented lectures on AIDS prevention and treatment. However, Pastor Joan wanted to offer continuous programs on AIDS and tried to make plan for this.

The SEC also planned an open computer class because SEC knew that computer skills and access to internet are important for people to get jobs, especially for the youth. However, most young adults in this area did not have computers in their homes. Worse, there was no place in the community that offered people access to computers. To solve this problem, the SEC planned computer classes. The SEC obtained donations in the form of computers and devices from the University of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania State University. To conduct this plan, the SEC intended to work for the GED and Computer program in collaboration with CBOs in PinCUP-2. However, as of the time I left the area, this program was not in operation.

Pastor Joan felt the necessity of establishing relationships with other CBOs. She realized that one organization can only accomplish limited things by itself. She also understood that collaborations with other organization would bring the benefit of sharing resources and ideas. The SEC did have relationships with the Christian Association at the University of Pennsylvania, the CBOs in PinCUP, and the Community Council that dealt with mental retardation day programs. However, the SEC did not take the initiative of reaching out to other organizations. Rather, the SEC seemed to wait for other organizations to come to the church:

They've come to me. For one way or another. For community council the one of our parishioners works there... He would like to do as well as some other people who work with him and so that's how I got in with community council... We have a relationship with the University of Pennsylvania, Christian Association at Penn. And what happens any time somebody sends me an invitation to come to a meeting to talk. I go. So I just make myself available. That's my plan (From an interview with Pastor Joan).

Pastor Joan did not directly mention the reason why SEC took this position. However, through my observation, I concluded that the church had more resources than any CBOs. The SEC had money, people, and place. In other words, the SEC had some resources to work other organizations to address a variety of community needs. The church's main goal was to take part

in collaboration was not get resources. The church wanted to participate in community activities and listen to what the community needed.

The way it is a help is because I need to know what the community needs in order for me to try to do something to address the needs. And so the way I can find out what the community needs is by going to the community and allowing the community to be a partner in what it is that we do as a church (From an interview with Pastor Joan).

Challenges of the SEC. Like other community organizations, the SEC has confronted challenges. Pastor Joan offered a summary: membership, finances, and the old building. As already stated, the main resources of the SEC were collections such as weekly donations and tithes, and grants.

Although these sources were more stable than those of other community organizations, the church did not have a considerable amount of money because it is expensive to run the building. Because this building was so old, it was in need of much repair. For example, on one Sunday, an 11:30 a.m. service had to be cancelled because the heating system was out of order. Also, sometimes electricity system caused problems. So, Pastor Joan and members of this church dearly hoped to overhaul the building. The church also had employee salaries and insurance premiums to pay. These factors meant the church must find a way of raising funds.

The church did make efforts to get more funds. Five years ago, it had applied to the City to be designated as an historical building in order to be eligible for grants, but it was turned down. Pastor Joan did not want to try again though as the historical building designation places restrictions on how a building can be renovated. Such restrictions could in fact involve the church in more expense than any grants accruing from it would cover. The church also applied for grants. Pastor Joan and a volunteer searched for opportunities and wrote up grants writing whenever they had time. However, few funding agencies will give grants to churches.

Another challenge for the church was recruiting members. Most of the church's members were seniors. These problems seemed to be common among churches. The Korean churches I had attended had similar problems. To resolve this problem, the SEC organized different outreach events for people to invite friends. In addition, the church sent its newsletter to members of the community.

The SEC did appear to have a more stable membership than other community organizations. For example, when this church tried to provide a GED program to community residents, they had four volunteers who had previously been school teachers. When the church wanted to set up computers for the community youth, a church member of church who worked as a technician for one university volunteered to do it. He got donations such as computers, devices related to the internet, and all kinds of cables from the university and set them up. Another volunteer set to work developing websites for the SEC.

CHAPTER 5: ACTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH COALITION BUILDING

Introduction

In this chapter, I will address the research question: *In what actions associated with coalition building do the organizations and groups in my study engage?* Coalition building comprises a set of activities each directed by specific motives. To conduct these activities, subjects undertake several associated actions. These activities are rendered observable through their actions and corresponding operations. For this reason, I examine actions in this section. I observed three types of actions associated with coalition building activities between and among Korean merchants group, community residents groups, and organizations: (1) meetings in the community, (2) translations of documents, and (3) acts of service. In describing these actions, I am guided by following criteria, based roughly on CHAT, namely: (1) the subjects, (2) the purposes, (3) the instruments used to achieve the purposes, (4) the division of labors, (5) the rules guiding the activities, and (6) the outcomes of the activities.

Meetings in community

Meetings in the community constituted one set of actions pertinent to coalition building. There are two types of meeting; formal and informal. In this section, “formal” refers to meetings of people who consciously share in the purpose and process of such. For example, community meetings that are coordinated by community organizations have a clear purpose and process. In addition, meetings between merchants and customers engaging in transactions occur for the purpose of an exchange of needs using processes such as selecting goods, and making an exchange of goods for money. On the other hand, informal meetings lack clear purposes and processes by comparison. For example, a Korean merchant visits another Korean merchant to share in conversation, the resulting meeting would be informal in nature. In this case, the two

may not have a shared purpose: one may want to just spend time, while the other may want to become a closer friend. Crucial, too, although there are usually social norms and customs to follow, there are no rule determining processes for this kind of meeting.

During my observation period, I witnessed and participated in three types of meetings in the community: (1) formal meetings between community residents and merchants, (2) formal meetings among community organizations, and (3) informal meetings among Korean merchants.

Formal meetings for merchants and community residents: Monthly community meeting

I observed two types of community meetings. Although both were open to the public, one targeted merchants and community residents, and the other targeted mainly community residents. During the four months that I was in the field (November to February), the MABA scheduled four community meetings, one per month, targeting merchants and community residents. However, only three of those meetings convened; the December meeting was cancelled because of the Christmas and New Year season. During my time in the field, the WACE also scheduled a community meeting, targeting community residents, but it was cancelled because of bad weather. As a result, I was able to observe a total of three monthly community meetings aimed at merchants and community residents. So, my analysis on community meetings is based on three monthly community meetings.

The monthly community meetings were sponsored, planned, and executed by the MABA. These meetings were always held from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. on every second Tuesday of the month at the police station at 39th St. in Macon Avenue. The purpose of these monthly meetings was to provide merchants and community residents with channels to communicate with each other. Officially, these meetings were open to any community resident and merchant.

I was able to identify four sub-actions that constituted the action of the monthly community meetings: (1) planning and preparing materials, (2) publicity for the community meetings, (3) conducting of the meeting, and (4) reflecting on and sharing the results of the meeting.

Planning and preparing materials. The agenda for the monthly community meetings were determined at the MABA's board meeting. The board met in the MABA office every month. When I was in the field, I was able to participate in this board meeting twice.

Originally, both the president and board members could suggest agenda items for the next monthly community meeting. However, most agenda items were raised by the president, Sister Mary. She first suggested agenda items based on the MABA's activities such as the Turkey Giveaway, the Town Watch program, and the Clean Corridor Campaign. She suggested which aspects of the activities should be on the agenda and which aspects should not. After listening to her suggestions, board members would discuss the points made and make a decision. For example, when the Turkey Giveaway event was raised as an agenda item, the president suggested that the MABA did not need to report the financial sources of the turkeys in detail. So, board members determined that the MABA would report only how many turkeys the MABA had purchased and the price of such without reporting detail financial sources at the Monthly community meetings.

At these board meetings, members would divide up responsibilities in regard to preparing material for and conducting the next monthly community meeting based on the personal situation of each. However, this division of labor was not conducted officially. Tacitly, Sister Mary took charge of most aspects. She would just ask board members to help her as and when they were able.

After the board meeting, members would prepare materials for the monthly community meetings, although most of this work would fall to Sister Mary. She would first decide what kinds of materials would be distributed at the next meeting. After making such decisions, she would start to prepare informational documents and make copies—for this, she would have to go to a downtown location as the MABA did not have a photocopier. Typical informational documents included materials explaining or expanding on agenda items, flyers for campaigns such as the Clean Corridor Campaign and the Town Watch program, application forms for MABA membership and the Town Watch program, and documents introducing the organization. Sometimes, the president collected specific items such as local newspapers that had reported on the MABA's activities or a brochure from another organization such as Weed & Seed or the Wimbledon Commercial Development Cooperation (WCDC). For example, one time, she added a local newspaper to the materials because it had published a report on the struggle of some community organizations, including MABA, to bring a post office back to the community. Finally, she compiled these materials into separate folders for each attendee. Sometimes, if there were volunteers in the MABA office, they assisted, but Sister Mary usually did almost everything herself. She also confirmed the reservation of the lobby at the police station where the meetings took place.

Publicity for the monthly community meeting. The MABA targeted three groups for its publicity: the merchant group, the community resident group, and other organizations such as Weed & Seed and WCDC. As might be expected almost all publicity efforts depended on Sister Mary. Board members did take part in the publicity, but only inasmuch as they would stop by their neighborhood businesses. Sister Mary took charge of most the targeted groups.

In the case of merchants, she went door-to-door to distribute flyers for the monthly community meeting. When the MABA office was still in the targeted area, it was easy to access each business. However, after the office had moved to 52nd St, she was not able to stop by businesses frequently. She usually went to the targeted area once or twice a month to publicize the monthly community meeting. At this time, she also wanted to conduct other business such as recruitment and publicity for campaigns such as the Clean Corridor Campaign and the Town Watch program. So, she distributed not only flyers for the monthly community meetings, but also other documents that advertised the MABA and its campaigns, together with application forms for MABA membership. As a result, she was not able to visit every business, because the one or two days she was able to set aside for this purpose were not enough. So, she sometimes asked volunteers like me to distribute flyers to some of the businesses including those owned by Korean merchants.

When she visited businesses, reception from the owners was quite varied. Some merchants welcomed her and discussed community-related issues with her. Some merchants showed hostility toward her because they believed that the MABA did not take the merchants' side. One Muslim business did not like her visiting because he owner perceived her as a woman who did not respect men. This Muslim merchant had come into conflict with Sister Mary in the past because of problems related to parking. Still other merchants showed indifference to Sister Mary and the MABA.

Korean merchants' reactions were similar to those of other merchants. In most cases, when she gave flyers and tried to provide information about the Monthly community meetings, conversations between Korean merchants and she were very official in tone. Sister Mary would talk quite fast most of the Korean merchants would just nod and agree. After that, Sister Mary

would leave without having shared any personal conversation or any conversation about community issues. She would spend no more than five minutes in each Korean business. According to Mr. Park, some Korean merchants would agree with Sister Mary for the simple reason that they wished her to leave as soon as possible. Without a doubt, language and cultural barriers added to Sister Mary's difficulties in communicating with the Korean merchants, as well as merchants of other ethnicities.

Sister Mary did spend more time with some Korean merchants who had some degree of relations with the MABA through KA-MABA. They would greet each other and discuss some community issues such as garbage problems or security problems. However, the level of discussion was not deep; instead, these Korean merchants received a little more information than did others. Sister Mary would also receive some information regarding other Korean merchants during these conversations. She would ask about the situation of other Korean businesses, for example, which Korean businesses were likely to be friendly to the MABA and whom she needed to meet and so on. However, their conversations would stop from time to time because of miscommunications or lack of another topic to continue their conversation.

In the case of publicity aimed at community residents, the MABA did not make many specific efforts that I was able to observe. For example, the organization did not post flyers for Monthly community meetings to any public boards. Nor did I see any flyers for these meetings being distributed on the street.

To publicize its meetings, the MABA did create flyers, which included the meeting date and place as well as a brief version of the agenda. However, the flyers' format was ineffective. The style of writing and design did not attract people because the information given could not be understood quickly. The picture below shows the format of the flyer.

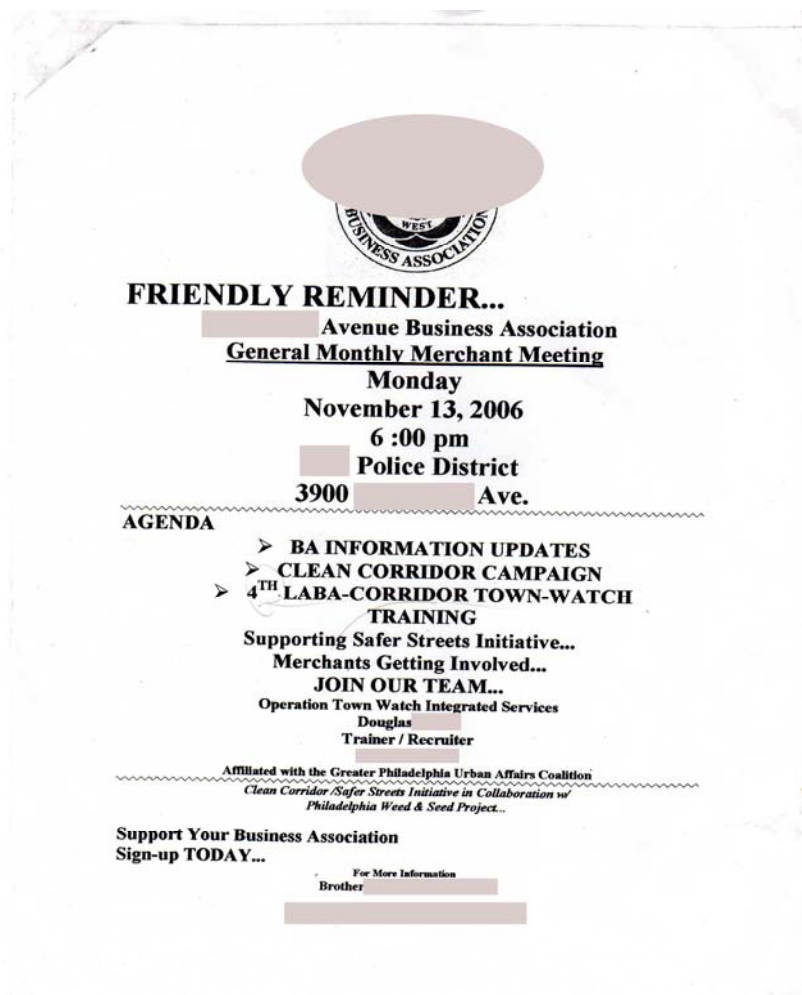


Figure 8. Flyer publicizing a monthly community meeting of the MABA

In regard to publicizing meetings, I did observe that the MABA distributed flyers to some community organizations, such as the WACE and the SEC, whom they asked to display the flyers. However, I did not observe Sister Mary visiting other community organizations for this purpose. She asked me to bring some flyers for the monthly community meetings to the WACE office and to display them there. I did this, but when I visited the WACE several days later, I noticed that few of the flyers had been taken from the desk.

Finally, the MABA did publicize its meetings to city agencies and community organizations such as the WCDC and Weed & Seed. However, the main method was word-of-

mouth invitation. When Sister Mary met staff from these organizations, she would invite them to the monthly community meeting. As a result, some staff from Weed & Seed, the WCDC or other community organizations would sometimes attend.

Conducting meetings. The monthly meeting would rarely start on time. Because so few attended, the MABA would wait to see if any one else would show up. On one occasion, the meeting started with only four attendees including Sister Mary and me; however, other people did add to our numbers as the meeting continued. Usually, between seven and twelve people participated in the monthly meetings. The attendees consisted of the MABA's board and special guests such as a Town Watch program trainer or staff from other community organizations. The town watch trainer attended every two months because the MABA provided a training program at monthly community meetings on that schedule.

Other than board members and special guests, most merchants in the targeted area did not show up at the meetings. Sometimes, new comers who had recently opened for business in the area would come. After the meetings, they asked questions about the MABA and the community, but they did not show up again during my research period. In general, community residents did not attend. Sometimes, one or two would come to discuss community problems caused by businesses such as garbage problems and security problems.

Before starting the meeting, the MABA distributed packages to attendees. In the meeting, Sister Mary as the president of MABA managed the process of the meeting. Monthly community meetings started with a short prayer and introductions. The time and way taken up by prayer was short and diverse, as the MABA wanted to show respect for all religions. After that, the meetings would move on to discussion of issues. Most of the meeting time would be taken up by reports on MABA activities, explanations of current projects, calls for participation in campaigns. For

example, details of organizational activities would be reported how many turkeys were distributed to community residents, how many children received bicycles from donations, and how many trash cans had been set up on the street. During the reports, anyone was able to ask a question or raise an issue.

In most cases, Sister Mary answered the questions. Sometimes, board members gave comments but this did not happen frequently. Also, there was time to listen to and discuss what community residents wanted from merchants. Once, a community resident did come to complain that garbage from some businesses made the streets dirty and uninviting. In fact, the MABA had been discussing this problem with residents for a long time and was arguing for the necessity of and working toward such under the Clean Corridor Campaign.

The MABA also provided training for the Town Watch program at every other monthly meeting. People who wanted to be the members of Town Watch program were invited to participate in this training. After three sessions, he/she could become a member and receive a membership card and certification from the Operation Town Watch Integrated Services. For this training program, the MABA had invited a trainer, a member of the Town Watch program in the City of Wimbledon.

The training program would take place after the monthly meeting. An hour was the time officially allotted for this training, but sometimes if the monthly meeting ended late, the training session would be shortened. The training addressed how members of the Town Watch should communicate with police, report drug dealers, and negotiate dangerous situations.

During my observations, only one Korean merchant in this community showed up at the monthly meetings, Ms. Kim: and she did so because I invited her. However, during the meeting, she did not say anything. Afterwards, she told me that she had not understood all the discussions.

She indicated that speakers had talked too fast about subjects with which she was not familiar. She said that she did not want to come again.

After the monthly meetings, there was no time for socializing. Some attendees would go to Sister Mary and discuss issues that had not been brought up during the meeting. Some board members would approach newcomers and introduce themselves. This all took only ten or twenty minutes. After this time, every one would back to their businesses or home.

Reflecting on and sharing the results of meetings. The events of the monthly meeting would be reported at the next board meeting. Sister Mary reported what had happened and stated the main agenda items of the monthly community meeting. However, she did not provide special materials for this report. She would just report according to her notes and memory. After reporting, there was no time to discuss how to deal with issues raised at the meeting such as complaints from community residents regarding garbage problems. In other words, there seemed not to be any follow up.

The results of community meetings did not appear to be shared with community residents and merchants either. Some Korean merchants expressed a strong interest in knowing what had happened in the meetings and how the MABA had dealt with certain issues even though they did not wish to attend. They believed that information exchanged in the meetings could help their businesses. So, they hoped the MABA would issue periodical newsletters and share the results of the meetings with the business community. According to some Korean merchants, the MABA had published a local newsletter several years ago, which had in fact served to inform them about community issues and the MABA's response to them. However, the MABA had no such instrument while I was in the field.

Functions of monthly community meetings. The MABA's monthly meetings had five official functions; (1) building a bridge between the merchants and the community resident group, (2) disseminating information, (3) providing training and education programs, (4) recruiting members, and (5) marketing.

The first function of the meetings tried to build bridge between merchants and community residents. At this meeting, participants came to know each other and to share and discuss common topics. During this process, each party had the possibility to understand each other. Indeed, there was no other designated social place or event for merchants and community residents to communicate and socialize. In the stores, for example, members of these groups interacted with each other strictly on the basis of their relative stations as store owner and customer.

The second function was to disseminate information about service and community issues. Community organizations tried to share purposes and information of their activities with community residents and other organizations and institutions. Through this function, people and other organizations can get idea of what community organizations are doing. For example, the MABA wanted to let merchants and community residents know how the Clean Corridor Campaign was being conducted, when the Turkey Giveaway events would occur, and how merchants had benefited from the WCDC.

The third function was to provide education and training programs to community residents and merchants. The MABA tried to educate them regarding how to participate in the Clean Corridor Campaign, advising as to when to put garbage bags in the street for collection, and what fines are exacted for violating the law, and so on. The MABA also provided training

for the Town Watch program. Through this program, the MABA wanted not just to provide education, but also to address issues pertaining to drug, security, and loitering problems.

Fourth, this meeting also had the function of recruiting members for the MABA. As I said, MABA had difficulties in its activities because of the shortage of members. So, MABA tried to recruit members whenever it had chances. In the meeting, MABA would encourage people to join. For example, when the problem of limited funds was raised, an MABA member would make statements such as “We need more members and workers” and call for joining in MABA. Also, application forms would always be made available.

A somewhat less official function was marketing the MABA to the public, other community organizations, and institutions that could provide financial support. Whenever the MABA had a chance, it would invite special guests to let them know of its activities. In other words, through these monthly meetings, the MABA tried to improve its visibility and expand its resource base.

Formal meetings among community organizations: The PinCUP meeting

In this section, I will analyze actions associated with coalition-building activities among community organizations in the Pinedale. Community organizations in this community form relationships with other organizations in order to pursue their organizational goals more effectively. For instance, MABA took part in the Weed & Seed project to secure financial support. The WACE formed a relationship with the Community Education Partners (CEP) School to secure an office and resources. The SEC also formed a relationship with the Christian Association at University of Pennsylvania.

Among many inter-organizational relationships, the second generation of the Pinedale Community and University Partnership (PinCUP) project was my focus. I conducted

participatory observations from the beginning of PinCUP-2. I think that PinCUP-2 represented modes of meetings among community organizations in this area to some degree. Unfortunately, I was not able to access other meetings such as those of Weed & Seed and the Christian Association.

PinCUP-2 is an offshoot of PinCUP-1, a project initiated in 2001 by five faculty from the Pennsylvania State University. For several reasons, PinCUP-1 had come to a halt by 2004. Because I had not enough data, I was not able to describe why PinCUP-1 stopped working.

PinCUP-2 consisted of series of actions: (1) establishing the group, (2) searching for stable funds, and (3) preparing computer classes and GED programs. I will analyze these actions after re-establishing some criteria used in the previous section: (1) the subjects, (2) the purposes, (3) the instruments were used to achieve the purposes, (4) the division of labor, (5) the rules guiding the activities, and (6) the outcomes of these activities. Follow is a description and analysis of each action.

Establishing PinCUP-2

The first assignment PinCUP-2 was to re-establish the PinCUP meeting. This was not an easy process because the first PinCUP ended prematurely, without accomplishing most of its stated goals; leaving a number of collaborators quite frustrated and disenchanted. Within my observation, the action of re-establishing PinCUP consisted of a series of four sub-actions; (1) reigniting PinCUP and recruiting participants, (2) sharing the purpose, (3) setting up rules and dividing labors, and (4) creating instruments.

Reigniting PinCUP and recruiting participants. After PinCUP-1 had ceased working, one faculty member from the university and one student struggled to revitalize it. Their basic approach to this project was concern for the community rather than interest in student learning,

as was reputed to be the case with PinCUP-1 They also believed that PinCUP could be a good instrument for building coalitions among community organizations.

To revitalize the PinCUP project, they had, beginning in 2005, contacted organizations such as the MABA, the Pinedale Improve Association (PIA), the SEC, Friends, and so on. Actually, they visited this community from time to time after PinCUP-1 ceased operations. They were able to contact some organizations, the MABA, the GSGLA and the PIA, relatively easily because of previous relationships with these organizations in PinCUP-1. In addition, they tried to contact new organizations find out whether they had any interest in joining the new PinCUP project.

Dr. Amelia took a lead role in attempting to revitalize PinCUP. At that time, she was conducting research in the community; therefore, she was able to contact other community organizations such as the SEC and Friends based on an established rapport. She also made appointments and held meetings for community organizations and Penn State faculty.

The faculty also visited this community from time to time and had meetings with several community organizations. They discussed community problems, community issues, their needs and, so on. This process was also important in securing the understanding of community needs on the part of the RCBRAE.

As a result of these efforts, four community organizations, the MABA, the PIA, the GSGLA, and the SEC joined the PinCUP project. One month later, the WACE had also joined. So, the PinCUP project officially consisted of five community organizations and one research group from the university. Each had its own reason for joining:

Because I'm committed to the community. I'm committed to doing whatever I can to help the community. PinCUP is, yeah, it's a help to me in some way (From an interview with Pastor Joan, SEC).

Well, PinCUP.... what we really was looking for was how would you say that not training but I could say train us to how to be better organization. You know, how to bring resources together to make it work for, I guess, the knowledge of how to run a good business (From an interview with Ms. Susan, WACE).

Well I want to say... in our initial goal was what we introduced and that's why we stayed active even through the transition was that we stay at the table focusing on and getting assistance sort of on the direction that this faculty introduces. We want to bring to the table what our interests and focus is but it also connects us with the community's concern and interests (From an interview with Sister Mary, MABA).

We need experiences, we need to know how to do this. For one, that's one of the things....It's important that we start the project. So, this is something that we've learned from, uh, along....Um, the working with these organizations provide us a way to look at ourselves. The organizations train us (From an interview with Dr. Amelia, RCBRAE).

Putting together, the possibility to get resources and the chance to learn how to manage community organizations from the university led them to join the PinCUP and the university hope of conducting research made RCBRAE work with community organizations.

Sharing the purpose of PinCUP-2. As a result of efforts to revitalize the PinCUP project, six people gathered at the SEC on March 29, 2006. They represented different community organizations, as well as the RCBRAE. Community organizations that participated in this meeting were the MABA, the SEC, the PIA, and the GSGLA. When the second PinCUP was initiated the WACE had not yet been born; however, the WACE joined the PinCUP meeting the following month.

The purpose of this meeting was to discuss how to restructure the PinCUP project. This first meeting was facilitated by a member of the university faculty following attendees' recommendations. Before discussing main topics, the faculty member briefly explained the purpose of the first generation of PinCUP, how it had worked, and why it had stopped working.

The faculty member pointed out that PinCUP-1 had failed because some of the faculty had ignored the necessity of understanding the community and community organizations. In

other words, they had wanted to *lead* the community and community organizations without gaining a close understanding of them. He pointed out that a major problem for PinCUP-1 was that it had been university driven, rather than community driven. Based on this explanation, he also explained why and how the second generation had been initiated. Here, he made clear that PinCUP-2 should be organized and managed by community organizations, not people from the university. All attendees agreed on his point.

The first order of business was to agree on the purpose of PinCUP-2. For this, each representative of the community organizations spoke about why they wanted to take part in the PinCUP meeting. They also discussed what the purpose of the PinCUP meeting should be.

During this discussion, they agreed on the necessity of collaboration with other organizations to solve community problems and to improve community conditions. They also agreed on the need to find stable funding to sustain the PinCUP, and on the benefits that could accrue to each organization working in concert with the others: “the purpose of PinCUP is to provide a forum for community organizations in the Pinedale community to support each other through networking and sharing resources” (PinCUP, 2006). From this perspective, the PinCUP meeting was not itself an organization. This meeting was a kind of forum that tried to be open to all community organizations, to discuss community problems, and to search for solutions together.

Setting up rules and dividing labors for PinCUP. PinCUP-2 should set up the rules for the meeting. Several issues were raised relating to how to structure and manage these meetings: (1) membership, (2) the order of the meeting, (3) the obligation of participants, and (4) schedules.

The first issue was discussed who could be members and to whom the meetings would be open. They agreed that the membership would be important because participants with

memberships would be more likely to get usefully involved in activities. However, they did not determine the criteria for membership in detail. Basically, they agreed that the PinCUP meeting should be open to all community organizations interested in working for the good of the community. Based on this agreement, they decided to invite other organizations that could both aid and benefit from the PinCUP meeting. So, some community organizations such as the WACE, Friends, and Developing Communities for Success were invited. However, of these, only the WACE joined.

The second issue was to establish an order for the PinCUP meeting. One of the purposes of PinCUP would be to provide a forum. So, determining how to organize and manage the meeting was important. Pastor Joan and Sister Mary suggested that the meeting should start with prayer. They also suggested that each participant should pray in their own way so that different religions could be respected. This was agreed to by all attendees.

As a next order, the faculty from the RCBRAE suggested that the PinCUP meeting should ensure enough time for each organization to report old and new business. Old business meant the work of each organization over the last month, and new business meant what each organization would be working on until the next PinCUP meeting. During this process, they would report challenges and problems and ask for assistance as necessary. After listening to these reports, attendees determined discussion topics among issues reported by each organization. Attendees also commented that this process was essential to the success of PinCUP-2. As a result, the basic order of the PinCUP meeting was determined: prayer, report on old and new business, and discussion topics. At the next meeting, attendees added one more step, that of reviewing minutes in order to keep those who had missed the previous meeting to stay up-to-date. Finally,

the PinCUP meeting was conducted following the order of prayer, review of minutes, old and new business, and discussion topic.

The third issue was to make clear the role of each organization in PinCUP. Under the purpose of PinCUP, “support each other through networking and sharing resources,” each organization pledged to help the others. This meant that PinCUP members would need to form relations with member organizations based on collaboration rather than competition. Each organization also promised that they would bring the agenda for each PinCUP meeting. This agenda included old and new business, challenges and problems of each community organization, and specific discussion topics, and so on.

Finally, they agreed on the schedule for the PinCUP meeting for 2006. PinCUP would meet once a month except in December. They did not want to have a meeting in December because the end of year was always chaotic with numerous events, etc.

Different roles were also established for the participants. First, they needed to determine the chair of the PinCUP meeting. The faculty member suggested that each organization should take the role of the chair in turn every month. He also pointed out that the role of the chair was not to control but to facilitate the meeting. Attendees agreed. They also decided that the organizations would take turns in recording and distributing the meeting minutes.

The RCBRAE volunteered to organize the PinCUP meeting. The faculty promised that the RCBRAE would remind each organization of the meeting before the appointed date. If there were any change in the schedule, the RCBRAE would readjust the meeting and inform each organization through e-mail or by phone. In addition, the RCBRAE would provide technical support. As The PinCUP meeting wanted to use the webpage, RCBRAE needed to manage and

assist this process. Also, RCBRAE mediated computer donations between the university and this community, RCBRAE needed to handle with these technical problems.

Creating instruments for PinCUP. PinCUP-2 would require proper instruments such as communication tools, reserving tools, and meeting places. First, communication tools were essential because each organization needed to focus on its own day-to-day business, and RCBRAE was located a good distance from the community. Although they were able to use the phone and e-mail to communicate with each other, they needed systematic communication tools. Also, because the PinCUP project did not have an office, it was necessary to find another way to keep minutes and relating documents and so on. To solve these two problems, a university faculty member offered to create the webpage using ANGEL, the web class system at his university. Attendees' reactions to this suggestion were good. The webpage would provide a dedicated communication tool and reserving place at once.

Originally, the webpage had three folders: meeting agendas and minutes, organization, and ongoing projects. With time, it was structured according to eight categories: meeting agendas and minutes, Pinedale computer project, resources for organizations, miscellaneous community reports, grants, organization folders, ongoing projects, and PinCUP contact information. The webpage also provided members with e-mail service. Participants in the PinCUP meetings were able to post minutes, organizational information, and funding information and so on at to each category. They agreed that they would post agendas and minutes before the meeting for attendees to review in advance. In addition, the webpage allowed conversations to continue beyond the meetings.

To use this instrument, members needed to create accounts at Penn State. This process was a little complicated, and most attendees were not skilled in computer use. To facilitate this

process, students from the RCBRAE taught members how to create accounts and how to access the webpage. However, it was a long time before all members had created accounts and begun to use the site. Once members learned to use this site they used it frequently, attendees posting minutes, agenda items, organizational information, and discussion topics. However, oftentimes no discussion would be generated from questions raised on the site. As a result, members' use of the webpage decreased over time.

PinCUP-2 also needed to decide upon a fixed meeting place. All the community organizations that participated in PinCUP had offices, but they were too small and too busy to host the meeting. The SEC stepped in and provided its hall to PinCUP. Pastor Joan provided the place because in her view it is the job of the church to provide all that it can to community residents. So, thanks to the SEC, PinCUP attained a stable meeting place.

Searching for stable resources for PinCUP

Securing resources is essential to sustaining organizations and coalitional relationships over the long term. The PinCUP meeting classified resources into four types of capital: physical, human, social, and cultural (RCBRAE, 2007). Sustainable funds would fall into the physical capital category. In a capitalist society, funds are directly related to, even determine, the survival of the organization.

The action of searching for stable funds consists of two sub-actions; (1) preparing materials for writing a proposal and (2) writing and submitting a proposal.

Preparing materials for a proposal. The issue of securing stable resources, especially physical capital, for the PinCUP meeting was raised from the first. Each organization also had their own difficulties in regard to securing stable funds. All the community organizations that I

observed stated that limited funds were a major challenge. In fact, the members hoped to secure some funds from the PinCUP meeting if possible.

The PinCUP meeting, then, tried to find stable funds. However, most members seemed to mainly depend on the RCBRAE because it consisted of professional researchers who were experienced at writing grants. At that time, the RCBRAE was preparing to submit a grant to the Administration for Children and Families (ACF) in the Department of Health & Human Services. The faculty from the RCBRAE announced this preparation at the PinCUP meeting on May 25, 2006. Attendees, the PIA, the WACE, and the CED, wanted to participate in this process. The MABA and the GSGLA also wanted to join this work.

The RCBRAE undertook most of the preparations for writing the proposal. This involved both long term and short term work. First, it can be said that the application had been prepared over a four-year period. The RCBRAE had been engaged in community organizing and capacity building in Pinedale for four years as a part of the PinCUP project. During this period, the faculty and Dr. Amelia had formed relationships with five community organizations: the MABA, the GSGLA, the SEC, the WACE, and the PIA. In addition, they had conducted their research based on this community. Without these processes and experiences, the RCBRAE could not have prepared the grant application.

Second, the PinCUP meeting needed to focus on this specific chance in a shorter time frame as the deadline for applying approached. The PinCUP meeting also held a special meeting to write the grant at the WACE office on June 14, 2006.

At the PinCUP meeting in May, a faculty member provided attendees with basic information regarding ACF grants. According to this faculty member, the ceiling on the amount given for an individual award was \$750,000 per project per period. At that time, the average

projected award amount was \$300,000 for the first year of the project with the possibility of extending the award for three years. Attendees asked several questions under the assumption that the RCBRAE would get the grants: Who would manage the budget? How would the PinCUP meeting designate the funds to different organizations? The faculty member explained that the budget would be managed by the RCBRAE according to the law. However, he said that the community organizations could receive support from the fund if they made proposals appropriate to the stated purpose of the grant. After explaining, he asked attendees to take on different responsibilities in this process.

In writing the proposal, the RCBRAE needed basic profiles of each organization and letters of support from each. The faculty member asked the organizations to provide these materials. The PinCUP meeting decided to use the website and e-mail as the main communication tools in this process. The RCBRAE promised to create a specific form for writing up the profiles of each organization and to send this form through e-mail. Representatives of the community organizations promised that they would write up the profiles and return them to the RCBRAE as soon as possible. However, they did not give complete this task quickly. The RCBRAE experienced some difficulty in securing profiles and letters of support. The GSGLA did not provide a profile or a letter of support. Finally, the RCBRAE received five profiles from the community organizations and six letters of support from community organizations and one institution, the PIA, the SEC, the MABA, the WACE, the 16th Police District, and A Beam of Light.

Writing and submitting a proposal. The RCBRAE started writing the proposal at the beginning of the summer after its meeting. The faculty and Dr. Amelia took the lead in writing the proposal. They wrote it based on data they had gathered over four years. They had conducted

their research in the Pinedale area, they knew what the Pinedale area needed and what should be done from both a short- and long-term perspective. They designated the purpose and principles of the project— a purpose and principles that reflected the RCBRAE's position in approaching the PinCUP project. First, they set up the basic purpose of the project:

This grant application proposes two interventions: one for the lead organization of RCBRAE to further build organizational capacity in both program development through outreach and community engagement through increased interaction and activity with partnering faith-based and community organizations. The other intervention is directed at building organizational capacity through leadership development and organizational development for the member organizations of PinCUP (excerpts from the proposal, RCBRAE, 2006).

In addition, they wrote up three principles aimed at organizational and community capacity building: (1) direct and sustained community access, (2) holistic intervention, and (3) community action. Under these purposes and principles, they proposed five concrete objectives for the project. The RCBRAE submitted the proposal to the ACF in July. It also posted the proposal on the message board so that PinCUP members would be aware of it. The RCBRAE also reported this process at the PinCUP meeting in September 2006. However, the RCBRAE failed to obtain a grant from the ASF.

The functions of searching for stable resources. Within my observation, the action of searching for stable funding had two functions: (1) it gave some of the community organizations some insight into how to write a grant and (2) it caused a drop in the participation of community organizations in the PinCUP meeting.

First, this action gave community organizations a chance to learn the process of professional grant writing. The RCBRAE reported on its grant writing process and shared the proposal with the community organizations. Through this process, the community organizations did get some ideas about how to write approach the grant writing task. Officially, the community

organizations can get funds in a number of ways: applying for grants, becoming an agent that provides community service, and receiving donations from supporters. However, in practice, it is difficult for community organization to obtain funds because of severe competitions among community organizations. Although there are many opportunities to get funds, there are always applications received than grants given, and in general more community needs than the funds to support them. Also, in the case of grants, a high level of skills is required to even have a chance of obtaining funds. However, many small community organizations such as the MABA and the WACE did not have the professional knowledge and skills necessary to write sound grants

Second, this action seemed to be responsible for a drop in the level of community organization's participation in the PinCUP meeting. When the RCBRAE announced and prepared for the grant writing, each organization showed a strong interest in this process and each participated in the special meeting for the grant. However, after the September meeting where they came to know the RCBRAE failed to gain the grant, the number of participants in the PinCUP meeting decreased.

Preparing for the computer class and the GED program

The PinCUP project was initiated with the purpose of making efforts to “improve and sustain activities that nurture, protect, and affirm community residents” (RCBRAE, 2007) through collaboration among the community organizations. One of the problems in this community is a comparatively lower level of education. According to some community activists, many community residents find it difficult or impossible to obtain work because of a low level of education. According to the US Census (2000), about 5,200 people reside in the Pinedale community. Among them, the US Census estimates that 42% of the adults in this community do

not have a high school diploma. Some community organizations, such as the WACE and the MABA, included the work of assisting community residents to obtain positions in their mandate.

Recognizing the necessity of specific activities or actions for this problem, the PinCUP meeting decided to implement the GED program as a way to help community residents. Preparations for the GED program started in November 2006, within my participatory observations, this action consisted of three sub-actions: (1) planning and dividing labors for the GED program, (2) setting up equipment, and (3) training volunteers.

Planning and dividing labors for the GED program. The PinCUP meeting on November 3, 2006, was significant because participants decided to undertake a clearly defined project together. Actually, the GED program was not the first project on which collaboration had taken place. PinCUP had started with the Computer Center Project. For planning and dividing labors for the GED programs, PinCUP had three meetings between November 2006 and January 2007.

The necessity of offering a computer program had been raised by the WACE. At the meeting in November 2006, the WACE had reported its participation in the Listening Project as of October 2006. I described this project in Chapter 3. As a result of this project, the WACE had realized that community residents lacked activities for youth (computers, jobs, etc), lacked places for seniors to go to socialize, had high utility bills, and lived in poor housing, and so on. After listening to the WACE's reports, participants at this meeting showed a strong interest in hearing the results of the Listening Project.

Ms. Susan also pointed out that young people used to come to the WACE office to use the computer. However, the WACE was not able to provide the youth with enough time, space, or equipment. At this time, Pastor Joan suggested sharing the SEC's computers and space for this project. Pastor Joan also suggested using the church for the Senior Prom.

Member organizations focused on how they could meet the needs of the youth. They agreed on the Computer Center Project. The next problem to confront was how PinCUP would organize this project. The faculty member from the RCBRAE suggested organizing discussions around the following topics: (1) purpose of project, (2) targeted group, (3) administration of the project, (4) division of labor, (5) locations, (6) funding and resources, (7) curriculum, and (8) goals and objectives.

Attendees agreed on how to proceed with the discussion, however, it could not be finished in one meeting. One student from the RCBRAE suggested continuing the discussion on the ANGEL message board with the idea that after discussions on the message board, they could determine the final decision at the next meeting. They agreed on this method and promised to post the position of each community organization on each item on the message board. However, in the event only the SEC posted its position on each item and there was little discussion on the message board.

When the next PinCUP meeting took place a month later, on November 30, 2006, five persons from four community organizations, the MABA, the SEC, the RCBRAE, and Developing Communities for Success (DCS), attended. Pastor Joan, as the chair of the meeting, briefly explained what the focus of the last meeting had been in order to get the MABA and the DCS up to speed. The SEC distributed hard copies of what the SEC had posted on the message board. After discussions, they determined positions on the eight items.

This discussion could not but be some problems because representatives of important community organizations such as the WACE and some of the members of the RCBRAE did not attend. In this meeting, Pastor Joan in fact decided major issues in regard to this project, although she tried to take only the role of facilitator. She was the only person who knew all the processes

associated with this project. The table presented below shows what was decided at this meeting.

This table was constructed from the minutes of the PinCUP meeting.

<Table 4> Plans for the computer class

Items	Matters decided
Purpose of project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To make a connection between communities and academics for the purpose of making necessary resources available to the communities
Targeted groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth – computer access • Adults – computer instruction
Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEC, WACE, PIA, DCS
Division of labor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curriculum Design: SEC and RCBRAE • Publicity: WACE and MABA • Technical Support: PIA and DCS • Volunteer Coordinator: WACE • Administrative Oversight: SEC • Developing Funding: RCBRAE and DCS
Location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEC, preferably on the 1st floor.
Goals and objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goals: to improve internet access and to facilitate greater computer skills and usage in the Pinedale community. • Objectives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To offer entry-level and advanced instructions in computer use to adults in the Pinedale community - To create an environment in which Pinedale youths can safely use computers for school work and research - To offer specific computer skills to young people that will advance their knowledge and capabilities in software management and programming - Local computer school, VIC, will be contacted as a possible partner
Funding/Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEC may be able to help recruit VISTA volunteers and other volunteers • Computer Center project needs computer access and networking for the computers • Laptops would be ideal • The idea of charging a nominal fee for access to the computers was discussed and agreed upon, but details will be worked out later • The church will need to be reimbursed for facility costs • Computer Center project needs to define our niche
Curriculum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RCBRAE

The absence of important organizations and persons from the first meeting about the Computer Center Project only meant that big changes would be proposed later. And, indeed, they were—at the PINCUP meeting in January. Seven persons from four organizations, the MABA,

the WACE, the SEC, and the RCBRAE, attended the meeting. The RCBRAE raised the issue that teaching residents how to use computers without teaching them other skills would be to no avail. Although most issues had been decided at previous meetings, the faculty proposed radical changes in program content, and the new direction of the GED program.

First, the RCBRAE faculty member argued that computers are just tools to achieve some goals. Learning computer skills, he argued, should not be the objective. Attendees seemed to agree with the faculty's argument that teaching only computer skills would not be helpful to community residents. They discussed what kind of topics could be combined with computers. In this discussion, they came to think that a program to prepare people to take the GED would be beneficial to residents. They discussed the possibilities of combining computer training with a GED program. As a result, the Computer Center Project would become the GED program.

Second, the faculty member also argued that the GED program should be conducted in a dissimilar way to that of the school system. His point was that the way to execute GED programs should be determined by its participant. As a result, attendees agreed that PinCUP would first train some students and let them monitor the GED program. In addition, the faculty also made it clear that the role of the RCBRAE was not to dictate how the program would be run. The RCBRAE would be just a volunteer and so offer its advice and assistance for this project.

At this meeting, they confirmed which roles would be taken by which organizations in preparing the GED program. Decisions in this regard remained consistent with those made in the previous meeting. This meeting ended with several issues remaining unresolved including curriculum, volunteers for the GED program, resource access, and so on. Members promised to continue discussions on the message board but this did not take place. The table below presents the final decision on the GED program. This table was constructed based on the document

Pinedale Community-University Partnership GED preparation and Computer Training Program, created by the RCBRAE.

<Table 5> Plans for the GED program

Items	Matters decided
Program administrators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Primary role: SEC and WACE •Secondary role: PIA and MABA
Program goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •To improve the sponsoring organizations' engagement with and relevance to the neighborhood •To enhance strategic coalitions among entities within the neighborhood, as well as with entities outside the neighborhood •To prepare program participants to take the GED examination •To help participants to gain and improve computer skills •To help participants position themselves for gainful employment
Division of labor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curriculum development: SEC and RCBRAE • Publicity: WACE • Technical Support: PIA • Volunteer Coordination: WACE • Administration Coordination: SEC

Planning the GED program was not easy. At the beginning of January 2007, the GSGLA sent an e-mail to PinCUP members with the title “*Greetings to all this New Year!*” The main point of this e-mail, however, was to state that the original idea of the GED program and the computer program had come from the GSGLA. Moreover, the email implied that members had “plagiarized” the GSGLA’s idea. In the e-mail the president of the GSGLA also indicated that the organization would shortly return to PinCUP; yet, this did not happen during my time in the field.

This e-mail caused some problems in PinCUP-2. The WACE became infuriated with the GSGLA because the former believed that the latter had consistently hindered the WACE from contributing to the community. The WACE blamed the GSGLA for saying without doing. To solve this conflict, Pastor Joan met with the president of the GSGLA separately, and the faculty member called the president also. I cannot say what happened in these communications.

Setting up instruments for the GED programs. Preparations for the GED program started at the beginning of November 2006. The process of setting up instruments consisted of two main acts; sharing resources and setting up computers. Preparations started with sharing resources; computers, the place, and volunteers. After the PinCUP meeting at the beginning of November 2006, the RCBRAE and the SEC decided to donate 16 computers to the project. The RCBRAE's computers had originally come from Penn State. The decision of the RCBRAE was instigated by the faculty member who had been responsible for securing the computers from the university. The RCBRAE at first donated four computers to the WACE in November, 2006 and donated four computers to the SEC in February 2007. The SEC's computers had been donated by the University of Pennsylvania. The SEC had been able to get its computers because the pastor's brother had worked at the university as a computer technician. In the case of the SEC, it was Pastor Joan who had decided to donate computers to this project.

Second, the GED program needed a place to conduct the program. Pastor Joan provided the program with the SEC's hall for this purpose. Originally, the hall had been used for bible study. When Pastor Joan realized that the schedule of the GED program overlapped with that of the bible study, she quickly decided to move the bible study to the second floor. The WACE also used space belonging to the CEP school. The WACE wanted to use the CEP school as the main place. In turn, the PinCUP meeting planned to use the SEC's hall for the GED program and the CEP school for the youth to use the computers freely.

Third, PinCUP decided to share volunteers for the GED program. The WACE found a computer teacher to volunteer. The SEC also brought four volunteers from its congregation. The volunteers all had experience teaching GED subjects although they had retired from the workplace. Actually, the WACE and the SEC agreed that PinCUP would train volunteers from

both organizations at one training program. However, a WACE volunteer did not attend the training program because she had thought she would work for the Computer Center Program, not the GED program.

Following the division of labor established in the PinCUP meeting, the WACE took the role of technical support. However, the RCBRAE and the SEC actually took the lead in setting up computers at the SEC. This preparation was conducted between December 2006 and January 2007. Two volunteers from the RCBRAE and the SEC worked at the preparations. I volunteered for this work with a volunteer from the church, the pastor's brother, who was also a member of the SEC.

In December 2006, I set up the computers and organized them on the second floor. However, after the PinCUP meeting, the decision was made to move the computers to the first floor. The first floor was provided easier access to the internet. So, I moved the eight computers to the first floor and started set up. I installed OS program and several essential programs such as MS-Office and a virus protection program.

After the basic set up, we tried to figure out how to connect to the internet. The SEC had only one line for internet use, and it seemed impossible for eight computers to share it. Worse,, Pastor Joan and the secretary also used internet through this line. As a result, a total of ten computers would be sharing one line. Also, because the router was located in the office, the distance was too far to connect computers in the hall with cable. Pastor Joan did not want to add more internet lines because of the cost. After discussion, we decided to use a wireless router and a bridge to cross the distance. As a result, all computers were ready to use.



Figure 9. Computers set up for the GED and computer class

The WACE also wanted to set up computers donated by the RCBRAE at the CEP school. Ms. Susan who worked for WACE asked me to set up the computers. So, I tried to make an appointment to do this, but she did not give me a clear date and time. As a result, the computers donated by the RCBRAE were simply stashed at the WACE office. However, the WACE also wanted to get more computers from the RCBRAE. This request was rejected though, the RCBRAE judged that eight computers were enough for the GED and computer programs.

Training volunteers for the GED program. Actually, the WACE took the role of volunteer coordination, but this organization did not continue in this role after they lost the volunteer who had first been charged with this responsibility. After the WACE volunteer had stepped down, the RCBRAE again took the role of training volunteers for the GED program. Dr. Amelia volunteered to prepare the training programs because she was greatly interested in the project and had a store of relevant knowledge and information about the community to offer.

Dr. Amelia made plans for the training programs, which were to take place in two sessions. She contacted the SEC and the WACE to make appointments for the first training session. Because the RCBRAE was not located near the community, she wanted accomplish a number of things at once. So, they set up the first training program in the SEC's hall for February 23, 2006.

With the help of a faculty member, Dr. Amelia also prepared the training materials. The material focused on providing volunteers with a basic understanding about the direction of the GED program. This material consisted of a general introduction, guiding principles, program description, program goals, roles, items for consideration, internet resources, and so on. This content was based on the discussions of the PinCUP meeting.

The first training program was conducted as scheduled at 10:20 a.m. Dr. Amelia started with introductions. Four volunteers from the SEC, three women and one man, participated. All the volunteers were seniors who had been teachers but who were now retired. They wanted to contribute to the community through their experiences. That was the main reason why they had volunteered for the GED program. However, one volunteer from the WACE did not attend.

After the introductions, Dr. Amelia presented a brief overview of the GED program. After that, she led volunteers in a discussion about the need for a GED program in the community. She tried to have them discover the needs and problems for themselves and to offer their own thoughts on the subject. During the training, the volunteers came to share the meaning and purpose of the GED and computer classes. They also began to understand their role in the GED program and the focus their work would take on in this context.

The volunteers appeared to be excited about the GED program. After discussion, they voluntarily elected one man to be the chair. He took the role of communicating with volunteers and organizing the schedules for volunteer meetings. Dr. Amelia and the volunteers also scheduled the next training program. They agreed that the second training program would take place over a three-day period, March 10, 2007, to March 12, 2007.

Dr. Amelia wanted to report on the training program to the PinCUP meeting. However, the PinCUP meeting scheduled for 12:00 p.m. was cancelled because only four persons from two

organizations, the RCBRAE and the SEC, attended. Therefore, there was no opportunity to discuss the training program.

In contrast to the initial enthusiasm they had shown, some important organizations such as the WACE and the PIA did not participate in the GED program. For example, these two organizations did not show up at the PinCUP meeting after January. There also seemed to be little communication among the community organizations that did take on responsibility for the GED program. So, Dr. Amelia took most roles in preparing for training volunteer program and contacting each organization through e-mail or phone.

As a result, the community organizations in PinCUP meeting that were supposed to be at the heart of running the GED program came to take a secondary role, while the RCBRAE, which was supposed to be in the role of advisor and supporter, came to take the primary role. My participatory observations in the PinCUP meeting ended at this point. This GED program was still in the preparation stage as I write.

The functions of preparing the GED program. Although the GED program was not executed during my observation, the action of preparing the GED program had three functions: (1) it provided experiences of collaboration, (2) it provided training to community residents, and (3) it revealed hidden conflicts among the community organizations.

First, this action provided experiences of collaboration to the community organizations. The community organizations in PinCUP-2 did not have experiences of collaboration before working to prepare the GED program. Although they worked together for the action of searching for stable funds, this action had been limited. During preparation for the GED program, community organizations together made plans and divided labors for this action.

The second function of this action was to provide a training program to community residents. Although this provision was limited to volunteers, this trial was the first approach to the community residents under the name of PinCUP.

Finally, hidden conflicts among community organizations came to the fore through this action. For example, an e-mail from the GSGLA had explained what the GSGLA had really wanted, whereas the WACE's passive attitudes toward the GED program showed its lack of commitment to the program.

Informal meetings among Korean merchants

I have already described informal meetings among Korean merchants in Chapter 4. It was difficult to capture and analyze informal meetings because this kind of meeting did not have clear structural features or patterns. So, the analysis of these informal meetings in this section is per force fragmented. Given this limitation, I will examine two issues: (1) cases of informal meetings and (2) functions of informal meetings. This observation was mainly conducted in Ms. Kim's jewelry shop over a five-week period.

Cases of informal meetings among Korean merchants. Informal meetings among Korean merchants did not happen frequently. Only one old man and one old woman (parents of Korean merchants) stopped by other Korean businesses from time to time. These cases show the typical informal meetings among Korean merchants.

They were able to make time to visit other Korean merchants because they were not owners of businesses, although they did help with their family business. One old woman who helped at her daughter's clothing store would visit Ms. Kim's jewelry shop from time to time without making an appointment. She would usually stay at the store for about half an hour. Whenever she visited the jewelry store, she would gossip with the owner about Korean

immigrant society, issues in the Korean churches, and community residents. In regard to community residents, the conversation would generally focus on negative experiences and statements about the residents' poor life style habits. Sometimes, they talked over coffee and tea. After talking, she would go to other Korean businesses such as Mr. Lim's shoe store or Mr. Park's jewelry store. However, she never visited any other Korean clothes store. Simply put, she was not welcome at other clothing stores, nor did she wish to visit them. In Chapter 4, I described the reason.

Apart from these two people, I observed no other informal meetings among Korean merchants. They did not shopping at other Korean businesses. Sometimes, some Korean merchants would visit other Korean merchants to purchase emergency goods such as papers, seasonings, plastic dishes, etc., but this happened infrequently.

Sometimes Korean merchants, however, did visit other Korean businesses when they were in need. For instance, on one occasion, a dollar store run by Korean merchants closed for two months. During its closure, the woman who ran the dollar store visited Ms. Kim's store in order to sell her jewelry. Before this visit, the two merchants did not know each other although they did recognize each other. The owner of the dollar store explained that she wanted to sell her jewelry because of financial problems. Ms. Kim listened to the story and bought the jewelry at a higher price than that for which she would jewelry from the community residents. After this meeting, they became friendly. Although they were not able to meet each other frequently, the dollar store owner would visit the jewelry store to say hello from time to time. In addition, Ms. Kim also bought goods from the dollar store on several occasions.

Functions of informal meetings among Korean merchants. Although these meetings were occurred sporadically, they had two important functions: (1) spreading information, and (2)

building personal relationships. First, the old man and woman would disseminate information about other Korean merchants' situations and community affairs. This information was not always accurate, however. Sometimes, they would spread rumors. However, Korean merchants in the community depended on this information as they had few other sources.

The second function of these visits was that of forming personal relationships with other Korean merchants. In the case of the old man and woman, they knew most Korean merchants in this community. Also, the Korean merchants indirectly came to know each other through them. In addition, Ms. Kim came to be friendly with the dollar store owner through an informal meeting.

Translations of documents

Another action associated with coalition building in Pinedale is the translation of documents from English to Chinese and Korean. This issue is important because this community consists of diverse ethnic groups. As I pointed out before, most community residents are African American, while the merchant group consists of people of diverse ethnicities such as Korean, Asian, Spanish, West Indian, and Indian. Some ethnic groups were accustomed to American culture and had good English skills, while some ethnic groups had very limited English ability because they cleaved to their own culture and language in daily life.

As a volunteer translator, I was a participant observer to this action,. The translation project had originally been initiated in 2004. At that time, the MABA had the limited goal of translating its application forms into Korean, and I did indeed help with this work. In 2006, the MABA again wished to translate some documents related to its work into foreign languages. Again, I took part in this translation work.

This action of translation consisted of several sub-actions: (1) planning and selecting materials for translation, (2) recruiting translators, and (3) distributing translated materials. Next, I will analyze each action in terms of the criteria used in the previous section.

Planning and selecting materials for translations

The president of the MABA, Sister Mary felt the necessity of translated materials/translators whenever she visited people of other ethnicities. In fact, most businesses in this community are run by people of ethnic groups other than those predominant in the community; most businesses are run by Asians, especially Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese people. Although they were able to speak English, their English use was usually restricted to business English. Many merchants had limited ability to read English documents. So, when the MABA distributed its flyers and documents, the merchants did not appear to take the time to read them carefully. This made it difficult for the MABA to communicate effectively with the ethnic merchant groups.

When this translation work was first initiated in 2004, the MABA focused on translating its application forms into Korean as a sort of trial. I did not know how this effort had originated as Sister Mary had asked me to translate these forms when I visited the WACE office. However, over two years the documents had become out of date; annual fees and other information had changed. Therefore the MABA could no longer use these documents. Sister Mary again asked me to translate some documents into Korean language during my stay in the community.

During my time in the field, I attended two MABA board meetings, one in November and one in January. While I was in the field, Sister Mary made plans regarding translations. She let the members know of her plans in this area at the board meeting; however, there was no discussion, not about the purpose of the translation project, not about how it should be organized,

and not about how translated documents should be distributed and so on. Board members simply praised the effort.

The kinds of documents to be translated were also to be determined by Sister Mary. She wanted to translate not only the MABA's application forms, but also other documents related to the organization. Her priorities were to translate the MABA's revised application forms, the Town Watch program's, application form, the piece introducing the Town Watch program, and flyers for the Clean Corridor Campaign. She did not select schedules for the monthly community meetings or documents that would enable merchants to understand the MABA such as bylaws or packages for the monthly community meetings, etc.

Sister Mary also wanted to translate these materials into other languages. So, she needed to determine which language should be translated first. Most businesses in this community were run by Asians, West Indians, Indians, and so on. Among these ethnic groups, the Asian merchants, especially Korean and Chinese, formed the major ethnic groups in business. Accordingly, Sister Mary decided to make Korean and Chinese versions of documents first.

Recruiting and working with translators

The MABA looked for translators to contribute to his work on a volunteer basis. However, the MABA had no members who could offer expertise in this area. Neither did the MABA have any Korean or Chinese members. There was no choice but to look elsewhere. Sister Mary first asked me whether I could help the MABA, and I agreed to translate documents into Korean in November.

To engage a Chinese translator, Sister Mary used social networks and even asked a faculty member at Penn State. They knew each other very well because he had worked with the MABA as part of the PinCUP project. She thought that he would have greater access to the

relevant population because his work at the university. Certainly, the faculty member did introduce a Taiwanese woman, one of his students pursuing a doctoral degree. She lived in New Jersey, but she willingly accepted the volunteer job and visited the WACE office in the middle of January to learn about the guidelines and obtain the necessary materials. As a result, the MABA was able to get documents translated into both Korean and Chinese.

The documents were translated into the different languages separately. After the Korean translations were done, the Chinese versions started when the MABA started working with the translators, Sister Mary explained her view of the challenges of the different languages and cultures that necessitated the translations.

When I translated the documents, I most certainly did encounter some challenges. First, sometimes there were no Korean words that exactly corresponded to English words and terms such as "loitering," "initiative," "Eyes & Ears support base," as well as legal terms. In such cases, I used words from both languages. However, some translated sentences had a rude meaning because of the different structure of English sentences and words as compared with Korean. In these cases, I translated the sentence by emphasizing its essential meaning. As a result, I completed the Korean translations by November. The Chinese versions of the documents were done by the beginning of February.

The MABA did not communicate effectively with the translators. When I brought her the first draft of my translation, Sister Mary confessed that she had given me the wrong documents to work from. In fact, she made this same mistake twice. The Chinese translator endured exactly the same scenario; she twice received the wrong documents.

Further, after I had finished the assigned translations, I suggested that the MABA needed to translate some practical documents such as the schedule of the monthly community meetings

and information packets, etc. Though she agreed on the necessity of translating these documents, she postponed the proposed work. She said the documents that had been translated represented enough work for the present.

Finally, the MABA was not able to print the translated documents because lacked computer programs that could work in Asian typography. As another solution, the translators presented the documents in PDF, but MABA did not have this program either. So, translators printed the translations out at home and gave hard copies to the MABA. As a result, the MABA kept only the hard copies; it had no in-house way of saving the translated documents in a computer program.

Distributing translated materials

After getting Korean and Chinese documents, MABA targeted three groups to distribute these translated documents; Korean and Chinese merchants, community residents, and other community organizations such as Weed & Seed and WCDC. Sister Mary took charge of this distribution of translated documents to each group alone. I also took part in this distribution to merchants as a volunteer.

First, the MABA wanted to distribute the translated documents to each Korean and Chinese business. The organization planned to use the documents as part of a campaign to recruit Korean and Chinese merchants. As for the documents translated in 2004, I do not know whether the MABA did in fact distribute them to the Korean and Chinese merchants. When Sister Mary and I discussed the new version of the translated documents, she tried to find the old version of translation. However, she had lost many pieces; she could find only one piece of the MABA's application form. The MABA was unable to reproduce them it did not have files saved in a computer. In fact, when I asked some of the Korean merchants whether they had received the

translated documents, they could not remember. However, they did comment that had they received documents in Korean, they would definitely remember as this would have been an extremely, even a unique, event.

Sister Mary originally had plans to distribute new versions of the Korean and Chinese documents in December. She thought that the MABA should expedite the Clean Corridor Campaign. She suggested that I visit some Korean businesses with her; however, this engagement was postponed several times because of bad weather and her busy schedule. Eventually, Sister Mary decided to visit the Korean and Chinese businesses together when the Chinese translator had finished her work. As a result, Sister Mary and I were able to go to the street in the middle of February.

The translated documents were distributed to the targeted merchant group over a five-hour period one day; however, this time was not enough to visit all the Korean and Chinese businesses in the community. Sister Mary also wanted to visit the other businesses because she wanted to publicize for the monthly community meeting and the Clean Corridor Campaign, as well as recruit members. As a result, the MABA was able to distribute translated documents to five Korean businesses and one Chinese business. Sister Mary stated that she wished me to visit the area with her again, but we never did as her schedule proved too busy.

During her visits to the Korean and Chinese businesses, Sister Mary briefly explained the purpose of the MABA and encouraged the merchants to attend the monthly community meeting and participate in the Clean Corridor Campaign. With these explanations and invitations, she provided translated documents to each merchant. She also explained the MABA tried to respect the diversity in the community, and the translations were part of that philosophy.

The second targeted group was the community residents. However, the MABA did not distribute translated documents to residents directly. At the monthly community meetings held in January and February, Sister Mary exhibited these translated documents to the attendees. After that, she explained the purpose of the translation efforts and the necessity of respecting and enhancing diversity in the community.

Finally, the MABA wanted to share this work with other community organizations such as Weed & Seed and the WCDC. I was not able to observe how the MABA disseminated the translated documents to other community organization. According to Sister Mary, she took the translated documents to meetings held by other community organizations. At these meetings, she publicized these efforts just as she did at the MABA's monthly meetings to show how much the MABA was doing to achieve its organizational purpose.

The MABA did not get any feedback from merchants and community residents in regard to the translated documents. As a result, the MABA did not know what the Korean and Chinese merchants thought about these translated documents; nor did they know what kinds of information the merchants and residents were most interested in reading about. In addition, the MABA did not revise the translated documents although there were certainly minor problems such as clumsy sentences and grammatical errors.

Functions of translations

I discerned that the translation efforts served as a tool: (1) for approaching ethnic merchant groups, (2) recruiting members, (3) disseminating information, and (4) marketing the MABA.

First, the translation work functioned to help build coalitions among different ethnic groups. This was a trial effort in regard to approaching other ethnic groups with respect to other

cultures and languages. The MABA recognized that addressing merchants of different ethnicities in terms of American culture and the English language was counterproductive to any effort at relationship building. When I personally asked some of the Korean merchants what they thought about these efforts, they indicated that the documents had made quite an impressions on them. They also indicated that these kinds of efforts, if conducted continually, would do much to enhance relationships among the different ethnic groups in the community.

The second function was to recruit members from the ethnic merchant groups. The translated documents comprised application forms and pieces introducing the MABA and its campaigns. The MABA believed that the translated documents provided the merchants with a friendly introduction to its work. Most Korean merchants in the community had not paid any attention to the English–language documents that the MABA had previously distributed. However, they did read the translations because they had never before received translated documents from any other community group or organization in the community. By providing documents in a familiar language, the MABA had made a friendly approach to merchants of the other ethnic groups.

In addition, the translated documents enabled the MABA to advertise its campaign to a broader population in more efficient and effective ways. Before the MABA had translated the documents, the MABA’s strategy had been to visit the businesses and distribute flyers and documents related to community events and campaigns. The Korean merchants’ reactions to these efforts were almost the same as their reactions to the recruitment efforts. However, when the Korean merchants received the translated documents about the Clean Corridor Campaign, many of them read them quickly, signed them to indicate their intention to participate, and posted flyers in their windows.

Finally, these translated documents were also used for publicizing the MABA to community residents and to other community organizations. When the MABA held its monthly community meetings or took part in the meetings held by other community organizations, the MABA brought these documents, exhibited them and explained the purpose of the translations as part of an effort to build a bridge between the different cultures.

Acts of Service

Another set of actions associated with building coalitions in Pinedale is acts of service to the neighborhood residents. Surely, the Korean merchant group provided a service through commercial transactions. They provided community residents with clothes, groceries, fish, foodstuffs, jewelry, and so on. However, these actions are commercial in nature: the Korean merchants offer goods for sale, and the community residents buy the goods. The roles are that of merchant and customer, respectively. This is obviously a reciprocal relationship. In the actions I am about to describe, acts of service, the parties are cast in different roles: the Korean merchants are understood to be philanthropists; the community residents are understood to be beneficiaries. Acts of service, such as the ones described below, may or may not be reciprocal.

One act of service that I observed was donations. I observed four types of service during my research: the Turkey Giveaway events; the Christmas parties; donations of equipment such as caps, uniforms, and shoes to a school; and donations of money and food to beggars. These four types of service can be categorized into two types: (1) services coordinated by community organizations and (2) services coordinated by Korean merchants.

Acts of Service initiated by community organizations

Services initiated by community organizations included Turkey Giveaway events and Christmas parties. I observed several events such as the Turkey Giveaway coordinated by the

MABA and the WACE and the Christmas party coordinated by the WACE and the SEC. I will next discuss the Turkey Giveaway event coordinated by the MABA. I focus on this event because I observed it more closely than the others.

The Turkey Giveaway event consisted of a series of actions: planning the event, collecting donations from merchants, and executing the event. When I started my research in the community in November, the MABA was then in the process of planning the event and collecting donations from merchants. I was able to observe that the MABA planned this event during a single board meeting. I also observed the collection of a donation from one Korean merchant; I also heard about other similar actions in other Korean businesses through my interviews. Finally, I took part in the Turkey Giveaway event as a volunteer. From my observations and interviews, I will analyze this series of actions.

Planning the Turkey Giveaway event. This was the fourth annual merchant turkey giveaway event. The MABA had conducted this event since 2003. The purpose of the event was to create a bridge between the merchants and community residents. Certainly, this was an important event for the MABA.

The MABA usually made plans for this event at a board meeting a couple of months before it was to take place. However, I was able to observe the planning process for this event. The MABA did not apportion responsibilities very effectively. As with the previous MABA-sponsored actions described above, it seemed that Sister Mary planned and conducted this event from collecting resources, to purchasing turkeys from a wholesaler, to executing the event. For instance, at the board meeting in November before the Turkey Giveaway event, she reported how much money she had collected from the merchants up to that point. She also announced where and when the Turkey Giveaway event would take place. Another example: This year,

MABA would hold the event at Thornton's Service Station located at the corner of Macon and Pinedale Ave. from noon to 3 p.m. at November 20, 2006. Sister Mary also explained how the MABA would execute the event. At the end of reporting, she asked board members to take part in the event if they would be available.

Board members did not show any reaction to this report. They just asked about the price of the turkeys this year and how many turkeys the MABA could purchase with the collected money. At the end of this meeting, no board member volunteered nor was any of them assigned a role in the event.

Collecting resources from merchants. The MABA focused on collecting resources for a month before the event. There were three sources of donations that I observed: businesses, board members, and voluntary donators, with the majority of donations coming for merchants.

In this action, Sister Mary again took the major role of collecting resources from businesses because there was no staff or volunteer to help in this task. Some board members also collected donations from their neighbor businesses, but most donations depended on Sister Mary's works. To collect donations, she visited every targeted business.

When she visited the Korean business run by Ms. Hong, I was able to observe the process of collecting money from merchants. After greeting Ms. Hong, she announced that the Turkey Giveaway event would be hosted by the MABA and explained the purpose of the event. She did not bring any flyers advertising the event. However, Ms. Hong already knew that it was the season for donations because the MABA had doing so since 2003. After explaining the event, Sister Mary asked Ms. Hong to make a donation. There was no fixed amount for the donation. Businesses could make any donation they wished. Ms. Hong asked her husband, Mr. Hong, about how much donate; Ms. Hong gave \$50 to Sister Mary.

After receiving money and putting the business name on her notepad, Sister Mary expressed thanks and gave four vouchers to Ms. Hong. The four vouchers were equivalent to four turkeys and to the amount of the donation. Sister Mary explained how Ms. Hong could use the vouchers. The vouchers, small rectangular green papers that stated where and when the Turkey Giveaway would happen, could be distributed to customers. However, Sister Mary recommended the Ms. Hong distribute the vouchers to her poorer customers.

At this time, I was curious about how Sister Mary collected the donations. She did not invite Ms. Hong to the event; nor did she ask Ms. Hong to volunteer for the MABA. She seemed focus only on the donated money as far as merchants' involvement in the event was concerned. Certainly, many merchants would not have been able to participate in the event because they needed to keep their businesses. However, they were not invited to participate any way other than donating money.

Later, I heard from Ms. Kim that Sister Mary had come to her business and collected money in the same way. Ms. Kim donated \$30 and received three vouchers. Sister Mary did not invite her to participate in the event, either. Ms. Hong and Ms. Kim distributed these vouchers to their regular customers. They did not know whether or not these customers were poor or not. The business owners gave vouchers to these customers because shopped at the stores frequently.

The MABA collected donations from 48 businesses including board members' businesses in this community and one voluntary donator. Among these donators, 14 Korean businesses gave donations. This number represented more than two-thirds of the Korean businesses in this area. Finally, the MABA purchased 125 turkeys with the money collected.

Executing the Turkey Giveaway event. The Turkey Giveaway took place from 12:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. in November 20, 2006, at an empty lot next to the WACE office. This lot was owned by Mr. Jack, founder of the WACE and a board member of the MABA.

The Turkey Giveaway event was managed and conducted by the president of the MABA, Sister Mary. Although the event itself commenced at noon, preparations began at 10:00 a.m.. When I got there at 11:00 a.m., there were only two people, Sister Mary and a photographer. No board member from MABA was there. No merchant who gave donations was there. Only two people were preparing for this event although there were lots of things to do. On one side of the sidewalk, several big boxes containing turkeys were piled up. The MABA needed to organize all the turkeys before starting the event. They seemed to be no volunteer to actually conduct the event, so, I volunteered to help.

My job was to put the turkeys in plastic bags. It was too hard for two people to do. However, there was no one to help with this task either. A photographer and I put together all the packages in the space of an hour and a half. Sister Mary did pack some turkeys, but she was engaged with organizing flyers and checking the number of turkeys against the list of distributed vouchers and so on.

The MABA had prepared yellow flyers that announced the fourth annual Turkey Giveaway. This flyer also included the list of business names and voluntary donators who had given money for the event. The purpose of this flyer was to let the beneficiaries know who had participated in the event. However, the MABA had put too much information the flyer. Nor was it properly edited. The title of the flyer and the name and logo of the MABA were too large, while the businesses names were too small and not organized well. The font was so small that the business names were very hard to read.

There were some volunteers in the WACE office, but they did not help with the MABA's event. They just took twelve of the turkeys to a WACE storehouse. However, I do not know why the MABA distributed the turkeys in this way. According to Ms. Susan, the WACE also had plans to distribute 25 turkeys to community residents. She told me that the WACE would distribute the turkeys to some of the poor residents later in the day. I do not know why these two organizations did not conduct a joint turkey giveaway event.

Some passers-by asked what the turkeys were for and how they could get obtain one. Whenever people asked, Sister Mary answered that the turkeys were only for those who had received vouchers. She also explained that after 3:00 p.m., any unclaimed turkeys would be given to anyone who wanted one. In light of this explanation, some of the community residents simply waited in the general area until 3.00 p.m. in hopes of obtaining one of the free turkeys. Some community residents did ask Sister Mary if they could get a turkey without a voucher. However, Sister Mary would not fulfill these requests until the end of the event.

At the beginning of the event,, those who had vouchers came to claim their turkeys. Some of them had three or four vouchers, but most people brought only one voucher and so left with one turkey. However, the turkeys had not all been distributed to residents in the community. Some people driving cars with New Jersey plates also came to get turkeys. One of them was Chinese. I came to know that he was Chinese because what my nationality. He told me that he had received a voucher because he had a business connection in the community.

Sister Mary identified the vouchers and gave the turkeys away accordingly. As she gave away turkeys, she also explained the event's purpose and distributed flyers to the recipients. My role was to replenish the supply of turkeys close by her. One board member came to help with the distribution for a thirty-minute spell. Ms. Marla, who worked for the MABA as a consultant,

also came to the event to observe how the MABA was conducting the event. In addition, a photographer took pictures of the event.

As planned the Turkey Giveaway ended at 3:00 p.m. By this time, about 70 voucher holders had claimed their turkeys. Twenty-five turkeys were left. Sister Mary announced that those who wished to get a turkey should form a line. Approximately thirty people got in a line and Sister Mary distributed the remaining turkeys and flyers, and as she did so explained the purpose of the event. As a result, all the turkeys were distributed although some of the people who had waited did not receive a turkey.

The MABA did not have time to review the event in any detail. Sister Mary just reported the results of the event at the board meeting and the monthly community meeting. In addition, the MABA did not visit the businesses to report on the event and thank the merchants for their donations. As a result, none of the merchants, including the Korean merchants, knew if the event had been successful.

Functions of donations coordinated by organizations. Within my participatory observations, the service actions coordinated by the community organizations had two functions; 1) providing a place where merchants and residents were able to interact with each other and 2) marketing for the MABA. First, this event tried to provide a place where merchants and residents would be able to interact with each other. By providing a chance for merchants to contribute to the community, the MABA intended to improve relationships between the two groups. However, some Korean merchants thought that they had contributed sufficiently to the community by making donations to these kinds of events. Further, some community residents confessed that Korean merchants did give donations, although the residents did not think the donations alone constituted sufficient commitment to the community,

The second function was market the MABA. It cannot be denied that the MABA was itself an important subject of the Turkey Giveaway event. In the process of collecting donations from merchants and staging the event, the MABA publicized its work to merchants and community residents alike. Sister Mary always emphasized the name of the MABA when she met with merchants and community residents to discuss the event. Also, she reported on the event at two of the monthly community meetings. At one meeting, she announced that the event was to be planned, and at the other meeting she reported on the event itself. Through this event, the MABA tried to recruit more members from among the merchants and enhance MABA's name recognition and reputation among the community residents and merchants.

Acts of Service initiated by Korean merchants

Korean merchants gave services in both planned and improvised ways. Planned services included Thanksgiving, Christmas, and provisions of materials and supplies to community organizations such as school athletic teams, cheer leader teams, churches, and so on. Also, some Korean merchants provided improvised services to community residents directly. The improvised donations occurred when poor people asked for food or money. I observed both kinds of action pertaining to services given to community residents: (1) services through planned events and (2) improvised donations. What follow are descriptions and analyses of each case.

Services through planned events. Korean merchants sometimes personally provided community residents with planned services such as Thanksgiving events, Christmas parties, and equipment provided to schools. I observed one Thanksgiving event put on by restaurant A; I only observed some of the services initiated by other Korean merchants in part. Therefore, I will describe and analyze the Thanksgiving event and mention the other services as examples.

Several days before Thanksgiving 2006, some people left restaurant A with several plates of cooked turkey. This restaurant, run by Mr. and Ms. Heo, was hosting a Thanksgiving event. Ms. Heo told me that they had taken their cue from MABA's Turkey Giveaway event. Ms. Heo had donated money for the first Turkey Giveaway event. She had thought it was a good way to provide services to community residents. The restaurant had their event around Thanksgiving Day for four years. However, they did not host a Turkey event last year, because their economic situation was not as good as in former years. Up to this year, the Heos have held this event three times. Ms. Heo stated that she wished to express thanks to the community residents and to contribute to the community.

Planning these events coordinated by Korean merchants was simple compared to events planned by the community organizations. Owners make all the decisions because they run their own businesses either alone or with family members. So, they did not need to work through an official process in order to reach decisions. Some of the Korean merchants who had employees simply informed them of the plans they had made. For example, Mr. Lim who donated equipments to schools several times made decisions about when this business would give donations, how much to donate, and who would benefit from the donations, etc.

Like Mr. Lim, Mr. and Ms. Heo made all the decisions. They did not have a meeting with staff to discuss the event. They just discussed when and how they would conduct the event in daily conversation. They decided they would host their turkey event on November 22, 2006, beginning at 1.00 p.m. However, there was no necessity for keeping this time because they did not announce the event in any official way. They could change schedules should anything of any moment change. They also decided that they would have four turkeys for the event.

The Korean merchants did not find preparing their service actions difficult as those who wanted to offer a service were able to use what they already had to do so. For example, Mr. Lim always donated caps, uniforms, and shoes because he already had them in his store. What was different from commercial transactions was that he provided them with free.

Mr. and Ms. Heo did not need to spend much time in preparations for their event. In fact, they didn't start preparing for the event until the day on which it was scheduled. This restaurant provided four turkeys for the event, and the restaurant already had everything it needed to prepare: all the utensils, seasonings, and even plastic dishes. All they needed to do was to cook the turkeys and serve them. This task fell to because Ms. Heo did not know how to cook turkeys. After the cooking was finished, the employees helped to cut up the meat in readiness for serving.

Restaurant A did not put out any specific publicity for this event. It was easy for the Heos to invite community residents because seven or ten people always hang out in front of this restaurant. When Mr. and Ms. Heo had completed preparations, an employee simply went out and let the people there know about the event. Whereupon the people came into the restaurant and received some of the meat, people passing by joined the event. At this time, all the staff helped to distribute the dishes to the community residents. After thirty minutes, all the meat had been distributed and the even ended.

Services through improvised donations. Korean merchants quite regularly encountered situations in which they had to improvise; they had to decide in the moment whether they would make a donation or not. For instance, during my five-week participatory observations in a Korean business, the beggar came to this store every day. In addition, community organizations would also visit the Korean stores and ask for donations.

The Korean merchants responded in two ways to such requests. Within my observations, Korean merchants' reactions to the begging or asking were of two types: (1) they would give money only to poor people or (2) they would not give money at all.

First, some Korean merchants gave money to people who asked. They decided to give money because they felt charitable towards poor people. Also, they believed that making this kind of donation was to put their beliefs into practice. For example, Ms. Lee told me that this area was full of poor people. She confessed that when she came to the area about 10 years ago, that she had been reluctant to interact with community residents. However, she changed her mind because of her religion, Christianity. She came to think that the community residents were human beings like herself. So, she would give small amounts of money to those who asked her.

Ms. Kim who ran a jewelry shop in the community tended to give money whenever beggars or community residents asked. One young man would visit Ms. Kim's business almost every day to beg for money. According to Ms. Kim, he had been begging there for approximately two years. When he had come to the store to ask for money for the first time, she felt charitable toward him. Sometimes, she would give him \$10 for a hair cut. Sometimes, if she had food in the store, she would share it with him. At first, she would give him one or two dollars whenever he stopped by. She would also recommend that he find a job and she would try to talk with him about it.

He still visited the store. He would always come in the afternoon. He also stopped by several other stores. When he came in, he always opened the conversation with this comment: "Ma'am, Could you give me a favor? I'm now so hungry. I didn't eat anything today." Recently Ms. Kim had started to feel annoyed with him because he had not made any changes in his life. She had tried to persuade him to find a job, but nothing had changed for two years. So, she

started giving him a quarter or fifty cents automatically. Sometimes, she told him not to live like this or not to come again, but she knew he would come back again the next day.

Korean merchants also donated money to community events such as the Turkey Giveaway coordinated by the MABA. They donated some money between \$30 and \$50 for this event. They believed that these donations would help poor people in this area. However, they did not donate money exactly to the community organizations. Correctly speaking, they donated money to poor community residents through the community organizations. Most Korean merchants, 14 businesses, donated to the Turkey Giveaway events, but none joined or paid an annual fee to the MABA.

Second, some Korean merchant never donate money to any people or community organizations. I did observe one business that refused to give donations to poor people. Ms. Kwon who ran the clothes store never gave money to begging people but never gave any money to him. When he came to the store, she would just say, "I don't have money" without looking at him. According to Ms. Kwon, she did not give money to that kind of person because their begging would become habitual. Ms. Kwon, however, did give money to community events such as the MABA's Turkey Giveaway. She said that she participated in these activities because she believed that the MABA was trying to improve relations between community residents and merchants. However, some Korean merchants did not make donations of any kind, not even to community organizations. To be precise, I did not observe this; I received this information from several merchants.

Functions of services through planned or improvised donations. Within my observation, I was able to identify three functions of acts of service: (1) providing chances to form relationships

between Korean merchants and community residents, (2) advertising each business, (3) practicing religious beliefs, and (4) reinforcing stereotypes of community residents.

First, Korean merchants believed that their events for and their donations to community residents would improve the relationship between the two sides. Some Korean merchants thought making a donation was a way to contribute to this community. However, some knew that these services were not enough to satisfy community residents, although they did believe that these services were better than nothing doing.

Second, Korean merchants wanted to advertise their businesses through these acts. Korean merchants focused on improving the image of each business. Actually, some community residents were friendly with and became frequent customers of some of the Korean businesses because they knew the owners of these businesses were friendly and gave donations well. However, these advertisements were for their individual businesses, not the Korean merchant group as a whole.

Third, some Korean merchants received a spiritual satisfaction from the act of donating because they believed that their acts of donations were part of religious devotions. Most Korean merchants were members of the Korean church. Among them, there were true believers. They gave donations from charitable motives. They did not want to receive rewards from these donations. They just believed that they should put their religion into practice.

Finally, these acts of donation seemed only to reinforce the stereotypes of community residents. Although only small numbers of community residents would come to the businesses to beg for food or money, the Korean merchants tended to consider all the community residents to be poor and uneducated. Indeed, when Korean merchants talked about community residents they almost always gave examples that included people begging at their stores.

CHAPTER 6: STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF ACTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH COALITION BUILDING

Introduction

In Chapter 5, I investigated the first research question, *In what form of coalition building activities do the organizations and groups in my study engage?* Based on findings and analyses, I, in this chapter, address the second and third research questions:

- What are the structural features of the actions associated with coalition building? What are the contradictions between and among the actions?
- What structural features distinguish the organizations from the groups that participated in my study? How do the structural features of the groups and the organizations influence (shape) the ways in which they engage in coalition building activities?

After examining these two sets of questions, I discuss the challenges of and hindrances to coalition building.

Comparing actions associated with coalition building

In the previous chapter, I analyzed various actions such as meetings in the community, translations, and acts of service. Actions associated with coalition building conducted in the Pinedale area targeted three relationships: (1) between the merchant group and the community resident group, (2) among the Korean merchant group, and (3) among community organizations. These actions shared processes such as planning, executing, and assessing, as well as sharing results. However, the structures, processes, and results of actions were differentiated depending on the interactions among the components of each action. The following criteria are used to structure my examination: (1) subject of decision making, (2) purposes, (3) division of roles, (4) instruments, and (5) functions of outcomes.

The subject of decision making

In the action, the question of who makes the decisions is important. Actions associated with coalition building that I observed were mainly initiated and executed by organizations such as community and business organizations. However, this did not mean that determinations about actions were made collectively.

Decisions on informal meetings among Korean merchants were made by individual Korean merchants. For example, the elderly man and woman unilaterally decided whether and when they would stop by a particular Korean store. Ms. Kim also unilaterally decided that she would give more money to the Korean merchant who wanted to sell jewelry than she had given to community residents for similar items.

Important decisions made at formal community meetings in the community were in fact also made by individuals. For example, making decisions on Monthly community meetings hosted by the MABA should have been conducted at the MABA's board meetings according to the organization's by laws. However, in practice, all important decisions were made by the MABA's president, Sister Mary. The board members would just listen to her plans and accept them. Also, merchants from different ethnic groups, including Koreans, did not take part in this decision-making process. Certainly, Sister Mary did not intend to make all the decisions, but seemed to be no process for the decisions to be made collectively.

PinCUP-2 was another formal meeting in community. Different from Korean businesses and community organizations, this meeting consisted of five community organizations and one research group from the university. Here, the RCBRAE did not want to be a subject of this meeting because the RCBRAE was not a community organization in this area. The PinCUP meetings were the place where diverse motives, experiences, and identities came together and

tried to achieve common goals. In this situation, I thought that setting up plans and making decisions for actions proved difficult because working out an appropriate level of compromise between the different organizations was an ongoing challenge.

Contrary to my assumption, the decision-making processes inhering in actions such as re-establishing PinCUP, searching for stable resources, and preparing for the GED programs were not difficult. Most actions were initiated by the RCBRAE and accepted at the PinCUP meeting by participants. In this process, each organization had the right to speak. Also, it was the rule that the participants in the meeting made decisions through discussions in collective ways, not in arbitrary ways. From this perspective, the planning process was both the subject of and determined by the collective nature of the PinCUP meeting itself.

However, looking closer, as we can see from actions in regard to re-establishing PinCUP, searching for stable resources and preparing the GED and computer programs, the role of the RCBRAE, especially the faculty member, was superordinately influential. In the organization's discussions, the faculty member would suggest ways to think about and approach the topics at hand. Then, most attendees would discuss the topics he had broached and ultimately accept his suggestions. In other words, members of the PinCUP meeting depended on the RCBRAE, especially the faculty member, in their decision-making process. For example, this phenomenon emerged quite clearly in the preparations for the GED program. When PinCUP held a meeting to prepare for the computer program in the absence of the faculty member, the rest of PinCUP's members reached decisions about several issues. However, at PinCUP's meeting the following month, at the faculty member's suggestion the direction and content of the program underwent a radical change. This phenomenon can be interpreted in different ways from the perspective of

competition and power in and among community organizations. I will discuss this problem more deeply in Chapter 7.

Acts of service such as turkey party and Christmas party, and personal donations were initiated by Korean businesses, which varied in size in terms of the number of people operating them, owners, employees, and other family members, from between one and six. With the exception of restaurant A, the workers in most Korean businesses were members of the owner's family. At restaurant A, all the important decisions regarding actions were managed solely by the owner. For example, the owners of restaurant A made important decisions on acts of services such as the turkey party and Christmas party without discussions with employees. Also, acts of services such as personal donations to community residents were decided on by the owner of each Korean business. For example, when Ms. Kim, owner of the jewelry store, gave some money to a young person, this act of service was her decision alone. This process of decision making was usual in Korean businesses.

In terms of the decision-making processes, acts of service coordinated by community organizations varied only slightly from that of Korean businesses. The important decisions in regard to the MABA Turkey Giveaway event showed these similarities very well. The decision-making process at the monthly meetings was same as the decision-making on acts of services initiated by MABA. Sister Mary was the main decision maker. The same was true of how decisions were made on the action of the translated documents. Sister Mary made all the decisions and reported them to the board.

In summary, making decisions for actions initiated by community organizations and Korean businesses was not shared among the various entities: there was no interaction on decision-making among the Korean merchant group, the community resident group, and the

community organizations. That is, there was no collaboration between or among them. All important decisions related to the actions were made by one organization or one business. Further, oftentimes decisions that were taken in the name of organizations were, in fact, taken by individuals.

Purposes of actions

Most acts of service engaged in by the Korean merchant group were planned and executed in an individual and sporadic way. Most Korean merchants conducted acts of service individually with different purposes. For example, Ms. Kim and Ms. Lee provided services to community residents in the form of personal donations. They gave donations because of feelings of charity. Restaurant A also provided its turkey party and its Christmas party, but with the purpose for relationship building by thanking community resident and simultaneously publicizing the restaurant.

These purposes and goals, however, were mainly related to the success of this particular restaurant, but not the Korean merchant group in general. For example, what Let's Grub originally intended was to improve relations between the restaurant and its customers, not to improve relations between the Korean merchant group and the community resident group. In other words, restaurant A was not motivated by how their acts of service might impact relations between the Korean merchant and community resident groups. In a similar vein, when Korean merchants conducted acts of service, they did not think about how their actions would influence the relationship between the groups, nor did they consider the part such actions could play in larger efforts to build coalitions.

Actions by community organizations such as meetings in the community, translations, and other acts of service had stated purposes and goals. However, these actions did not have only

one purpose. The translation work had the purpose of creating a clear communication channel as well as the purpose of both respecting and showing that respect toward other cultures. Moreover, the MABA wanted to recruit more members through this action. The action of the monthly meeting aimed to create a bridge between the merchant group and the community resident group on the one hand. On the other hand, the MABA also wanted market itself and recruit members through the monthly meetings.

For the PinCUP meeting, the purpose of each action such as re-establishing this organization, searching for stable resources, and preparing for the GED and computer program was clearly designated in every action. What the PinCUP meeting did in the initial step of each action was to agree upon the purpose of each action. The basic purpose of each action was to create a forum where community organizations could work together to alleviate community problems and to ensure that PinCUP-2 would continue in existence as long as the community needed its work.

A large part of PinCUP's success in setting up clear purposes for its actions inhered in the university faculty member's contributions to decision making. However, in contrast to the MABA, PinCUP decided on its purposes collectively. For instance, when PinCUP initiated the GED program, the faculty member suggested a purpose and an object in the planning process. After discussion about why the GED program was necessary for this community, those present agreed on five goals for the GED program. This clear purpose guided all the processes of preparing the GED program such as developing curricula and training volunteers.

Although the purposes of the PinCUP-2 were established by collective efforts, this did not mean that each community organization internalized them as *their* purposes for participating in PinCUP-2. Each organization participated in PinCUP-2 with its own wishes and hopes.

Attempts were made to discuss and integrate the purpose of each organization into common *group* purposes. For example, following the faculty member's suggestions, when PinCUP-2 held its first meeting, participants tried to integrate individual purposes into the common purpose of the PinCUP-2 through discussion. As a result, they were able to establish "the purpose of PinCUP is to provide a forum for community organizations in the Pinedale community to support each other through networking and sharing resources" (PinCUP, 2006). Every community organization agreed on this purpose. Yet the organizations did not necessarily internalize this purpose. As we can see from the planning of the GED and computer program, the GSGLA argued for control of this program and did not want to share power. In addition, the WACE showed reluctance to work with some of the other community organizations, such as the SEC. Such situations were the exact opposite of what all the organizations had agreed as the defining purpose of PinCUP-2.

Some of the participants in PinCUP-2 felt that some of the other participating organizations had hidden agendas. All participatory community organizations agreed on the basic purpose of PinCUP meeting with each other. However, as we can see from cited interviews, for example, "...how to bring resources together to make it work for... (excerpted from Ms. Susan's interview)" and "...getting assistance sort of on the direction that this faculty introduces... (excerpted from Ms. Mary's interview)" in the previous chapter; the WACE and the MABA hoped, primarily, to receive resources from PinCUP, while the SEC wanted to get a better understanding of the viewpoints and work of each organization. The PIA was focused on how to revitalize itself through their association with PinCUP. As far as my observations of the GSGLA are concerned, this organization appeared to be trying to control all the programs without regard to its ability to do so. Given, these negative perceptions, the organizations did not

trust each other and this lack of trust, in turn, had a negative impact on the work in which they engaged.

The division of roles for actions

Appropriate division of labor/roles is essential to conducting activities and actions more efficiently and effectively. However, division of roles, necessary as it is, must be handled very carefully as it has great potential for creating unequal power relationships among individual members and/or member organizations.

In regard to the action of community meetings, roles were not divided effectively. In the case of the informal meetings among Korean merchants, division of roles was not a concern as all these meetings took place between individuals. For example, the elderly man and woman did make any special arrangements for meeting with the Korean merchants.

Compared to informal meetings, the formal community meetings were quite different. There were lots of things to do in regard to planning and executing the meetings; planning, creating publicity, and managing the meetings, and so on. Roles were divided according to specific situations, although often this division caused its own problems.

In the case of the MABA's Monthly community meetings, the division of roles was not effective. Although the MABA did have a defined organizational structure, it did not have any staff to coordinate organizational affairs. The unavailability and/or unwillingness of the other MABA members seemed to make the president do most of the work. The president, Sister Mary, managed most of the processes both in regard to planning and managing the meetings and carrying out the actual work of the MABA. Sometimes, if there were a person, like me, who was able to help her, then she would assign some the work on an ad hoc basis such as distributing flyers to some of the merchants and community organizations.

Unlike the Monthly community meetings, the PinCUP meeting did divide roles. For example, as we can see from the initiation of the GED program, roles among community organizations were divided through a process of negotiation. However, although the work was divided in theory, in practice the organizations did not necessarily do their part. Work that the member organizations had been assigned and yet did not complete fell to the RCBRAE, and as a result, the RCBRAE did the lion's share of PinCUP-2's work. For example, the WACE had promised to coordinate volunteer training and manage the publicity. In fact, the WACE did take care of the first of these responsibilities; however, over time it did less and less to coordinate volunteer training. As a result, the RCBRAE took over the role of coordinating and training volunteers. The WACE ceased to be involved in this process. In addition, the MABA had promised to manage publicity for the GED programs, but failed to do anything in this regard. Actually, the MABA did not have any information on the GED program because the PinCUP meeting had not provided any information on this subject. In short, though PinCUP did divide roles in actions, for various reasons most of the member organizations did not fulfill their roles.

One reason that these roles were unfulfilled in PinCUP-2 was the absence of a coherent system. Although the community organizations divided the roles voluntarily, there was no mechanism for accountability. As such, each community organization first focused on its own business, such as providing a particular social service, and any work for PinCUP tended to come in a poor second.

In the case of the division of labor in translation work, the MABA divided some roles among the volunteers. However, apart from the translations, most of the work, such as making and distributing information packets still depended on Sister Mary. As a result, some actions were conducted in slow and inefficient ways, for example, distribution of the translated

documents to other ethnic merchants. Sister Mary asked board members to help her, but no one volunteered. Board members did not take active roles in this process; indeed, board members appeared to do very little but attend meetings.

Acts of service initiated by the MABA were the same as the other actions initiated by MABA. For example, in the process of the Turkey Giveaway event, there was no division of labor among members of the MABA. Planning, collecting money, purchasing the turkeys, and managing the event—all of this was accomplished by Sister Mary. On event day, two volunteers helped her, but there was no planned division of labor; instead, roles were divided on an ad hoc basis.

In the case of acts of service by the Korean merchant group, the labor and roles were also not divided well because of the small numbers of people involved. For example, when restaurant A engaged in acts of service, such as its turkey event and its Christmas party, there was a division of labor regarding who would cook, who would distribute the meat, and who would deal with the trash. However, this division of labor was not determined by official rules or in advance. This division of labor was ad hoc.

Instruments for actions

The use of particular instruments in activities and actions has an effect on the results of the activities and actions. Of necessity, instruments of one kind or another are always used in any activity and action. The important issue is which instruments are used and how. Actions associated with coalition building in the Pinedale area used many different instruments to achieve their goals. People who led or participated in actions tried to mobilize all kinds of instruments as much as possible. The range of instruments was various, but I wanted to focus on several instruments that seemed to be significant in conducting actions.

Use of different instruments varied. For example, hard materials, such as documents, were used in most actions associated with coalition building, such as formal meetings in the community, translations, and acts of services coordinated by community organizations. Considering that it is relatively easy to create hard materials and that they are efficient for communicating and familiar to most targeted people and organizations, it was natural that community organizations would use this as a main instrument.

The hard material, however, was not always effective. For example, before the action of translation had taken place, all the hard materials were in English. Such an approach was, of course, ineffective in approaching people whose first language was not English as well as people who could not read. After some of the documents had been translated into Korean and Chinese and distributed appropriately, the reaction of the Korean merchants was positive. Therefore, other actions aimed at coalition building could usefully model this work, by offering more of their materials in translation.

Another problem with the hard materials inhered in unattractive formats and poor-quality editing. For example, the MABA distributed the flyers for the Monthly community meeting using the same format and editing as shown in the figure 8 in Chapter 5. One drawback was the overabundance of information included in the flyer, which was of no use to people who could not read English. Most of the Korean merchants did not take the time to read the MABA's documents, nor could they have fully understood them if they had. They did not understand the documents that introduced the organization that advertised the Clean Corridor Campaign or the Town Watch program. One Korean merchant commented that he did not read them carefully because he was too busy. He also told me that the documents had too much information and that

the font size was too small. Simply put, the right decisions had not been made in terms of presenting the material effectively and appropriately to the targeted audience.

Verbal communication was also important, and, of course, an easy-to-access instrument. This instrument was important in coalition building among different groups. However, the use of English was problematic in conversations between the community organizations and the different ethnic groups. For example, when Ms. Kim attended the Monthly community meetings, she could not fully understand the discussion, and so was unable to contribute to them. In fact, Ms. Kim stated that she had been able to understand less than half of what was said. However, in her own milieu in informal meetings with the other Korean merchants, she communicated in Korean, very well. In addition, because of language difficulties, there was a marked difference in the way that the community organizations approached the merchants depending on ethnicity and English language ability. For example, Sister Mary visiting the Korean merchants on behalf of the MABA would have only official conversations; however, in talking with those merchants for whom English was the first language, she engaged in conversations on more personal topics.

Sometimes, some non-native English speakers used this poor verbal communication as an excuse for not participating in community activities. According to Jack, some ethnic groups such as Chinese and Korean merchants who he met in order to get some donation pretended not to understand what he was talking about. When Jack asked them how they were able to sell stuffs to customers with poor language, they answered that they knew only business English. As far as I know, there were some Korean merchants who have good English skills. However, they said their poor language skill hindered them from participating in community meetings.

Given that the Korean merchants had reacted positively to the translated documents, it was likely that they would also respond positively to being approached verbally in their own

language. However, movements in that direction were stymied as no one would volunteer for the role of translating between other ethnic groups and the community organizations.

The RCBRAE was an instrument accessible to community organizations that had joined PinCUP. Through PinCUP they were able to consult with the RCBRAE and access its resources. For example, the MABA secured its translators through the RCBRAE. The WACE and the SEC also obtained some computers for the GED and computer programs from the RCBRAE. Further, some community organizations, such as the MABA and the WACE, received advice about grant writing from this source.

This situation, however, did not endure. Originally, the RCBRAE's role was that of an instrument for PinCUP because the RCBRAE believed that the community organizations should direct the action. However, RCBRAE did not remain an instrument for very long. In the processes of re-establishing PinCUP, searching for stable resources, and preparing the GED program, the RCBRAE always took important roles. In other words, the instrument of the action quickly became the driver of the action instead.

The status change of the RCBRAE appeared to accrue from the resources it brought to the table. The RCBRAE had more resources, such as computers, information on grants and professional and academic knowledge, than any other community organization—perhaps more than the other organizations put together. Per force, the RCBRAE's resource pool afforded it status and power. As a result, the community organizations came to depend on the RCBRAE's say so and its resources, rather than using the RCBRAE and its resources as an instrument.

One of the instruments that the community organizations had difficulty accessing was the internet. Considering webpages can be excellent communication tools for community organizations, this was troubling. The WACE was in the process of developing its own webpage,

but the MABA already had its own website. However, the MABA did not update its information on the website' it did not publish information from its Monthly community meetings, or about its events, nor did the website offer the translated documents.

Several reasons account for the lack of activity on the internet. According to one WACE volunteer, only a small number of the community residents had access to the internet. Given this situation, updating the webpages was not a priority for them. Moreover, the organizations did not have a volunteer who had expertise in programming and working with this technical tool. Most staff and volunteers in community organizations such as the MABA and the WACE were not familiar with computer work.

In the case of the PinCUP meeting, the RCBRAE tried to use its webpages as a communication tool. Much meeting time was reserved for discussion of webpage use, but they did not result in any consistent activity on the page.

Functions of outcomes

As mechanisms for coalition building, many of the actions examined in this study produced outcomes that were often disappointing—even negative. I will examine the functions of outcomes under the following five categories: (1) providing opportunities for diverse subjects to meet, (2) recruiting members, (3) disseminating information, (4) marketing, and (5) negative outcomes.

Providing opportunities for diverse subjects to meet. Basically, the actions that I analyzed tried to provide opportunities for diverse subject to meet and so begin to build relationships. In the case of community meetings, they apparently functioned as a place for merchants and community residents to come together in the interest of improving their relationship. However, this function did not work well because of few participants from the merchant group and

community resident group. Also, community organizations such as the MABA did not concern about how to facilitate people's continuous participants and how to build relationships among participants.

The PinCUP meeting was initiated to create a place for community organizations to work together. Actions of the PinCUP meeting such as re-establishing itself, searching for stable resources, and preparing the GED program were to provide a chance for community organizations to cooperate on community concerns. In fact, at the beginning, the PinCUP meeting functioned well.

Acts of services also had the function of providing chances for diverse groups and community organizations to interact. Some acts of service coordinated by community organizations such as the Turkey Giveaway event and Christmas party worked in this way. In the case of Christmas party, many community residents joined this party. The WACE originally intended to invite some merchant groups such as the Korean merchants to the party. However, the WACE did not stop by any merchant to invite him/her to the Christmas party.

I do not know why the WACE did not visit Korean merchants. When I asked the reason, Ms. Susan told me that the WACE did not have any connections with the Korean merchants. I said that this invitation could be a good chance to start building relationships with the Korean merchants, but Ms. Susan, indicating that she was then too busy to visit the Korean merchants, said she would do it later. Surely, most Korean merchants did not attend these events although community organizations invited them. However, trying something could be very different from nothing. Accumulations of trials could make changes.

Acts of services coordinated by Korean merchants also provided chances for the Korean merchant and community resident groups to meet each other. However, these chances were

limited because of the passive attitudes of the Korean merchant group to publicizing their actions. As a result, only small numbers of community residents came to acts of services such as the Let's Grub turkey party.

In summary, actions associated with coalition buildings tried to provide opportunities that diverse subjects were able to meet, but they seemed not to work properly. Within my observation, when diverse subjects met, there was little or no active interactions among them. For example, participants in acts of service seemed to focus on getting "service" rather than knowing and interacting with different subjects. Although there were some meetings that many people gathered, I was not able to identify specific efforts to last participants' continuous participation and to facilitate the belongingness.

Recruiting members and participants. Recruitment is crucial to community organizations because it is directly related to the success of community activities. Recruitment activities had two targets: (1) members of organizations and (2) participants in community actions coordinated by the community organizations.

Recruiting members of organizations is important to sustain community organizations because members of organizations provide resources such as membership fees and volunteer labor for the organizations. Most of the actions associated with coalition building seemed to focus on recruiting members for the community organizations. For example, at the MABA monthly meetings, there were always application forms available and several pitches were made asking the attendees to join. The translations also served a recruiting function. It was not for nothing that the MABA chose to translate its application first.

Despite these efforts, the MABA was not successful in recruiting members. One targeted group was Korean merchants, but, as far as I know, no Korean merchant joined up. Many Korean

merchants donated to the Turkey Giveaway event, but they did not become members. One Korean merchant told me that the membership fee was too expensive. The membership fee ranged from \$100 to \$250 depending on the number of employees a business had. He also commented that they did not know how the MABA used the membership fees. Not did they know what benefits they could expect from joining.

These comments point out what is important in recruiting members. Individuals usually do not join organizations when they do not know what benefits they will receive. Organizations that want to recruit new members need to clearly outline the benefits that members will receive. Of course, anything involving money is a sensitive issue. Without a clear understanding of how funds would be used, potential members may distrust organizations and, therefore, will not join. In lack of success of the MABA in this regard is instructive.

Neither was PinCUP-2 successful in recruiting new members. To achieve its purpose, recruiting new community organizations was of the utmost importance. However, some the community organizations that visited the meeting specifically to find out what the PinCUP meeting was all about did not show up again. One reasons for PinCUP's recruitment failure was that it did not have a system to encourage participants on a continuing basis.

Encouraging people to participate in community activities is also important for staging successful events. Korean merchants, however, did not seem to have any interest in publicizing their events in order to make sure people availed themselves of their acts of services. For example, restaurant A just invited the people on the sidewalk to take part in their turkey party. One reason for this is that publicity would have brought more people than they could have served. Because the restaurant prepared only a small number of turkeys, they did not want to invite more community residents. The more invitations they issued, the more money they would have had to

spend on the event. They wanted to provide an action of service within their abilities. Further examples are the acts of service of Ms. Lee and Ms. Kim who provided such on an ad hoc basis only to the people who stopped by their stores. They did not actively seek people to participate in their actions.

The MABA, in regard to its Turkey Giveaway act of service, did not concern itself about making sure that community residents would participate because it fell to the merchants to distribute the vouchers to community residents. However, the MABA missed the opportunity to recruit volunteers from the merchant group. Instead of asking for volunteer work and a donation, the MABA asked only for the latter. Thus an obvious opportunity for using an act of service to build a bridge between the merchants and the community organization and between the .merchants and the community residents was missed. According to the comments I heard on this issue, the MABA had determined that the merchants would not come to the event because they were busy. However, again, no invitation ensured no participation.

Recruiting members and participants seemed to be really difficult. Many efforts were invested to recruit members, but they were not doing well. Within my observation, to make successful recruitments, providing obvious benefits were crucial. In the case of Turkey giveaway events coordinated by the MABA and restaurant A, many participants in events joined because they knew what they could get from actions. However, they did not join MABA as members and volunteers for events because they did not clearly know what the benefit from joining as members or volunteers were.

Disseminating information. Disseminating information to the targeted groups and organizations is another function of actions. There seemed to be three types of information

disseminated through actions associated with coalition building: (1) announcements, (2) discussion and debates; and (3) instructions.

First, actions associated with coalition building served the function of disseminating announcements. Announcements are not intended to invoke discussion and debate. Recipients may ask for clarification, and may choose to pursue or ignore actions called for in the announcement; but initiating debate on the matter would be inappropriate. For example, at its monthly community meetings, the MABA would report on past and scheduled community events such as the Turkey Giveaway, bicycle donations to poor children, and the Clean Corridor Campaign. The reports focused on delivering what kinds of events or issues had happened or would be scheduled. These announcements were mainly treated as facts that happened and would happen. So, most announcements were related with schedules of events or information of happened events such as how many people participated or how many bicycles were donated and so on. In other words, the main function of these announcements was to deliver information. Within my observation, I did not identify any deep discussion among participants about this information itself.

For more clarification, I wanted to give another example of announcements. In PinCUP-2, when RCBRAE reported the schedule of grants, this information was an announcement: when was the deadline of applying, which institution would provide funds, and how much was the grants. These announcements were the information that RCBRAE wanted to let participants know. Participants could have questions for these announcements, but they did not have to intensive discussions about these announcements themselves. Participants in PinCUP-2 also just listened to this information. They could continue discussion with this information. However,

what they want to discuss was what they should do for the grants, not official schedule of applying process.

Second, there were information for discussion and debate. Information for discussion and debate were different from announcements because information for discussion and debate had the tendency to be related with value, social, and political oriented issues. Also, the function of discussion and debate was different from announcements. In the case of announcements, they had the function of delivering information. However, discussion and debate had the function of invoking community issues.

Let me give an example for the difference between announcements and discussion. Information about bicycle donation came in the form of an announcement. Participants did not have to reveal their values or social position for this information. One example of information for discussion and debate that I observed happened at Monthly community meeting. MABA reported the scheduled of Clean Corridor Campaign. At this time, a community resident who had participated in a monthly community meeting raised the issue of garbage problems. Here, MABA explained the purpose of Clean Corridor Campaign and, participants started with discussion about urgent community problems. From this perspective, discussion and debate give the chance to invoke community issues.

The third type of information was instructions. Instructions were mainly related with information that had an educational purpose. Instructions were different from announcements and discussions in form and purpose. Instructions required the different tools to transfer knowledge to participants. Also, instructions targeted for participants to gain the designated knowledge and performed what they learn.

One good example of information for instruction was Town Watch Program in Monthly Community meeting. For this, MABA invited a lecturer as an efficient tool to transfer skills for town watch to participants. At its meetings, MABA also provided training time and distributed documents about guideline for town watch. At the training sessions, the trainers instructed the participants in subjects such as how to report drug dealers to the police without danger and how diffuse dangerous situations, etc. Surely, during transferring knowledge and skills, there were small discussions. However, this discussion was less intensive than discussion and debate. Also, skills and knowledge were more systemic and interrelated than fragmented announcements. From this perspective, information on how to write proposals for grants can be considered as information for instruction.

To summarize, announcements were delivered through diverse actions such as formal and informal meetings in the community and by work such as the translations. However, in the cases of community issues, and instructional information, formal meetings in the community offered effective delivery because they were specific and goal oriented.

Marketing. One unspoken function was marketing. Marketing can be considered as specific actions for publicizing organizations to other institutions or organizations under the purpose of gaining potential or visible supports. Marketing was more directly related with the purpose of organizational survival than other functions. The community organizations in my study sought, directly and indirectly to market themselves through their actions. For example, the monthly community meetings, translations, and other acts of service served this function.

The reason the MABA focused on this function was it seemed to be a way to get secure funds. In point of fact, the MABA did not concentrate on publicizing itself to community residents. Instead, it focused its publicity efforts on other community organizations and city

agencies that provided funds to several community organizations. The WACE's pattern was the same. The WACE also worked at informing other organizations such as the CEP schools as to its work again in hopes of securing funds from that source. In a similar vein, acts of service coordinated by Korean merchants also had a marketing function. Some Korean merchants wanted to make a positive impression on community residents; they hoped that by their acts of service they would encourage more business to come through their doors.

Some negative functions of outcomes. Although all actions were initiated with good intentions, they did not always have a positive outcome. Some Korean merchants, in fact, indicated that their impression of community residents as poor and lazy was only intensified by making donations for beggars. These intensified stereotypes seemed to be the result of a general misunderstanding of the community.

In the case of the PinCUP meeting, the process of searching for stable resources seemed to cause members to participate less in meetings. Community organizations would not actually say so officially, but the number of participants decreased after this action had failed. More than likely, this drop in participation occurred because a main reason for organizations' membership in PinCUP was to find stable funds. This matter will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Up to this point, I have compared each action in respect to several categories. Many actions associated with coalition building occurred in this community. However, how the actions were conducted showed one pattern for groups, and another for organizations. For example, in terms of decision-making, the group depended on the individual totally, while the organization attempted a process of collective discussions. The process of collective decision making is important in coalition building. As I examined in the chapter 2, I discussed about In chapter 2 I argued that democratic structures are important factor for coalition building. Democratic

structures do not simply refer to ‘superficial’ collective decision making. Meaningful coalition building can be established based on shared purpose and process by participants. From this perspective, although some organizations depended on only one person, his/her decision also at least required going through the form of a collective discussion. Then, what are the different features of the group and the organization that may help to explain the difference in the way they organized and executed actions? In the next section, I examine this question in more detail.

Structural features of the group and the organization

One of my research questions is in regard to the structural features that distinguish the organization from the group. In the area in which I conducted my research, people gathered in many ways: the Korean merchant group, the community resident group, the WACE, the MABA, and the SEC, and so on. Some of these gatherings we call groups; others, we call organizations. I think this distinction among groups and organizations is important to coalition building. The first reason why this distinction is important is that it makes it possible to identify which is the subject and which is the partner in a coalition. The second reason is that knowing the structural difference between groups and organizations can provide concrete strategies for building coalitions among different groups and organizations.

In this discussion, in talking about the notion of the group, I primarily focused on the Korean merchant group. My original purpose was to focus not only on the Korean merchant group but also on the community resident group. However, as mentioned in the section about this study’s limitations in Chapter 3, I was not able to access the community resident group easily because of the cultural and language barriers. Moreover, I did not have a “gatekeeper” to give me entrée into the community resident group. As a result, the perspective of the community resident group is not represented fully in this study. In this section, I want to focus on determining the

salient characteristics that define the difference between groups and organizations. Based on my analyzed data, I will discuss three issues in regard to these possible differences: (1) inherited and voluntary membership, (2) different activity systems and (3) representative roles.

Inherited vs. voluntary membership

There are many ways to define the group using characteristics such as perceptions, needs satisfaction, goals and purposes, and the structure of temporal small organizations, and so on (Shaw, Robbin, & Belser, 1981). In Chapter 2, I reviewed the characteristics of groups based on social identity, which is formed through social comparisons and categorizations emerging from individuals' awareness of others, membership, and emotional significance (Ashmore et al., 2001; Tajfel & Wilkes, 1979). Based on this idea, I define the group as a set of individuals characterized by a shared sense of social identity.

I examined two groups in my study: Korean merchants and community residents. Members of the Korean merchant group were distinguished by their nationality, Korean; and community residents were distinguished by their ethnicity, African American. In speaking of community resident group, Korean merchants consistently used the term "black people." The community resident group designated Korean merchants as "the Korean merchants." These categorizations seemed to come from socially constructed comparative identities.

One interesting thing related to membership in the group is that the Korean merchants recognized themselves as members of the Korean merchant group, but their connections with other group members of that group were not strong enough for them to work together to pursue specific goals. However, Korean merchants always identified themselves as being part of the Korean merchant group. Also, Korean merchants always used the term, "we" in talking about the Korean merchant group.

I was not able to observe what other social identities they shared except inherent nationality. Korean merchants in the Pinedale community surely had common goals and purposes, for example, they all wanted to sustain their businesses to improve their bottom line. However, these goals and purposes were not unique to Korean merchants. Moreover, Korean merchants did not come together to share these goals and purposes. For example, when Korean merchants had informal meetings, they did not share their business concerns and ideas among themselves. In other words, these goals and purposes were a set of individualized goals and purposes, not common goals and purposes engaged in collectively. That the Korean merchants shared goals and purposes was coincidental not planned.

Community residents categorized themselves in a similar way. Because 97% of community residents were African-American or Black, they considered themselves to be one group. An excerpt from an interview with one community resident illustrates this tendency quite clearly:

We [African-American] live as a community. In the African culture in Africa it is very community oriented. In America in many cultures, we're very individual oriented and even though I wasn't born and raised in Africa, the way my parents raised us. We're very community oriented. We are responsible (Interview with Ms. Marla).

This position was not hers alone. Whenever I talked with people in community organizations (they were also members of the community resident group), they indicated that they considered the community resident group under the term Black. When they would say "we," the term always meant African-American. This term, allowed no space for Korean merchants. In other words, they seemed to believe that African-Americans who reside in this community become members of the community group naturally; they did not accept the Korean merchants who operated businesses in the area as members of community. I was also not able to observe

what other social identities the community residents might share, such as ideology or religion. What they pointed out was always ethnicity.

In short, Korean merchants and community residents categorized “we” and “others” in terms of nationality and ethnicity, respectively. There seemed to be no way for Korean merchants and community residents to give up membership in their respective groups or to join the other groups. It seemed that the boundaries around membership in each group were inflexible, at least in part because their identities were inherited, not chosen.

Unlike the groups formed in regard to inherent identities, organizations were usually formed by people who had become members by choice. For example, community organizations in this area such as the MABA, the WACE, and the SEC had a clear membership boundary—members were those who had formally signed up, paid their fee, and did so by choice. Members can usually leave organizations at will, and organizations can also terminate a person’s membership according to organizational rules. For example, Korean merchants did not become members of the MABA according to their own wishes. Sister Mary recommended that they join, but they did not. Also, I would have been able to join some of the community organizations as a member had I wanted to.

The fact that membership in the Korean merchant group and the community group was inherited (not chosen) seems to have influenced participation of each group in coalition building activities. The matter seems to hinge on their level of commitment to other group members and their perception of the benefits to be derived from group membership. For example, when Korean merchants did choose membership in a group, they could become deeply immersed in the chosen group or organization. For example, the Korean merchants in this area are closely associated with their church. In other words, they feel a strong sense of membership in the

Korean church. They do not feel this sense of attachment to the places where they work and live. Ms. Hong and Ms. Lee expressed feeling a sense of comfort and renewal from their church work. Through participating in actions of the church and feeling a relationship with God, they come to confirm their salvation, know how to love people, and how to live. They also made friends through the church. The Korean merchants always asserted the importance of tithes, collection, and volunteer actions to me whenever I met them. Even Ms. Kim who had not been a church when I started my research had joined a church by the end of my research period. Most of the Korean merchants whom I met in the area gave tithes to the church every week. They would also separately give special thanks collections when special events happened such as birthdays or their child's entrance to college. They did not just donate money, though; they also organized small groups to volunteer for actions of the church, for example, preparing food, cleaning the church, tending to the garden and lawn, etc.

The community resident group in this community was similar to the Korean merchant group in many ways. Within my observations, I was not able to identify actions associated with coalition building under the name of the community resident group. Surely, community residents participated in actions such as meetings in the community and acts of services. For example, community residents usually had formal meetings with Korean merchants in commercial transactions. However, these actions are no more than exchanges of needs. Within my observations, they did not try to connect these commercial interactions to a coalition building purpose. In the case of acts of service, community residents just participated in the role of beneficiary; they did not themselves generate acts of service.

When community residents wanted to initiate specific actions such as coalition building, they would help or join community organizations as volunteers or staff members. This fact is

made clear when we consider that volunteers and staff of community organizations consisted of community residents. They worked for these community organizations by choice, although their choice to join a community organization might be partly based on social identity.

Different activity systems of groups and organizations

Another characteristic of the Korean merchant group was its activity system, which differed from that of the community organization. Following CHAT, all activities should have at least seven structural components: subject, object, mediating artifacts (instruments), rules, community of practice, division of labor, and outcome (Engestrom, 1987).

The Korean merchant group lacked some of these components in actions associated with coalition building. For example, in the case of the turkey party at restaurant A, there were the subjects who wanted to improve relations with community residents and the object of providing cooked turkeys for community resident group. However, what this action lacked were rules, division of labor, and outcomes in collective levels of Korean group. More correctly speaking, this action can be considered as restaurant A's action, not the Korean merchant group's action. In a similar vein, Ms. Kim and Ms. Lee's personal acts of services of donation proceeded from individualized motives. In these acts of services, there was no component relating to the identity of the Korean merchant group.

Rules and the division of labor are especially important for conducting collective activities systematically, coherently, and efficiently. I expected to identify these collective components in the Korean merchant group. Within my observation, however, there were no rules or organized division of labor to guide members of the Korean merchant group. There were only individualized and unorganized actions for building relationships. These individualized and unorganized actions might help to better relations between one Korean business and some

community residents. However, the absence of common rules and a protocol for division of labor in the Korean merchant group made it difficult for Korean merchants to have an effect on relations with community residents at the group level.

Each action conducted by Korean merchants, as a result, produced separate outcomes, but there was no way to connect these separate outcomes in the service of coalition building. I was able to identify that some Korean merchants had good relationships with community residents as individuals. However, at the group levels, such relationship did not exist.

In comparison with the Korean merchant group, the community organizations did have components for conducting activities and actions. For example, the SEC showed a different activity structure from that of the Korean merchant group. One important action of the SEC was to provide community residents with weekly worship. This action also consisted of many sub-actions, such as publishing weekly newsletters, cleaning the church, preparing sermons, and preparing social gatherings after worship. Pastor Joan might do all these things alone, but it was difficult and time-consuming. The SEC had official and unofficial rules and a division of labor protocol for all its sub-actions. Following the rules, the secretary created the weekly newsletters and flyers for community events such as addiction class and dance class. A sexton cleaned the church every day. Pastor Joan managed the congregation through counseling and bible study, and she wrote her sermons. Volunteers prepared food for social gatherings every Sunday. A volunteer also prepared a beam project and electronic devices. Given all this organized work, the weekly service was conducted efficiently.

Furthermore, the SEC was able to engage in some actions for the community such as the addiction class and the dance class. It also made plans for a computer class. All of this was facilitated by a clear organizational structure. Members of this church made a weekly donation

through the collection plate passed around at the services. Other resources came from one university, which donated computers because of the initiative of a church member who worked for the university. The university, it can be surmised, made the donation with the expectation that the SEC would use the computers for the public good. No doubt it would have been difficult for an individual to get computers from the university regardless of how good his/her intentions might be.

The following factors enabled the SEC, an organization, to conduct its actions more effectively than a group would: structural features such as clear rules and division of labor, easier accessibility to resources and instruments, and shared purpose. This does not mean that all organizations always conduct actions associated with coalition building well. For example, the MABA encountered many difficulties in conducting actions. Because the MABA did not have enough workers it depended on only one person, Sister Mary, and this dependence on the work of just one person caused numerous problems of its own.

Representative roles in the group and the organization

The representative role does not only refer to who is the leader of a group or organization. Rather, this representative role is related to the authenticity of the entity on which organizational realities is projected. In other words, the representative role indicates how much each member of a participating group or organization can represent the purposes, goals, ideology, and so on of that group or organization.

The Korean merchant group did not have a representative of this type as far as I could tell. When I met a Korean merchant, it can be said that I met one member of Korean merchant group. However, my curiosity is whether any given merchant can really represent the general opinion of the Korean merchant group. In other words, I met one Korean merchant as an individual Korean

merchant. I can say that what he/she said to me, and what he/she stated as an opinion on a number of issues: community residents, various needs, and individualized plan. However, I cannot say that the opinion of any given Korean merchant represented the opinion of the Korean merchant group as a whole.

By comparison, the community organizations that I observed had clear representative roles. For example, to meet a community resident group that focused on social service, I went to the WACE. If I wanted to meet a community resident group that focused on Christian matters, I went to the church. These people surely had their own personal opinions and ideas, but they tried to reflect organizational positions such as vision and plans when I met them. In this situation, I can say I met and came to know a certain organization.

In summary, groups sometimes establish organizations because the form of the group has limitations to conducting specific actions. Here, an example of a Korean merchant group in another area may reveal this difference more clearly—especially in relation to coalition building. However, I will not describe this Korean merchant group on 52nd St. in detail because my purpose is limited to presenting the different characteristics between two groups.

Not far from this community, there was another commercial corridor in a black community. Although fairly similar to the Pinedale area, this area was more prosperous. Many Korean merchants ran businesses in the area. Similar to the Korean businesses in the Pinedale area, Korean businesses here focused on groceries, deli items, sneakers, jewelry, and clothes.

The most striking difference between the Korean merchant group in this area and that in the Pinedale area was that the former group had a Korean merchant organization. Actually, there was one leader who struggled to sustain the Korean merchant organization. Due to his efforts, the Korean merchants on 52nd St. maintained their connections with the community resident

group. According to him, the organization was established at the beginning of the 1990s. At that time, relations between the Korean merchants and the community residents had deteriorated to the point that there were lots of demonstrations and boycotts against Korean businesses. The Korean merchant group felt the need to make a specific and concerted effort to improve relations, and as a result, the Korean merchant organization was born.

What they did first was to build trust. Some leaders of the organization knew that donations alone would not better relations. So, they tried to participate in residents' daily lives such as funeral services, athletic events, community meetings, and the like. One or two Korean merchants would participate in events following a predetermined order. As a result of these efforts, relations between Korean merchants and community residents started to improve. The Korean merchant group gave donations and participated in many events under the name of the Korean merchant organization. In addition, when the police or community organizations needed to contact the Korean merchant group, they contacted the president of this organization, and he, in turn, passed information along as necessary. According to one Korean merchant in the area, the Korean merchants would also discuss any problems they had with community residents with the organization's board. In such cases, the organization would mediate between the Korean merchant and the community resident. Recently, the organization had become less active than in the past because of the slow economy and the retirement of some of its most longstanding members. However, the organization worked hard to maintain its work. In summary, from the perspective of the Korean merchant group in this area, this organization took the role of a mediating artifact, conducting and fulfilling a specific stated purpose for and on behalf of its members.

Generally speaking, organizations are structured to fulfill a specific purpose.

Organizations at least attempt to be efficient tools to conduct specific activities under specific motives and to achieve a specific purpose. The process of coalition building requires lots of specific actions. This process also includes lots of challenges and conflicts. Given these characteristics and the difficulties of coalition building, the form of the organization seems to be more efficient and effective than the form of the group. However, the form of the organization does not by any means guarantee the formation of successful coalitions. In the next section, I will focus on the features that facilitate or hinder coalition building among community organizations.

Challenges and hindrances to coalition building in the Pinedale area

Actions associated with coalition building in the Pinedale area had complicated processes and several problems related to power, leadership, and money. What follows is a discussion of what features constitute challenges and hindrances to coalition building in the Pinedale area. Based on my data, I will discuss five issues: (1) different levels of participation, (2) absence of shared social place, (3) failure to systematically and continuously disseminate information, (4) indifference to and conflicts in motives, and (5) absence of systems satisfying motives. Given my limited access to the community resident group, my analysis will focus on data from the Korean merchant group and from the community organizations.

Different levels of participation

To what extent do participants commit themselves to activities? First, within my observation, the level of participation in this community seemed to be one of the important criteria by which the community residents judged the Korean merchant group. When I talked about relations between the Korean merchants and the community with community residents,

they always commented on this point. Also, Korean merchants did acknowledge that they needed to participate more in community actions if they wanted to improve relations.

From the community residents' side, they complained that the Korean merchants lacked any sense of being part of the community. They wanted the Korean merchants to commit themselves to community actions more thoroughly. This sentiment necessarily conjured this question: What would "being more committed to the community" look like? Here are some answers from some of the people involved in the community organizations:

Well sometimes to me, participation doesn't always mean a donation of money. It might be a donation of coming out and let them know what you do. Coming to a community meeting, voicing your opinion on things that matter. That's concerning the community (From an interview with Ms. Susan).

If we had an event a community festival, let's say on the avenue or on a park near the avenue, would you participate? Nine times out of ten they won't participate because they don't feel that it's a need for them to participate but it is a need because if we can come to you to ask for your donation to make this happen. Then you should come out and set up a table. And have family bring your family out. Interact be a part of the process to some extent depends on what kind of event (From an interview with Sister Mary).

Their criticism of the Korean merchants specifically does seem apt. Surely, many Korean merchants did lack a sense of community with the area. However, I came to be curious in two ways. First, as long as I observed, community residents also seemed to lack this kind of sense of community. Most actions associated with coalition buildings were organized and managed by small numbers of community residents. Most community residents showed similar (to Koreans') indifference to community activities.

Second, I was not sure to what extent community residents tried to form relationships with the Korean merchants. When I worked in and conducted observations at a Korean store for five weeks, I never observed people from any community organization visit the store to discuss community issues. Only Sister Mary from the MABA would come to ask for a donation for the

Turkey Giveaway event or to let merchants know about community meetings and the Clean Corridor Campaign.

The attitudes of the Korean merchant toward community actions can be categorized thus: (1) disregard for community actions, (2) participation from a feeling of charity, and (3) participation from a long-term perspective.

First, some Korean merchants disliked participating in community actions, even to the extent that they did not like making donations. According to Mr. Park and Ms. Lee, some Korean merchants did not want to take part in the community actions not because they did not have enough money and time. Mr. Park told me that some Korean merchants owned buildings in the community and that they spent lots of money on entertainment and luxuries such as golf, expensive car, and so on. Many of these merchants also made donations to the Korean churches. However, they did not want to give donations to the Pinedale community.

One Korean merchant, owner of a wig store, argued that running a business in a poor area was itself a sufficient contribution to a community. He also argued that if he did not run his business in that building, the building would be empty and would deteriorate. However, he maintained the building with his own money. He believed that running a business and maintaining the building were indirect donations to the community. According to Ms. Lee, many Korean merchants who owned buildings in the community shared this attitude. However, some Korean merchants who tried to participate in community actions did not agree with this logic. They seemed to believe that this point of view was selfish, that it focused only on the merchant's own ability to earn money:

Only me, only me... If I earn enough money and my stomach is full, that's it. They kept this attitude... (From an interview with Ms. Hong).

Yes, people who own the building do like that. Anyway, rich people do like that. If they grab money in their hand, then they do not want to spread out their fist (From an interview with Ms. Lee).

Other Korean merchants donated from the perspective of charity. In other words, they donated some money because they felt that the community residents were poor and needy. These merchants seemed to be influenced deeply by Christianity. However, this feeling of charity was not always connected to an interest in community residents' lives or a wish to participate in community actions. To them, donating some money was a way to practice their religious beliefs, and this did not necessarily mean they had a sense of contributing to the community or they had the good of the community as their focus. For this set of Korean merchants there was no emotional attachment or commitment to Pinedale, or to the community residents. The residents merely provided a convenient opportunity for them to exercise their religious beliefs.

The third type of merchants believed that good relations with the community could provide more benefits in the long term. Merchants falling into this category often had experience with the KA-MABA organization and/or other business organizations. So, they had already met with at least some community organizations and residents. Through participating in these organizations, they had realized that donations were not enough to constitute a commitment to the community. Nor were they enough to convince community residents that Korean merchants had a commitment to the community:

In my thoughts, we cannot be satisfied with one-time donations, for example Turkey Giveaway once a year. Except this, when sports teams consist of students or churches in neighbor ask something, when community organizations, such as church ask donations or something, we should help them voluntarily. We cannot be satisfied with one-time donations, \$50. We need to do more (From an interview with Mr. Lim).

Some Korean merchants then did express a wish to cooperate with community organizations such as the MABA and the church on a more consistent basis within their ability to do so. However, they said they really did not know what to do other than making donations.

What caused these different notions among Korean merchants? These different notions proceeded from the different sense of community, and the different experiences, visions, and motives of each Korean merchant. Some Korean merchants tended to think of the area as a workplace only, not their community. One interesting thing in this regard is that the Korean merchants in this area also lacked a sense of community with the places in which they resided. They would actively take part in social organizations where they felt the strongest sense of community, principally Korean churches.

One crucial point here is that different levels of participation did not only exist in the Korean merchant group. All community organizations and community residents did not take part in all community actions actively. Although I was unable to systematically observe the community resident group, my cursory observations lead me to categorize their attitudes into the same types as those used to define the Korean merchant group. In fact, the community resident group consisted of many different social positions, different experiences, and different education levels; therefore, its diversity is likely to have been larger than that within the Korean merchant group. In addition, they also are likely to participate in community actions according to individual needs, goals, and conditions.

Community organizations also showed different levels of participation. The PinCUP meeting had originally started with five community organizations, the PIA, the GSGLA, the MABA, the WACE, and the SEC. At first, they participated regularly in the meeting and the

organization's work. In addition, some community organizations that had not joined PinCUP at its inception, came to the meetings to find out what its work focused on.

In the initial step of the second PinCUP meeting, they shared the necessity of coalition building among community organizations in order to resolve community problems and improve community conditions through sharing resources and ideas among community organizations. However, the number of participants decreased, and attitudes toward PinCUP also deteriorated over time. The PIA and the GSGLA did not attend the meeting after September 2006; the WACE also stopped participating. Within my observations, the SEC (a community organization) and RCBRAE (a university organization) were the only two that maintained consistent participation in PinCUP.

It was natural that people and organizations contributed to where they felt the need to be most acute. However, the fact that they have different attitudes toward participation does not explain why certain people participated in community actions and why certain people did not. To understand the reasons, it is necessary to approach more closely the motives and goals of each participant. I will offer such a discussion of motive in a later section.

It is true to say that negative attitudes and characteristics influenced system more than their positive equivalents. For example, in the PinCUP meeting, different attitudes toward participation coexisted. However, negative attitudes had the upper hand. For example, the GSGLA showed negative attitudes and behaviors to the PinCUP. They influenced participation in the PinCUP negatively and, as a result, the actions of the PinCUP deteriorated. Why is it that positive attitudes and characteristics could not change negative things while the opposite process moved quickly? To answer this question, a more focused approach must be given.

Absence of social places as sharing places

In coalition building, individuals or organizations need a shared place in which to negotiate and share their different social backgrounds, diverse experiences, and varied identities with each other (Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001; Yuval-Davis, 1997). An ideal form of such a shared space would be a “neutral territory where participants have the opportunity to engage in open dialogue without the threat of domination from one/some over another/others” (Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001, p. 8).

One problem related to coalition building in this community was that there were few social places where Korean merchants, community residents, and community organizations could interact with each other. The Korean merchants principally interacted with residents at their businesses. Only the MABA’s Monthly community meetings attempted to offer a social place for Korean merchants and community residents to get to know each other. Organizations did come to the businesses to ask for donations, but that was it. There was no more interaction. Sister Mary agreed with this point:

No social connection. So that’s why we were thinking on our level. Here’s an opportunity to have them. Now the meeting of course is one way of doing that. But from a social level maybe something maybe we could implement a social gathering that will allow you to just on a neutral level just get to meet your resident people and sit in a different setting with a targeted agenda of course or targeted theme. But even if it’s just a meet and greet your neighbor. Here it would put them in a different setting so they can say oh you’re from Wig Imperials business. I come in there. I buy you understand giving the people a chance (From an interview with Sister Mary).

In this community, there was no social place to foster a social connection among diverse subjects. From this perspective, the monthly meetings held by the MABA could have provided a place for this purpose. However, in practice these meetings did not perform that function well.

First, during my observation, I did not meet any Korean merchants at the monthly community meetings. Ms. Kim did attend, but she had come at my invitation. However, it was

not only the Korean merchants who did not attend. Very, very few of the area's merchants ever came to these meetings. Actually, the MABA's board members comprised most of those present. Sometimes, guests from other community organizations related to the MABA or a trainer for the Town Watch program would come, but their attendance was almost only a one-time-only event.

When the KA-MABA had been existence, some of its board members would come to these meetings and talk to the MABA about what the Korean merchants thought. In addition, the KA-MABA would share the events of these meetings at their own meetings. After the KA-MABA had ceased working, the Korean merchants, the erstwhile board members of the KA-MABA, stopped attending the MABA's meetings. Their official excuse was that they were too busy attending to their businesses. In addition, the language and cultural barriers, as described in the previous chapter, also hindered them from participating in community meetings.

These reasons seemed to offer only a partial explanation for their absence from community meetings. Within my observations, I thought there was a more deep-seated problem. Korean merchants, in fact, did not generally feel the necessity of participating in community meetings. I will address this problem in more detail in the next section.

The second problem that I found was that this community meeting ended without any communication about the result or outcomes. The results of the community meeting were not shared with either community residents or merchants. The meeting's outcome would be reported at the next board meeting and that was all. The community residents and merchants had no way of knowing what issues had been raised at the monthly community meetings unless they joined as board member.

On this point, some of the Korean merchants expressed passive attitudes. They really did want to know what issues were discussed at the community meetings and how the MABA was

trying to deal with them. However, they did not participate in any community meetings to know what they wanted. Most Korean merchants offered contradictory solution: a strong and dedicated leader who would deal with this task on their behalf. However, no one wanted to be that leader.

Given the important role of the shared social place in coalition building, the PinCUP meeting could have filled this need. The second generation of PinCUP was initiated with the purpose of creating a social place where community organizations would communicate with each other and work together. PinCUP did in fact, succeed in offering a place for community organizations to meet and share with each other. However, the social place did not seem to be effective in establishing mutual understanding and trust.

The PinCUP meeting took six months for each organization to share identities, challenges, and problems in order to build trust and mutual understanding. During this time, each participant promised to raise the issues relating to their organization:

So, you get people around the table and then you have to start forming relationships. And so you have to have trust relationships,. Because I think every fear that organizations have especially organizations that don't have a lot of volunteers. Your concern about people going to take your volunteers. Going to talk about people going to you are going to be competing for money. People are going to take your money so you have that trust. So I guess one of the first things is to establish a trust (From an interview with Pastor Joan).

Here, two main problems were raised. First, when each participant reported issues, they would bring only official challenges, problems, and motives to the table. They seemed not to want to reveal some of the most troubling challenges, problems, and issues confronted by their organization. According to one member, the organizations did not want to reveal their vulnerabilities. Some members seemed to believe that each organization had a "hidden agenda" that they were determined to keep hidden:

And ultimately yes they are providing funding support. But that wasn't a hidden agenda of mine. I put that up front. I want to be part of the partnership. I wanted to do what I

want but I yes I need funding support also. So I put all mine in the open. Some conflict comes with other entities to some other organizations when they come to the table and they are not upfront (From an interview with Sister Mary).

Why would each participant have its own hidden agenda? Why would they not bring their problems and motivations to the table? One participant pointed out that this hidden agenda came from a lack of trust and a motivation to gain power:

The worst problem is the lack of trust. People or some organizations don't trust this one. Don't trust that but if you got the real deal with the people, then you got to trust somebody. It's the lack of trust in organization. You think I'm trying to take you for granted. But really all we're trying to do is get them all together. It's a lack of trust (From an interview with Ms. Susan).

Desire for itself. To desire to gratify the needs of the self. You know, so I might my ego might say that I want to be in charge. Your ego might say well you want to be in charge. It's going to be impossible for both of us to be in charge of the same group. Right? So that's human ego or I'm not willing to give in on something. So I think that's a huge ... (From an interview with Pastor Joan).

Such a disjunction between the avowed purpose of PinCUP and this lack of trust made for a very confused and confusing situation. They held meetings for six months in order to build trust and cement relationships, but the organizations did not truly share their challenges, problems, and identities because of mutual distrust. Then, how can organizations start to trust other organizations? Why would the organizations have hidden agendas? Answers to these questions are difficult to be certain of, but one answer at least may be related to their basic motives. I will discuss this issue in a later section.

Second, the notion of meeting with the express purpose of only sharing identities and establishing mutual understandings without taking specific actions may itself have been problematic. Some participants complained because they were unsure of how to engage in it or what positive outcomes could accrue from it:

I think we should just not talk about it but we got to be about it. We can't have long meetings and process here process here ... we need to shorten the process and get things

rolling. To me now I don't know but this is one of the first projects [PinCUP-2] I think that we got off the ground (From an interview with Ms. Susan).

Because I find I hear the same thing over and over and over again. You know, people want to talk about what they want to do but they don't always want to do what they want to do. So going from talking to implementation, you know, and I've had a lot I've had different conversations with people over the four years that I've been here and most of them haven't panned out... (From an interview with Pastor Joan).

When new organizations visited the PinCUP meeting, participants needed to say the same things several times in order for them to share their identities. Also, with the one exception of the grant writing application, PinCUP did not conduct any specific action for its first six months. Each organization participated in the PinCUP to get real help. However, they did not get what they wanted during this six-month period. As a result, some community organizations either never took an active part in the meeting or stopped their participation.

Mutual understanding and sharing identities are surely initial steps in coalition building. But they are just one part of a process, not the objective itself. Actually, mutual understanding may be more effectively accomplished by working together. In the example of the GED program, I came to understand more about the SEC when it gave up its bible study room so that PinCUP could use it for the GED class. This example, combined with the observation that many organizations became disillusioned with the PinCUP process, suggests that it is more likely to build trust from working together on specific objectives than spending the lion share of time sharing identities and concerns in formal meetings. I will address this issue in greater detail in the next chapter.

A failed system for continuous dialogue between and among groups and organizations

Coalition building is an ongoing process that requires specific time and energy (Bell & Delaney, 2001; Hardy & Phillips, 1998; Mattessich & Monsey, 1992). This means that building

coalitions is not accomplished by a necessity for or a strong interest in doing so. This process requires a strategic and systematic approach; it also requires making sacrifices.

A key move that organizations usefully make is to implement a dedicated system for continuous communications with members and participants in regard to its actions. Systematic and continuous dialogue between and among groups and organizations maintain involvement on the part of individuals and other organizations—really the lifeblood of any organization.

From this perspective, one problem in actions associated with coalition building in my study is that these dialogues were not conducted systematically or continuously. In the case of community meetings, there were very restricted communication channels between and among groups and community organizations. For example, when the monthly community meeting finished, the results would be reported at the MABA's board meeting. According to Sister Mary, if there were any special issues, then board members and the president would discuss issues at this meeting. However, I observed this board meeting on three occasions, and can say with certainty that no discussion about the results of past monthly community meeting was entered into. Instead, Sister Mary would make a report, and the board members would listen.

Moreover, the results of the monthly community meetings were not shared with community residents and merchants. Also, there was no reflection on this meeting by other subjects. The MABA did have the option of creating and distributing flyers or newsletters to share and reflect on outcomes. It might also have shared information on its website. However, neither of these approaches was attempted; perhaps in large measure because there were so few volunteers to do such work.

Another formal meeting, that of PinCUP, tried to communicate with its members on a continuous basis. For example, after the RCBRAE had finished writing its applications for grants,

it reported its work at the PinCUP meeting. Also, the RCBRAE posted the application papers on its message board for other community organizations to share. However, no discussion occurred on this subject until it was known that the grant application had not been successful. I thought there should be more discussion about finding stable funds and that application should have been thought of as just a starting point. I hoped each organization would share information regarding grants with the others and find some ways forward together. Yet, nothing in the vein transpired. Further, the RCBRAE offered training programs for volunteers to prepare them for the GED and computer program. The RCBRAE intended to share and reflect on this training program with the other community organizations. However, this did not happen because PinCUP meeting was canceled at that time.

As I described, the MABA translated some flyers and documents into two foreign languages. After distributing them, I asked some of the Korean merchants what they thought of this effort. The Korean merchants who had received the documents evaluated the work very positively. Ms. Kim told me that the documents made it easy to understand what the MABA's purpose and work was about. Ms. Kwon also praised the MABA's efforts to translate the documents into Korean. She too was not in the habit of reading the English-language documents that the MABA usually distributed. However, she was able to understand the Korean translations at a glance. Mr. Lim also had an opinion about the Korean documents. He was glad of this work on the one hand. However, on the other hand, he told me that the documents did not give the information that Korean business owners wanted to know. According to him, Korean businesses wanted new information about policies and planning in the community. Also, he told me that this translation looked nothing special to someone, but this kind of efforts made Korean merchants move.

These translations were just a starting point. Especially given the difficulty of a single organization beginning a new venture, this effort deserved to be evaluated in a positive way; after all, it did offer a real step forward in causing some of the Korean businesses to gain an understand of the MABA and its work. Also building coalitions always includes negotiations of difference in order for collective activities to take place (Barvosa-Carter, 2001; Burack, 2001). This effort showed an attitude of respecting various cultural identities, instead of trying to merge different cultural identities into one “shared identity.”

However, the MABA inappropriately concentrated on exerting its own identity and on trying to recruit directly through these documents. It would have been more effective to find out what the Korean merchants wanted to know and offer them that first, with the translated applications to follow at a later date.

A further problem is that translations were not conducted systematically and continually. Other ethnic groups, such as the Vietnamese and the Hispanics, may also have appreciated translated documents, but the MABA did not have any plans to create documents translated for these groups. Also, as Mr. Lim’s comments reveal, there were many issues about which merchants, including Korean merchants, wished to get information. Some Korean merchants really wanted to deal with these issues continually. However, the MABA stopped their translation efforts. The organization seemed to believe that the application forms, introductions to the MABA, and flyers for the Clean Corridor Campaign and the Town Watch program were all that the merchants wanted.

Another problem was that dissemination of this work was not performed regularly. Several times I (as MABA’s Korean translator) had agreed on plans to go into the field, but the MABA canceled because of bad weather. In addition, the MABA had planed to start distributing

the translated documents in December, but did not begin to do so until the middle of February. As a result, the Clean Corridor Campaign's translated flyers were not distributed to all the targeted businesses.

Finally, the MABA stopped distributing the translated documents without getting any feedback from Korean or Chinese merchants. As a result, the MABA did not know how Korean and Chinese merchants felt about these translations. So, I did ask several Korean merchants what they thought about these efforts and I did, in turn, pass their comments on to the MABA.

During this process, I became really curious about why the MABA did not call the Korean merchants to participate in the MABA's work on a more continuous basis. Actually, the MABA did not invite Korean merchants to events such as the Turkey Giveaway although the MABA most certainly did invite them to the monthly community meetings. The MABA seemed to assume that the Korean merchants would not participate in community events. However, one Korean cultural saying is that to say something is better than say nothing. This means that if the MABA had invited the Korean merchants again and again, then the Korean merchants would feel that they would at least be missed at the event.

The MABA may have discontinued translation work because it did not have the capacity to handle it. However, with the help of RCBRAE, the MABA did secure the services of two translators who worked free of charge. This meant that the MABA could use the RCBRAE again if they wanted to get more translators. However, the MABA did not ask for any more help on this point. Also, the MABA did not have enough volunteers to distribute the translations. Only Sister Mary would go to the street to distribute the translated documents.

These disconnected efforts undermined the impact of the MABA's work. Only part of the targeted group was able to recognize the MABA through the documents, and the rest of the

targeted group did not recognize what the MABA was. These unequal distributions also had the possibility of giving a negative impression of the organization to those merchants who did not receive the documents. These merchants may believe that they are deliberately ignored.

The MABA also visited each business only once on any given issue. This one-time visiting practice was inadequate for encouraging merchants to participate in the MABA's activities. Businesses were not able to remember the MABA's work because the merchants' focus was on their own businesses and not on community actions. Without continuous efforts to communicate, it was really difficult for those outside the MABA to care about and participate in targeted actions.

The MABA's efforts to form relationships, however, were more effective than those of the WACE. As I have mentioned already, the WACE had stated several times that it was interested in improving relations between merchants and the community. So, one staff member of the WACE suggested that the organization invite Korean merchants to meetings focusing on improving relations between the Korean merchant group and the community. However, the WACE did not take any steps to put this suggestion into effect. The WACE just asked me how many Korean merchants I would be able to invite if the WACE were to hold such a meeting.

The WACE also planned to get donations from businesses and invite merchants to its Christmas party. In this process, as I pointed already, I wondered whether the WACE really wanted to invite the Korean businesses to its party or not. If the WACE had a strong intention to make Korean businesses part of its Christmas party, it should have worked in a different way.

Without recognizing the existence of and understanding the purpose of each group and organization, it was impossible to start forming relationships. When I asked some Korean merchants whether they knew of the WACE, none of them recognized its name. Given this

situation, it was an ineffective strategy for the WACE, even via my agency, to distribute flyers to the Korean merchants. At least one member of the WACE should have visited the targeted businesses as its representative to begin the relationship-building process. At that moment, I was a temporary bridge between the WACE and the Korean businesses. However, the WACE made no further efforts to construct a stable and systematic communication channel.

Unlike the WACE, the MABA did at least have some name recognition among the Korean merchants. Many of the Korean businesses had participated in the annual Turkey Giveaway event, and the MABA had asked for donations on several occasions. Whenever the MABA had a chance to make a recruitment pitch or publicize a community campaign, it would try to go to every business, including the Korean businesses, in the targeted area. As a result, the Korean businesses had become familiar with the name of the MABA and their events. They were, therefore, reasonably willing to make donations to the MABA when asked.

More correctly speaking, however, they gave donations to Sister Mary, not the MABA. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, except for a small number of Korean merchants who worked as volunteers for the KA-MABA, most Korean merchants did not know exactly what the MABA was. They just knew Sister Mary tried to do something for merchants and the community. Because she had stopped by their businesses continually, they would donate some money to her. If there had been no frequent interaction of this kind, I think it is fair to say that the Korean businesses would not have been willing to make these donations. The WACE's lack of success on this front, its lack of a representative, confirms this statement.

One Korean merchant's efforts, as described in the previous section, were not usual considering that many Korean businesses in this community did not donate to the community personally. His efforts contributed to improving relations between this business and some

community residents. However, his personal efforts were scattered and irregular. In other words, his efforts were known to only a small number of community residents.

Within my observation, the absence of a system for dialogue between and among community residents and organizations made their efforts fragmented. These individualized efforts did not improve perceptions of the Korean merchant group. From this perspective, Jackman and Crane's (1986) arguments make sense. According to them, an individual may have positive opinions of another individual in a different group. However, this individual still has a tendency to keep negative opinions on others in the racial or ethnic groups to which that individual belongs. From this perspective, a system of continuous dialogue between and among groups and organizations is crucial to the process of coalition building.

Indifferences and conflicts arising from competing motives

In the preceding section, I discussed the features that hindered coalition building. In these discussions, I pointed out that factors such as different levels of participation, absence of social places as shared spaces, and failure to implement systematic and continuous dissemination systems negatively influenced attempts to form relationships.

These explanations provide some understanding of why coalition building between among groups and community organizations in this area ran into difficulty. However, these explanations do not perhaps get at the foundation of the problem. In other words, there seem to be more critical and basic reasons. Why were there such different levels of participation? What hindered each partner in the coalition building effort from systematic and continuous dissemination of information? To analyze these radical problems, let us turn to the powerful conceptual tools provided by CHAT. In this section, I will engage with the motives, goals, contradictions and differences that CHAT presents.

According to CHAT, there is no activity that is not oriented to specific motives. In other words, individuals or organizations participating in activities do so to with specific motives. Motives can be considered as biologically induced, culturally mediated drives, desires, and interests. For example, sex, recreation, entertainment, mobility, physical safety, economic security, dignity, and more, are considered to be a basis for our motives. Goals, on the other hand, are intermediary objectives, undertaken to satisfy one or more motives. Compared to goals, motives are more basic, more fundamental, more abstract, and more universal. A goal may also satisfy another goal, that, in turn, may satisfy a motive (Engestrom, 1987; Youn & Baptiste, 2007). Different motives among participants in activities fundamentally influence efforts to build coalitions. In this section, I will discuss two issues: (1) indifferences from different motives and (2) problems of conflict and power from the same motive.

Indifferences from different motives. First, I will focus on how different motives determine different levels of participation among Korean merchants. Actually, it cannot be denied that the basic motive of Korean merchants running business is survival in the U.S. As I have mentioned already, some Korean merchants were reluctant to donate because they thought making a donations would not positively influence their financial status. They told me that they ran their business for their own survival, not for the purpose of almsgiving. However, some Korean merchants did make donations. Still others wished to do more than just offer donations.

These different notions were expressed as a contradiction between a possible long-term benefit and a short term profit, and as the difference between charity and community action.

Most merchants agreed that improving relations could bring benefits including increased visible profits in the long term. However, some Korean merchants were reluctant to be involved in any community activity because they believed that these actions were not fit for making

money in the short term. According to Mr. Park, they seemed to want to secure individual happiness through earning money. They would pay \$120 to play golf but would not donate \$20 to the community or to the KA-MABA. Correctly speaking, they were focused on short-term profits in order to achieve their basic motives such as individual happiness.

There were two types of Korean merchants who wanted to participate in community actions. The merchants who wanted to donate money to community events seemed to have religious motives. As long as they had earned sufficient money for their own survival, these Korean merchants expressed the idea that they gained a great sense of satisfaction from practicing their beliefs through charitable giving. Whenever I talked with them, they frequently expressed the feeling that the community residents were poor and that they made their donations in accordance with God's words.

Their participation based on a feeling of charity could surely have a positive impact on the process of relationship building. However, these efforts had limits for the purpose of coalition building. In fact, these merchants were more interested in the donation itself than in relationship building. They thought that donations were a sufficient contribution to the community, and they did not feel the need to attend community meetings.

The problem with this motive in terms of its effect on coalition and relationship building was that the merchants conducted individualized actions to fulfill their motives, but they did not locate their actions in a broader context of activity. In other words, they focused only on the action of donations, not on the activity of coalition building. As a result, they did not recognize how their donations might influence relations with community residents on a deeper and more ongoing basis.

Baptiste's (1994) commentary on civic action and philanthropy is instructive in this regard. He notes: "A **civic act** is one aimed primarily at fulfilling some public interest; one in which benefits accrue to the community or society as a whole, not merely to private actors" (p. 114, emphasis in original). After providing examples of several civic acts in his own research, Baptiste continues:

It is important to note that none of these acts were self-abnegating. Indeed, I am yet to find a purely selfless action, that is, one in which the actor has no vested interest.

However, what makes them civic actions is the fact that they were undertaken by actors whose interests were transformed and/or integrated into the public interest they were attempting to serve" (pp. 115-116).

Distinguishing between civic acts and philanthropy (which I call charity) Baptiste writes: A civic action is distinguished from philanthropy. In a philanthropic act, the interest of the philanthropist may or may not be integrated into the interest of the public she is attempting to serve. Accordingly, the philanthropist's interest might be frustrated even if the public interest is served. Or conversely, the philanthropist's interest might be served even though the public's interest is frustrated" (p. 116).

The other type of Korean merchants wanted to take part in community actions in the long term. Some Korean merchants confessed that, as with other merchants, their basic motives were survival and gaining personal happiness from their lives. However, they also pointed out that establishing concrete relationships with community residents would bring more stable and bigger profits in the end.

The Korean merchants who looked at relationships with the community residents from a long-term perspective were among those who had volunteered for the KA-MABA. These

merchants knew how community residents perceived them; they knew also that these negative impressions were detrimental to their businesses. So, they tried to create bridges between Korean merchants and community residents through the MABA and to participate in community actions by attending community meetings and events.

However, short-term profits were also important to businesses. Their needs in regard to short term profits made it difficult for them to focus on improving relations. They needed to pay rent and utilities. They also had families to support. Also, after the KA-MABA had stopped its work, there was no forum through which to contribute.

Individuals cannot but be involved in many kinds of activities. Depending on what kinds of motives individuals focus on, their participation in activities can change. Different experiences such as organizational activities and actions, interactions with residents, and belief in God mean individuals have different motives. This, of course, is also true of Korean merchants. We cannot expect them to take part in building coalitions with community groups in some automatic and wholly focused way. Their motive for running a business in this community was not to take part in building coalitions.

Most Korean merchants in the Pinedale had a short-term benefit perspective or religiously oriented motive. These merchants did not try to connect their actions to larger context; they were not interested in the larger context of improving community conditions through coalition building. In other words, they were indifferent to coalition building because their basic motives were not directly related to it.

The notion of different motives is also applicable to community organizations. The efforts of the MABA exemplify this point. The MABA's official purpose or motive was to contribute to community development through forming relations between the merchant group

and the community group. However, the MABA's other basic motive was that of sustaining the organization. To the president of the MABA, Sister Mary, this sustenance was fundamental because she would lose her job if the MABA became defunct. I believe that sustaining the MABA constituted Sister Mary's primary motive because she began to focus on running her own business rather than managing the MABA when she opened a restaurant. Much of her official schedule for the MABA changed according to the schedule of the restaurant. However, when this restaurant closed for several reasons, she came back to the MABA office and worked hard. I do not blame her for having less concern about the MABA while she ran the restaurant. I am merely pointing out that the continued existence of an organization is bound to be extremely important to the paid staff members of any organization (when such pay is a primary source of income).

In light of the MABA's different motives, translations, community events, and donations can be considered as means to achieve such. One of the MABA's motives was to improve relations with other ethnic merchants. However, the MABA had another motive—that of sustaining itself. Through these instruments, the MABA tried to achieve its motives. When I observed that the MABA focused on publicizing its translated documents to other organizations that might possibly provide funds rather than distributing them to the merchants or doing translations for merchants of other ethnicities I drew this conclusion: that the MABA was more driven by the motive of sustaining itself than by the motive of coalition building. When the MABA had amassed several translated documents to use as a kind of evidence, it gave up translating even though there was much work yet to be done.

Other community organizations were similar to the MABA in that they have more than one motive determining their activities. However, they did share the motive of wanting to sustain themselves. This motive became clear when Ms. Susan pointed out that the WACE needed to get

more funds to pay for its staff. Considering these basic motives of community organizations, they might be indifferent in coalition building between the Korean merchant group and the community resident group because their first motive was sustaining the organization itself.

Competition for scarce resources. Within my observations, there seemed to be no visible serious conflicts between and among the Korean merchant group, the community resident group and the community organizations. What I observed was conflicts among the Korean merchants and conflicts caused by the GSGLA among the community organizations in preparing the GED and computer program. These conflicts arose larger over competition for scarce resources.

The conflicts among the Korean merchants did not emerge in a clear way. However, I was able to identify hidden conflicts by analyzing my data. As I have described, Korean merchants usually did not have many informal meetings among the same kinds of businesses, for example, between same clothes stores. They tended to suspect other Korean merchants of having untoward motives when other Korean merchants running same businesses visited them. Because of this, there were some quarrels between the Korean merchants. What was at the bottom of these conflicts among Korean merchants?

The businesses run by Koreans sometimes overlapped. As described, Korean merchants mostly ran grocery, jewelry, and clothes stores and laundromats. In the Pinedale, three dollar stores, two jewelry stores, three clothes stores, and three grocery stores were run by Korean merchants. Competition among the merchants was, therefore, severe.

The merchants' basic motive was to make a profit in order to survive. In this situation, the fact that one business gets customers means that another business loses customers. This situation seemed to be starting point of the hidden conflicts among the Korean merchants. As a

result, coalition building among the Korean merchants was difficult without offering a specific motive to bring them together.

Conflicts arising competition for scarce resources were not exclusive to the Korean merchants. Such conflicts also arose among the community organizations. When the GSGLA sent e-mail to members of PinCUP-2, the contents of the e-mail focused on miscommunication and mistrust among the community organizations. Specifically, the GSGLA did not want PinCUP to conduct the GED and computer programs without the GSGLA's involvement. More precisely, the GSGLA wanted to conduct this program by itself. The SEC and the WACE became unhappy with GSGLA over this issue. From their perspective, the GSGLA's wish to control the GED and computer program was inappropriate.

But why did the GSGLA want to control the GED program? Why did the GSGLA not want to collaborate with the other community organizations? According to Pastor Joan, the GED and computer program was a good item with which to approach to make an appeal for resources to any number of institutions and city agencies that could contribute funding. In the previous section, I postponed the discussion of hidden agendas and mistrust as it pertained to PinCUP. We can understand these organizational behaviors through the concept of motive. A moment's reflection on some of the comments made by staff members on the subjects of hidden agendas, trust, and power throws light on the competition among agencies. The staff members all indicated that the organizations shared the motive of wanting to gain physical resources for their own survival.

Community organizations usually compete with each other to get grants and funds from institutions or agencies through their services. However, these physical resources are to say the least limited. In a capitalist society, competition for limited resources is considered natural. In

order to obtain these limited resources, the organizations hide their information and intentions from other competing organizations. In our example, the community organizations in PinCUP attempted to both cooperate with each other and pursue competitive activities through their hidden agendas. They all had similarly conflicting motives.

In observing this process, what I really wanted to know was why they focused on dividing and gaining limited resources only for themselves? Why did they not try to figure out together how they could expand these given limited resources to create limitless, or at least more bountiful, resources? The ultimate purpose of coalition building is to improve community conditions through solving community problems. In my opinion, this purpose cannot be achieved by dividing limited resources. Creating resources and sharing the result of their actions would make coalition building and its hoped-for benefits possible.

The absence of a system for satisfying motives

I have examined the factors that hinder coalition building between and among the Korean merchant group, the community resident group, and the community organizations. I have pointed out that basic motives are crucial factors in determining if and to what extent a subject will participate in activities and actions. Satisfying motives, then, is very important in building coalitions. However, the problem then becomes how to satisfy diverse motives among subjects. To solve this problem, what is required is a system to organize and negotiate among different motives and conflicts arising from the same motives. In such a system, the organization can become an instrument to achieve the goals and purposes of the group.

Here, I will examine this issue through the defunct organization, the KA-MABA. This discussion could provide some clues as to what community organizations should be most concerned about. According to some Korean merchants, the KA-MABA once worked effectively,

but it ceased operation because of a low level of member participation. One reason given to account for the demise of the KA-MABA was that the some of the Korean merchants were “selfish.” However, my own suspicion is that the KA-MABA may not have done enough to satisfy Korean merchants looking after the short term benefits in this area. One purpose of the KA-MABA was to improve relations between community residents and Korean merchants. This purpose sounded great, and most merchants agreed on the benefit of it. The problem was accomplishing anything clear in that direction would take a very long time and also required a significant investment of resources. In other words, this process had to be understood from a long-term perspective. Korean merchants, meanwhile, remained sensitive to visible and quick profits because these were directly related to their survival. They could hardly help their focus on short-term profits. In short, the failure of the KA-MABA was the failure to find a balance between long-term benefits and short-term profits.

I did spend some time with people who had been part of the KA-MABA, but I was not able to discern any particular actions that it had been undertaken. I did determine, though, that board members had invested a good deal of time and work in the organization. However, this organization seemed to have remained in a passive role. The main actions of the KA-MABA encompassed collecting donations and having dinner together. In looking to sustain itself, any organization, I would argue, needs to know what its members want from it and then seek to balance those wants. Succinctly speaking, the KA-MABA failed to work closely with the motives of its members. For other organizations too, such as the Korean churches and business associations, proper motives are very important factors in encouraging members to engage in active participation.

When individuals join an organization, they anticipate receiving benefits from their membership. However, I was not able to find any visible, short-term benefits that would accrue from joining the MABA. From the long-term perspective, the creation of a bridge between merchants and the community, and contributing to the development of community could become benefits to the merchants. And, the MABA always emphasized this vision when Sister Mary visited the businesses. In other words, the current idea was simply to ask merchants to invest their efforts and money in a long-term invisible and uncertain future. However, the MABA needed to produce visible outcomes that were directly related to merchants' profits and that would appeal to the merchants. The Clean Corridor Campaign was one good example of a visible benefit, but it was conducted too slowly and too inconsistently. As a result, most merchants did not realize the MABA worked to accomplish a cleaner environment in the area.

Many Korean merchants wanted their street to be cleaner and safer. The Clean Corridor Campaign spoke to these wishes, and so some of the merchants did take an active part in its work. However, this involvement was difficult to sustain because of the inconsistency of the campaign. Had this campaign been conducted more coherently and completely by board members, it could have brought more visible results in both the short and the long term.

In the case of relations among community organizations, they seem to need different systems. To manage and negotiate among different community organizations, more effective and powerful systems are required. PinCUP-2 can be interpreted as one attempt to create a system to manage and negotiate among community organizations. However, this system failed to work. From my data, I draw this conclusion: the most important factor in coalition building is to deliver the message that coalition building is an effective way to satisfy basic motives.

Until now, I have focused on how different motives influence the process of coalition building. During my time in the field, coalition building efforts in the Pinedale area had stagnated. Every participant polled would say that “building coalitions is good for the community,” but it was “just talk.” Under basic motives such as surviving in the U.S., pursuing individual happiness, and sustaining an organization, many people were not interested in helping others or being part of an ongoing effort to do so. Putting together these discussions, I think the critical and fundamental reason for this standstill was indifference to some and conflicting motives for others.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSIONS and CONCLUSION

Discussion

In this last chapter, I discuss some theoretical and practical issues that emerged from conducting this study. The chapter consists of six interrelated issues: (1) triggers for building memberships in groups, (2) systematic and continuous dialogue between and among groups and community organizations, (3) sharing identity and building trust through collaboration, (4) organizations as a mediated tool for building coalitions and (5) learning as processual outcome.

Triggers for building memberships in groups

One theoretical framework employed in this study is the social identity perspective on the group. Given that my study area comprises various ethnic groups, the social identity perspective offers an opportunity for gaining considerable insight. The perspective allowed me to identify groups that act as a basis for self-categorization through identifying shared social identities. The perspective also provided explanatory tools for understanding the relationship among groups through the concept of in-groups and out-groups. Following this perspective, differentiating ‘ourselves’ from ‘others’, becomes one source of membership in groups. This explanation seems to be reasonable based on our experiences.

However, I have come to question this explanation after conducting this study. Surely, Korean merchant group and African-American group in my research site categorized themselves and others following ethnicities and nationalities. From this perspective, the perspective of social identity seems to be right. However, different from the assumption of social identity theory, the strength of membership was not intense with only the reason that they shared social identity. .

When membership in groups is determined and maintained solely by social identity, it takes crisis for the group to act. The Korean merchant group is a case in point. As I described

earlier, Korean merchants showed strong membership as Korean merchant group when they encountered problems such as the increase of community residents' hostility and boycotts against Korean merchants. However, after easing of problems and tensions, membership in Korean merchant group also waned. This suggests that membership in Korean merchant group was enforced only in crisis. From this perspective, as Mr. Lim Commented, people seem not to want to be strongly involved in community organizations if they don't have specific problems.

This phenomenon of changing the strength of membership can be also observed in community organizations in my research site. Different from groups, organizations was not based on only social identity. They also shared specific purpose and process. However, some members of community organization did not show strong membership for community organization. Within my analysis, economic reason was an important factor that facilitated or hindered the strong participation in COs. In the case of MABA, other members were not able to participate in MABA because they should make a living. However, in the case of WACE, volunteers actively participated in WACE with the hope of making a living through organizational activities.

My brief suggestion based on my experiences is that community organizations and groups need to be more diligent to understand members' needs. Recall my discussion (in chapters 3 and 6 respectively) of the failure of KA-MABA and the vigorous activities of a similar Korean merchant association in another part of the city. Fulfillments of individual members' needs seem to be a basic distinction between the two organizations. Most community organizations and groups that I met struggled to manage their ordinary tasks. Maybe, my suggestion could be an unreasonable demand for them. However, finding members' need and relating activities with their needs seem to be important triggers for building memberships.

Given this situation, the question becomes: Is it possible to sustain high participation in groups formed solely on the basis of social identity, even when there are no crises? If so, what are those conditions? What explains the consistently high participation rate of COs, whose members experience similar daily struggles for survival, as do the COs in my study? What is different about these “successful” organizations? In order to answer to this question more correctly, further research into this phenomenon is required.

Hidden power relations in this community

Concerning power, Foucault writes:

Power is everywhere not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. And “Power,” insofar as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-reproducing, is simply the over-all effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them and seeks in turn to arrest their movement ... power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society (Foucault, 1976, p. 93).

According to Foucault, power cannot be identified from macro perspectives. It pervades our daily life and social relation. It can be also understood from specific cultural and historical context. From this perspective, what kind of power relation does exist in my research site?

Within my observation, there were highly visible and not so visible instances of power imbalances. For instance, most Korean merchants seemed to believe that they were superior to community residents and to think that community residents ignored them.

Their feeling of superiority seemed to mainly come from the inequality of physical and cultural capital. While Korean merchants had more physical capital such as money and property, community residents had cultural capital related to the US life. Also, because most Korean merchants had been in middle class in Korea before coming to the US, they seemed to believe

that they had higher cultural background than community residents. As a result, community residents got the feeling that they were ignored by Korean merchants.

However, as I described, Korean merchants said that community residents seemed to ignore Koreans because of poor English skills. Following their statements, community residents said that poor English cannot be problems. However, when community residents became upset because of troubles from transactions, they always commented Korean's poor English. Also, Korean merchants felt isolations when they participated in community activities.

These unequal power relations emerged from specific cultural and historical context of Pinedale and Wimbledon. For example, low English proficiency did not function as a serious barrier among Korean merchants. However, when they made relations with community residents, this factor started working. In a similar vein, physical capital also functioned relatively. Most Korean merchant had the tendency to envy (and harbor feelings of inferiority towards Jewish merchants, while feeling superior to community residents because of economic reasons.

Unequal power relations were also exhibited among COs. As I described, most COs in PinCUP-2 depended on RCBRAE, especially the faculty. Correctly speaking, this faculty had more power to decide agenda and process of project. Ironically, this faculty did not have intention to have the power over COs, and made efforts to prevent it; but it still happened. This power came from the physical resources that the faculty could provide to COs and his professional knowledge.

One implication of my observation of unequal power relations is that it could reveal the potential factors of conflicts among different subjects. Then, following research questions need to be investigated further: Can this unequal power relation be changed into equal power

relations? What factors facilitate or sustain these unequal power relations? When and how this unequal power relation is turned into visible conflicts?

The limitation of my study was that I did not use CHAT properly to explain the nature and consequences of the unequal power relations I observed. To investigate unequal power relations with CHAT, in the future, researchers need to provide readers with empirical and systematic observations.

Systematic and continuous dialogues between and among groups and community organizations

I reviewed the contact hypothesis which maintains that individuals' increased contact with members of other ethnic groups will reduce prejudice, which in turn will reduce intergroup conflicts (Allport, 1979). However, this theoretical explanation seems not always fit for my research findings. As my data suggest, the opposite may also occur; increase contact may increase prejudice.

Korean merchant group and community resident group in Pinedale interacted with each other everyday as merchants and customers. However, different from the contact hypothesis, most people who I met in the field did not think their relations between Korean merchant group and community resident group were growing in positive ways. Rather, some Korean merchants came to confirm their stereotype for community residents with time.

The missing point of the contact hypothesis is attention to the quality of daily interaction. The fact that there are daily interactions does not mean that different subjects come to better understand each other automatically. If there is no specific effort for mutual understanding of others in daily interaction, it is difficult for diverse individual to reach compromise. Without specific efforts and activities to understand others, it is difficult to have mutual understandings of others through daily interactions.

The group position theory seems to better fit the situation in Pinedale. This theory argues that increased contact among individuals from different groups may change personal feelings toward individuals from other groups, but attitudes toward other groups cannot be changed easily (Jackman & Crane, 1986; Lee, 2000). As I analyzed previous chapters, some Korean merchants had good relations to some community residents. However, this did not result in better relations between Korean merchant group and community resident group.

In this situation, systematic and continuous dialogues between and among groups and community organizations can be one solution. As I described in the previous section, one Korean merchants association in 52nd St. tried to improve systematic and continuous dialogues with community residents. To do so, they visited funeral services, community events and police station from time to time. Systematic and continuous dialogues require specific efforts and practices. MABA's efforts to stop by every merchant in targeted area can be an example of this specific effort. The assumption that Korean merchants would not show up at community things because they are busy cannot be helpful to build relationship. One Korean maxim is that "saying something is better than saying nothing."

The other major challenge to systematic and continuous dialogues was conflicts among motives. In the case of Korean merchants, different motives became problematic while community organizations had visible and invisible conflicts with each other because of competition for scarce resources. I already reviewed that problems of conflict, power, and different status among diverse subjects are inevitable in the situation of limited resources (Lovaglia, Mannix, Samuelson, Sell, & Wilson, 2005).

These same or different motives produced indifference, competition, hidden agenda, and conflicts between and among groups and community organizations in my research field. These factors hindered subject from starting systematic and continuous dialogues.

Based on my findings, following research questions become: How these good individual relations can be turned into good group relations? What factors can make connection between individualized motives and common motives?

Sharing identity and building trust through collaboration

Many studies suggest that forging coalitions among multiracial groups requires a process that builds trust and mutual understanding over time (Hardy & Phillips, 1998; Lee, 2002; Warren, 2001; Wolff, 2001). Based on a certain degree of trust, the process of coalition building can go to the next step.

This factor was really crucial to build coalition between and among groups and community organizations. In the Pinedale community, it cannot be said that there were mutual understandings and sharing identities between and among groups and community organizations. The PinCUP-2 was a forum for COs to share ideas about projects and to assist each other. However, it took six months before any meaningful collaboration on projects occurred. During six months, the PinCUP focused on sharing “who we are.”

What I found from my study was that sometimes making place and spending time for only sharing identity and building trust did not work properly. When I asked what were the most problems in the PinCUP-2 to some members of the PinCUP, they pointed out this kind of meeting seemed to be useless. Pastor Joan’s comment showed how they felt this process very well: (about problems in the PinCUP-2) “Sitting down and listen to people talk.”

Different from some theoretical frameworks, coalition building seems not to take linear steps of coalition buildings (Barta-Smith, 2001; Bickel, 2001; Foster-Fishman, Berkowitz, Lounsbury, Jacobson, & Allen, 2001; Harding, 1998; Roth, 2003). Also, the meaning of sharing identities and mutual understandings does not always indicate share good characteristics of each subject. It also seems to include that the participants' awareness of invisible conflict and hidden agenda.

From this perspective, some level of sharing identity and mutual understandings happened when members of the PinCUP-2 started working together. As I described already, when the PinCUP-2 prepared for the GED and Computer class, participants started showing different attitudes toward this preparation. Also, the hidden conflicts among community organizations revealed. During this process, each community organization came to know what problems were and who actively took part in this preparation. This process can be also considered as the process of sharing identities and mutual understandings. This means that building trust and mutual understandings happens as the reciprocal process. However, to develop this situation to real sharing identities and mutual understandings, they needed to have systematic and continuous dialogues.

This principle can be also applied to the relations between Korean merchant group and community resident group. Within my observation, there was no activity or action that both groups worked together. If they found proper actions or activities that both groups were interested in, then there could be more chance to share identities and mutual understandings with each other.

My suggestion for coalition building among diverse subjects is this: what the first assignment for coalition building between and among groups and community is to find specific

actions or activities that diverse subjects can be interested in. Maybe, community leaders can take important roles in this process of finding specific actions or activities. Relating my suggestion, following research questions become: What factors enhance the trust among COs and groups? How conflict situation can be turned into trust and mutual understanding? What factors can lead COs and groups to initiate common projects?

Organizations as a mediated tool for building coalitions

In the chapter 6, I examined the structural features that distinguish groups from community organizations. Putting together, the form of group cannot but have some limitations to facilitate coalition buildings. As I pointed out, there was no mediation system that enables members to negotiate different motives and lead members to specific actions or activities. Also, there was no system that finds common goals and purposes among members.

Considering this problematic characteristics of group, the form of organization can be tools to facilitate coalition building among diverse subjects in more efficient and effective ways. I already exemplified the differences between two Korean merchant groups, one in Macon and the other on 52nd Street. These differences show how much the form organization is effective and efficient. This argument, however, does not mean all organizations are always effective and efficient to make coalition buildings. How organizations are structured and what and how organizations pursue might be important to assess organizations in coalition buildings.

What I was not aware of before conducting my research was that the importance of leadership in organizations. Depending on the mode of leadership, the characteristics of organizations become different. On the one hand, the democratic leadership seems to facilitate members to make decisions by themselves and to voluntarily participate in activities or actions

together. While on the other hand, autocratic leadership is to make decision by one or part of members and to let members take part in activities and actions under the name of efficiency.

Prior to conducting this study, I did not realize there was such a thin line between democratic and autocratic leadership. Within my data, I did not discern the democratic leadership from the autocratic leadership. For example, in the case of MABA and the PinCUP-2, Sister Mary and the faculty took the role of the leader whether they want or not. I did not know how to assess their style right now.

Based on my findings, following research questions need to be investigated: What factors can facilitate for group to form organizations? What is the sound leadership in COs or groups? What is the role of leadership in COs or groups?

Learning as processual outcomes of activities

Learning happens in everyday life. However, this does not mean that learning is produced automatically in daily life. This learning cannot happen without participation in specific activities. In other words, all activities produce some kinds of outcomes. Learning is one possible outcome of activity. This means that there is the possibility that leaning may not be produced by specific activities. Different from Engeström's definition of learning activity, I pointed out in the chapter 2 that learning cannot be an activity and, instead, I defined learning as 'processual outcomes of human activities that take the form of new and/or improved human operations'.

As I said, learning is one of possible outcomes of activity. To understand learning in this dissertation, I first make clear which activity happened in this community and what were outcomes of this activity. Coalition building is not an activity per se; rather, it can be considered as a set of interrelated activities; which in my study included building relations, developing

community condition, economic survival, and so on. Coalition building can then be regarded as a by-product of these more well defined activities.

In my study area, numerous learning might have been produced during my research. Let me give an example of learning in my study, focusing on the relationship building activity system. First, the people who were concerned about making good relations in Pinedale community would be the subject. This subject consisted of community residents, merchants, and COs. Instruments such as documents, flyers, community meetings, and community organizations were used to build relationship. Within my observation, there were some rules for building relationship such as respecting diversity. Also, there was the division of labor, although it was not clear, among participants. However, I was not able to identify the community of practice because of its conceptual confusion. This activity system of building relations produced many different outcomes, for example, deep relations, conflicts, and learning and so on. This activity system can be depicted as Figure 10.

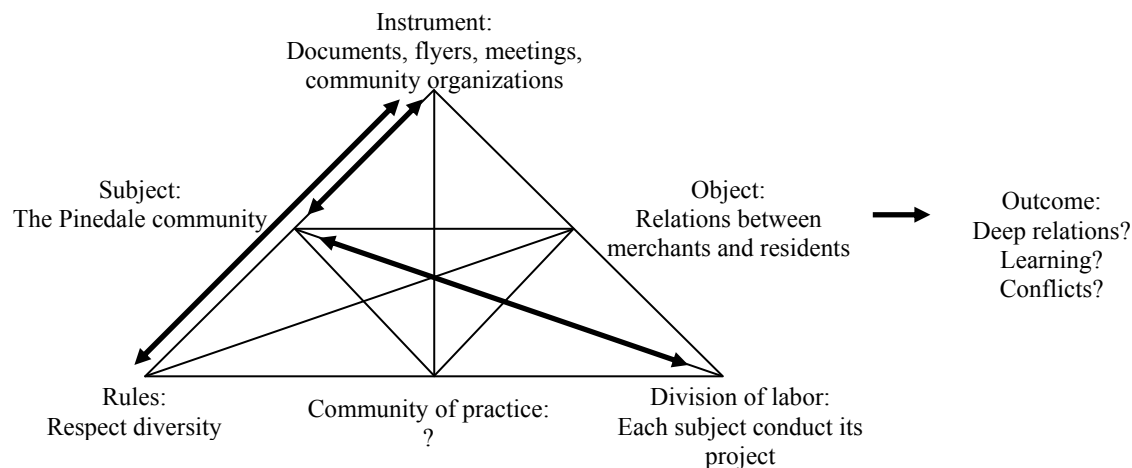


Figure 10. Activity system of building relationship

I shall now employ the concept of “contradiction” to illustrate how and why certain forms of learning occurred. However, I would focus on main contradiction in this activity system. The main contradictions I observed in this activity system were between the subject and the

instrument, between rules and the instrument, and between subject and the division of labor (secondary level contradictions). Also, the subject and rules had inner contradiction (primary level contradictions). These sources of contradictions were discussed more thoroughly in chapter 6, I summarize them below as a reminder to my readers.

The contradiction among subjects was between people who wanted to improve their relations and people who wanted to maintain the status quo. The contradiction among rules was between ideal rules (respecting diversity) and real rules (ignoring diversity). In this situation, when people in MABA tried to conduct relationship buildings and provide services to other ethnic merchant groups, their communications could not but have limitations because of language and cultural barriers. Also, some merchants who could not read English were unable to participate adequately in these activities (contradiction between instrument and subject).

However, there was no proper instrument to solve these communication problems, although the interested parties always argued that respecting diversity is important (contradiction between instrument and rules). Moreover, because of competing roles and responsibilities, no one took the role of convener or facilitator to solving these problems (contradiction between subject and division of labor). As a result, actions such as community meetings and act of services were not conducted well.

During conducting these actions, some subjects felt the need for new actions to solve this problem. Therefore, one community organization, MABA, created a specific tool such as translated documents and, as such, introduced a new instrument-producing action into activity system of building relationship. As a result, this activity system was expanded compared to what it was previously. This expanded activity system, in turn, would simultaneously influenced community meetings and act of services.

In summary, this action of translation was a processual outcome, resulting from activity of building relationship. As I explained the hierarchical structure of activity, action, and operation in the chapter 2, actions are carried out in variable concrete circumstances with conscious goal. From this perspective, the first stage of MABA's translation can be considered as the level of action. When MABA conduct its first translation, it MABA needed specific intentions, plans, and process in every step. However, after that first time, MABA came to realize the usefulness of the tool and MABA tried to generalize this action. Considering that operations are related to conditions not often consciously reflected by the subject, MABA internalized translation with practice. As a result, I identified MABA translations collapsed into operations because they became more automatic, requiring less conscious effort whenever they needed. This translation was at first the action that had its own purpose, but after becoming operation, translation came to be a condition for other actions such as meetings in community or act of service. These new (now relatively automated) operations associated with translation are examples of learning. But translation was not the end of any activity; rather, this outcome provided the subject with new conditions.

How this learning influence other actions associated with building relationships is depicted below in figure 11. A new form of instrument-producing action created by people in MABA changed the instrument and influenced other actions. For example, WACE also tried to use translation for act of service, although it did not happen. Also, other ethnic merchants such as Korean and Chinese were able to access the meetings in community through translation. As a result, the activity system started changing to culturally more advanced activity system that had more useful instruments.

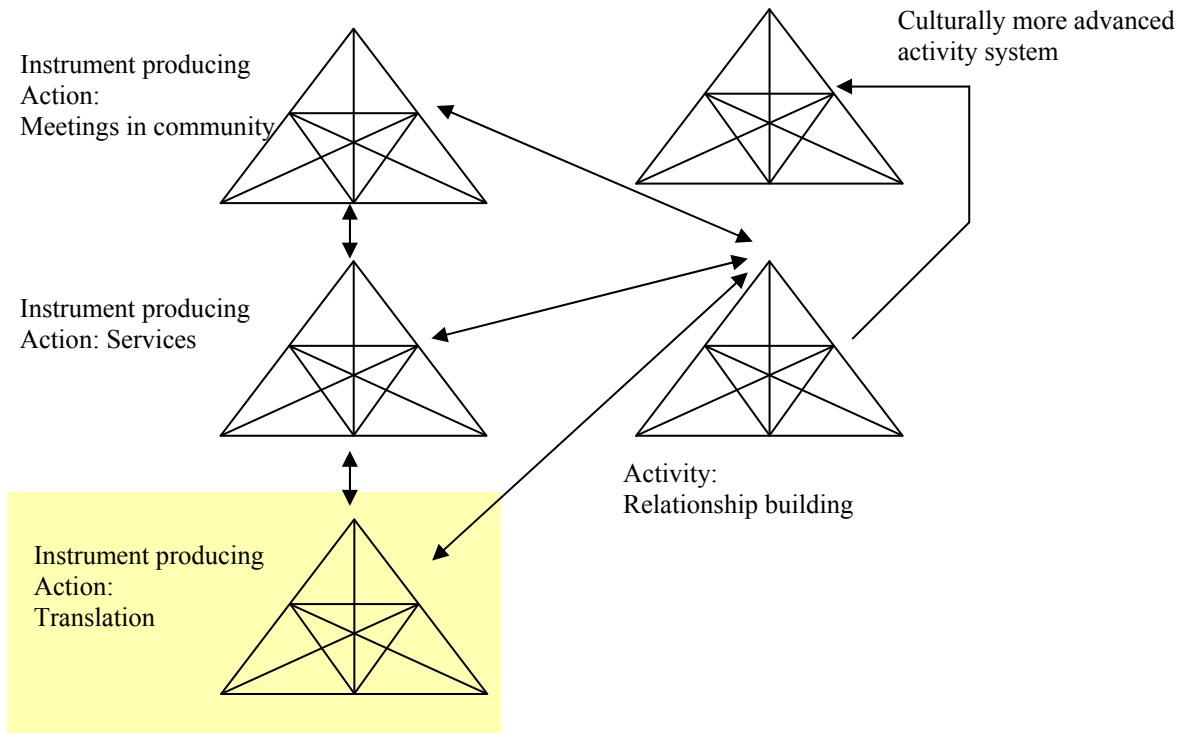


Figure 11. Changed activity system for relationship building

Different from the Engeström's view that learning is a process and 'activity producing activity', I was not able to identify specific activity for learning in this process. For example, MABA produced new action of translation and as a result, changed activity system for building relationship, not for learning.

To summarize, in my example of learning, the subject was a collective (MABA). With regards to relationship building, the corporate behavior of MABA changed from what it was previously. MABA was now able to perform new operations; operations it could not perform previously. Those new operations (for example, related to fostering relations between and among Korean merchants and African-American residents) constitute organizational learning. Successful and repeated execution of these new operations required efforts from multiple members of MABA. For instance, although the translator's role was crucial, his efforts, alone

could not result in the development and successful dissemination of the materials in Korean language. Other members of MABA had to play a role. The president, Sister Mary, for instance, had to provide necessary English templates, space, and printing equipment. She also provided feedback and encouragement to the translator; and assisted in distributing the translated documents. Without her efforts the activity would have failed.

On the individual level, we know that individual Korean merchants learned from the translation effort (e.g., they gained new information about MABA and about the community). Also, by their participation in the activity, some subjects such as Sister Mary of MABA and specific Korean merchants came to appreciate more fully the meaning and significance of the translation effort. They are now able to better relate its meaning and significance in the broader context of coalition building, and this knowledge is retrievable and useable in the future.

This effort, however, was meaningless to some Korean merchants who were indifferent to the relationship building activities. Surely, they might learn from other specific activities because they participated in different activities. However, relating with specific relationship building activities (through the translation effort) they learned nothing because they did not take part in this activities.

Conclusion

The term of coalition building seems to include the positive meaning automatically. I do not want say all coalition building activities are positive to the community development. Sometimes, coalition building activities could take the form of collusion among power holders. Nevertheless, I still argue that coalition building activities are a crucial and powerful strategy for oppressed people because each individual or organization does have only so limited power and

abilities. If these individualized limited power and abilities put together, the gathering power and abilities could radically change social structures.

In this study, I did not present how to make better coalition building among oppressed people in detailed. Instead, I pointed out and suggested some considerations for building coalitions between and among groups and community organizations. I hope the results of this study could contribute to some people who share same social and political ideals with me.

Finally, I want to say something about learning. My analysis has, hopefully, demonstrated that the assertion that learning is a processual outcome of activity holds potential for systematically investigating learning as a social process, in ways that other theories of learning do not. In other words, focusing on describing the activity system, and on examining different types of outcomes produced by that activity, is a far better way to empirically observe learning, than searching for some specific (or general) learning process. This brings me to a crucial imitation of this study: I illustrated, in my study, that learning is one of possible outcome of human activity. What I missed was this: what specific cultural and historical contexts and factors facilitated or hindered the production of certain forms of learning? Why learning did not happened to some subjects in activities while learning happened to others? If learning is an outcome of activity rather than an activity itself, what is the role of educator? I missed the opportunity to examine these questions in my dissertation.

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Appendices

Appendix A: An example of unstructured interview guide

Interview Questions

Interviewee: Mr. Park

Date and time: 02/08/2007 9:30AM – 11:30AM

Interview place: Mr. Park's store

1. Basic information of interviewees

- (1) age
- (2) personal history

2. Issues about coalition buildings in this area

- (1) Thoughts about this community
- (2) Thoughts about the relation between Korean merchant and residents
- (3) Problem between Korean merchants and residents
- (4) Ways to improve relations
- (5) Relations among Korean merchants
- (6) Conflicts among Korean merchants

3. Group and organizations

- (1) Korean merchant organization in this community
- (2) Good or bad things caused by Korean merchant organization
- (3) Relations with COs

- Remember! How you understand contradiction and activity system

- Tools, object, division of labor, community, rule and subject

- Need to develop to question for structure of each organization and historical context

Appendix B: An example of semi-structured interview guide

Interview Questions (1)

Interviewee: Ms. Mary

Date and time: 01/23/2007 9:30AM – 11:30AM

Interview place: MABA office

1. Social structures of interviewees' organization

- (1) How long have you worked for MABA?
- (2) What is the main purpose of MABA?
- (3) What kinds of works did you do until now?
- (4) How and where do you get resources for this organization?
- (5) What is the structure of MABA?
 - Who are board members?
 - What kinds of function each position do?
 - How many members are joined?
 - How does MABA communicate with members?
- (6) What are challenges of MABA?

2. What are issues about coalition buildings in this area? (1)

- (1) How do you think about Korean merchants in this community?
 - What's your thought about the role of Korean merchants in this community?
 - And what's positive or negative side of Korean merchants?
 - **What about the relations to other ethnic merchants?**
 - **Why Korean merchants association stopped working?**
- (3) What's the meaning of participation in community?
 - What community residents want for Korean merchants to do?
- (4) How do you think where these problems from (if there are conflicts)?
- (5) Is there any effort for solving this problem from residents' side?
 - Who participated in this? What's the method (mediation, tools, and artifacts)?
- (6) What are visible efforts or results of these activities?

3. What are issues about coalition buildings in this area? (2)

- (1) Why do you participate in PinCUP?
- (2) What's the role of MABA in PinCUP?
- (3) Is there any communication among organizations in PinCUP? How?
- (3) How do you evaluate other organizations in PinCUP?
- (4) How do you think about the computer class, the first collaborative works?
- (5) Is there any problem in PinCUP now?
- (6) Is there any change after participation in PinCUP?
- (7) Except PinCUP, what kinds of organizations do you make relations?
- (8) Why do you make relations to them?

4. How do organizations handle with coalition buildings?

- (1) Do you think the role of organization is important to coalition buildings in this community?
- (2) What's the process of coalition buildings?
- (3) What are important factors in coalition buildings?
- (4) What are major challenges for coalition buildings?

- Need to develop to question for structure of each organization and historical context

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