

The Role of Local Government in Sustainable Community Development

Lessons from Seongnam, South Korea*

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Abstract

This article demonstrates the growing role of the local government in promoting community sustainability in Seongnam, South Korea. In particular, specific attention is paid to the creating, supporting and partnering role of the Seongnam city government. This form of inter-sector collaboration is a new phenomenon in South Korea where community development has traditionally been approached from a self-help or government-directed perspective rather than through collaboration with the local government. This article presents four types of sustainability and three types of local government roles to provide an insight into the nature and importance of the public sector in community development. The case study examines the role of the Seongnam city government in the development of social enterprises and the sustainability of local communities. This article concludes by arguing that more effort is needed to incorporate residents' new demands, including the needs for safe food, parent-based child care, and safe neighborhoods, into local governance, and to build institutions

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that allow community development organizations to engage directly with the local government while still preserving their independence from the government.

Key words: Local government, Community Development, Social Economy, Sustainability, Seongnam

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, local governments in South Korea have become increasingly involved in community development, providing financial and administrative support to social enterprises and cooperatives in order to create sustainable communities. In the global shift from competition to governance since the 1990s, South Korean local governments have begun to strengthen their communication and collaboration with community organizations and to nurture their management capacity for local development (Kim 2010). This form of inter-sector collaboration is a new phenomenon in South Korea, where community development has traditionally been approached from a self-help or government-directed perspective rather than through collaboration with the local government. In the past, South Korean local governments tended to focus mainly on government-directed local development, while community organizations rarely took advantage of government-led efforts and tended to take care of the needs of citizens, particularly the most vulnerable, independently (Han, Chung and Park 2014). The recent drive for collective governance initiated by some local governments has enabled community organizations to make use of governmental resources and to be involved in public policy implementation (Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh 2012). In Seongnam, South Korea, the local government has founded the Social Enterprise Support Center in order to support social enterprises and to facilitate collective governance for community development. This growing role of the local government has been accompanied by a critical debate about whether the sustainability of local communities could be preserved in this

type of governance framework (Dale and Sparkes 2011; Kim 2009; Ostrander 2013; Park 2014; Jang and Jang 2008). In relation to this, the involvement of the Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center, which was somewhat limited in the logic of self-help development, could be seen as a way of promoting sustainability. The first part of this article introduces the concepts associated with four types of sustainability and three types of local government roles, providing an insight into the nature and importance of the public sector in developing social enterprises for community development. The second part presents the findings from in-depth interviews with community activists and public employees involved in community-based social enterprises in Seongnam. In that part, the authors also examine the growing role of the local government and its relevance to the sustainability of community development. Finally, lessons for promoting and sustaining social enterprises for community development are proposed.

SUSTAINABILITY, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, AND SOCIAL ECONOMY

The concept of sustainable development, which emerged in the 1980s, has become central to community development as a popular solution for meeting the multiple needs of a rapidly-growing economy while simultaneously minimizing social problems and environmental damage (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). Rather than pitting economic growth against environmental protection and social capital advancement, the proponents of sustainability instead focus on a form of development that integrates multiple facets of the local community for the benefit of both present and future generations (Dale and Newman 2010; Scerri and James 2010). This integrative perspective incorporates multiple dimensions of sustainability, including environmental, economic, and social sustainability. Environmental sustainability refers to the preservation of the productivity

and flexibility of the ecosystem and the continuous maintenance of the environmental marginal capacity. Economic sustainability pursues the achievement of financial goals including economic growth, efficiency, and stability. Social sustainability refers to the sustenance of social capital factors such as networks, norms, values, trust, rules and relationships, which are associated with social reciprocity and citizenry.

Solow (1993) and Hartwick (1977) stated that sustainability has been defined like natural, human and social capital. They indicated that sustainable development would be achieved when the capital is left constant over time intergenerational equity. From their standpoint, strong sustainability is a situation that multiple capitals are complimentary for improving life quality and crucial for measuring sustainable development (Pearce and Atkinson 1993). According to Hembd and Silberstein (2011), these three types of capital are related to the three dimensions of sustainability, as follows:

- Natural capital refers to nonrenewable and renewable resources, including the atmosphere, sources and other ecological resources, and ecosystem services.
- Physical capital is based on manufacturing or related economic activities, including machinery, buildings, houses, roads, railways and infrastructure.
- Human and social capital includes knowledge, technical know-how, health, rules and norms.

With the economic, environmental and social sustainability of local development, Galliano (2005) describes institutional sustainability and institutional capital as follows:

- Institutional capital can be based on the coordination of the different institutional levels of public bodies as well as specialist interventions at the local level, including public-private partnerships, networking, socialization, and coordination.

The four dimensions of sustainability and their capital elements as mentioned above are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Dimensions and Elements of Sustainability

Sustainability	Capital	Capital Elements
Environmental	Natural	Atmosphere, Sources, Other Ecological Resources, Ecosystem Services
Economic	Physical/Economic	Machinery, Buildings, Houses, Roads, Railways, Infrastructure, Grant, Subsidy, Employment
Social	Human/Social	Knowledge, Technical Know-how, Health, Norm, Rule
Institutional	Institutional	HR, Public-Private Partnership, Networking, Socialization, Coordination, New Organization, Innovation, Learning

According to Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (1990), institutional sustainability is about continuing collaborations and creating support networks among stakeholders aimed at introducing performance and capacity improvement. Institutional sustainability may contribute to sustainable community development, promoting democratic governance and participation in decision-making and facilitating learning and innovation which are important community characteristics in identifying and organizing individual and institutional assets of the community (Pfahl 2005; McKnight 1995). Since the 1990s, social economy organizations have been forced to take full advantage of community assets when the global economic crisis weakened state capacity and decreased governments' ability to support the community. The proponents of asset-based development argue that social economy can be a means to mobilize community assets, identify and solve the community's problems and develop community in a sustainable manner (Ssewamala, Sperber, Zimmerman and Karimli 2010).

The recent attention to social economy's contribution to the sustainable community development in Korea is often substantiated by the growing body of evidence that social economy organizations pull together many types of resources in a socially owned entity and prioritizes social values in community settings (Kim and Jeong 2014). Rooted in local communities, social economy is characterized by mutual self-help initiatives and by initiatives to meet the needs of vulnerable group of society (Kim 2013). By and large, the social economy organizations' projects have been founded on commitments to sustainable

community development and social justice (Connelly, Markey and Roseland 2011). In this sense, the authors propose that institutional sustainability is pivotal in promoting social economy as a driver of sustainable community development.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY

A careful review of the existing research on community development reveals a self-help approach to its practice. The self-help approach emphasizes the need for people in the community to come together and learn how to address their problems as they define them, so as to improve their own situations (Abatena 1995; McKnight 1995). This approach encourages professionals and businesspersons to become more active in the community through projects that address their interests and concerns. In this approach, community activists provide information as requested and facilitate the development of skills and knowledge in local people so that they can design alternatives and act in their own interests. From this perspective, relatively little attention has been paid to local governments, which do not play a leading role, as their intervention is considered not to be sustainable for the future while their relationship with the local people is subordinate. Mobilizing existing strengths is the key to successful community development.

However, the scope of services delivered at the local level has increased, and cross-sector issues such as community economic decline, social service insufficiency, and community safety require integrated responses (Ansell and Gash 2008; Fung and Wright 2001). The current trends in local governance evidence an interest in the possibility of cross-sector collaboration, including local government collaboration (Bryson, Crosny and Stone 2006). In this governance system, governments are increasingly involved in delivering maximal local benefits using minimal resources in a way that is inclusive and participatory. These changes have increased the scope of municipal support and created opportunities for investment in social economic activities. Local governments

are increasingly recognizing the need to find integrated solutions for sustainable community development. They have therefore been exploring the social, environmental, and economic opportunities that can be garnered from cross-sector projects which create additional opportunities in local communities.

Some studies (Duniam and Eversole 2013; Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010) have explored the potential for local governments to work with community-based social enterprises so as to support local developmental outcomes. Most have focused on the sustainable interaction between the government and social economy organizations, recognizing that enduring patterns of interaction are as important as routine structural factors. Duniam and Eversole (2013) have suggested three types of local government-social enterprise interactions: creating, supporting, and partnering. They noted the possibility for local governments to create their own social enterprises. Moreover, the governments can provide external support to social enterprises as well as engage in partnerships with the latter in order to achieve their common goals for sustainable community development. Concerning external support to social enterprises and nonprofit organizations, much research has been conducted. Among the quantitative studies about the impact of governments' financial support, Salamon (2002), O'Regan and Oster (2002), Suárez and Hwang (2008), and Faulk (2008) revealed the positive impact of public funding on the quality and quantity of services of social enterprises and nonprofit organizations. Specifically, Mosley (2011) identified the positive impact of government support on human service organizations, showing the increased forms and tactics of operations that resulted from government support. To the contrary, Schmid, Bar, and Nirel (2008) revealed the negative impact of government support of social service organizations' operations. Guo and Saxton (2010) depicted the negative impact of public funding for the scope of activities and the lack of impact on the intensity of core competence of the supported organizations. As the existing literature revealed diverse impacts of cross-sector collaboration, the present study assumes that these three types of interactions are associated with the four dimensions of sustainability in some ways.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a single case study approach to describe the role of the local government in community development. In July 2014, the authors interviewed a community activist working for the Jumin (“residential”) Cooperative in Seongnam. Another in-depth interview with three government employees was conducted in April 2014. The three public employees included the executive director of Seongnam’s Social Enterprise Support Center and the coordinators of the Social Enterprise Department of Seongnam’s city government. The survey took the form of a semi-structured interview built around a core of structured questions and was designed to prove the relationship between local government support and the sustainability of community-based social enterprises. The location was chosen after careful consideration of several Korean cities in which the government’s role in community development has been evaluated as particularly proactive. Among those cities, Seongnam exhibited the most distinctive characteristics in terms of local government support for community-based social enterprises. In this sense, Seongnam is considered one of the best cases for the assessment of city governments’ contributions to the sustainability of community development in South Korea, as well as to highlight how different modes of interaction affect different types of sustainability, i.e. economic, social, environmental, and institutional.

LOCUS OF THE STUDY: THE CITY OF SEONGNAM

The site of this case study is Seongnam, the ninth-largest city in South Korea, with a population of nearly one million. Seongnam is made up of the *Bundang-gu*, *Jungwon-gu* and *Sujung-gu* districts. This largely residential city borders Seoul, the capital city of South Korea, to the North. To the South, it is bordered by two large, newly-developed residential cities: *Gwangju* and *Yongin*. Seongnam was built in the 1970s as the first-ever planned city in

Korean history. To encourage industrialization through the concentration of labour-intensive electronic, textile and petrochemical facilities, the Park Chung-Hee administration displaced thousands of poor urban residents from the *Cheonggye* Stream area, in the center of Seoul, to the Jungwon and Sujung areas in Seongnam. Between the 1970s and 1980s, the Jungwon-gu and Sujung-gu districts were turned into industrialized urban neighborhoods and became home to the newly-moved urban poor.

Bundang-gu, another Seongnam district, was developed in the 1990s in an attempt to disperse the Seoul population. From the beginning, Bundang-gu was designed and built according to a detailed plan and became a well-organized district with a network of streets, new apartment buildings, numerous parks, and good local infrastructure. Bundang is currently the most populous area of the city and one of South Korea's wealthiest regions. The development of Bundang has been in sharp contrast with that of the Jungwon and Sujung districts, and this contrast has raised the local political issue of whether Bundang should become a separate city from the rest of Seongnam. This sharp contrast has also resulted in social and economic disparity and has diminished the sense of community between the districts. Therefore, community organizations and local governments have been looking to promote the constructive integration of the three districts.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL ECONOMY IN SEONGNAM

The community development movement of the Seongnam area is related to the city's history. In the early 1970s, social activists in Seongnam mobilized themselves to deal with the problem of displacing the urban poor. In 1973, the Missionary Committee for Special Areas decided to establish the Jumin Church in the Sujung area and sent Pastor Hae-Hak Lee to initiate the efforts. The Jumin Church started to work on the urban poor's residential concerns,

addressing conflicts with the government and unfair working conditions in the workplace. In the course of this process, the Jumin Church often found itself in conflict with the authoritarian government, which suppressed the church and imprisoned Pastor Lee and other church staff members. Despite the repression, the church continued its efforts to help the vulnerable population.

The first community development effort initiated in 1973 concerned the organization of a healthcare association to practice community medicine. The association aimed to provide free healthcare services based on local doctors' *pro bono* contributions. The second and most important effort was the proclamation of the Jumin Community Manifesto and the creation of the Jumin Credit Union in 1979, which contributed to the foundation of the Jumin Consumers' Co-operative, the Joint Child Care Network, and the Seongnam Self-help Center. The Jumin Credit Union issued small loans to the impoverished without requiring collaterals and lent money with no credit to the working class, those living with low income, and self-employed delinquents.

The third effort was the creation of the Jumin Consumers' Co-operative. In 1989, the Jumin Church and Jumin Credit Union jointly invested in the Jumin Consumers' Co-operative to restore solidarity between producers in rural communities and consumers in urban areas through direct trading involving quality food. The Jumin Co-operative criticized the existing large-scale nationwide co-operatives such as the *Hansalim* and *Durae* co-operatives and I-Coop for their bureaucratic decision-making structure and the breaking off of the relationships between rural producers and urban consumers. In addition, the co-operative promoted a local food movement to build more locally-based and self-reliant food economies in order to achieve the sustainable production, processing, distribution, and consumption of food.

The fourth effort was to form a parent-based child education system through the Joint Child Care Network. The Jumin Credit Union and Jumin Consumers' Co-operative established the Joint Child Care Network in the Jungwon and Sujung areas. In this network, parents determine the

educational vision, contents, and tools. This system was designed to replace the competition-oriented educational paradigm with a self-directed and environmentally-friendly paradigm.

In summary, efforts have mostly been made by faith-based organizations and community organizations to increase the quality of life of the vulnerable. Since the 2000s, the Seongnam city government has increased its collaboration with community organizations, with the aim to develop inclusive decision-making and effective service delivery.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN THE SEONGNAM SOCIAL ECONOMY

Rationale for local government involvement

The organizational structures of most community organizations in Seongnam take the form of social enterprises and co-operatives. Their network, the so-called “social economy”, has been making a significant contribution to the development of the community, and their working together has always been important in Seongnam. Since 2006, the city government has been collaborating with social enterprises for the effective and community-tailored development of Seongnam. In the Seongnam context, the city government has been following a certain rationale for its assistance in social enterprises. First, the demands of Seongnam citizens have increased due to the influx of new residents since the 1990s. For example, new middle-class residents are looking for safe food, high-quality public education, and safe neighborhoods. Seongnam’s city government expected these demands to be shared with social enterprises and to be addressed efficiently.

Second, since the 1997 Asian financial crisis, Korea’s central government has been paying significant attention to social enterprises as an alternative way of addressing local problems such as poverty and unemployment, and of

providing social services. Since 2003, many community organizations have been involved in the Ministry of Labor's Social Job Program, providing disadvantaged individuals with job opportunities not offered by the market or government. Expecting the program to facilitate social enterprises, the central government subsequently enacted the Social Enterprise Promotion Act in 2006. As soon as the law was passed, social enterprises and co-operatives rapidly spread and became a useful policy tool for community development in Korea. Since then, Seongnam's city government has become an active stakeholder in community development, involved in the certification of social enterprises and co-operatives, and in the distribution of subsidies from the central government.

Finally, the newly-elected mayor of Seongnam has taken a very positive attitude towards social enterprise policies (Lee and Kim 2013). Current mayor Jae-Myung Lee pledged to focus on promoting social economy in the run-up to South Korea's 2010 local elections, and has since made good on his campaign promises. During his term, he has been emphasizing the role of social economy in community development and has sought to foster 100 new social enterprises in Seongnam. The city government has been naturally involved in creating, supporting and partnering with social enterprises, whose number and employees have increased as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Community Organizations in Seongnam, 2011-2013

		Social Enterprise	Preliminary Social Enterprise	Citizen Corporation	Village Corporation	Cooperative	Total
2011	Number	9	16	4	5	-	34
	Employment	206	277	87	55	-	625
2012	Number	12	28	3	7	-	50
	Employment	264	559	69	58	-	950
2013	Number	15	33	6	7	53	114
	Employment	369	802	17	60	953	2201

Source: City of Seongnam(2014, 12).

Role of local government

Creating social enterprises. One of the city government's most important contributions to community development has been the establishment of the Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center. The center's main functions include incubation, policy-making, network construction, research and development, management support, and education and information for community-based social enterprises. The Center emphasizes the discovery of Seongnam's style of social enterprise and the fostering of a sustainable ecosystem through a training program for social entrepreneurs. One interviewee highlighted the role of the center and its goals:

Since the Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center was established in 2011, we have been concerned about our role as facilitators. A community-based support system was necessary for the revitalization of the urban area. Therefore, the Center fosters community-based social enterprises and focuses on sustaining the community ecosystem. When establishing the Center, the founders intended to locate it in the communal civil society. Then, the Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center hired social economy experts and led discussions to build new relationships through a series of meetings. (Executive Director, Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center, 21 April 2014)

The Center has played a key role in facilitating the creation of various social enterprises with the support of the city government. It has incubated new projects, supported business development, created desirable jobs, and supplied professional human resources. Furthermore, the Center's continuous consultation has helped enhance the community's social capital through social networking and mutual trust. The Center's activities reflect the city government's strategy to create and promote social enterprises to satisfy the social needs of the community. Through its incubating projects, the Center has created more than 20 social enterprises. The following interviewee highlighted the Center's contribution to the creation of social enterprises:

The city government has been implementing an incubation project with selected businesses since 2011. It has supported five social enterprises every year. In addition, it operates its own Social Enterprise Incubating Center, allowing 13 teams to prepare for the establishment of new social enterprises. Because it is very expensive to rent spaces in populous urban areas, having an office might be a big burden for new enterprises. Most of the incubated teams have started here and moved to their own offices once their finances had stabilized. (Executive Director, Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center, 21 April 2014)

This perspective was shared by a community activist who considered the city government's creating fostering role to be helpful for the growth of social enterprises. The Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center and its Incubating Center provide institutional and economic benefits to the newly-created social enterprises founded to meet emerging social needs. The activist explained her perspective as follows:

When we needed new types of services such as low-cost healthcare, parent-based child care and job creation services, the Jumin Consumers' Cooperative, Jumin church and Hansalim became major stakeholders who jointly invested and founded new social enterprises. In the early stages of social enterprise development, we had to save our working capital. As the incubation center started to provide buildings, grants and managerial know-how, the local government became one of the major stakeholders to be involved in the growth of Seongnam's social economy. (Community activist, Jumin Consumers' Cooperative, 22 July 2014)

Supporting social enterprises. The Seongnam city government provides both direct and indirect financial support. It provides grants for job creation, professional human resource management, and community development projects. In addition, in 2010 the Seongnam City Council enacted an ordinance implementing a Social Enterprise Promotion Fund, which aims to raise a promotion fund of five-billion KRW over a ten-year period. The city government plans to use the fund to promote social enterprises by purchasing premises, paying for equipment and supporting self-reliant community development projects.

The following interviewee explained the detailed plan for the fund:

The Seongnam City Council set a goal of raising a fund of up to five-billion KRW. Currently, it has already accumulated two billions. The ordinance prohibits using the fund until it has reached five billions. Only the interests on the five-billion will be used, and the principal will be preserved. (Executive Director, Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center, 21 April 2014)

In addition, the Seongnam city government provides indirect financial support to social enterprises. According to a report from the Ministry of Employment and Labor, the city government has purchased 4.9 billion KRW's worth of products made by local social enterprises, the largest amount out of the 244 local governments in South Korea. The government's purchase of the products was designed to secure the distribution channels of the social enterprises and to contribute to their financial sustainability. Increased financial sustainability is in turn expected to lead to service diversity, organizational autonomy, and social innovation of the community-based social enterprises. As regards this indirect form of support, a community activist expressed her view that governmental support may be helpful to sustainable community development when the community organizations are able to determine how to collaborate with the government, as follows:

At first, many community activists were sceptical about receiving financial support from the government. In particular, the three-year financial support scheme for job creation was considered to harm the autonomy and sustainability of social enterprises. However, the government has offered support in multiple ways and we have now become able to choose how to collaborate. Nowadays, we feel that we can maintain our sustainability and develop beneficial government-social enterprise relationships, as we can decide how and when to collaborate with the government. (Community activist, Jumin Consumers' Cooperative, 22 July 2014)

Partnering with social enterprises. The Seongnam city government has played a significant role in building a social network of local stakeholders. In

Seongnam, the community stakeholders can largely be categorized into three types of organizations: community-based social enterprises, network organizations, and the city government. The community-based social enterprises can be further divided into traditional and contemporary organizations. The traditional organizations are led by civil society activists and the Jumin Church. The second type of organization is the newly-formulated kind, which has been receiving government support since the late 1990s:

Seongnam's local government has played an important role in fostering social networking. Building a social network was necessary; however, because of the lack of community capacity and understanding of one another, community organizations had been unable to develop social networks by themselves. *Han-ma-dang* is a forum that has been held annually over the past four years to encourage community networking. Last year, most social enterprises, cooperatives, village enterprises, self-help enterprises, and even the Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center, participated in *Han-ma-dang* and discussed the revitalization of the community. Each organization came to understand the others businesses' *modi operandi* and priorities better than before. At the forum, the different actors developed mutual cooperation and conducted internal transactions. Through this process, we turned social capital into trust. (Executive Director, Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center, 21 April 2014)

Two network organizations exist in Seongnam: one is the cooperatives' association and the other is the social enterprises' association. Seventy cooperatives have joined the cooperatives' association, and the city government has been supporting it with a training program for new cooperative managers and members. These networks facilitate learning and innovation of social enterprises and contribute to institutional sustainability in Seongnam's social economy. Interacting with other community-based organizations, social enterprises continue searching for ways to improve their current offerings or develop new offers in order for addressing the new social risks. these efforts increase social performance, improving the quality and appropriateness of the services available to the community people.

All social enterprises in Seongnam are affiliated to the Seongnam Social Enterprise Association. The Seongnam city government has also linked social enterprises with the community by implementing a *pro bono* participation project. The following interviewee explained this project:

As part of the *pro bono* project, well-educated retired residents in Bundang-gu are connected with local social enterprises in order to put their skills to use for those organizations. In terms of corporate social responsibility, the “one company-one social enterprise” project links social enterprises with large companies or public institutions in the Pankyo and Bundang areas. (Executive Director, Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center, 21 April 2014)

The collection and transport of waste offers one of the most representative examples of the partnership between the city government and social enterprises. Sixteen administrative divisions of the Seongnam city government provide services for the collection and transportation of waste in the Seongnam area, and social enterprises are in charge of all of the divisions. The following interviewee explained the importance of such a partnership:

The connection with the public sector is very important. The city government has played a role in matching its departments to the social enterprises providing social services. Because the departments have to provide public services, the local government introduced the social enterprises and made the departments recognize the importance of partnering with community organizations. (Executive Director, Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center, 21 April 2014)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S CONTRIBUTION TO SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

As previously mentioned, the sustainability of community development is classified into economic, social, environmental, and institutional dimensions,

which have all been promoted by the local government's assistance. With the incubation project, the city government has helped to found and operate 20 new community-based social enterprises aimed at satisfying the emerging community needs for low-cost healthcare, parent-based child care and job creation services. From a sustainability perspective, this has contributed to institutional sustainability. Institutional sustainability focuses on the sustainable operation and management of institutions, enabling them to survive in a competitive environment, to expand their roles, and to meet the residents' needs. In this regard, the Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center and its incubation projects have enabled social enterprises not only to start operating, but also to develop their functions.

The city government also provides financial support directly and indirectly. Its grants for job creation and community development programs have been facilitating the employment of the disadvantaged. The purchase of products from local social enterprises is promoting the financial sustainability of community-based social enterprises. This support is related to economic sustainability, which emphasizes financial goals such as economic growth, efficiency, and stability. Increased financial sustainability enables social enterprises to support social causes in the community and to sustain their efforts over the long run.

Building social networks is linked to social sustainability, which is based on social capital. The Seongnam city government has been striving to link a number of community organizations and social actors in the private, non-profit and public sectors in order to build up the social capital of the community. An increased social capital is seen to guarantee multiple stake-holder involvement, to resolve collective action problems, and to enhance the sustainability of the local community.

The Seongnam city government's role in partnering with social enterprises has also been contributing to the improvement of environmental sustainability. In Seongnam, more than 50% of the social enterprises are in environmentally-friendly industries, resulting from the Seongnam Citizen-Owned Social Enterprise

Project that supports citizen participation in social enterprises and co-operatives. These social enterprises contribute to the improvement of Seongnam city’s governance through cleaning, recycling, clean energy utilization and waste management. Table 3 summarizes the local government’s contribution to the sustainability of social enterprises in community development.

Table 3. Seongnam City Government’s Contribution to the Sustainability of Community development

Role of Government	Activities and Outcomes	Increased Sustainability				Increased Capital
		Ec	So	En	In	
Creating	The Social Enterprise Incubation Project created 20 new community-based social enterprises and addressed emerging community needs.				●	Organizations
Supporting	Providing grants for job creation, community development programs and human resource management promotes social enterprises’ financial sustainability and increases the employment of the disadvantaged.	●	○			Grant, Subsidy, Employment of the disadvantaged
	The local government’s purchase of products made by local social enterprises promotes community-based social enterprises’ financial sustainability.	●				Grant, Subsidy
Partnering	Initiating networking among local stakeholders strengthens the community’s social capital.		●		●	Trust, Norms
	Collecting and transporting waste with the assistance of social enterprises contributes to preserving the environment and to the partnership with nonprofit and private sectors.			●	○	Ecosystem Service, PPP

Note: Ec, Economic; So, Social; En, Environmental; In, Institutional; ●, direct impact; ○, indirect impact.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on the review of Seongnam city government's growing role in community development, collaboration between governments and community organizations appears to be important and beneficial to sustainable community development. Some of the major findings include:

- The local government's role in creating, supporting and partnering with social enterprises in Seongnam has helped improve the institutional, economic, social and environmental sustainability of the local community.
- The Seongnam Social Enterprise Incubating Center has facilitated the creation of various social enterprises and contributed to institutional sustainability.
- The Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center has been providing direct and indirect financial support, contributing to economic and social sustainability.
- The Seongnam Social Enterprise Support Center develops networking among local stakeholders and bolsters the city's social capital.
- The Seongnam city government's role in partnering with social enterprises for the collection and transport of waste contributes to improvements in environmental sustainability.
- Therefore, more effort is needed to incorporate residents' new demands, including the needs for safe food, parent-based child care, and safe neighborhoods, into local governance, and to build institutions that allow community development organizations to engage directly with the local government while still preserving their independence from the government.

After exploring the role of the government in nurturing community sustainability, the authors propose lessons for community development theory and practice, which appear to be at a critical juncture not only in South Korea but also internationally. First, it is worth noting that the integration of multiple conceptualizations of sustainability is important to the analysis of community development. Providing an adequate collaborative response to the emerging social needs of local communities requires us to gain full awareness of the varied nature of economic, social, environmental and institutional

sustainability. The multiple dimensions of sustainability are particularly evident in the case of Seongnam. It is the combination and juxtaposition of the four dimensions of sustainability that helps us to understand the local government's contribution to community development and the dynamics among the various community actors.

Second, noninterventionist support from local governments contributes to the increased sustainability of community development, although some policies from the Korean central government for the support of social enterprises are considered to be too top-down, and thereby damaging to community organizations (Bidet and Eum 2011; Kim 2009). It has been increasingly recognized in the research literature that overemphasis on government-initiated and government-directed collaboration may be dangerous, as it can reduce diversity and real authority (Shin and Jung 2010; Kim 2011; Ostrander 2013). For the sustainability of community development, multiple stakeholder involvement and inclusiveness are pivotal and can be encouraged by spontaneous collaboration, which derives from the community actors' participation rather than the direct intervention of the government. In addition, community organizations should make their own decisions regarding how and when to collaborate with and receive support from the government, as was emphasized in one of the community activists' interview. It is evident that Seongnam's social economy has traditions for sustaining community-directed development and leading collaborative partnership for local development. City government's diversified strategy of incubating and consulting role have been successful in enhancing marketing skills, searching for new business model, or improving management capacity (Kim 2012). It is because the enhancement of organizational capacity can be more critical for the sustainability of social enterprises from a long-term perspective and their contribution to community development.

Third, the history and context are important in analysing the roles of the government, the social enterprises, and the market in community development (Maru and Woodford 2007; Shaw 2007). Over the course of their long involvement in community services, Seongnam's community-based social enterprises increased

their capability to interact with the government, to develop visions and strategies, and to sustain their independence. In this context, the local governments' creating, supporting and partnering role helped the community organizations to develop the local economy, to accumulate social capital, and to improve the local environment. Thus, consideration of the local history and tradition of collective governance is the key to the local governments' successful assistance in developing sustainable communities and creating a more humane society.

Of course, this analysis has some limitations due to the scope of the research. First of all, this paper analyzed the city government's role of supporting social enterprises since the newly-elected mayor of Seongnam has taken a very positive attitude towards social enterprise policies. In South Korean context, political leadership of the governor and mayor is of importance in creating new social enterprises and fostering existing ones. Although the future regime change in Seongnam's city government may transform policy orientation, the authors have not analyzed the potential change of social enterprise promotion policy in the future.

Second, a further in-depth research on the local governments' supporting strategies and their Social Enterprise Support Center's roles, which are critical to supplement the central government's financial support, should be conducted. The findings of specific supporting strategy in Seongnam will contribute to future comparative research among South Korean cities including Wonju, Anseong, Ansan and others. In order to advance current research on local governments' role in sustainable community development, more interviews on public employees in local governments and activists in community based social enterprises should be conducted. More comparative case studies are needed to draw on similarities and differences of Korean local governments' role in nurturing social economies' potential for sustainable community development.

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