

Corporate Social Responsibility as a collaboration among business, government and civil society : Korea and Japan

2019. 3. 14 ~ 16 | Hwasun-ri, Jeju Island

March 14th (Thur) : Welcome Dinner

March 15th (Fri) : Workshop

Too Many Players, Not Enough Collaborations:

Difficulties of Multicultural Community Buildings in the Ichō Housing Complex

Toru Oga (Kyushu Univ.)

Value Conflicts and Local Resistance: The Resurrection of the Anti-Power Plant Movement

Suk-Ki Kong (SNUAC)

Investment or Consumption?: The Relationship between Mobility and Consumer Movements in Japan

Kyoko Tominaga (Ritsumeikan Univ.)

EMBEDDED HYBRID: At the Nexus of Consumer Justice Movements and Social Economies in South Korea

Taekyoon Kim (SNU)

Reviving Legacy of CSR: A Case Study of POSCO's Steel House

Jeong-Pyo Hong (Miyazaki Int'l College)

Linking Local Activities to the World -Kyushu Water Forum (QWF)

Satoko Seino (Kyushu Univ.)

Community engagement and challenges of diversity and inclusion in multicultural context:

Cases of a CSR programme and a Social enterprise' programme

Jinhee Kim (KEDI)

Organizing Social Venture: A Case of Institutional Entrepreneurship

Young-Choon Kim (UNIST)

* Presentation order's not confirmed

March 16th (Sat)

Business Meeting for Publication and Future Research Collaboration

Fieldwork on Gasiri Villiage and Jeju Olle

Inquiry : national2153@snu.ac.kr
(Research Assistant of CSP, SNUAC)



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* Presentation material will be offered separately.

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Community engagement and challenges of diversity and inclusion in multicultural context: Cases of a CSR programme and a Social enterprise' programme

Jinhee KIM, Ph.D.

Korean Educational Development Institute

drkjh@kedi.re.kr

Introduction: Questioning

“Is South Korea becoming a multicultural society, a society in which cultural differences and racial diversity are not merely grudgingly tolerated, but, instead, embraced by both the society and the state? More formally, is there both official and societal recognition that ethnic and racial minority groups have both a right to become members of Korean society (as citizens or permanent residents), and a right to maintain their specific ethno-cultural identities?”

(Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, 10 October 2017)

In a decade the number of foreign residents in Korea has doubled, hitting 2.18 million in 2017, accounting for nearly 4 percent of the nation's total population(Ministry of Justice, 2017). It has been reported that at this rate their number is expected to surpass 3 million in 2021 or 5.8 percent of the population, higher than the current OECD average of 5.7 percent. In this regard, confronted with increasing racial and ethnic diversity, the Korean government has implemented ‘multicultural policy’.

Despite a government- dominated driving force and top-down effort to manage the diversity, many experts have expressed concern and skepticism about the journey of multiculturalism in South Korea.

Shallow approach to multicultural education and soft contents as Education for International Understanding blocks serious level of social interaction(Kim, 2018). Also multicultural education held in Korean is mainly focusing on introducing other cultures under the name of 'international understanding' and assisting migrants' assimilation in the Korean society. It is acknowledged that migrants are usually considered as subjects of assimilation even in civil society of South Korea.

In this context, it has been claimed that the government-led policy intervention on multiculturalism in Korea has limitations at the grass roots level in terms of community engagement. It deals with a grassroots movement involving local communities toward diversity and migrant's social participation. Evidently, it should be asserted that a landscape of the multicultural society should be re-constituted at the public sphere as well as private sphere. To build a multicultural society, not only government sector, but also different stakeholders such as corporate sector are significant to reshape diversity issue in the community context. Particularly, this paper adopts how a corporation would deal multiculturalism and diversity at Corporate Social Responsibility level. Also this paper aims to provide issues and limitation of community engaging of immigrants in local society exploring a case study of social enterprise. Therefore it could provide a critical understanding to reshape current multicultural policy and social configuration.

Theoretical background

Reshaping Citizenship engaging with Multiculturalism

Since global movement is an unavoidable flow, multicultural population is dramatically increasing across the world. It should be identified how citizens are constituted within and by it. Schugurensky(2006) stated that citizenship is placed in the middle of contextual, dynamic, contested an multidimensional notions, as it involves with four dimensions in terms of status, identity, civic virtue and agency. In the ear of global migration, nation centered citizenship faces challenges in theory as well as practice. It has been argued that we have to reconstruct multicultural citizenship

instead of nation state-centered citizenship. Indeed, most western democracies have to rethink their approach to citizenship to respond to the challenges raised by migration. From the 1970s to mid-1990s, there was a clear trend toward increasing recognition and accommodation of diversity through a range of multiculturalism policies and ethnic minority rights across Western countries (Kymlica, 2012). These policies involved a rejection of unitary nationhood and homogeneous local community. In multicultural age, immigrant groups should have the right to maintain their cultures and languages as well as to participate in the civic culture in a democratic society. It can be stated that integration of society does not always mean assimilation in host society. The immigrants have the right not to be discriminated and the right to maintain their cultural identity not only in private context but also in social context. Taylor(1992) emphasized that “we recognize the equal value of different cultures; that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their worth.” That is why we should underline ‘Politics of Recognition’.

Within a similar vein, multicultural citizenship appreciates “foregrounds sociological and political understandings of an identity which is multiple, complex, complicated, and negotiated.”. Multicultural citizenship is not enough to explain just by understanding other culture. Beyond cultural context, we should discuss it at the societal context. It extends a discourse of universalized citizenship beyond national borders to address multiple and differentiated forms of identity, status, virtue, and agency.

Discourse around citizenship lies at the heart of lifelong learning, as it widely engages in the issues of participation, learning agency, diversity, democracy and social inclusion/exclusion(Johnston 1999; Olssen 2006; Kim 2010). Ulrich Beck argued that interconnected global environment, mobility and multicultural social configuration allow people to gain multiple identities and social status, civic norm that are variable and interchangeable appreciating diversity. In the context of migration, although multiracial and multicultural social settings due to the surge of migration causes conflicts, disjuncture as pressing as ever, it should be appreciated that multicultural citizenship must be enforced beyond the nation states or migrants' legal status in for all the residents of the countries.

Community and Civic Learning engaging with Diversity

The emergences of people's life experiences of heterogeneity and diverse social communities lead to re-building a mode of community interaction. Learning in disjuncture should be examined to understand a relocated trajectory of the immigrants' learning and local citizen's. Disjuncture is the sense of not feeling at home with surrounding environment. Confronting disjuncture makes people re-shape the taken for granted assumptions and reactions. It means people do not understand each other's values, attitudes and ways of thinking nor understand how to react and behave within social circumstances. This notion explains that disjuncture stimulates people to deconstruct their taken for granted presupposition and re-construct their view, while responding to changed circumstance. In this regard, it can be stated that migration produces social discontinuity and disjuncture for people. New adaptation process and stress inevitably occurs as a result of a cross-cultural move, which naturally generates the state of disequilibrium and discomfort.

Diversity often generates a set of heterogeneity and disjuncture while engaging with various actors (Parekh 2006). Socio-cultural diversity is likely to raise challenges to make firm decisions encompassing different groups and to provide a favourable combination of circumstances for the whole society. A complexity of cultural diversity also provides people with a disjuncture to reconsider a classical sense of democratic doctrine based on the numerical majority of groups. Heterogeneous social circumstances may stimulate peoples' social learning opportunities through developing one's different experiences and life histories to fulfil democratic deliberation. Therefore, approach of cultural pluralism highlights different learner's diverse life experience and social world in order to seek cultural cohabitation. Bagnall(2006) argues that commitment to others and their cultural differences enables one to be involved in respecting other persons and cultures as valued ends in themselves, not merely , as opportunities to pursue one's own interest. It could lead to the enforcements of democratic social relations between diverse people and institutions. The marginalised such as migrant workers, refugee, ethnic minority should be more supported in democratic practice while counteracting against their social restrictions and oppression. Learning has an inter-related connection between various social agencies as a constitutive democratic projects(Olssen 2006). A multicultural approach of human learning allows for different voices and self-expression of the marginalised to be appreciated and revealed. Intersection between diversity and democracy gave a possibility for people to form a multitude of identities without being alienated(Larsson 2001). Social diversity cannot be naturally established with different social members. It is just mere coexistence of diversity and difference. Diversity can develop and sustain with engaging with different people and entities, although it would generate disjuncture, conflicts, disorder inevitably. Schugurensky(2006)

argued that the approaches of cultural diversity that result from ethnicity, race, gender and class could shed light on the critical analysis and democratic deliberation of social justice.

In this regard, this paper attempts to explore features and issues of community engagement and social interaction in the context of multiculturalism analyzing a case study in South Korea.

Corporate Social Responsibility and Multicultural programme

Since 2000 the accelerating cultural and ethnic diversity due to growing global migration coupled with the recent growing concern for human rights have motivated scholars to discuss whether governments should officially recognize and support particular ethnic or cultural groups(Tae, 2013: 396). It is not just about government's positioning and reaction, but also about reaction of corporate sector on diversity issues. Will Kymlicka incorporates multiculturalism into the liberal framework. He contends until the 1950s and 1960s, many Western states and corporations explicitly discriminated against certain racial or religious groups, denying their right of public education, housing, employment even consumption. However, along with pervasive globalization of the economy and expansion of a Fordist capitalist regime, ethnic and racial diversity has become a "tool of global marketisation" to bring everyone into a shared multiculturalism(Kymlicka, 2013). In this regard, corporate sectors have started to celebrate "diversity" as a strategic mode. It shows conceptual relations between corporations and multiculturalism.

In the meantime, corporate social responsibility has attracted attention from businesses and stakeholders since 1960s. Sheehy(2012) defines Corporate social responsibility has been defined as international private business self-regulation and Carroll(2000) describes CSR as a pyramid of responsibilities, namely, economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic responsibilities. In particular, Carroll extended his horizon of discourse on CSR from the traditional economic and legal responsibility to ethical and philanthropic responsibility. In contemporary world, it is evident that consumers consider more than quality goods, services even images when choosing a brand or corporations(Godfrey, 2005). Thus many corporations has paid attention to CSR underlining corporations' social accountability and effect of social change with their business practices(KIM & Jeon, 2017). In this vein, under the rapid flow of migration and uprising discourse of multiculturalism, a few Korean corporations has started to implement CRS programmes engaging with multiculturalism reacting to its social change of Korean society since 2005.

In the perspective of CSR and ethical consumerism, Korean major corporations such as Samsung, LG, Hundai have begun to create CSR programmes in the context of multiculturalism while they

promote their ethical, environmental and social beneficial impact for customers. Although the CSR programmes vary, most corporations promote the value of multiculturalism and implement the CSR contents targeting mainly for ethnic minority population such as immigrant youth and marriage migrants in Korea(Kim & Jeon, 2017). It shows the expanded role of corporations is socially expected in the agenda of 'multicultural Korean society', which encouraged the development of numerous CSR programs of multiculturalism and social diversity(Heo, & Kim, 2014). Also many corporations view foreign residents and ethnically heterogeneous population would be one of the significant customer groups. In this sense, it can be acknowledged that Korean companies' horizon of CRS has been broadened to develop sustainable corporate practices along with social changes (Goo & Lee, 2014).

Research Frame and Cases

This paper examines characteristics and issues community engagement in the multicultural context understanding how diversity and migrant’s social inclusion can navigate in the local society in South Korea. As mentioned above, this paper identifies how a corporation would deal multiculturalism and diversity at Corporate Social Responsibility aspect. <Kookmin Bank Co.,Ltd> is invited to be analyze as a CSR case. In addition this paper attempts to explore issues and limitation of community engaging of migrants in a local society. < Village Rainbow > would be analyzed as a social enterprise to review local dynamics. To reveal research goal, this paper identities the features and issues of <Kookmin Bank Co.,Ltd> at the angel of CSR and < Village Rainbow> as a case study.

This paper will examine four dimensions, namely, goal, main target, Programme contents, and delivery model.

	Kookmin Bank Co.,Ltd	Village Rainbow
Goal		
Main target		
Programme Contents		
Delivery model		

Findings

Same goal and different approaches: empowering migrants in local society

The fact that Korea has become a multicultural society can no longer be denied. Institutionalization of multicultural society is a big issue of social consensus and Korean society continued to discuss about the issue after 2000.

Under the massive flow of migration, Korean government has aggressively set out a multicultural integration policy since 2006 at the institutional level. Along with this societal change, corporate sector is also explicitly expected to react with flow of diversity and heightened discourse of multiculturalism as a social actor in Korea. In this regard, since 2006 <Kookmin Bank> declared their own vision as “respect diversity to become a global bank in Asia” in the report of CSR. Under the vision statement, the bank started to implement multicultural education programmes at the aspect of CSR. It could produce different education programmes to appreciate diversity/multiculturalism in order to empower children and adolescents who have a certain level of multicultural background.

Unlike corporations' CSR, <Village Rainbow> was established in 2012 as a voluntary association in Eun-Pyeong district of metropolitan Seoul and it eventually transforms their institutional position from voluntary local group to social enterprise since 2017. Ministry of Employment and Labor(MOEL) provided formal accreditation to <Village Rainbow> as a social enterprise. Main goal of <Village Rainbow> is support marriage immigrants' economic self-help and social inclusion within the local level. Indeed, it has been reported that most female marriage immigrants want to participate with education for employment and entrepreneurship(Kim, 2018). In similar vein, <Village Rainbow>'s programmes aims to reinforce economic independence and social participation in the job market as well as enhancement of social awareness on diversity issues. To sum up, <Kookmin Bank> and <Village Rainbow> shares a similar goal that aims social empowerments for immigrants, in order to reduce their social isolation in local society.

Customised target, lack of social engagement: multiculturalism for only ethnic minority

There are debates and fundamental inquiry on value of multicultural policy and education programmes questioning “multiculturalism for whom?”. It has been found that <Kookmin Bank> and <Village Rainbow> have set up a target group of ethnic minorities mainly embracing marriage immigrant and their children in Korean society. This customised targeting strategy has a double-edged sword as it would fail to include a wide range of citizens in host society. The agenda of multiculturalism for everyone should be implemented with different stakeholders.

CSR programmes of <Kookmin Bank> that address the value of multiculturalism have been implemented mainly for children of multicultural family and occasionally for marriage immigrants. When they invite marriage immigrants as learning target, most programmes would address social assimilation to adopt well in Korean society till 2014. It is hardly found that their programme aims to widen ordinary citizen's public awareness on diversity and how to live together appreciating multiculturalism across the society.

In case of <Village Rainbow>, it also provides a customized target of the programmes for marriage immigrants. However the programmes aim to enhance social interaction between immigrants and local people in Eun-Pyeong district. Evidently, unlike CSR programmes of <Kookmin Bank>, programme of <Village Rainbow> attempted to positionalise immigrants as active learning agency. In this frame, marriage immigrants from all different countries of the world are entitled to create a multicultural programmes working with local citizens in the association. For instance, members of immigrants of the <Village Rainbow> themselves have implement different multicultural education programmes for local students since 2012. They could give a lecture on cultural diversity introducing their home countries’ culture while visiting associated local primary schools.

Despite these efforts, it could be criticised that major target groups, namely recipients of the programmes of both institutions are too limited to expand horizon of the multicultural awareness in civil society. It seems that iterated programmes may re-produce the narrow frame of multiculturalism only for ethnic minority, which hinders social engagement between local citizens and immigrants in Korean society. Due to the limited social impact of the programmes, in Korea, multicultural social configuration couldn't yet comprehensively allow people to gain multiple identities and social status,

civic norm appreciating diversity.

Reshaping contents: From philanthropic giving To educational programmes

Referring Parekh(2006)'s argument, we can note that diversity often generates a set of heterogeneity and disjuncture. In context of Korea, rapid social change of multiculturalism and increased population of different ethnicity, races and nationality since 2006 triggers a high disjuncture and challenge of how to deal a complexity of diversity. It definitely became a new social experience for local people. Particularly, given that most marriage immigrants and migrant workers come from developing countries, Korean people tend to view immigrant as a marginalised social entity. Korean authorizes themselves by 'othering' migrant who they consider weaker than them(Kang, 2014). In other words, Korean likely takes position othering migrants' group in process of defining immigrants and their children as people who have deficits. Thus, initial stage of corporations' CSR programmes of <Kookmin Bank> on multiculturalism mainly associated with philanthropic perspective for 'poor immigrants and foreigner'. Deficit framework against migrants motivated corporations to implement a set of giving projects such as scholarship, expensive materials, and even flight tickets for a homeland visiting. However, since 2012, CSR contents of <Kookmin Bank> have been transformed from a giving project to educational empowerment for migrants. They implements a different education programmes for the children and youth of multicultural family. Particularly, '다정다감(Da-Jung-Da-Gam)' and 'KB hope learning community' projects of <Kookmin Bank> provided a set of Korean language programmes, mentoring and educational programme regarding Korean culture for migrant background children. Also, in 2015, the CSR programmes were focused on multicultural education providing translated books written in Mongolia, Indonesia. It shows that empowerment throughout education programmes is a mainstream of CSR programme. It could produce a long term impact to build up a multicultural society and enhance civic learning to live together.

As a social enterprise, <Village Rainbow> programme has four pillars such as multicultural education, catering service, multicultural restaurant and rental service of traditional clothing. Mission

statement and goal of <Village Rainbow> addresses to enhance immigrants' economic engagement and employability in local job market as well as celebrating cultural diversity in local community. Multicultural education programme which is taught by marriage immigrants at the local school enables local people to widen horizon of understanding on diversity. Through the program, local citizen could re-construct how to engage with immigrants and social heterogeneity in local society. Also, Korean people would start to think over dealing multicultural issues within the local level

Different delivery model: 'corporation driven programme' vs 'the local driven programme'

After institutional implementation of multicultural policy by Korean government since 2006, different social actors such as NGOs and corporations begun to reflect their social role engaging with multicultural flow in Korea. Under the sudden overflow of multicultural related projects, critical researchers have raised a fundamental question of who driven multicultural programmes and discourses in Korean society. This question is about certain level of delivery model of the programmes.

It is clear that CSR programme of <Kookmin Bank> is driven by the bank along with its own management philosophy of appreciating diversity. Occasionally <Kookmin Bank> would offer partnership with local NGOs to implement multicultural programmes such as mentoring for ethnic minority children, homeland visiting for marriage immigrants. However, most CSR programmes of <Kookmin Bank> are solely driven by the corporation from the stage of planning to the stage of implementation of the programme.

However, a case of <Village Rainbow> has a different delivery model from planning to implement stage. In 2012 <Village Rainbow> has established as a local voluntary association to promote female marriage migrants' social self-help and community development. Thus, the local citizens and immigrants who settle down in Eun-Pyung District have created multicultural programmes in order to fulfill their needs and to engage with diversity issue within the local society. After becoming a social enterprise in 2017, <Village Rainbow> could employ fourteen local people including marriage immigrants as staffs and they are entitled to be provided four kinds of insurance services. These local staffs would create and implement key contents of multicultural education programmes and develop strategies for the profits of multicultural restaurant. Hence, delivery model of <Village Rainbow> is mainly driven by the local people. It would deconstruct a certain level of social belief regarding

unitary nationhood and homogeneous local community. The immigrant group members should have the right to maintain their cultures and languages as well as to participate in the civic culture. In this sense, migrants are not located within the marginalised sphere. Due to certain influence of <Village Rainbow> programmes, the emergences of local people's life experiences of heterogeneity and casual experience of social interaction with immigrants could lead to re-building a mode of community engagement in the local level.

Discussion and Conclusion

The fact that Korea has become a multicultural society can no longer be denied. Institutionalization of multicultural society has been a big issue of social consensus and Korean society continued to discuss about the issue since 2000. This paper examined features and issues of community level engagement confronting multiculturalism and diversity.

Remaining issues: stagnation of social integration of migrants in local space

Korean government is constantly institutionalizing multicultural policies and there is a move to increase the acceptance of multiculturalism. Ironically, Korean multicultural policies which are featured by the top-down approach is enhancing immigrants to assimilate themselves to domain culture(Choi, 2010; Jo, 2015). Assimilation is not only emphasized in Korea. Minority students in the US are forced to participate in the US hierarchy of ethnicity and race through assimilating the domain culture of majority students.

Despite the noticeable cases of this paper, in similar way, it is hard to deny that conceptual hierarchy of ethnicity and race definitely exists in Korean society so that many migrant workers and marriage migrants go into low economic class when they integrate in Korea(Shin, 2006; Kang, 2014). Ultimately, the hierarchy proves how the society treats the 'other' in their civic culture, which prohibits social inclusion of migrants in civil society. Korean local citizens would recognize immigrant as 'the other' who are totally different from 'us' and then make a alienation of immigrants

from developing countries because they belong to low social and economic class(Kim, 2014). Permanent citizens try to subordinate immigrants to their culture hastily because the other is different from them and they enforce their identity by using the superiority. That is why immigrants can experience isolation from Korean society and exclusion within the wider society.

Also, migrants are exposed as poor people or competitors of labor class by mass media in Korea(Kang, 2014) . In the end, the multicultural discourse in South Korea, which has a social structure trapped in hierarchy, isolates and alienates migrant group in the name of multiculturalism. Excellent talented labor group which consists of mainly white people from developed countries have benefits such as easy achievements of visa and longer stay duration than manual labor groups which is mainly represented to colored people from developing countries. This peculiar context and social atmosphere produces a fundamental challenges and obstacles for migrants' social participation within local level.

Move forward to enhance Multicultural Citizenship and Multicultural Education for All

In multicultural age, we have to consider multicultural citizenship instead of nation state centered citizenship. Because global movement is an unavoidable flow, multicultural population in our nation is dramatically increasing. Kymlicka(2012) argues that the immigrant groups should have the right to maintain their cultures and languages as well as to participate in the national civic culture in a democratic society. It can be stated that integration of society does not always mean assimilation in host society. Multicultural citizenship is not enough to explain just by understanding other culture. Beyond the cultural context, we should discuss multicultural citizenship also on the social and economic context. Finally an approach of cultural pluralism highlights different learner's diverse life experience and respects diversity of social world(Schugurensky, 2006). It promotes cultural cohabitation engaging with diversity and multiculturalism. The cases of this paper reveal that different stakeholders could contribute to reshape a better social configuration within the community level reacting with multiculturalism.

Finally, it is required to expand a horizon of multicultural education in practice. In Korean schools, multicultural education is conducted along with national curriculum and occasionally with

participatory program. It couldn't provide a fundamental and critical space how to understand, how to deal, how to engage with unresolved agenda of 'Multicultural Korea'. It is reported that 25.7% adolescent respondents took multicultural education (Ministry of the Gender Equality & Family, 2015). In case of adults, the adults who participated in multicultural education more than three times got 64.03 points of multicultural acceptability, but participants of multicultural education were just only 5.5% of the respondents (Ahn et al, 2015). Thus, it is time to re-construct frame, scope, method and contents of multicultural education in Korean society. To sum up, Korea needs to implement a sophisticated, systemic multicultural education for all population, not just supporting immigrants or ethnic minority's assimilation.

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Organizing Social Venture: A Case of Institutional Entrepreneurship

Young-Choon Kim

School of Business Administration, UNIST

Email: youngchoon.kim@gmail.com

(VERY EARLY DRAFT; DO NOT CITE WITHOUT AUTHOR'S PERMISSION)

Abstract

This study investigates the institutionalization process of ‘social ventures’ in South Korea using qualitative methodology. Social ventures are similar to commercial business ventures in that they are organized by utilizing and exploiting digitalization and information technologies but distinctive in providing new approaches and solutions to social problems through the implementation of innovative business models. Organizing a social venture is achieved by developing a sustainable business model with the goal of creating social value and the strengthening of the stakeholders' capacity to do so. This study examines the process of establishing an institutional environment through the identification of unique organizational characteristics in social ventures and their collaboration with stakeholders, a process of ‘institutional entrepreneurship’. Drawing upon the theoretical literature related to institutional entrepreneurship, we describe the cultural identity based on hybridity and community-oriented values in the process of organizing social ventures. Then, we examine the following four areas: linkage with the university community, organization of stakeholders through collaboration, interaction with local ecosystem, and construction of cultural-cognitive environment. Lastly, this paper discusses the opportunities and challenges of the institutional entrepreneurship of social ventures in the interface between business and society.

Introduction

A new kind of organization, so-called *social venture*, has been developed by social innovators over the past decade. Although social ventures have a commonality with commercial business ventures in that they are founded using digital technologies and social networks opportunities based on entrepreneurship, they offer unique approaches and solutions to social problems through the implementation of innovative business models. Recently, the public debate about social venture has been actively developed, but the academic research on this phenomenon has yet underdeveloped. Especially, while there has been investigations focusing on individual cases at the founder and enterprise level, the overall understanding of the process of organizing social ventures at a collective level is still lacking. Therefore, there is a call for research on the process of social venture emergence as a new organizational form.

It is important to understand the process of establishing the institutional environments that emerges with new organizational identities beyond the individual entrepreneurial process of the social venture or the enterprise unit. The emergence of new types of organizations is accompanied by the process of creating new institutions that are appropriate for them. In particular, a core entrepreneurial process in which social ventures apply the business model to social problems is to change existing institutions and establishing a new institutional environment through collaboration with various stakeholders.

This study explores the process of institutionalization at the collective level through micro-organization through qualitative research on social venture. In particular, we emphasize the importance of institutional entrepreneurship in establishing a new institutional environment suitable for the organization of social ventures. Thus, this study focuses on the process of creating institutional environment of social venture through collaboration. Then, we discuss the opportunities and challenges of institutional entrepreneurship observed in new organizations located in the interface of business and civil society.

Social Venture

While venture business in general is emerging in a new way that is different from the established business, social innovators or social entrepreneurs are organizing these new venture startups that innovate the world in creative business ways to recognize, share and solve the various problems that arise in society. We define *social ventures* as those that develop innovative business models to publicize specific social problems or provide solutions to them. A social venture provides an innovative corporate model that suggest a solution to social problems with a creative and challenging venture or a start-up that individuals or a small number of entrepreneurs have established to commercialize innovative ideas to solve social problems (<http://www.2017svc.com>).

Social ventures are attempting innovative approaches to social issues using information and communication technologies and digital media technologies. This innovative approach follows an approach to systematically achieving social values through business model approach that is practical and concrete. Examples of typical social ventures in South Korea include a car sharing company (Socar), a food business linked to a rural community (Girl's Mill), a low-income youth education innovation (God of Study), a human library (Wisdom), a mobile game developer that addresses environmental issues (Tree Planet), an accommodation sharing company (Kozaza), a clothes sharing company (Open Closet), new conceptual cultural agency (Choi Guevara Company), and a shared house provider (Woo Zoo).

Backgrounds of Social Venture Emergence

From a macro perspective, the economic system operating as a capitalist market economy consists of three representative areas: market, government, and civil society. The market is based on competition in which economic actors pursue their own private interests. The government seeks public benefits through redistribution functions such as taxation and social security. Civil society seeks fair benefits for marginalized groups and social inequalities, responsible for allocation of resources. These three areas have historically taken on their own functions, but as the structural boundaries across the areas are becoming unclear, new adjustments have been taking place in the area of their functions. In this process, the publicness functions inherent within the domains of market, government, and civil society have been redistributed across the domains (Cho, 2007). For instance, the legitimacy function of the government is transferred to the market domain, leading to the restructuring and rearranging the publicness that belonged to the government and the civil society area and thus the new formation of publicness function within the market order.

These macro changes have been reflected in the changes of corporate behavior. According to the dominant notion, corporations are the actors that lead the market economy of capitalism,

and contribute to economic growth through business management, and they should secure competitive advantage for this purpose (Chang, 2014; Lenox, 2017). However, a new perspective on the role of the corporation has begun to emerge steadily from the orthodox economic and business perspectives of these companies. It is a departure from the narrow view of the role of the corporation as an economic entity and as a market maker, and it has highlighted corporate social responsibility from a wider perspective. As a result, it is increasingly expected that corporations contribute to social development in a broad sense, not just to economic development in a narrow sense. In addition to contributing to social development, corporations should create jobs, establish healthy labor relations, and establish transparent governance structures and management systems (Crane and Matten, 2016). In addition, it has been emphasized that corporations should play an active social role in the areas of environmental problems, labor problems, human rights problems, and health problems.

This view of the new corporations has been influenced by the emphasis on corporate social responsibility (CSR). Global discourse of various international and non-governmental organizations' guiding principles has been disseminated to corporate managers, e.g., strategic CSR and creating shared values (CSV) that create economic value and social value together (Porter and Cramer, 2011). Social ventures are emerging as a result of growing interest and expectation of the social role of these companies. This study examines the process of organizing social ventures in the context of this emergence. The focus of the study is on the organization and construction of institutional environments, which are important in the process of organizing the entire entrepreneurial organization at the collective level, rather than the internal operations of individual social ventures.

Theoretical Backgrounds

Entrepreneurship is regarded as the engine that changes the existing production function through the introduction of new technological innovation and thus causes economic growth, leading to the creative destruction of the established enterprise which cannot adapt to the change (Schumpeter, 1947). The creative destruction is driven by entrepreneurs who are poised to take advantage of opportunities for innovation. The entrepreneurial roles have been discussed in the context of business ventures seeking economic benefits, but it can also be applied to the pursuit of social values in a broad sense. Such representative arguments are from the perspective of social entrepreneurship.

Social entrepreneurship is distinguished from business entrepreneurship in terms of the value pursued by entrepreneurs. Unlike business entrepreneurship, which, as its name suggests, focuses on economic values based on commercial purposes, social entrepreneurship combines the social values of non-economic domains with the pursuit of economic value. In addition to these value differences, social entrepreneurship is inherently different from business entrepreneurship in terms of access and operation methods. According to Santos (2012), the value pursuit of entrepreneurship can be divided into value creation and value capture. In the case of business entrepreneurship, competition in the market system and securing of competitive advantage is essential. In other words, while business ventures are based on the principles of securing value through competition, social entrepreneurs focus on creating value for the society or community to which the venture belongs. Therefore, social entrepreneurship plays a role in developing sustainable solutions rather than the sustainable competitive advantage required by business. It is a characteristic of social entrepreneurship to

take advantage of opportunities in each area of society and to develop new business models by developing solutions for corresponding challenges. As a result of these differences, if the business model of a commercial start-up focuses on controlling the value chain of the industry in which the firm is located and excluding competitors, the business model of the social start-up can be a user, consumer, and stakeholder's capacity to empowerment.

The institutional approach to organizational theory is a theoretical model that focuses on the characteristics of social entrepreneurship, namely, the creation of value and the ongoing development of solutions and the capacity building of stakeholders. In contrast to the economic approach that focuses on market logic and competitive advantage, the institutional view is that companies are seen as one of the social organizations that are influenced by the broader social and institutional environment (Scott and Davis, 2006). The 'institution' in the institutional approach is a broad social and cultural concept, including normative and cognitive aspects as well as the formal system of law and regulation. Therefore, the institutional environment of the organization is broadly defined as a cultural, cognitive, normative, and regulatory external environment that provides stability and meaning to the organization's operations and activities. The main thesis of institutionalism is isomorphism, which explains the similarities in the behavior and structure of organizations in the same organizational field under the influence of regulatory, normative, cultural, and cognitive institutional environments (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Amenta and Ramsey, 2010).

Thus, institutional research emphasizes the stability and binding power of established institutions and focuses on unidirectional unilateral effects of institutional environment and its invariant continuity (Scott and Meyer, 1994; Scott and Davis, 2006; Guillen, 1994), and studies of country-specific and industry-specific variations in corporate social responsibility (Aguilera et al., 2007; Campbell, 2007). However, recent research has shown that the theoretical interest in the process of institutional change, or the process by which actors make a change, has greatly increased from the emphasis on the stability and continuity of these systems. Thus, there is an increasing number of researches on the coexistence and conflict of many institutional environments, institutional logics, and the process of making a crack in the existing institutional environment (Creed, 2002; Lounsbury, 2007; Battilana, Leca and Boxenbaum, 2009; Greenwood et al., 2010). The main element of the institutional work presented in these studies is the process of creating, maintaining, changing, and destroying the institutional environment (s) that have been maintained in the past (Garud et al., 2007).

Expanding the concept of entrepreneurship more broadly connects with the viewpoints and actions that deviate from existing rules and norms (Garud et al., 2007). Given the nature of entrepreneurs that cause change and destruction, it is difficult to see that the results of entrepreneurs' efforts are naturally accepted in existing norms and rules. In order for the entrepreneur's efforts to be justified, efforts must be made to persuade those who are in agreement with existing rules and norms, as well as efforts to change existing order. The more innovative and newer the entrepreneurial outcome is, the more difficult and challenging it is to change existing rules and norms. From this perspective, entrepreneurship can be viewed as an actively creating process that links new norms and resources beyond new discovery (Garud et al., 2007).

In this sense, the spirit of entrepreneurial entrepreneurship can be seen to be in tune with changes in the institutional environment. However, in the sense that entrepreneurship focuses on change and creation, the existing institutional approach seems to be contrary to the view

that the institutional environment gives stability and continuity to guarantee the repetitive behavior of the organization. It is true that both 'institutional' and 'entrepreneurial spirit' seem to be contradictory, and in fact both studies have been carried out separately (Garud et al., 2007). However, in view of the recent research trends of institutionalism mentioned above, if we combine institutionalism and entrepreneurship perspective into one system, it is the view that institutional entrepreneurship spirit, that is, entrepreneurs change the existing institutional environment while creating new institutional environment. The institutional entrepreneurial spirit refers to the process of creation and change of the broader rather than the existing entrepreneurial spirit of the existing narrow sense, and shows the possibility that the institutional environment can be reconstructed or reunited according to the perspective and capability of the entrepreneur.

The institutional entrepreneurial spirit is the process of creating a new system by using resources to find the opportunity for the entrepreneur to realize his or her own pursuing value, It is the act and process by which entrepreneurs pursuing institutional arrangements use resources to create new institutions (DiMaggio, 1988). If the existing new institutionalist theory focuses on the organizational structure and process being sustainable by institutional forces, the institutional start-up process focuses on the process by which organizational processes and institutions are transformed by creative entrepreneurs (Garud et al., 2007).

According to Battilana, Leca and Boxenbaum (2009), institutional entrepreneurship of actors can be started according to the nature of organizational entities in which actors belong and the social position of actors in them. The creation of a vision for and the interplay of mobilization of forces that sympathize with that vision. This change is a process in which the existing institutional environment declines and a new institutional environment is formed.

One of the central themes of organizational theory research is the issue of the boundaries between internal and external organizations. From the viewpoint of transaction costs, it can be said that companies minimize transaction costs and increase efficiency. From the viewpoint of enterprise capability, (Santos and Eisenhardt, 2005). The institutional approach focuses on the process by which companies in the field make their own identities rather than from the perspective of efficiency, competence or power. Organizations create boundaries in ways that weaken uncertainty and ambiguity that arises from the external environment by setting up their own disciplines and forming the meaning and identity of their activities in that discipline. The traditional institutional approach emphasized that the external environment influences structure and behavior within the organization, based on the distinction between internal and external.

However, the process of institutional entrepreneurship is not an unilateral process in which the external environment that is already established affects the new entrepreneurial process, but rather an interactive process in which the internal and external environments are linked through the activities of entrepreneurs. In other words, as in the traditional organization, the boundary between the inside and the outside of the organization is clear, boundary between the inside and the outside of the organization becomes blurry. In this sense, it can be understood that the process of establishing a social venture is a process of linking the inside and outside of the organization together while creating the relationship with the external environment of the organization, especially the social system.

Therefore, it is important to establish the boundary of the institutional environment in terms of the interaction between the organizational system and the external environment, i.e., the process in which the entrepreneurial group interacts with the external environment in the start-up phenomenon of the social venture (Weber and Waeger, 2017). In particular, new attempts to reconfigure the boundaries of existing social categories and to present new identities through the boundary process, bargaining, compromise, and unity of association are important. This study examines the process of constructing the institutional environment of social venture by constructing a new institutional environment by deviating from the existing institution in the existing institution in society and winning the legitimacy accordingly. Like a spider web, it is a system of meaning and sign that sustains the life of the actor. Through this institutional environment, the organization is provided with a system of judgments about what it means (or does not mean) and what to do (or not) (Garud et al., 2007)

Research Methods

This study explores the process of reconfiguring the institutional environment in the market and civil society according to the social venture style by applying the above - mentioned theoretical perspectives to the institutional entrepreneurial spirit of social venture. The process of organizing the social venture is to change the existing institutional environment and to create a new institutional environment suitable for the social venture. In other words, we study the process of making institutional environment of charity, civic group, and social activist way constituted by commercial venture enterprise established in the market area and new institutional environment by the founder of social venture. This institutional environment is a very important process in creating entrepreneurial value.

This study conducted a qualitative analysis of organizational process through literature survey and participatory research on the cases of many social ventures (Eisenhardt, 1989). We have focused on the general characteristics of social ventures by extracting the common points of each case using a number of cases, especially focusing on the common features of micro-processes and institutional environments. This can help to make generalized theories about the organization and institutionalization process of social ventures. According to this study, this study mainly analyzes the organization and institutionalization process of social venture from a collective viewpoint.

This study used online and offline data on social ventures. In this study, 'Impact Business Review', 'Social Venture Competition', 'SVCA Asian Social Venture Competition', 'Venture Square', 'Platum', 'Venture Business Association', 'Sharehub', 'Social Enterprise', 'Social Enterprise Promotion Agency', 'Social Enterprise Society', 'Shareable', 'Seoul Social Economic Portal', 'CSV Platform', 'Tistory' 'Design approach for social entrepreneurs' (Park and Jeon, 2015), 'Social economic prospect and possibility' (Shim, et al., 2015)), 'Social Enterprise Establishment Guidelines' (Kim et al., 2015) and 'We have another territory' (Song and Hand, 2014).

Since there is no systematic research on the population of social ventures in the current situation, we have selected cases of social ventures through the literature survey mentioned above. In order to prevent the limitation of social ventures in specific fields, research subjects were selected in a variety of fields. As a result, the social ventures that were the subject of the research were the automobile sharing company (Socar), the clothes sharing company (Open Closet), the food business (Girl's Mill) connected with the rural community, the homeless

enterprise producing the paper hanger (Dooson Company), education for low-income youths (God of Study), libraries for sharing people (Wisdom), mobile games for tree planting (Tree Planet), cultural design agency (Choi Guevara Company), community play planner (Neighbors) and shared housing company (Woo Zoo). The social ventures included in this study are active in various fields including urban and housing problems, local food, education innovation, shared economy, environmental problems, international development cooperation, happiness pursuit and quality of life, and comfort women issues.

This study examines the characteristics of social venture in terms of institutional entrepreneurship. We examine the characteristics of hybridity in the interaction between internal and external organizations in the process of establishing a social venture and explore the cultural identity formed throughout the social venture organizations. Next, we examine the process of establishing the institutional environment through collaboration with various stakeholders in the start-up and organization process of social ventures. As the new institutional environment suitable for the social venture is required, the process of collaborating with activists related to the founder of the social venture to form institutional environment from normative, cultural and cognitive aspects will be examined. In particular, the social venture is a phenomenon in which the boundary between the inside and outside of the organization is thinned and reconstructed through activities at the interface of the institutional environment, in particular, the process of linking together the inside and outside of the organization in relation to society. We study the process of collaborating with the entrepreneurial group interacting with the external environment in the opportunity. Finally, we examine the opportunities and challenges of institutional entrepreneurial activity in social ventures.

Findings

Hybridity

The social venture includes two concepts of 'social' and 'venture', which include the issue of differentiating the economic value of the products / services provided by the business, and the influence of the products/services on the social domain. It is considered together (Song and Hand, 2014). This situation is expressed as the hybridity of the institutional logic in which the mixture of the logic of the market domain and the logic of the social domain appears. Hybridisation is a way to break away from the socially accepted organizational forms and combine various forms (Battilana and Lee, 2014). Hybrid organization is an innovative activity in that it combines out-of-bounds organizational forms, and new organizational forms are created through the process of re-joining or rearranging existing organizational forms. In addition, it is necessary to deal with various challenges and challenges of this hybrid operation in order to carry out commercial activities in business operation, to pursue social mission, and to create sustainable enterprise. The hybridity of social ventures is expressed by heterogeneous interactions that connect organizations of different domains and people of different disposition and form a network.

The social venture 'Tree Planet' is a representative example of the organization of heterogeneous exchange based on hybridity. 'Tree Planet' is a social venture that combines tree planting online games and social campaigns that actually run tree planting offline. On the other hand, we are developing game development related capabilities (programmers, graphic design, etc.) in terms of mobile game business and consulting business customers such as

large companies for online advertising through games. On the other hand, we work with civic groups, social activists and volunteers related to environmental protection for offline tree planting. In addition, we are carrying out urban forest creation project in cooperation with public agencies and government. We will link up social issues with forests through crowdfunding platform and promote forest formation centering on fan club in cooperation with celebrities such as entertainers. In addition, through cooperation with overseas NGOs, we entered Mongolia and China and collaborated with local communities to implement desertification prevention programs through tree planting. 'Tree Planet' belongs to a small company, but its characteristics and characteristics of hybridity and heterogeneity are well represented in its activity area and organization.

Thus, the hybridity of social ventures is expressed in the interactions of various organizations and institutions, such as government agencies, NGOs, users, consumers, incubators, accelerators, investors, expert groups, academics, producers, established enterprises and communities. If it is common for imitation and cloning to take place in the same institutional framework, the head of social venture organization is a process of mixing people and organizations with different experiences through crossbreeding (Song and Hand, 2014). Therefore, in the organizing of social venture, the tendency of dissonance, incongruity, and discrepancy rather than sense of security, harmony and consensus is the characteristic of daily interaction. In the organization of social ventures, the role of the intermediary or the linker becomes important as a person who can understand both the language of the public official, the language of the entrepreneur, and the language of the civil society. "It is important to know business minds in business, understand what is important in realizing public values in the public domain, and understand the core values needed for nonprofits in nonprofits." In addition, in organizing social ventures, it is important not only to "do what you can do" but also to "help someone with what you cannot do". It is the core of sustainability that it is a structure that can "collaborate with other people" in the interchange of various stakeholders, and performing the collaboration well.

Community-Orientation

A common feature of social ventures is that they are based on a community orientation that gives affirmation to our social community. Social venture startups are not entrepreneurs in the narrow sense of the word, because they see where society is causing problems, what kind of crisis they are in, and what vision they need to go in. Social innovation "(Mulgan et al., 2007). Social innovators seek to solve problems in a creative way by devising ways to systematically explore opportunities, anticipate obstacles and solve problems effectively, beginning with the problems of the community. The persistence that overcomes the difficulties here and the strong opposition of the existing forces and does not give up in the long-term goal is the starting point of the first business, community-oriented. These community minds are based on pluralistic thinking that seeks to "coexist with correct and incorrect answers", "belief in spontaneity and subjectivity" of each member of society, "belief in goodness to all", "not different".

This orientation is evident in the interviews of social venture entrepreneurs. The founding of 'Duson Company' started with the consciousness of the problem of "the physical rights of the homeless people with low income and low living space" and the "study of the homeless and anxieties about the job" to solve the problem. "Universe" started from the awareness of the problem of "housing problems of young people living in the city center" and led to the idea of

"creating a community of young people mediated by residential space or creating a culture of young people living in the same space". The core value of this entrepreneurial activity lies in "the role of young people in building communities themselves and ultimately helping them grow their homes through their homes by creating a home where dreamlike friends come together to grow their dreams together."

"Girl's Mill" is an attempt to "coexist rural producers and city entrepreneurs." "The elders of the country are not incompetent and outdated, but have the power to comfort the modern people with the wisdom of life we have not known. It was founded from the viewpoint of "comforting young people who are tired of rice". Neighborhood planning a new play culture derives from the idea of "Let's make a community play that can raise community" from the personalistic play culture of modern society. These community-based identities also appear in the interactions between social venture entrepreneurs. The social venture entrepreneurial space is "a place where people living together and laughing, seeing each other in the school, encouraging each other, A space where people live together ".

On the other hand, the characteristic of social venture is the identity of the reformer who changes society, that is, the identity of change maker. They develop new ideas for social change as a change maker that is both a subject of providing corporate management techniques for solving social problems and a change maker at the same time. Change makers as social reformers are trying to change the economic and social structure by making rules that are completely different from those of game rules imposed by existing society, rules of game that thoroughly distinguish between for-profit and non-profit (Song and Hand, 2014). It is those who challenge a new realm to fill the society and community destroyed in the compression industrialization and quantitative economic expansion, refuse the way given in our society, and create new roads and territories. This changemaker identity never gives up until it has the entrepreneurial ability and perseverance necessary to lead social transformation, together with ethics and morality, and unfailingly and maximally disseminated to the pursuit of vision.

The beginning of the "Open Closet", a clothing-sharing company, was to "change a small part of the world" by playing a role in the shared economy. Based on a sense of challenge to "what no one else does", it is "to unearth, create and spread stories that change the world by following the story of changing the world." In the case of a car-sharing company, "Sokka", "I think it would be fun or not efficient," rather than staying in the present condition. To create or to create. "

"A decade later, my daughter asked me," You said you bought a car in the old days? "To share a car makes it a common society," a change orientation that wants to, "and it certainly comes to that world, Faith in the right direction ". Marimond, who publicized the issue of comfort women, chose a business model that contributed 50% of its operating profit as a donation, because "restoring human dignity is the biggest reason for doing business." "As sales increase, our stories are transmitted to more people, and when such viral happen, donations are sent to grandmothers." As the sales increase, our meaning is more clearly communicated to society. . These change makers make up the change maker pyramid as a leading social innovator, aiming at a world where everyone in the elite-oriented world is made to become a change maker.

Collaboration with College

In recent years, young people have been actively engaged in entrepreneurship by supporting institutional support for entrepreneurship and students' voluntary start-up club activities (Park, Cheolwoo, 2017). This study was able to observe various linkages and cooperation activities with college clubs in the process of organizing social ventures. The majority of social venture start-ups observed in this study are young people in their 20s and 30s, who share experiences and activities on campus during college and maintain a close social network through college clubs. 'Nexus' and 'WISH', which started in 2006 and 2008, respectively, are typical college clubs that started by studying social enterprises and led the establishment of early social ventures. These college clubs have been active in solving social problems based on entrepreneurship and leading to positive change in society. After graduating, many of them started to enter social ventures or enter into various fields related to them. University club activities are carried out in the form of inter-university exchanges and associations outside the boundaries of individual universities. SEN, a college student club operated by five universities in 2010, is independent of each college group, but it also provides mentoring, case studies, book seminars, and workshops with entrepreneurs related to social ventures. Networking activities. In addition, Enactus, a social project club run by 31 universities in Korea, has been actively engaging in action, action or purpose with a sustainable influence based on entrepreneurship and authenticity to create innovative business solutions .

This study was able to observe various linkages and cooperation activities with the university community in the process of organizing the social venture. Through talk concerts and networking events such as 'Innovation Challenge Workshop' and 'Sexuality Social Venture Networking Party', potential social venture start-ups of the currently forming and growing social venture ecosystem and university are connected. Through this, potential youth entrepreneurs form a social network and share the related knowledge and experience, becoming the microscopic basis of social venture proliferation. In college clubs, social innovation projects are being designed and ideas are being developed, and new business model experiments are under way. These college club activities have led to the establishment of social ventures in various fields such as 'God of Study', 'Impact Square', 'Delight', 'Root Impact', and 'Woo Zoo.

Organizing Stakeholders

As shown by the characteristics of hybridity, social venture constructs its institutional environment through collaboration with various stakeholders. A typical example of collaborative work is the social venture contest, which is being held around 2010. The contest is composed of government and public institutions related to start-up, employment, social economy and city policy, non-profit support organization in this field, venture start-up and social innovation education institution, venture investor, And the large-scale private companies that sponsor them. These conventions have contributed to expanding the base of social venture by creating a boom of social venture, discovering excellent ideas, supporting commercialization, spreading innovative social enterprise model and forming social consensus. A typical competition is the 'Social Venture Competition' sponsored by the Korea Society for the Promotion of Science, sponsored by the Ministry of Employment and Labor.

This competition has been held since 2009, and since 2013, it has been divided into general, solution, and start-up divisions. From 2016, it has been divided into four categories: solution, start-up ideas, global and youth. The solution sector is related to the immediate problem of social enterprise or social economic activation plan. The business idea section focuses on

ideas for social problem solving and social value creation. Global sector focuses on ideas for global social problem solving and social value creation. And the youth sector is targeted for adolescents aged 14-19, excluding college students. This competition is organized in a nationwide area, and each region is operated through cooperation through support organizations. Gangwon, Taejon and Chungcheong are called 'grassroots people'; Daegu, Gyeongbuk and Yeongnam are called 'Time and Space Research Institute'; and Gwangju, Jeolla and Jeju are 'Gwangju NGO Citizens' Foundation is the supporting organization. These support agencies provide incubating services for early venture companies and are in tandem with support for social entrepreneurial development projects. The most popular social ventures supported by commercialization through social venture contest are 'Shin Gyoung Shin', 'Delight', 'Sejiaon', 'Choi Guevara', 'Coffee Factory' These contests grew more sociable as the years passed and the number of participating teams continued to increase. For example, the teams participating in the social venture contest are increasing year by year, and more than 200 teams participated in 2016. The contest is part of the government support policy and the budget is organized. As the year progresses, cooperation with the stakeholders is in place to improve the field and examination standards.

Another example of collaborative work is in the creation of coworking space and networking spaces for social ventures. These spaces include the Seoul City Youth Hub, the Social Campus on, the Dewell, the Hayground, the Kow-e-Dogok, the LG Social Campus, And the 'Digital Social Innovation Lab', which has a character, are common. Their common characteristic is that they are collaborations of various stakeholders surrounding the social venture ecosystem. As a representative example, 'Social Campus on', organized in 2017, has participated by central government, local government, social enterprises, political parties, civic organizations, social enterprise founders, employees and investors. Through this, we are carrying out business incubation space, mentoring and networking programs, and youth social enterprise development. In particular, it aims to enhance the management ability of social ventures and to provide integrated support for leaps and start-ups. It also provides various facilities such as business start-up spaces, collaboration spaces and meeting rooms, and provides networking programs for education, mentoring, mutual exchange and cooperation. It is maximizing the synergy between social ventures. These programs emit youth social venture start-ups and play a role in 'empowering the social economic ecosystem' and act as an opportunity to challenge and innovate through the establishment of social enterprises throughout the country. Another example is 'Digital Society Innovation Lab', which is a social venture startup team that uses digital and IT technologies to solve social problems and promotes IT support for nonprofit and social economic organizations, focusing on Seoul and nonprofit private organizations. Each project team can be customized according to the growth stage and start-up field, and the project implementation cost, mentoring, space, network linkage, It supports customized entrepreneurship training and professional mentoring marketing, management strategy, corporation establishment, fund raising, market development, IT, technology development, 3D prototype production etc. for entrepreneurial capacity, social economy, management, personnel affairs, investment attraction and technology.

Impact Hub Seoul, established in 2013, is the Korean organization of a global community of innovators seeking positive social change based on space established in more than 50 cities around the world, supported by Seoul City government. Korea's Impact Hub serves as a virtual club lounge for various innovators working in the domestic impact ecosystem, members of Impact Hub meet each other, learn innovation experience and knowledge, and

continue to grow their impact. And the role of the platform. Impact Hub Seoul is a business model that utilizes various events and programs as well as café and meeting space service provided only to its members by innovators of various backgrounds related to impact. You can act as an impact hub member. In Impact Hub, hosts are a catalyst for various events, educational seminars, town hall meetings, workshops, and cartoons to make it easier for members to meet, connect and collaborate and become a community. We are building a community that enables effective learning.

Interaction with Local Ecosystem

The hybrid organization and community identity of social ventures emerged as a process of collaborative collaboration that uses large - scale collaborations, especially communities, and attracts local communities to change the local community itself. The process of establishing a social venture can be seen as a process by which social venture social innovators are born cyclically in the local community by conveying attractive ideas to the community through innovative storytelling (Song and Han, 2014). The process of organizing a social venture is a process in which the group of each group of venture entities is formed in the middle of the business and social domains, and the ecosystem of the stakeholder organizations surrounding it forms (Kim et al., 2017). The process of formation of this systematic cluster is carried out together with the formation of an ecosystem supporting the developmental dynamics. The new institutional logic emerges through the collective institutionalization process of social venture, and the justification that the agreed index is calculated and the form of organization is formed through discussion in the chapter of discourse. Through this process of institutionalization, common denominator as the organizational field is formed and emerged. In this common recognition structure, differentiation of organizational method, domain, field, technology and so forth appear, and diversity among organizations appears.

The representative social venture ecosystem currently being formed is the social venture alley of Seongsu-dong, Seoul. In this region, social venture organizations began to gather around 2014, and these organizations are growing along with the alpine alleys, the nearby Seoul Forest Project, and the revitalization of the road market. In the background of the growth of the Seongsu-dong social venture alley, cultural artists (the so-called 'Hongdae Network') were established along with the support of the municipality (Seoul Creative Space Promotion Section, Seongdong-gu Office) List] culture artist), and the efforts of the chaebol family III, which pioneers social innovation activities.

As a representative social innovation, it is a society for shared economic IT company (Socar), a food business connected with rural community (girl mill), a homeless enterprise producing paper hanger (Duson Company), adopted child social innovation (Pinguu North), comfort women grandmother), Social innovators working in low-income educational innovation (God of Study) and grassroots civic political organizations (Buzz). In addition, as an institution supporting these social innovator organizations, it is necessary to establish a social innovation support organization (root impact), a venture incubator, an accelerator (excursion, HGI), a community collaborative organization (Impact hub, library, joint space, Cafes (arts, design, local footwear, entrepreneurial space) are used. In particular, 'Root Impact' is an organization that supports social innovators, and is responsible for funding and operation support of social ventures centering on Seongsu-dong. Inspired by the Asoka Foundation's

vision of "helping 10,000 people who help 10,000 people," they will play a role in supporting the growth of social ventures.

In this process, we have worked closely with venture incubators, accelerators, and community collaborative organizations, creating spaces for social venture collaboration and networks within the D-well building. In August 2017, we expanded this network to create a joint work and network space called 'Hayground' to support the social innovation of Seongsu Dong social venture. It provides support for accounting, finance, and tax affairs through the share office, ie, a shared office space, and improves understanding and capacity building of social enterprises and non-profit organizations through learning and training, and provides educational platform services. They learn to interact with and learn from stakeholders related to social ventures through a way of interacting with each other rather than by passive education. They feel and learn from each other that they have to do something like this, and they are inspired by social change and innovation. A dividing chapter is being created.

A representative example of the interaction between a local ecosystem and a social venture is the 'Sexuality Social Fashion Project' conducted in Seongsu-dong in 2016. 'Social fashion' is an activity to produce and pursue social values through fashion design and production. It is the activity to improve the working conditions of the workers in the fashion industry, to create mutual respect culture between designers or between designers and producers, Creating jobs in the community in the process of consumers, and other activities that contribute to social problem solving. This project is a social economic program sponsored by the Seoul Metropolitan Government and sponsored by the "Committee for the Promotion of the Fashion Cluster for the Sungsu Social and Economic Focussing" It was conducted through a collaborative system that encompasses elements of art. Through the projects such as 'Social Fashion Design Competition', 'Onsite Fashion School', and 'Sexuality Social Fashion Show', the concept of social fashion as a part of social economy was widely known and explored. It is an attempt to integrate the contents of fashion, culture, and art with the manufacturing site of local community through the collaboration of stakeholders centered on social venture start-ups and local small business owners.

Constructing Cultural-Cognitive Environments

It is a cultural and cognitive environment represented by educational institutions and programs related to social venture 's institutional environment. In the meantime, various types of educational institutions and programs related to social venture have grown. A representative educational institution is KAIST's "Social Entrepreneur MBA Program" supported by the SK Happiness Sharing Foundation. We have been carrying out social enterprise entrepreneurship, incubation, entrepreneurship-oriented curriculum development and academic research activities with the aim of cultivating talented people with social entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial talent. In addition, the 'Social Enterprise Leader Course' and 'Social Entrepreneur Academy' provide practical entrepreneurship education for pre-founders as part of the social entrepreneurship project sponsored by 'Social Enterprise Promotion Center' Is a systematic education and training program that fosters experts in various fields of social economy. Through these institutions and universities, a number of educational programs are being developed that seek to find creative ideas to solve community problems, and to foster entrepreneurship spirit.

The meaning of social venture and its efforts to build legitimacy are emerging through the formation of a cultural and cognitive environment. Typical examples are the case studies on

social ventures, as well as conceptualization, methodology, and operation manual work. Social enterprise research was launched in 2008, the first professional journal in the field of social enterprise. In 2016, the "Happy Sharing Foundation", "Social Enterprise Society", "Social Enterprise Researcher" and "SK Social Enterprise Center" . Social enterprise, social economy, and social entrepreneurial gossip sector. It also covers social enterprise entrepreneurship and education, social enterprise model based on technological innovation, social performance measurement such as SROI, social impact maximization business Models, and so on.

The 'Social Enterprise Business Model Knowledge Series' jointly organized by SK Social Entrepreneurs Center and MYSC, a social consulting organization, will be published in 2016 with a total of four volumes, including prospects and possibilities of social economics, Design approaches for social enterprises, and social enterprise start-up papers. In the media and media, examples of innovative business of social venture are receiving social attention and are reported constantly. Since 2010, special features and introductions to social ventures have been released in the media. A representative example is the introduction of social ventures and social innovators living in Seongsu-dong, Seoul on March 3, 2015, and produced 'Documentary 3 Days'. The social interest is increasing along with the media reports, and the cultural and cognitive legitimacy of the social venture is spreading.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study examines the process of institutionalization of social ventures at a collective level through micro-organizing. We examined the process of institutionalization of regulatory, normative, and cultural / cognitive aspects through collaboration with various stakeholders in organizing social ventures. We showed how the social venture is organized in the interaction with the society and to form the institutional environment of norms and cultural and cognitive aspects that differentiate from the existing environment. Here we will discuss the opportunities and challenges of institutional entrepreneurship of new organizational groups formed between business and civil society.

The social venture contributes to social value creation through business model approach, pursues community value in its value orientation, and has change - oriented characteristics. The methodology is based on IT, social network and mobile platform, develops business model that utilizes online and offline connection (O2O) actively. The collaboration with various stakeholders is a major part of the implementation of the project. In this sense, social venture suggests the establishment of a new relationship between business and society. First, it means a fundamental change in the basic thinking that segregated thinking, that is, business and society, is separated. As the separation of the existing producer-consumer domain is destroyed in the future economic model (Lee and Lee, 2017), organization of social venture is institutionalized in such a way that the entity is connected with community, NGO, and users.

There are two dimensions of direction in social ventures as seen in the name (Driver, 2012). On the one hand, social ventures can help create social values by introducing innovative solutions to social problems facing the limitations of existing solutions. On the other hand, Approach can result in the marketization or corporateization of the social realm. This duality can be seen as a clash of the two words 'social' and 'venture'. Therefore, there is always the foresight and concern that social ventures will gradually disappear as the business grows, that is, 'business is business' in the institutionalization process of social venture. It is possible that

the development of the two sides of social venture is manifested through the cyclical feedback operation as defined by the macroscopic behavior of social venture society. In other words, as the influence of the publicness of the society in which the social venture belongs is expanded, the collective power of the society works in the direction of intensifying the publicness of the social venture, thereby working to strengthen the creation of social value. However, As the commercial logic of the established business community tends to capture the business model of the social venture as a new business opportunity, the social venture may act as a vanguard for developing a new business model of the established enterprise.

In contrast to existing NGOs in society, the social venture approach differs from NGO activities that rely on sponsorship or donation in that it takes into consideration the incentives of stakeholders related to social issues due to the nature of the business model approach. do. The social venture business model approach can also influence the way NGOs operate, helping to establish a new NGO operating model. In addition, due to the nature of social venture, tactile sense of new technology and social change is developed due to sensitivity to new technologies such as information technology and economic and market changes and opportunities for change. The technological and business model thinking of these new opportunities can stimulate future social organizations to adapt to changes in the macro-technical social system. In particular, it can play a role as a channel for disseminating and learning new technologies and business models through cooperation with social NGOs. However, there are social problems and areas suitable for business models among various social problem areas, and these fields are likely to become areas where social ventures will emerge and grow. This is because the business model of a social venture can be linked to a social problem specific to the model, and the business model of a social venture seeks a selective and strategic approach to this social problem. Therefore, social ventures are likely to provide cross-sectional solutions to limited issues of specific social issues. Also, in the field where social ventures are distributed, the emergence and growth of social ventures may be concentrated on specific social problem areas suitable for business model development. The problem of bias can also be seen in the range of partner selection in collaboration with governments, local governments, NGOs, and professional groups. When approached from the standpoint of social venture, there is a possibility to be limited to cooperation with NGOs of specific fields and specific inclination, which is suitable for the business model of the social venture. In the case of cooperation with the government, it is also possible that the activities of the social venture may be confined to the social problem areas in which the government is interested as the government's support is not suitable as a social venture suitable for the government's priority.

This study has limitations of several studies in collective level analysis of social venture. First, there is a limit to the fact that the overall status of the organization group is not clearly understood because the basic statistics about the social venture organization group is insufficient. For more systematic research on social venture organizations, it is necessary to examine the basic trends of distribution of sub-organizations by business sector and social issues and their temporal changes through a clear definition of social ventures. Second, this study also focuses on the common characteristics of social ventures, but there are various types of heterogeneous organizations within the group. It is also important to distinguish between the internal heterogeneity of social ventures and the conceptual types of social ventures. Lastly, this study focuses on the institutional start-up process of social ventures at a collective level, but in order to gain a deeper understanding of them, individual analysis of concrete social venture cases should be supplemented. The analysis of the start-up process of

individual social venture will be able to understand the concrete process of collaboration with various stakeholders presented in this study in depth.

Despite these limitations, the implications of this study can be understood more positively in the changes of the economic and social systems that come with new technological innovation. It is expected that the traditional business will change and new forms of organization will emerge with the 4th industrial revolution (Lee and Lee, 2017; Schwab, 2016). In other words, as many futurists predict, the boundaries of the existing economy, industry, and society are getting blurry, and new forms of enterprise and innovative business models that are beyond these boundaries are likely to emerge. As a result of these changes, the entrepreneurial spirit that is aimed at the simultaneous realization of economic value and social value beyond the conventional categorical boundary will become important. The entrepreneurial spirit of a social venture is thought to be capable of understanding such a new form of organization. An in-depth exploration of the process of institutional entrepreneurship of social ventures will help to understand the new organizational aspects in the upcoming rapid economic and social changes.

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Investment or Consumption?

The Relationship between Mobility and Consumer Movements in Japan

Kyoko Tominaga (kyokotom@fc.ritsumeimei.ac.jp)

Many researchers had historically shown the interest for consumerism. In the study of social movement, consumerism is a repertory in contentious politics against government or companies and researchers categorized it into the type of tactics based on the theory of new social movements and resource mobilization theory.

However, previous researches had not conceptualized the character of consumer movements because participants try to get not only public goods but also exclusive benefits in consumerism. It is difference of consumerism from other type of social movements.

For example, we can find the investment character in housing movements, movements for the improvement of living conditions, and other type of actions. Nowadays, cloud funding of citizen movement model is upsurge worldwide.

Facing on the transition of consumerism, some researchers re-focused on the investment character of consumer movements. Focusing on investment character has shown alternative importance from character previous research made clear, but it has been regarded as less political than consumption. Every consumer movement has both characteristics of investment and consumption. We cannot divide the two functions. In this research, I intentionally divide two type of activity and motivation. In this presentation, Consumption is Buycott, fair trade, ethical consumerism, consuming the eco-friendly goods and some activities and participants do not get the rewards in the action. On the other hand, Investment is that joining the crowd funding or social funding program regarding political issues and participants aim to get something in return in the activity.

Brief History and Literature Review: Consumerism in Japan

Brief History

The word of “consumer movements” birthed in 1920s; however, it is disappeared in 1930s-1950s. However, it doesn’t mean the disappearance of consumer movements itself in 1950s. In this period, the word of “YAMI” frequently appeared in the article. It is highly concerned with consumer movements. By the way of example, I argue about an article. These are the titles; “Women’s organization refuse to buy YAMI products and participate in movement which reduce the price” [Asahi Shimbun, 1948.8.27] “Boycott against YAMI price,

we expect the activity of labor unions” [Asahi Shimbun, 1946.12.4] and “The committee of noninflammable matches started the activism which reduce the price” [Asahi Shimbun, 1948.8.31]. YAMI means the products that do not have certification from Japanese government. They circulate in informal market beyond of governmental observation. In usual, YAMI goods were bad quality and high prices. Therefore, housewives engaged in the movements against YAMI market and products.

Especially, Chihu-Ren (The committee of housewives in local area) and Shufu-ren (The committee of housewives) played the important role in consumer movements in 1940-50s. Wahn pointed out it is important point of Japanese consumer movements: In Taiwan, America, and other western countries, the main actors of consumer movement are urban intellectuals, and specialists (Wahn 2012, Sakai 2002). However, “ordinary” housewives positively advanced the movements in the early period in Japan. In the beginning, they established “Oshamoji-Movement” (Oshamoji means the tool which serve rice or other meals) and “The committee of noninflammable matches” (Kokumin seikatsu Center 1996) because rice and match are essential items for Japanese life. However, such single-issue movements, Chihu-ren and Shufu-ren are established.

The latter half of 1950s, some disease breaks out in specific area in Japan. Major examples are Minamata disease, The incident of Morinaga Arsenic Milk and Thalidomide Scandal. A lot of consumers raised their action against large enterprises. Minamata disease was broken out as a neurological syndrome. It was caused by severe mercury poisoning and first discovered in Minamata-city in Kumamoto prefecture in 1956. The poison was into resident’s bodies via fish in wastewater by Chisso Corporation. Residents and activists from other area took struggle against Chisso Corporation and Japanese government.

The incident of Morinaga Arsenic Milk happened in 1955. Firstly, a great deal of arsenic was included in Morinaga’s milk. Morinaga used the second phosphoric acid soda in the process of making the powdered milk. Over 100 people died in this incident. Users took the president of Morinaga to the court and conduct research for other users. The following photo (on the left side in this line) is the magazine which was published by victim’s group.

Thalidomide Scandal was also significant incident not only in Japan but also around the world. Thalidomide was used in the late 1950s and early 1960s to cure some sickness. However, it led to children being born without limbs. The incident was developed into a big issue because there were many victims.

The three incidents were about deferent products and corporations, but they were based

on same root. Their disease transmitted by essential products (milk, fish and medicine) and left fatal effects for human's body. Especially, it caused harmful influence for infants because the effects left longer and more heavily in the case of infants and children. Even now, many victims are suffering from such diseases.

In this period, consumer movements have perpetrators and victims. The definition is overlapped into the relationship between large corporations and weak consumers. Because being in vulnerable position, consumer movements had only limited repertoire. They cannot take action until an occurrence of the disease.

In 1970s, consumer movements explosively increased in articles. At first, it occurred as the protest against color-television marketing. (Kokumin seikatsu Center 1996) The corporations of Matsushita and National presented "a dual price" when they sold color-television. In this period, some companies did not show the "genuine" price intentionally thus consumer organizations established the action against consumer-electronics companies. This movement succeeded and companies reduce the price of color-television. Some articles indicate that consumers were quite sensitive to "fair" position between corporations and consumers in this time. For example, Japanese industry gained profit from changes in exchange rate in 70s. However, many dealers did not reduce the price of imported goods. Japan faced the period of high economic growth and the society became more and more high-consumption society. Therefore, consumer movements had to sound the alarm on fields; production, distribution and consumption.

On the other hand, some consumer movements have ecological aspect. Such movement took up a specific product for example a synthetic detergent and natural foods. Otherwise, they denounced that using an air-conditioner from the viewpoint of global warming and dissipation of natural resources.

In this period, the quality of consumer movements had transformed. One of the consumer movement organizations, chifu-ren started to sell cosmetics because they argued that the price of cosmetics is wrongfully high. They cut the cost of advertisement and manufacture system. Moreover, they do not only business by themselves, but also commodity test. Japanese consumer-groups tested the quality of some products: gas lighter, folding umbrella, automatic toaster and vacuum bottle. After this, testing for goods and running business are main repertoires in consumer movements.

Main actor in movements is unchanged: they are housewives. Some Consumer Movements are formally organized in this era, but Japanese consumer movements were

occupied by women as well as ever. It is unique character in Japan. In other countries, housewives were no more than periphery actor in consumer movements (Wahn 2012, Sato 1999).

After 1980s, the repertoires and issues of consumer movements become more various. Especially, food security is important issue for people. In addition to it, infrastructures and housings are essential for people's ordinary life, especially, petroleum and electrics are main products in consumer movement arena.

Especially, car industry tended to be the target by protesters. It is called as "User-Union Incident" was related with a defective car which produced by Honda Corporation. Such movement was seen as an extension of the 70s Japanese consumer movement, but it was influenced by American social movements which in Ralph Nader's initiatives.

One of the main repertoires is "instruction". Consumers could not get information of product exactly as industry became complex. Thus consumer movements gave high priority to educate people as consumers by publishing textbooks and hold seminars.

Furthermore, Japanese consumer movement became institutionalized in this era. Some consumer activists conducted the negotiation with the institutional actors and the other protesters got the position to audit local administration from the consumer's viewpoint. Social movements are heavily connected with the government (e.g. Ecological Mark, The Law of Environmental Assessment). Wahn (2012) and Maclachlan (2002) also pointed out the "institutionalized" aspect of the consumer movement. Because of the tendency, actors became more various.

After 1990s, market and economics globalization were rapidly glow. The consumer movement responds to globalization. For example, some activists boycotted the product that made in France. French government promoted actively nuclear power policy. Some consumer movement groups took action against it. In 1986, Chernobyl disaster happened in Russia. Its effects lapped over into Japanese society. Japanese activists did their action against nuclear power and environmental policy.

GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and WTO (World Trade Organization) had great influence for transnational market system. Consumer movements and transnational NGOs argued that the liberation of imports is promoted by such transnational organizations. The social problems of consumer were closely related with poverty in developing countries, environmental issues and so on. Consumer movements cooperated with other movement organizations because solving the social problems in 90s required expert knowledge in each

area. The more social problems globalized, the more consumer movements cooperate with other organizations. Some consumer movement became expertized and institutionalized. Green consumer movement is one of the consumerism that had multiple issues.

On the other hand, consumer movements are conducted at the grassroots level. Housewives and students recycled second-hand goods. Around 1990s, “consumer movement” is gradually disappeared in magazine and newspaper articles (Tominaga 2012) because it is converged in other social movements: environmental movement, anti-poverty movement, peace and human rights movement.

Theoretical Background

Social movements reflect the actual conditions of society (Crossley 2002). Especially, consumer movements have played the important role in Japanese society. In Japan, Industrial society grew rapidly more than other countries in the post war. The industrialization accompanied with many social problems. For example, they are environmental pollutions, the development of black-market or fraud marketing.

In the theoretical level, consumerism are analysed by the theory of new social movement (Sato 1999). They are grass-roots level, mainly engaged by Non-hierarchical consumer network of so-called housewives. Like the other type of new social movements, consumer movements considered as the challenge against consumer society and industrial rationalization.

Moreover, consumer movements have multiple and “moderate” repertoires. They cover the various repertoires from boycott to radical demonstration, from moderate to radical; from individual to collective. Especially, this character works effectively to mobilize people in Japan because Japanese people usually avoid engaging in radical movements. Among Japanese “conservative” situation, Japanese exceptionally participate in the consumer movements.

In Japan, consumer movement categorized into tactics/repertoires against governments or companies in organizational level: [1] consumer co-operative [2] provision of information (e.g. commodity test) [3] prosecution (Maruyama 2015 and Machlachen 2002). Different from other type of social movements, participants try to get not only public goods but exclusive benefits in existing consumerism.

Housing movements, movements for the improvement of living conditions, and other type of actions historically provide the opportunity of investment for participants. Some

researchers re-focused on the investment character of consumerism (Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). Investment has been regarded as less political than consumption but provide the opportunity of political socialization in consumer movements (Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018)

In this paper, my research question is that what is the difference between consumption and investment of consumer movements in Japan? This paper tried to the research from the viewpoint of participant characteristics and dialogues by them.

Research Methodology

Practice of consumer movements in Japan

In this study, the author focused on the biography and behaviour of participants in social movements: their motivations were diverse, but they conducts the investment and consumption in their consumer movements: cooperative activism, crowd funding, ethical consumption and other type of consumer movements.

In this research, I conducted both quantitative and qualitative research. Detailed information is as follows:

Quantitative data: Questionnaire (N=3874) by the research project “Mathematical Sociology for commons governed by diverse sectors”

Qualitative data: Interview data (N=29) for the people who take part into the consumer movement organization in Osaka, Tokyo, Sapporo and Nishi-Awakura in Okayama prefecture.

From quantitative data, I try to make clear the correlation between gender, ages, education level, occupational positions, household income, residential area and frequency of traveling a long distance with participation to consumer activities. In this research, consumer activities categorized into [1] Consuming items or boycott by the interest for social issues [2] Investment for development of local community etc. Reference valuable is [3] Donation, [4] Participation to volunteer and [5] Interest for NGO/NPOs.

From qualitative data, I try to make clear the motivation of youth participants, who participated in joint purchase, fair trade, recycle, and other types of consumer movements. Interview questions concerned the subjects’ reasons for participating in the movements, the means of consumption and investment availed and their motivation for activism.

Material was gathered from 29 participants in total. Additionally, the author collected document data from blogs, zines, and leftist journals, and interview data from non-participant

activists. Rather than making strong claims on the representativeness of this interview material for the protest as a whole, we restricted ourselves to the claim that the themes identified here at least indicated some of the perspectives and arguments that were evident among participants, and we indicated the extent to which they were voiced within our sample.

This study focuses on the investment and consumption by activist consumers because studies of consumer movements have not focus on the theoretical connection between the two characters and activism. Focuses on the biographical background and motivation of activists, the author aims to find the characteristics of consumerism in contemporary Japan.

Who participate to the consumerism? : Biographical Background of conscious consumers

Firstly, the author try to make clear that the question: Who like consumerism? To answer this question, this research conducts the logistic regression analysis between some biographical attributes and consumer activities.

Table 1: Logistic regression analysis of consumer activity

	Consuming items		Investment		Donation		Participate to volunteer		Interest for NGOs	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Intercept	-1.907 ***	0.093	-3.258 ***	0.111	-3.159 ***	0.114	-2.033 ***	0.112	-3.354 ***	0.150
Gender *1	0.294 **	0.085	0.914 ***	0.107	-0.076	0.100	-0.081	0.098	-0.339 *	0.132
Age *2										
30s	-0.043	0.114	0.202	0.152	0.197	0.134	-0.404 **	0.132	0.208	0.188
40s	-0.319 **	0.119	0.266 †	0.153	0.048	0.140	-0.598 ***	0.140	-0.032	0.202
50s	-0.242 *	0.120	0.219	0.156	-0.266 †	0.149	-0.479 **	0.139	0.420 *	0.189
60s	-0.391 **	0.132	0.883 ***	0.155	0.135	0.156	-0.327 *	0.145	0.238	0.205
70s	0.070	0.209	1.036 ***	0.234	0.278	0.261	0.159	0.226	0.855 **	0.285
Education level *2										
Junior High and High school	-0.165	0.115	-0.210	0.154	-0.400	0.147	-0.188	0.136	-0.178	0.185
University and graduates	0.315 **	0.103	0.510 ***	0.132	0.390 **	0.120	0.372 **	0.120	0.474 **	0.160
Job Status *3										
Self-employed or company executive	0.435 **	0.143	-0.019	0.167	0.190	0.178	0.134	0.169	0.094	0.215
Regular employment	0.051	0.109	-0.230 †	0.134	0.349 **	0.131	-0.128	0.126	-0.221	0.166
Non-regular employment	-0.131	0.120	-0.542 **	0.158	-0.014	0.149	0.057	0.133	-0.165	0.178
Household Income	0.000 *	0.000	0.001 ***	0.000	0.001 ***	0.000	0.000 †	0.000	0.000 †	0.000
Residential Area *4										
Metropolis	0.264 **	0.097	0.102	0.117	0.302 **	0.113	-0.015	0.116	0.167	0.152
Commuter Town	0.154	0.104	0.190	0.120	0.272 †	0.119	0.012	0.122	0.153	0.161
Suburb Area	-0.086	0.114	-0.239	0.147	0.023	0.140	0.228 †	0.125	0.369 *	0.169
Frequency of traveling a long distance *5										
Once a month or less	0.649 ***	0.093	0.305 **	0.111	0.654 ***	0.114	0.618 ***	0.112	0.585 ***	0.150
More than once per a month	0.948 ***	0.099	0.450 ***	0.120	0.871 ***	0.120	0.924 ***	0.117	0.862 ***	0.157
-2LL	4275.7		3180.8		3302.6		3401.2		2199.6	
χ^2	288.5 ***		352.8 ***		306.0 ***		154.4 ***		94.8 ***	
N	3874									
*1) male=1, female=0					†: p < .010, *: P < .05, **: p < .01, ***: p < .001					
*2) reference category: 20s										
*3) reference category: vocational school										
*4) reference category: rural area										
*5) reference category: none										

From table1, we can see the collation between valuables of individuals and activities of consumerism. Male who have higher education and self-employed or executive occupational position living in metropolitan area give positive concern for consumption by the interest for social issues. Middle-age (40s, 50s, 60s) give negative effect to do activities as conscious

consumers.

On the other hand, Male who have higher education and in middle and older ages (40s, 60s, 70s) likes the investment. Occupational status (regular and non-regular employment) gives negative effect to the activity.

More interestingly, we can find that mobility effects consumerism from table 1. Frequency of traveling a long distance have a significant positive effect for consumption and investment under controlling other variables (e.g. income, occupational level, and age) Some research makes clear the correlation between traveling and participation of social movements (Cohen 1987, Cohen 2003 and Ting and Kahl 2016).

Geographical difference promotes to convergence the issues and creates sympathy among participants in social movement organizations (Brown et al. 2017). From the previous research and result of this research, we can discuss that tourism and mobility intermediates the individualized activity and political issues.

From the finding, we can discuss that elderly and executive people engage the consumption but they do not investment in Japan. Consumption based on honour and social responsibility but investment regarded as pragmatic choice. Furthermore, we can argue that frequency of travel a long distance gives positive effect for both consumption and investment.

Based on quantitative research, the author try to consider about two research insights. [1] Why youth less engage the consumer movements? [2] Why mobility effects to the consumer movements?

Why participate to the consumerism?

Consumerism for youth: Escaping from or Counter against Capitalism

In Japan, younger generation engage the social movements on diverse issues: anti-nuclear, anti-poverty, human rights and feminism (Brown 2016, 2018; Cassegård 2013; and Higuchi 2012). We do not argue that youth are not interested in political issues. Why they do not take part in consumerism in spite of their consciousness for social and political issues?

Without means of purchase, protesters could not engage consumer movements. Young activists consider themselves to be poor and do not adapt to capitalism. Thus, they choose low-cost goods and try to do so-called sharing economy. Youth protesters did not regard the activities as consumer movements: they regard consumerism as the activism for rich and elder activists.

In this research, youth informants chose cooperative buying, sharing the information of

goods, running the recycle shops and consuming eco-friendly goods. Some youth participants write and publish the book and become famous among not only activists but also citizens who are not interested in political activism (Tsurumi 2017; Matsumoto 2016). In many cases, consumer movements by youth is community-based. Activists combined various means of consuming the item in same community (e.g. occupied house and a shop run by activist community)

Their activities are partly similar with existing type of social movements. However, youth participants feel the distance between their activities and consumerism engaged by elder people. For example, young generation conducts the joint buying goods like co-op (cooperative) but youth does not consider about food safety and transparency of information.

We can easily regard consumerism by youth as less political- their action is that just cutting a living cost or running the small business. However, they conduct their alternative consumer movements as the challenge of social change. Follow is the dialogue of a protester who run the activist community.

A29: People in my generation share the despair.

(Int: What's the despair?)

A29: I guess that we have two kind of despair. Firstly, we are not able to be rich like the older generation. Secondly, there is the fact that money can fix almost of problem. But maybe we cannot change the system of capitalism. There is the only way for us enjoying the poorness in the niche of capitalism. Our action is not consumerism and anti-capitalism. We escape from capitalism with consuming items. (This interview was conducted on 3 December 2018 in Kyoto.)

Moreover, youth generation show their reluctance for not only existing type of consumer movements but new social movements. They sometimes say that they cannot share the reality of elderly generation. A28 and A27, young activists in 27 years old, say that the generation gap between their group and consumer movement groups by older generation.

A28: I cannot share the identity of new social movements. For instance, activists in our parental generation sometimes say that the slogan like "humanity" and "nature of human life". I understand that such slogan is against the consumer society and industrial rationalization in 1970-80s, but I cannot share their reality in my feeling.

A27: They give their importance for reality of feeling, but their reality came from Bourgeois life-world structure in my impression (with laughing). We should not forget about the superstructure based on superstructure.

(This interview conducted on 8 November 2018 in Nakano, Tokyo)

A29, A28 and A27's dialogues reflect the generational gap between young and old generation. We can find the gap in their not only identity but also repertoires, means and minor topics in the practice of social movements

A1 and A2 say that it is a comfortable way to travel because they can forget their routine daily work because mobile phones do not work on the ferry: protesters place importance on the extraordinariness of their journey.

A4: I am surprised to see the food prepared by elder activists in the soup kitchen for homelessness people. They distributed the packaged rice but it is expensive.

A5: The rice sold by the organic store and it costs 3 euros per a pack. We have never eaten such expensive rice (with laughing)

A4: In the soup kitchen, we tried to collaborate with old activists but it is difficult for us... they do not like cup noodles and using microwave.

A5: For us, they are too conscious for food risk management. I felt that we conduct the other type of movement each other in same field...

(This interview was conducted on 5 May 2016 in Sapporo, Hokkaido)

In addition, some anonymous protesters said that they conduct dumpster-diving but they do not think that it is recycle or consumerism. Some activists are familiar with such informal activities and the activities play a symbolic role counter to regulated society and capitalism. Similar with the case, some protesters engaged in food-skipping and dumpster-diving in a camp in Europe. Shoplifting is a major means of collecting food. The Spanish movement network fed participants in public events with stolen food (Juris 2008). In the protest event in 2005, several protesters stole from the local supermarket (Feigenbaum et al 2013). These are challenges to capitalism and neo-liberalism in their practices.

Regarding housing and accommodation, cheapness is one of the most important factors. A21 has usually lived in Japan but played the role of host for international activists who temporary stay in Japan. It is not only consumerism but a challenge of investment type of

movements.

A21: In this year, we bought the old vacant house, created the shared house and rent a vacancy for tourists just like the Airbnb and a small business conducted by local firms.

(Int: Why did you choose the style of movements?)

A21: We run the shared house and protesters' community until last year. However, I thought that it is important that increasing such communities in my town. Like the Matsumoto's book (He is one of famous protesters engage the lifestyle movement in Japan), We should expand our challenge outside the activists community. Therefore, we will increase the value of our community and sell it to other people who needs to do similar practice. After that, we are going to try to find the other housing.

(This interview conducted on 6 December 2018 in Osaka, Osaka)

It is not rare for host activists to accommodate protesters from other countries in shared residences; shared space and dormitories are cheaper than other accommodation and also safe. Both host and guest activists love to communicate with others. Moreover, He think that housing movement has an aspect of investment.

From the dialogues of young activists participate to the consumer movements, we can find the characteristics which different from existing type of consumerism in new social movement: boycott, ethical consumerism and investment for social economy like crowd funding. Young activists give their importance for the system of capitalism and they feel the gap between their action in 2010s and the consumerism given birthed in the new social movements after 1970s. They regards the contemporary society in Japan and themselves as poor. Thus, they try to escape from or counter against capitalism in consumer and lifestyle movements.

However, the author try to bridge between elder and young generation in the practice of consumer movements. In the next section, the study consider about the valuable of mobility that gives the significant effect for consumerism.

Mobility and the Lifestyle-based Movements

In this research, frequency of traveling a long distance have a significant positive effect for consumption and investment under controlling other variables. From lower to higher

salary, from young to elder, regardless of other attributes people who go to more travel they have interest for consumerism and other individualized social activities. Actually, some previous research makes clear the correlation between traveling and participation of social movements and we can argue that mobility give the effect to consumer movements as well.

From the interview, the author tried to make clear the reason why traveling give effect the participation in consumer movements in the exploratory research. In this research, the author introduce representative dialogues shows the correlation between travel and political interest in their individualized social movements.

Firstly, the follow is the Case of A22, male in 30s and taking part into consumption post-fukushima disaster. He shows his motivation in their dialogues and they try to connect the distinct geographical area and different social problems in their experience and their thought.

A22: Originally I was a backpacker often went to south-east Asia. After the 3.11 disaster, I started to consume items because I had heard that the sales went to the education for children in Tohoku. It reminded me that the children who had difficulty in foreign countries... I noticed that there were poor children in not only foreign countries but also inside Japan. (This interview was conducted on 12 September 2015 in Tokyo, Japan)

Previous research argued that geographical difference promotes to convergence the issues and creates sympathy among participants in social movement and NPO activities as well. We can consider about the tourism and mobility intermediates the individualized activity and political issues.

Secondly, The Case of A1, female in 30s join the intermediary of social investment NGOs. She engages the fair trade of sanitary goods for women and encourage for girls on poor condition in China and other eastern Asia.

A1: I had studied in mainland China. Originally, I was interested in media control problems... After returned to Japan, I tried to establish the alternative market platform with social investment system because I found that the problem of trade and working condition in East Asia. (This interview was conducted on 4 April 2010 in Tokyo, Japan)

After the tourism, people become highly conscious for political and social issues in

domestic and international level. This study cannot answer why they are changed: however, tourism plays an important role of sharing experience and communication. In the space for tourist like the township tourism, study tour, and volunteer sightseeing, they have meals, talk, discuss, and spend vast amounts of time with other people from diverse backgrounds. Communication in the extraordinary place contributes to new repertoires in their everyday lives and protests. Some previous studies have pointed out the function of communication (Wood 2012; McCurdy et al. 2016).

The communication means not only personal relations but contact to culture via shops, schools and other places. A4, who is a Japanese elder activist, learned the repertoire of vegan lifestyle movement from the movement in Germany. She was surprised in the everyday life in Germany and was inspired by the activism. When she returned to Japan, she tried to do alternative lifestyle.

A4: even if I was not an activist, the lifestyle in Germany and other European country inspired me. There is a diversity in people and lifestyle level: for example, supermarket usually sell bio and eco-friendly goods and restaurants provide vegan and halal menus. It is very different from Japan. (This interview was conducted on 4 April 2010 in Tokyo, Japan)

In the dialogue, we find that contact with European (in her dialogue) culture gives effect for A4's activism. She has considered that the alternative type of lifestyles are open for not only activists but people who is not interested in political and social issues.

In the process of choosing and recommending goods, some activists say there are 'desirable' and 'non-desirable' items to buy. For example, goods sold in large supermarkets, department stores, and shopping places are not suitable for consumerism because they are representative of capitalism. Such definition of 'desirable' and 'non-desirable' transmitted by international trend of consumerism.

Similar to goods, sometimes consumer activists say the desirability regarding transportation and accommodations of travels. For example, no activists recommend that guests take a business class flight and stay at a luxury hotel because it is too far from the image of social movements. Through consumerism and lifestyle movements, activists create a desirable form of protest, like mass consumer culture and fashion.

In the last section, the author make clear that youth generation create the alternative

type of consumer movement like running small business, sharing economy and investment. Consumerism diversified because of limited resources and recognition for capitalism. On the other hand, we can suggest that consumer movements are convergence because of diffusion of lifestyle and consumer culture. We can see ethical consumerism, fair trade and eco-friendly eating habit worldwide. The study argues that diversify and convergence are two characteristics of consumer movement in Japan, and it is important factor to solve the disconnection of movement style between generational gap.

Discussion

This article discusses how consumerism in contemporary Japan are characterised by biographical characteristics, motivations and identity. Consumerism are diversified by generations, as observed in quantitative and qualitative data concerning the concepts of consumer movements.

In Japan, elderly and executive people engage the consumption but investment is not. From the findings, consumption based on honor and social responsibility but investment is regarded as pragmatic choice for example expecting the rewards or reducing the tax. In addition to it, frequency of travel a long distance gives positive effect for both consumption and investment.

However, the finding does not mean that youth are not interested in political issue: Young generation who engage the activism are also conduct the consumer movements, but they do not like to say it as consumerism like the one elderly protesters engaged. They say that their movement is different from the new social movement.

The author did not fully answer to it but partly say that mobility have a function to bridging difference issues in distinct areas. However, this analysis supports the suggestion about individualization and fluidization. Why do activists pay attention to the lifestyle-based movement from their experience of tourism? The author considers that protesters try to share a common identity with bridging other geographical spaces. In their daily lives, people cannot share their oppression. The private sphere is not the same and people cannot connect with others in private daily life. Therefore, experience of tourism played an important role in connecting people with others in the social movements. McDonald (2006) argues that alternative globalization movements exist as the place to share experiences with others.

Tourism and consumer activities are important way to do activism because it is the way to share experiences and create solidarity with others who have different backgrounds from

themselves. It is a movement style in a society where people cannot share collective identity.

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THE EMBEDDED HYBRIDITY OF ETHICAL CONSUMERISM:

At the Nexus of Consumer Justice Movements and Social Economies in South Korea

Taekyoon Kim
Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

Introduction

The plethora of socio-economic perspectives on the core values and objectives associated with cooperation, solidarity, and social justice in South Korea (hereafter, Korea) has newly focused the social economy project with the reflection of its significant autonomy from states, profit-maximising business and marketisation. By contrast, it is cliché to deem consumer justice movements as a traditional civic movement symbolising citizens' enduring engagements in the circulation process of commercialised products in order to protect consumers' economic and social rights and launch consumer enlightenment campaigns as a main repertoire of movements. At the intersection of new social economies and old consumer movements, it is fairly an alternative phenomenon to find a nexus of linking them and develop further 'ethical consumerism' as a moral descriptor for the socio-economic activity that is deemed to be more people-centred, rights-based, and redistribution-sensitive in the Korean context.¹ Indeed, the *hybridity* of social economy and consumer justice movements in Korea is embedded in a logical outgrowth of civil society engagements in the politics of everyday life (Ginsborg 2015).

How and why could consumer justice movements in Korea be bonded with more proactive and comprehensive 'social economy' under the new label of ethical consumerism? Theoretically, the development of ethical consumerism in Korea can be seen as a logical outgrowth of the anti-capitalist nature against irregulated privatisation of public sphere and the malfunctioned perfection of self-reinforcing marketisation. Such a skepticism shared between consumer movements and social economy is purportedly advanced as common platforms for institutional complementarity to adapt and reinforce both respectively according to changing external environments (Crouch et al. 2005). Also, their anti-capitalist nature is able to bring collective voices into action by expanding the social capital of like-minded organisations via brockage and bonding (Burt 2005). The introduction of social capital further intensifies the hybridity whose definition relates to the interplay and mutual influence of social economy and consumer movements to secure ethical consumerism.

¹ The activities for protecting citizens' rights and challenging the overexpansion of capitalistic marketisation have been diversely termed by different expressions: social enterprises, social economy, social and solidarity economy, etc. It is fair to state that the term per se has been evolving from private sector-centred approaches (social enterprises) to more solidarity-based perspectives (social economies). This study will use SSE as the comprehensive term including all different kinds of social economy organisations (cooperatives, fair trade organisations, community enterprises, and so forth), but articulate a specific entity if necessary.

Practically, therefore, it is critical to identify the Korean context where institutional complementarity is mobilised and materialised through the politics of hybridity along with the borderlines of social economy and ethical consumerism. The concept of social enterprises primarily emerged in the 2000s as an alternative civic movement combining the oppositional aspects of social values and economic efficiency. Such an ambiguous hybrid allows us to have freedom for mapping out with varieties of social economy-like organisations, but simultaneously it hampers us to locate them between social values and economic usefulness through the rigorous lens of analytical dimensions. Nevertheless, an indepth analysis of good cases illustrating the embedded hybridity of Korea's ethical consumerism counts for better understanding of its vagueness. Taking the Hansalim case as a best showcase of the Korean model, this study explores the social reconstruction of alternative globalization via the microscopic perspectives and efforts of consumers' local grassroot initiatives in Korea's civil society.

In a nutshell, this study focuses the specific hybrid mechanism of connecting consumer justice movements with social economy within the particular case of Hansalim, and explores Korea's current trends and characteristics of ethical consumerism embedded in this nexus. For this central point, the study proceeds in four steps. First, it describes Korea's contextual backgrounds reviewing the origins and development of both consumer movements and social economies. The second step is designed to find a theoretical way of linking consumer movements within the purview of social economies, which can be possibly forged by institutional complementarity for the sake of organizational effectiveness in pursuit of ethical consumerism. Third, the new type of ethical consumerism in Korea is analysed with an indepth investigation of Hansalim. Finally, the study recapitulates key features of the Korean way of ethical consumerism and makes concluding remarks by reinterpreting the status of the Korean ethical consumerism at both macro-level and micro-level.

Contextualising Consumer Movements and Social Economies in Korea

Korean society has respectively encountered the advent of consumer movements and social economy at separate timeframes, whereas Western societies commonly shared the social origins of ethical consumerism early from the 19th century British experiences of the Rochdale Principles of Co-operation (Conover 1959). The Rochdale Principles, set out in 1844 by the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers in England, have been used as a set of ideals for the operation of cooperatives and formed the basis for the principles on which cooperatives around the world continue to operate afterwards.² It is important to note that the Rochdale Principles became a historic symbol of ethical consumerism regarding the fact that the Rochdale Principles aimed to combine the trust-based transparent sale of goods and the protection of consumer rights.³ Unlike the earlier exposure of Western societies to the social

² The original Rochdale Principles were officially adopted by the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) in 1937 as the Rochdale Principles of Co-operation. Updated versions of the principles were adopted by the ICA in 1966 as the Co-operative Principles and in 1995 as part of the Statement on the Co-operative Identity.

³ The Rochdale Principles included the following seven objectives: (1) the openness of the Co-operative; (2) the one-person-one-vote system; (3) the merit-based profit distribution system; (4) the limits of capital investment; (5) the neutrality of political and religious policies; (6) the cash

economy tradition creating the blended cooperative culture, the Korean context demonstrates an interesting case of latecomers in terms of the fact that it displays a time lag between consumer movements and the social enterprise activities. Accordingly, the developmental paths of consumer movements and social economy in Korea need to be analysed in sequential order, and then further investigations are carried out for the probe of how consumer movements encountered social economy and have developed institutional complementarities for consolidating their hybridity in Korea.

Consumer Justice Movements in Korea

Normally, consumer movements have been originated from civil society's civic engagements to identify and modernise consumer sovereignty as the expansion of citizen rights along the lines of consumer-producer relations. The concept of consumer sovereignty has gradually expanded from reactive stances of how to hammer down *caveat emptor* to proactive involvements aimed to enhance consumers' empowerment (Mayer 1989; Schrag 1976).⁴ In Western democracies, consumerism or the consumer movement has been mushrooming in the 1970s and further continued to develop extensively towards diversified sectors and expertises, since the consumer rights were firstly and officially endorsed by the Kennedy Administration in March 1962 (Aaker and Day 1971).

The sporadic introduction of consumerism in Korean civil society also emerged in the 1960s, but its actual consumer movements in the initial period were fragmented and marginalised due to the lack of managerial skills and the limited understanding of consumerism under the authoritarian governments (Kim 2006). In the 1960s, the initial arrangement of Korean consumer movements was mainly – but restrictedly – forged and operated by women's organisations such as the Korean Women's Association in 1964 and the Korean National Mothers' Association in 1965. The participation of women's associations in the beginning stage of consumer movements, however, contributed to defining civic engagements for consumption-related activities as secondary concerns which were sidelined from the top priority agendas of civil society in the 1960s. Similarly, the 1970s, which are considered the golden period of high growth in tandem with the 1960s in Korea, witnessed the imbalance of policy weights between enhanced significances of consumer rights and the lack of institutional supports for consumer movements. More often than not, consumerism in the 1970s became politically neutralised and used as even pro-governmental commitments for the protection of consumer rights, given that women's associations and consumer movement organisations were easily mobilised and tamed by government's financial interventions. In 1978, the Economic Planning Board (EPB) endorsed the official affiliation of the Korean National Council of Consumer Organizations (KNCCO) to the EPB, and provided government subsidies for KNCCO, which was established by the four women's organisations including the Korean YWCA, the National Council of Consumer Education,

dealing; and (7) the promotion of education and capacity.

⁴ The phrase *caveat emptor* and its use as a disclaimer of warranties arise from the fact that buyers typically have less information about the good or service they are purchasing, while the seller has more information (Kim 2006). The conceptual description of this situation is known as "information asymmetry," and defects in the good or service may be hidden from the buyer, and only known to the seller.

the Korean Woman's Federation for Consumer, and the Korean National Council of Women (Kim 1978).

The new decade of the 1980s stood as a critical juncture at which the democratisation process via both Gwangju Uprising of 1980 and the June Uprising of 1987 underwent a sea change in internal capabilities and external statuses of consumer movement organisations in Korea. The positive impact of the pro-democratic movement on consumerism enabled non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to take the distorted *Chaebol*-centred marketplace and the protection of consumer rights as one of most serious issues that civil society in the democratic transition should focus on for economic and social justice against governments and big firms in Korea. Given that the post-1987 period was called 'the Era of Consumers,' the politicisation of consumer movements not only triggered some NGOs – for instance, Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice' in 1989 – to specialise their missions for consumer sovereignty and economic justice, but also prompted the government to take reformative measures for establishing the Korea Consumer Agency (KCA) in July 1987 and enacting the Consumer Protection Law in 1980 (Choi 1993). Particularly, KCA, financed fully by government endowments, played a significant role as a public corporation in supporting consultation, training, and research on consumer justice and rights protection.

Entering the 1990s, Korea's consumer movements scaled up the purview of consumerism beyond its narrowed boundaries of economic recompenses for the violation of consumer rights. Focal points of consumer movements, thereby, have been transformed into much more comprehensive movements dealing with all aspects of everyday life, which would be linked with consumptions to some degree. The consumer movement of the 1990s turned into a *complex* movement combining the role of watchdog against the misbehavior of private firms and the role of internal coordinator for connecting consumer sovereignty with 'life politics' (Kim 2006). Such a complex pattern of consumer movements politically pursued the centralization of consumer movement organizations in big cities and strategically expanded its collective networks to likeminded NGOs in the other sectors (Lee and Kim 2017).

Nevertheless, the overstretch of strategic networking between consumer organisations and other NGOs generated the two challenging problems to the consumer justice movement in the post-2000 Korea. First, the blurred borderline of contentious politics due to its haphazard permeation into non-consumerism areas resulted in identity crises that would destabilise the original motives by which consumer organisations have been aimed to work for consumer sovereignty. Consequently, the second issue converged on what could be the realist approach for an alternative scheme sustaining its original identity of consumer protections as well as finding a right partner who can pursue together socio-economic agendas that are relevant to the consumer justice movement. In this regard, the rise of social economy in Korea must be a great candidate partnering with consumer movement organisations in a synergistic way.

Social Economy in Korea

According to the conceptual definition of social economy, social economy perspectives identify spaces that potentially can cultivate economic and political subjects who are guided by motivations of care, ethical concern and collectivity (Gibson-Graham 2003, 2006).⁵ They

⁵ Although the definition may vary from one country to another, we can share the following common component (Defourny and Develtere 1999: 15-16). Social economy includes all economic activities conducted by enterprises, primarily co-operatives, associations and mutual benefit societies, whose ethics convey the following principles:

provide three key elements in the process of forging social economy: (1) the scope for ethical negotiation that exists among different actors, internal and external to the community; (2) the scope for constructive co-existence where diverse elements in an economy can be cobbled together in ways that are socially transformative; and (3) the scope for cultivating relations of interdependence and care and practices of mutual assistance (Bergeron and Healy 2015; Lévi-Strauss 1966). Social economy further develops into social and solidarity economy with more focus on solidarity among partners, and social economy is the total upshot of prioritising people and work over capital or profits beyond the conventional economic sense (Utting 2015). Social economy organizations exist to cater to the preferences and needs of their members. They create and enjoy a trade-off between cooperative benefits and identity, on the one hand, and competitive advantage and market share on the other (McMurtry 2015).

Table 1. Major Events in the Development of Social Economy Sector in South Korea

1988-2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● New cooperative movement after political democratization in 1988 ● Worker cooperative movement after financial crisis in 1998 ● Introduction of National Basic Livelihood Security Act (1999) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Emergence and development of consumer cooperatives (organic food, medical, and child care) ● To provide the working poor with employment by establishing worker cooperatives (construction, clothing, cleaning, etc.) ● Emergence of self-sufficiency enterprises by government-supported self-sufficiency promotion program for the working poor: cleaning, recycling, care service, etc. ● Introduction of a policy for creating social service jobs and emergence of non-profit organization providing the jobs
2006-2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Enactment of Social Enterprise Promotion Act (2006) ● Civil society's increasing awareness to social enterprise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Emergence of social enterprises certified and subsidised by government ● Policy for social enterprise is promoted by many ministries in both central and regional governments. ● Organizations to support social enterprise have emerged.
2012-present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Introduction of Framework Act on Cooperatives (2011) ● Spreading out of social economy concept over the country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The act allows citizens to establish traditional cooperatives and social cooperatives. ● Start-ups of cooperatives have explosively burgeoned. ● Local governments are increasingly involved in promoting social economy including cooperatives,

- (1) Placing service to its members or to the community ahead of profit;
- (2) Autonomous management;
- (3) A democratic decision-making process; and
- (4) The primacy of people and work over capital in the distribution of revenues.

social enterprises, and community activities.

- The emergence of social economy networks at local or regional level
-

Source: Jang (2017: 2,603).

The existing literature on social enterprises in the case of Korea claims that the emergence and development of social economy in the Korean context can be reviewed as the ‘state-driven’ social enterprise model (Defourny and Kim 2011; Bidet and Eum 2011). As table 1 describes, the Roh Moo-Hyun government legally authorised the Social Enterprise Promotion Act in 2006 in order to certify and subsidise new entry organisations for social economy. Furthermore, the Lee Myung-Bak government introduced the Framework Act on Cooperatives (FAC) in 2011, which led to the explosive mushrooming in the start-ups of cooperatives. Those two legislative actions done by governments have guided cooperatives, mutual societies, social enterprises, community associations, and foundations to promote new cooperative movements, spread out the social economy concept over the country, and expand social economy networks at local level.

Governments’ strong intervention albeit, the voluntary initiatives of cooperative movements have been detected after political democratisation in 1987. According to Jang (2017), there has been the emergence and development of consumer cooperatives after political democratisation in 1988, with the particular focus on organic food, medical, and child care. In addition, the 1997 financial crisis sparked new cooperative movements providing the working poorer with employment by establishing worker cooperatives. The boundary of social economy, despite the uneven balance of power between the state and society, has been incrementally expanded and never stopped by voluntary efforts of social economy actors and their trials to locate likeminded NGOs for the collaborative solidarity in search of common goals (Kim and Lim 2015). Social economy organisations, therefore, are eager to overcome the ‘state-driven’ restrictions by uncovering good partner NGOs from the other sectors without the abandonment of their innate values of social feasibility – economic feasibility (Kim 2008; Shin 2009).

All in all, the increasing number of new social economy movements would intend to consolidate the purview and influence of their presence in the landscape of Korea’s civil society as well as economic activities. If traditional NGOs including consumer justice associations have willingness to cooperate with and share oppositional fields with social economy organisations, the latter would provide a new set of political structural opportunities, whereas the former would identify and locate common targets of social movements at the same time (Kim 2018). Both consumer movements and social economy are mutually reinforcing, leading to a constructive hybridity via institutional complementarity.

Institutional Complementarity for the Embedded Hybridity

When it comes to the intersection of social economy and consumer justice movements in theoretical senses, there are at least two prerequisites to bind the two streams of ethical consumerism into a hybrid entity. First, both social economy and consumer movements, to some degree, are required to share the common ground of opposition fields, thereby making

structural opportunities for cooperating with each other. By borrowing the theoretical platform of contentious politics from Tilly and Tarrow (2007), each actor marches together to locate the spots of ethical consumerism within the contentious politics which can be formed by finding the cross-cutting area across politics, contention and collective actions. Tilly (2008: 5) defines contentious politics as “interactions in which actors make claims bearing on someone else’s interest, in which governments appear either as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties.” Our focus should be on the convergence of collective action, contention, and politics because the area of their overlap has distinctive and potentially dangerous properties but it would open an alternative political opportunity for all actors to cooperate together for the sake of synergy effects that support the achievement of their common but differentiated interests. Also, in many cases, social movement is used to cover most or all of the overlap between contention and collective action, whenever it happens in politics. Likewise, social economy and consumer movements both share the overlapped area as opposition fields equipped with contention and collective action within the properties of politics. Nevertheless, neither consumer movements nor social economy wants to deny the possibility of transforming opposition fields into cooperative spaces in which both fields successfully reduce political contentions and magnify affirmative collective actions.

Accordingly, the second line of theoretical conditions for this constructive hybridity relates to *institutional complementarity* between social economies and consumer movements. Any useful concept of complementarity needs to incorporate an overt assumption on the relevance of efficiency constraints for institutional development between actors involved in search for mutual benefits (Boyer et al. 2005). By implication, this would assume loose rather than tight coupling of system elements, allowing for change in individual institutions without negative feedback caused by efficiency pressures from supposedly complementary institutions. Inside institutions, further development of this combination entails the interrelated worth of two concepts, institutional complementarity and institutional hierarchy (Utting 2015). The major emphasis of institutional complementarity is normally put on the structural transformation and the endogenous co-evolution of institutional forms, whereas that of institutional hierarchy is given to the structured pyramid of political power to stabilise the exogenous orderliness of institutions. In this regard, stakeholders participating in complementarity processes intend to promote any synergistic nexus, thereby being expected to create the co-evolution of institutional progress, rather than increasing potentials of institutional hierarchy (Yi et al. 2018).

In fact, any trial to transform opposition fields of contentious politics into contributing factors for institutional complementarity is expected to contain proactive interchanges of positive feedback for the institutional co-evolution between social economy organisations and consumer movement organisations. On the one hand, social economy is able to provide quasi-market-based repertoires which can help consumer groups justifying how to get involved in commercial activities through which they pursue social entrepreneurship and solidarity-centred profits. Even if social enterprises are unable to make any serious dent in the dominance of private firms, their mere presence in plural economies is a great help in terms of the macro-effects of not only constraining profits, predatory pricing and the creation of oligopolies, but also facilitating choices and innovations. On the other hand, consumer movements are able to offer political opportunities where social economy organisations can equip themselves with politicised collective actions that struggle for challenges against the excessive adherence to the marketisation. In a nutshell, it is fair to claim that old consumer justice movements and new social economies become mutually good partners in exchanging complementary strengths for each path of institutional development. The collective ethics of consumer movements and the market-related nature of social economy are mutually seen as

necessary conditions to create the complementary hybridity embedded in reciprocal qualifications and strategic benefits.

Korea's Ethical Consumerism: The Case of *Hansalim*

Such a theoretical notion of institutional complementarity applies to the Korean context in order to attest its practical feasibility by detecting the synergistic nexus aimed for ethical consumerism between social economy and consumer justice movements. For this matter, more attention should be given to inside and outside strategies (or repertoires) that both sides have undertaken to look for the positive results of institutional complementarity within the space of contentious politics (Evers 2001). While advocates of social economy generally see such trends of social economy-state relations as consistent with their demands for a more enabling policy environment for social economy, they are also hyper-sensitive to processes of instrumentalization, bureaucratization, and cooptation, all of which can undermine core social economy principles, not least autonomy. If consumption patterns were to change in ways conducive to sustainability, social economy organizations could position themselves as the natural providers of goods and services to respond to these new considerations of the consumer-citizen.

As discussed above, Korean society, in recent decade, has been observing the rapid emergence of ethical consumerism, as the result of a mixed bag between traditional consumer movements and new social economy organisations. On the one hand, the rise of ethical consumerism in Korea can be seen as a logical outgrowth of the strategic transformation that has been pursued by consumer justice movements in order to adapt themselves to changing external environments. On the other hand, social economy is the other half mosaics of ethical consumerism in the sense of its moral code highlighting the societal value of consumer behaviors against the profit maximisation of economic efficiency. In consequence, the salvation of ethical consumerism in Korea is to discover the overlaps of both social economy and consumer movements within the convergent area of contention, collective action and politics. Those overlaps should be further investigated by means of institutional complementarity which guarantees the co-evolution of participating agencies and partner institutions. In a nutshell, a complementary hybrid, embedded in consumer movements and social economy, logically assumes that there should be mutual benefits for both, thereby being inclined to materialise in the pattern of an integrated organisation

Identifying the mixed bag for ethical consumerism, therefore, is equivalent to institutional processes of detecting the complementary intersection of opposition fields including opposition strategy and repertoires used for collective actions, between consumer justice organisations and social economy organisations (Kalm and Uhlin 2015). The key profile of opposition fields in case of social economy can be summarised as 'the societal' embedded in its economic characteristics. Accordingly, such opposition fields consist of not only opposition strategies advocating social aspects of economic behaviors of social enterprises but also specific and technical repertoires expressing their stances opposing for-profit activities by which the societal is not taken into consideration. In this regard, social economy organisations as suppliers are asked to deliberate the ethical support of socially responsible sellers who do not want to cause any harm to consumers. Social economies, consequently, are able to recognise opposition fields shared by consumer justice movements as collaborative playgrounds where they can find a way of better relations with consumer agencies if they successfully adopt the art of consumerism for social justice as one of main repertoires.

Meanwhile, the opposition fields of consumer movements contain the collective action for protecting consumers' rights and securing consumer sovereignty in opposition to the market-based overexpansion of for-profit companies. Consumer justice movements can enjoy benefits from social economy by controlling the quality and ethics of private companies working for profit, thereby adopting the ethical code of social enterprises in order to defend the positive transformation of consumer movements in accordance with social economy. Likewise, social economy also benefits a new leeway grafting knowhows of right consumption and good practices of consumer movements onto social enterprises' economic nature, thereby specifying the behavioral directives of social economy organisations.

Assuming mutual benefits via institutional complementarity at the converged area of contentious politics, we can explore Korea's empirical cases embedded in positive hybridity for the sake of ethical consumerism. Given that the mainstream of ethical consumerism in Korea requires mutually-advantageous associations by both consumer justice movements and social economies as a necessary condition, the typology of the Korean ethical consumerism shares such an embedded hybridity of both components to some degree. For example, Eastern Asia's social economy, by and large, includes the following five modalities (Defourny and Kim 2011): (1) Trading NPO, (2) Work Integration Social Enterprise (WISE), (3) Non-profit Cooperative, (4) NPO-FPO Partnership, and (5) Community Development Enterprise. All five types of ethical consumerism are able to provide the space of institutional complementarity for social economy and consumer movement organisations, because they are equipped with the overlapped features – opposition strategy and repertoires – consisting of ethical consumerism. In particular, Defourny and Kim (2011) suggest that the three modalities – NPO-FPO Partnership, Non-profit Cooperative, and Trading NPO – address the Korean case better than the other two, in that they can represent the societal feasibility and the economic efficiency at the same time.

Another typology of the Korean ethical consumerism can be mapped by table 2 (Cheon et al. 2010). The spectrum of ethical consumerism in Korea varies according to the degree of how to put more weights on which part between social economy and consumer movements when it is combined by finding common areas for institutional complementarity. To the extreme left, consumption movements can be located in terms of the fact that more weights are placed on consumer justice movements than social economy, whereas donations and sharing would be located to the extreme right as they are the pure type of philanthropic altruism. Any different types of ethical consumerism can be diversely located in between on the spectrum. The more consideration for the social underdog and minorities the organization of ethical consumerism would take into account seriously, the more probability leaning towards the right direction of the spectrum would become strong and salient. In contrast, ethical consumerism organisations, which have more preferences for the limited interests in sharing and social economy values, would take the option of consumption movements that are located on the left of the spectrum. In a nutshell, ethical consumerism *per se* in Korea has been moving along mixed boundaries of the social economy-consumer movement nexus. It is fair enough to hash out that the organized identity of ethical consumerism can be rephrased as an envisaged expression of civil society formed between consumers and citizens (Kong and Lim 2017). The unspecified position of ethical consumerism on the dimension of ownership (private or public) as well as the dimension of organizational purpose (social or commercial) enables societal agencies of ethical consumerism to take the liberty of maneuvering at the margin of its diverse modalities, but simultaneously puts them to be burdened with their confusing roles which are always moving along with its multiple boundaries.

Table 2. Major Modalities of Ethical Consumerism in Korea

Consumption movement	Proactive purchasing of goods and services which do not harm against people, animals, and environments
Anti-consumption movement	Proactive anti-consumption against goods and services doing harm to people, animals and environments
Green consumption	Consumption behaviors considering their impacts on society and environments
Local consumption	Consumer movements aiming to consume local products which are produced from local communities and companies
Fair trade	Social movement whose stated goal is to help producers in developing countries achieve better trading conditions. Members of the movement advocate the payment of higher prices to exporters, as well as improved social and environmental standards.
Ethical cooperative	Acting an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise
Community currency movement	Modernising and developing systems to promote the traditional networking for mutual cooperation via local currency at the community level
Minimalist approach to life-style	New movement to minimise the materialis necessary for livelihood in voluntary basis
Donations and sharing	Sharing what consumers have with other community members without returns

Source: Cheon et al. (2010). *Modifications added.*

Korean Model of the Embedded Hybridity: Hansalim

Against the general structural backdrop of Korea’s ethical consumerism, an in-depth analysis of classical cases is required to deepen our knowledge and discover the best showcase which can be used for further comparative studies. By advancing ‘Hansalim’ as the best practice of the Korean ethical consumerism, we are going to identify the Korean pattern of ethical cooperative combining consumer movements within the frame of social economy with the particular focus on the self-investment structure for social economy or local communities, progressive consumer movements against business groups and government policies, and a new type of ethical self-corporate social responsibility (CSR) via investments.⁶ In fact, the

⁶ The meaning of Hansalim is based upon the social philosophy for the idea of life protection by uniting ‘han’ and ‘salim.’ The term ‘han’ means great, one, whole, and together, furthermore referring to ‘all living things on earth.’ On the other hand, the term ‘salim’ has two different meanings: first, the domestic work that takes care of houses, families and children; and second, the rescue of life and the revival. At the dimension of its

type of ethical cooperatives became one of Korea's major configurations that can demonstrate the mainstream way of relating consumer justice movements to social economies.⁷ Among these, Hansalim is a representative case in terms of its nationwide reachability to local communities, multiple ethical targets of its civic engagements, the historical origins of its establishment, and its extended coverage of social economy activities. For a systematic analysis of Hansalim's ethical consumerism, our attentions are paid mainly to the following three focal points at which the embedded hybrid in Hansalim's context of institutional complementarity can be detected: first, its strategic repertoires and activities; second, the internal/external structure of governance and policy implementations; and third, information sharing and its external relations.⁸

Notably, Hansalim is one of the most well-known and oldest ethical cooperatives in Korea, considering that it was established in 1986 as the original name of 'Hansalim Nongsan (Hansalim Agricultural Products).' In three years, Hansalim completed its initial institutional foundation by not only launching the Hansalim Producers Association and the Hansalim Community Consumer Cooperative in 1988, but also publicly announcing the Hansalim Manifesto in 1989, which states Hansalim's philosophy on human life by emphasizing the crisis of industrial civilization, mechanical ideology, creative evolution of life, universe and life within human beings, and the role of Hansalim. In three decades (from 1986 to 2017), Hansalim's repertoires and performances for its organizational identity of ethical consumerism under the catchphrase of 'the meaningful daily action which saves the earth' have steadily developed by extending and deepening its internal/external networks, and engaging social issues in a proactive way. In 1995, Hansalim hit the historic and speedy record of 10,000 members, and the number of members rapidly increased up to 200,000 in 2009.

First, Hansalim's ethical consumerism embedded in hybridity of social economy and consumer justice movement is described by exploring its strategic repertoires and activities. Hansalim began its activities as an ethical cooperative which can be categorized as a social economy organization. Its main function of social economy is to connect consumers with farmers in local rural communities via direct channels and the distribution network of agricultural products under the three big slogans of 'Save our Table (bapsangsalim),' 'Save our Agriculture (nongŏpsalim),' and 'Save our Life and Earth (saengmyŏngsalim).' On top of

philosophical conceptualization, Hansalim, on the basis of the integrated title of han and salim, is established for the purpose of protecting the life of human beings from the industrial civilization which has given harmful effects to the humankind. It negates the mechanical development of industry and sciences, which creates environmental pollution, dependence to scientific knowledge, social exclusion and fragmented society, and the following total destruction of the nature and life. Hansalim, therefore, aims to save and defend the natural order of humankind and ecosystem, and furthermore promote the ecological balance, social justice, peaceful unification, and the self-realization through social engagements. Refer to http://eng.hansalim.or.kr/?page_id=4.

⁷ Along with Hansalim (<https://shop.hansalim.or.kr/om/main.do>), there are major social economy organisations equipped with the form of ethical cooperatives in Korea: I-Coop (<http://www.icoop.or.kr/coopmall/>); Dure-Coop (<http://dure-coop.or.kr/>); Ssamjinongbu (<http://farmingisart.tistory.com/>); Womenlink (<http://womenlink.or.kr/>); and Indramang-Coop (<http://www.indramangcoop.or.kr/>).

⁸ The main source for the case analysis of Hansalim relies on its newsletters published by the headquarters of Hansalim for internal information sharing and external advertisement of its activities. Refer to Hansalim, *Newsletter of the Hansalim Association* [Hansalimyŏnhap sosikji] (Seoul: Hansalim, 1986-2018) [in Korean].

this principal activity, it further expanded its repertoires into consumer justice movements by which it is able to graft civic engagements onto its original works as social economy. Hansalim’s consumer movement was mobilized by igniting the ‘Save Korean Wheat Campaign’ in 1991, and have unremittingly intensified its engagements through varieties of social movements and campaigns (see table 3).

Table 3. Hansalim’s Repertoires for Civic Engagements

Type	Activities
Campaign against GMO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Movement against GMO (2000) ● Inauguration of National Action against GMO (2016) ● Petition for Anti-GMO Movement (2016) ● Launching the Hansalim GMO Investigation Group for Domestic Products (2018)
Save our Agriculture and Food Sovereignty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Save Korean Wheat Campaign (1991) ● Campaign against Imported Rice (2006) ● Movement for Saving our Barley (2012) ● Movement against the Rice Tariffication (2014)
School Meal Service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Petition for School Meal Service Ordinance (2003) ● International Conference of Seoul Public School Meal Service (2017)
Cooperatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Hansalim established as a cooperative (1988) ● Save Our Wheat Cooperative (2012) ● Hansalim Sunlight Generation Cooperative (2012) ● Hansalim Shipping Cooperative (2015) ● People’s Fair Trade Cooperative (2017)
International Solidarity Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fund-raising Campaign for North Korean People (1997) ● Donation for Afghanistan Refugees (2001) ● Donation for Flood Victims by Rusa Typhoon (2002) ● Delivery of 310 Bags of Rice (Unification Dinning Table/Rice of Life) to North Korea (2006) ● Aid for Haiti and Pakistan (2010) ● Donation for Climate Disaster in the Philippines (2013) ● Donation for Nepali Earthquake Sufferers (2015) ● Completion of the Nepali Maharaximi Secondary School (2016) ● Aid for Dalit Organic Farming Cooperatives in India (2017) ● Clothing Recycling Movement for the Pakistani Schools (2017)
Anti-Nuclearization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Movement against Taiwanese Nuclear Waste into North Korea (1997) ● Hansalim Denuclearization Declaration (2017)
Other Social Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Campaign against Snow Sledge Parks on the

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cheonggye Mountain (1992) ● Campaign for Earth Day (1996) ● Fund-raising Campaign for the Foundation for Justice and Memory for Japan's Wartime Sexual Slavery (2016) ● Declaration of the Impeachment of President Park (2017)
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Source: Compiled by the author.

As table 3 demonstrates, the repertoires that Hansalim has developed and employed contain the seven categories: (1) campaigns against GMO (Genetically Modified Organism), (2) movements for saving the farming and defending food sovereignty, (3) campaigns for school meal services, (4) cooperatives, (5) international solidarity, (6) campaigns for anti-nuclearization, and (7) other social issues. Indeed, the range of Hansalim's civic engagements is quite expansive to cover food security-related agendas (GMO, agricultural products, food sovereignty, school meals, etc.), cooperative activities launching new cooperatives aimed to deal with newfound issues, international outreach through humanitarian and development aid, and diverse socio-political problems (nuclear issues, nature conservation, comfort women, presidential impeachment, etc.). It is worthwhile to note that Hansalim has endeavored to scale up its action agendas from its cooperative-related targets which are seen as the original mission of social economy to new targets which are more likely to be social and political issues, rather than social economy-related ones. The external expansion of issue-making enables Hansalim to not only become one of major social interest groups in Korea's civil society, but also consolidate its status and functions as a major social economy organization conducting multiple-consumer movements. In a nutshell, the extended arm of Hansalim's outreach beyond its original missions turns into great assets for itself and its influence onto other social economy organisations and its consumer movement partner organisations.

Second, the power resource of Hansalim's embedded hybridity comes from its internal structure of governance and the entailing connectedness between local consumers and producers' associations.⁹ Given that Hansalim is a cooperative established jointly by the producer and the consumers, its governance structure accordingly requires the two components of local branches for consumers and producers' associations under one single umbrella of the Hansalim Federation. Initially, Hansalim was registered as a consumer's cooperative in 1988, but developed into a social economy organization connecting consumer's cooperatives and producers' associations due to the fact that it holds firm to its principle of organic agriculture and has been active in exchange activities between producers and consumers as same owners of the cooperative.¹⁰ With this in mind, Hansalim started the

⁹ As of 2012, Hansalim has grown up to the scale of 350 thousand households consumer members, 93 of producer's community, and 2 thousand of farming producer members in 21 regions all over the country.

¹⁰ Hansalim's organizational philosophy for activities connecting producers and consumers is anchored in Han's mind – whose meaning is one, whole, and together – facilitating and strengthening the exchange between urban and rural areas. The producers who believe that human and nature, as well as urban and rural areas are mutually bonded with the string of life. The consumers need to understand the mind and devotion of producers when they consume the products. Under the worsening environments where it becomes harder to prepare the healthy and organic table for families due to the climate change, natural disasters, vicious markets, and endangered agricultural sector, Hansalim aims to be proactive in direct trade between the producers and the consumers on the philosophical basis of the life-giving agriculture. In this regard, Hansalim is also doing the meaningful daily action which saves our lives and earth through the efforts to live together with our neighbors in

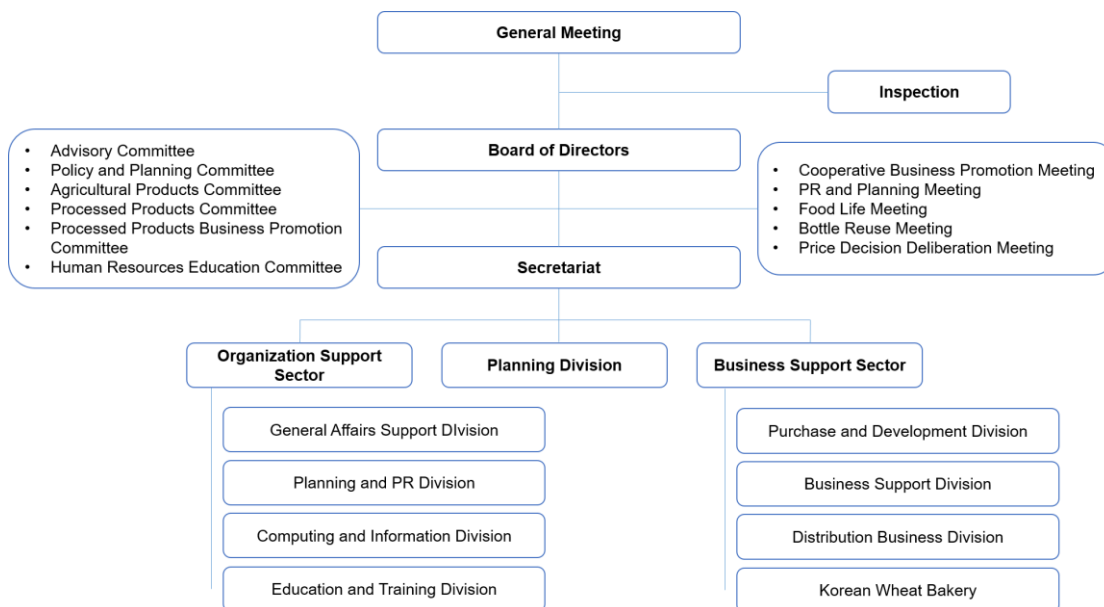
direct trade between rural and urban areas with healthy food such as organic rice and fertile egg to go beyond the market order. Such a direct exchange of organic agricultural and processed products between consumers and producers within the one house of social enterprise became a mainstream model of Korea's cooperative movement, and thereby led Hansalim to be renowned as a cornerstone of the Korean cooperatives equipped with consumer movements.

Unsurprisingly, the dual components – not only the coexistence of producers and consumers but also the combined posture of cooperative activities and consumer movements – embedded in Hansalim's hybridity generated the dual structures of its governance in two aspects. First, Hansalim's governance is constituted at the dual level of central headquarters and local branches. The Hansalim Federation Headquarters (HFH) plays a central role in orchestrating its diverse cooperative actions and other activities designed for consumer justice movements, organized outreaches for solidarity, and so on (see figure 1). HFH organizes the annual General Meeting where all local Hansalims and coop members can join to decide key issues, under the guidance of the Board of Directors and with the administrative assistance of the Secretariat. In dealing with each major agenda of its national planning, HFH sets forth specialized committees and meetings under the Board of Directors, and those committees and meetings also coordinate their action agendas with local Hansalims and their local committees specializing each agenda in a coherent fashion. As we can confirm in figure 2, the governance structure of local Hansalim organizations (LHO) also is synchronized generally with that of HFH in terms of policy coherence and cooperative effectiveness.

Along with the vertical alignment of HFH and LHO, another connection is horizontally constructed by aligning consumers and producers via the Hansalim Producers' Association (HPA) (see figure 3). HPA is a member organization of the Hansalim Federation, representing producer's communities via the structure coherence with HFH and LHO. The institutionalization of direct trade and exchange of organic farm products between producers and consumers is aimed to build up the movement of peace of life which Hansalim always dreams about. Such a collective action of consumers and producers can develop easily into production justice movements as well as consumer justice movements. The best practice of production justice movements can be taken by Hansalim's campaigns against GMO and its supports for organic farming.

Figure 1. The Governance Structure of the Hansalim Federation Headquarters

need, the living culture in harmony with the nature and the humble consumption. Refer to http://eng.hansalim.or.kr/?page_id=26.



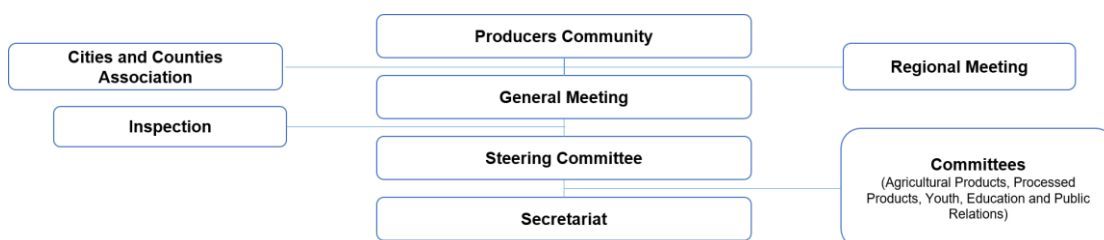
Source: http://eng.hansalim.or.kr/?page_id=16.

Figure 2. The Governance Structure of the Local Hansalim Organization



Source: http://eng.hansalim.or.kr/?page_id=16.

Figure 3. The Governance Structure of Hansalim Producers' Association



Source: http://eng.hansalim.or.kr/?page_id=16.

The bolstering of Hansalim’s hybridity in terms of its governance can be well detected by its nimble-footed establishment of internal institutions in response to the changing external environments (see table 4). Beyond its original mission as cooperatives, Hansalim proactively embarked upon the launching of institutional matchmakers that link external demands with internal preparations and responses, thereby assisting its civic engagements and participations in social issues.

Table 4. Internal Institutions for External Demands

Year	Institutions
1993	Heuk Salim Institute
1994	Korean Federation of Sustainable Agriculture Organizations
2002	Moshim and Salim Institute Hansalim Business Association
2008	Hansalim Press
2011	Hansalim Federation
2012	Anseong Distribution Center
2013	Citizens’ Radioactivity Center
2015	Hansalim Foundation Hansalim Training Institute Hansalim Agricultural Products Analysis Center Hansalim Best Product Center
2016	Farmland Salim and Conservation Corporation Hansalim Order Customer Service Center
2017	Hansalim Funding

Source: Compiled by the author.

As table 4 well summarized, the Heuk Salim Institute (Heuk refers to earth or soil in Korean) was established in 1993 to initiate a research group contributing to make progress in environment-friendly methods of agriculture in Korea by supplying eco-friendly fertilizer and the farm materials. In 1994, Hansalim took the lead in the establishment of the Korean Federation of Sustainable Agriculture Organizations (KFSAO) in collaboration with other agricultural cooperatives. In chairing KFSAO, Hansalim was regarded as one of the leading cooperatives to combine and develop environment-friendly sustainable agriculture, the direct trade of organic farm products between producers and consumers, and the alternative roadmap of rural areas in Korean society. In 2002, Hansalim launched the Moshim and Salim Institute for the purpose of spreading the culture of life movement and upgrading it as the major civic engagement of Hansalim, and also commenced the Hansalim Business Association in order to improve the efficiency of the direct trade of organic products and support local Hansalims and HPA. Later on in 2011, HFH was officially launched as the representative organization of all the business and activities of Hansalim, and furthermore Hansalim set out the Citizens’ Radioactivity Center (CRC) and held a forum about radioactive contamination and the crisis of food through CRC in 2013. In a nutshell, it is important to note that Hansalim has been aptly adjusting its internal system to adapt itself to the changing conditions of external environments and take the initiative of alternative campaigns and movements with other like-minded cooperatives in Korean civil society.

Third, imprinting Hansalim as the leading cooperative with high level of hybridity of social economy and consumer movements requires further explanation on how it shares information among LHOs and manages its relations with external partner cooperatives. There are three major channels of information sharing through which Hansalim intends to advertise a series of production region stories and Hansalim activities of local communities and LHOs. Such channels are the very critical instruments for Hansalim to fulfill its repertoires, expand its solidarities with domestic and foreign partner institutes, and reinforce its participations in social movements beyond the purview of its cooperative activities.

The first channel includes the annual report, *Hansalim Story*, which is the official newsletter reporting all different activities of what HFH, LHOs and HPA did and plan for next year.¹¹ Anyone who is interested in Hansalim's activities and history is able to access all reports which are now uploaded to the Hansalim online webpage. Second, Hansalim, together with *Hansalim Story*, established the Anseong Distribution Center in 2012 and manages it as a new institute researching on the thoughts of life and opening the classes about ecology, environment and citizen autonomy for the members and the public. Since 2008, it has also operated the Hansalim Press that is its official publisher printing its periodicals and other books. Those publications of the Hansalim Press are the final products reflecting Hansalim's philosophy about life, nature, and human, as well as its real practices on the ground. Finally, with its offline channels, Hansalim effectively utilises major social medias – facebook, tweeter, blogs, etc. – as the online channels which can spread its activities and events to the public and members in a very rapid way.¹² Through this, Hansalim communicates with more people, and seeks the alternative for the better world by participating in a series of civic rallies and protests in alliance with NGOs.

Concluding Remarks: Between Consumers and Citizens

This study sets out to review the Korean ethical consumerism of the 'embedded hybridity', which can be logically forged at the nexus of consumer justice movements and social economies. By advancing institutional complementarity in contentious politics as an analytical framework, it pursues the verification on the historical evolution of Korea's ethical consumerism as a logical consequence of the anti-capitalist civic engagement against unequal and non-transparent market systems. In particular, it deepens the analysis of Korea's involvements in ethical consumerism by taking Hansalim as a major case of the Korean ethical cooperatives.

The embedded hybridity is referred to as the vagueness of ethical consumerism in the context of state-society relations, as well as adapted survival strategy of ethical cooperatives in changing external structures. At the macro-level, the historical development of Korea's ethical consumerism can be identified as the strategic outgrowth embedded in the intersection between state's intervention-from-above and civil society's social movement-from-below (Kim 2008). Korean cooperatives and consumer movement organisations are asked to comply with government's guidelines and institutional pressures, whereas they are also asked to marshal collective actions against government interventions by allying themselves with other like-minded partners. At the micro-level, Korean ethical cooperatives including Hansalim have the double jeopardy coming from its transitional position moving along the boundary between consumers and citizens (Kong and Lim 2017). The lack of

¹¹ For more information on *Hansalim Story*, refer to <http://eng.hansalim.or.kr/?p=540>

¹² Refer to <https://www.facebook.com/hansalim1986/>.

identifying the status of ethical cooperatives as citizens or consumers hampers them from clarifying their functions and strategies and causes them to be fallen into the trap of confusion when they are asked to decide which status is more eligible to engage social issues.

However, the vague position can rather be used as a crucial benefit to underpin the embedded hybridity combining social economy and consumer movements and evade the unnecessary process of identity crisis between consumers and citizens. Such a vagueness would be helpful not only for consumer justice movements to encounter social economies, but also for social economies to forge the voluntary communities embedded in the hybridity that is full of grassroots initiatives. When local people share socioeconomic activities together, local communities are easy to utilize social networks in order to undertake civic engagements in social issues, and combine cooperatives and consumer movements together. The case of Hansalim vividly shows the evidence of positive hybridity embedded in the vague status between consumers and citizens. Accordingly, the politics of embedded hybridity relates to the magnitude of grey zones, rather than the clear rift of black and white.

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Linking Local Activities
to the World-Kyushu Water Forum(QWF)

Satoko Seino

* Presentation material will be offered separately.

Value Conflicts and Local Resistance:
The Resurrection of the Anti-Power Plant Movementⁱ
KONG, Suk-Ki (Seoul National University Asia Center)

Introduction

Why do we need eco-democracy for regional-based energy transition projects? It is important for residents who want to preserve the local ecosystem and natural scenery to activate a public space for sharing information and opinions on energy transition (Dryzek 2001). It is also possible to raise community consciousness by discussing together development policies suitable for local ecosystem at the public space (Mert 2009; Schooler & Scholtens 2015). Local residents prioritizing economic value over social and public goods are less likely to actively embrace ecosystem protection and energy independence frames. Then local conflicts become more frequent whenever local development policies are introduced (Walker et al. 2010).

In areas that have complained their alienation in the development process, a development frame will win over the frame of ecosystem protection and energy independence. For the case, the residents will fall into a few weak voices that oppose the development project. Recently, renewable energy business in Korea is on the rise while attracting much more attention from the public because they are concerned with the climate justice (Choe & Kim 2016). More wind and solar power generation facilities are rapidly introduced in the local areas with the government support. However, conflicts between the local development discourse and the energy transition are rising. Do the government policies consider the geographical, historical and socio-cultural contexts while introducing renewable energy facilities? Do they reflect the residents' voice from below and ensure their participation in the decision-making process? Do they agree on that local initiative is a very important factor in implementing long-term climate justice?

In reflecting on Korea's energy projects in the past, we note that the renewable energy business has been criticized for wearing the mask of 'greening of development' and damaging the local ecosystem. Residents and citizens disappear in the regional development projects, leaving only the government and developers (Dietz et al. 2003). For this reason, it is very important how local initiative should be implemented in the development policy process. No one denies how important it is for residents to engage in the decision-making process. Furthermore, it is also important for the residents themselves to voluntarily participate in the implementing programs. Interestingly, the voluntary participation and practice of residents are different in each region, and we should pay more attention to why. It is cooperation and solidarity embedded in the residents for a long time that enabled them to agree to utilize the common-pooled resources for the community (Hong & Ju 2003). Historical and socio-cultural experiences are valuable assets for the residents themselves to learn and internalize ecological and social values in the process of opposing top-down development policies.

With the increasing impact of the globalization, no matter how small the local space, now it meets the convergence between national and global factors. With the expansion of climate change, carbon reduction policy is expanding through global joint efforts. Korean local governments are expanding renewable energy facilities while establishing supporting institutions to increase the proportion of renewable energy. Jeju Province shows both notable policies and local initiatives concerning renewable energy projects. Jeju residents have a high desire for development due to development alienation. At the same time, it has a natural ecosystem and has a strong need to make profit from tourism through development restrictions and ecosystem conservation (Jang & Choi 2017). Since the announcement of the '2030 Carbon Free Plan' in 2012, the governor has spurred renewable energy business and actively promoted the wind and solar power generation facilities with the central government support. As a result, the residents where the facility is coming have fallen into turmoil of development and conservation conflicts. While the Korean government tried to launch national projects such as naval bases, nuclear power plants, garbage disposal plants, renewable energy facilities, it often gets frustrated by the strong local opposition to the facilities.

Jeju Island has become a test ground for policy implementation of the Korean government. I try to examine how the residents do not simply stay in the resistance, but how to go beyond the developmental benefits for the facilities and how to develop better alternatives with more appropriate facilities in the local space. Actually the rental income from the introduction of renewable energy facilities cannot guarantee the ecological sensibility among local residents. They need to develop alternatives together. Interestingly, there are emerging a few examples of social economic activities designed to make residents become ecologically sensitive and profitable to local communities. Unfortunately, they easily reversed the course because of new developing projects negatively impacting the local eco-system.

A Glimpse of Jeju Renewable Energy Projects

For tackling climate change and justice, the Korean government actively promoted renewable energy facilities. In this process, however, the residents' voices in the planned site have been rarely heard. As the environmental guidelines that push for sustaining an ecosystem are only formally applied, regional conflicts are spreading out throughout the country. A brief sketch highlights a pattern of local conflicts around local energy projects.

In May 2012, the Jeju government announced such an ambitious plan, 'Carbon Free Island Jeju by 2030', which is a Jeju-type green growth model for energy independence in response to climate change. By 2030, it aims to install a total of 2,350MW of wind power including land wind power of 350MW and sea wind power of 2,000MW to fill 100% of electricity with only renewable energy. It is impossible to achieve this ambitious energy transition project unless the government embraces the voluntary participation of the local people and value the climate justice in the policy-making. Actually this is a mistake from the first button. They have should sought after energy transition as well as ecological democracy in which everyone participates together in the policy making process. Instead the government introduced renewable energy facilities as much as it could. It

established Jeju Energy Corporation as a provincial energy public corporation for the first time in order to lead the development of wind energy resources. The Asia Wind Energy Expo has been held since 2013 and the International Electric Vehicle Expo has been since 2014. In addition, the government tries to expand subsidies to supply electric vehicles. It plans to convert 100,000 vehicles, or 30% of all cars, into electric vehicles by 2020, and convert all cars into electric vehicles by 2030.

For instance, the Jeju government has promoted the renewable energy projects with favorable institutions for more use of wind resources. It established the JEC to investigate wind power resources, designates wind power generation districts, and utilizes them as local energy. Likewise, the environmental groups also proposed a new framework of “public wind resource” for sharing wind resource. The government enacted an Ordinance on the Sharing of Wind Resource Funds to force renewable energy corporations to share benefits with the residents. Companies developing new wind power are required to pay 7% of sales or 17.5% of short-term net profits to the local community (Choe & Kim 2016). Such institutional innovation could be accelerated by unique history, culture and social experiences in Jeju. The residents easily agreed to and applied the frame "Wind is not anyone, but of all of us" to local conflicts around renewable energy projects. However, the process of applying this frame to grassroots sites was never smoothly made. There are always conflicts in selecting and developing sites for wind power. In particular, the democratic decision-making process for establishing the guidelines has not been properly operated so that stakeholders, including local residents, cannot fully gather and discuss on it. For this reason, we can hardly evaluate how the citizen participation method is being strengthened to expand renewable energy.

Around solar power generation projects, there are growing conflicts between developers, local governments, and residents in the region, with the proportion of solar power capacity installed. In most cases, landlords or outside investors carried out the projects and presented inadequately them for the residents. Local governments began to regulate the location of power generating facilities including photovoltaic power plants by enacting the "Guidelines for permission to conduct development activities." The question is whether there will be a space where local residents can

discuss how and where solar power or wind power facilities should be installed and how they should be implemented from the outset. Furthermore, local residents need to find ways to harmonize with the local environment in terms of ecological and social contexts as well as guaranteeing the residents' participation (Lee 2015). In this regard, the case of Jeju Hwasoonri is noteworthy.

When it comes to ecological democracy, we should examine whether stake holders provide sufficient information for the residents and hold hearing sessions to discuss where to establish renewable energy generation facilities. Without such processes, the resentment and resistance will surely emerge among them. The concept of ecological democracy argues that local residents should not be passive energy beneficiaries, but active actors in promoting renewable energy use and energy transition. Such horizontal governance implies that both local governments and NGOs should actively take care of renewable energy facilities rather than leaving them to the developers.

Despite the efforts, however, local conflicts keep happening unless there is no system of sharing profits around renewable energy. Notably, Hwasoonri residents participate in development projects with their own stakes or cooperatives to conduct solar power projects directly. As the local people collaborate to establish their own business or in the form of a consortium, such collaboration can lead local residents to accept renewable energy facilities. Furthermore, sharing the common-pooled resources including sun and wind makes the residents raise the public consciousness beyond the economic benefit and pursue energy independence, transition to strengthen the local community. In other words, social conflicts over renewable energy facilities can be obstacles to energy independence and become leverage for social and technological innovation at the local communities.

Given these contexts, the author tries to highlight how local residents themselves voluntarily participate in not only learning ecological values and climate justice frame but also jointly figuring out appropriate policy alternatives for their implementation. To this end, this paper will sketch some regional conflicts at the renewable energy facilities. These empirical backgrounds help us to understand the Jeju local contexts. In addition, it takes Hwasoonri as a focal case with comparing Gasiri in order to explore how local residents play an initiative role in pursuing local energy projects

while confronting the government-led energy projects. Thus this paper highlights that the local residents are struggling with unceasing conflicts caused by the local development policy but also making efforts to promote social innovation. The bottom line is how they keep reclaiming and implementing eco-democracy on its own.

Research Frames

This paper tries to explore the conflict processes surrounding the introduction of renewable energy facilities in Jeju with reference to eco-democracy. It takes a case study of a local community, Hwasoonri with a comparative perspective and explores four factors including external conditions, resident participation, citizen movement solidarity and governance. This case study highlights how local residents have dealt with climate justice, renewable energy projects, community development, common-pooled resources such as wind and sunlight, community development, community and corporate social responsibility. It also examines how residents' attitude towards renewable energy is changing along conflicts with the government and business groups. We believe that they experienced a kind of democratic learning process and then tried to mobilize and apply new movement frames as an alternative in opposition to local development. Given these, this paper aims to analyze the process of learning, applying and conflicting process by focusing on the Hwasoonri community initiative.

As seen in <Table 1>, the four factors help us to understand the conflicting process surrounding the introduction of renewable energy facilities. Each factor highlights how the residents changed their attitudes toward common-pooled resources, renewable energy projects, CSR, town development, and local communities. The comparison of two cases will show more concretely what factors have more impact on the dynamic process of local collaboration or conflicts with government and business groups concerning renewable energy projects. To answer the questions, the author visited two sites regularly for three years and conducted interviews at each community. This paper largely focuses on Hwasoonri in a comparative perspective.

Table 1 Comparing Two Community Projects

Factors	Hwasoonri		Gasiri
External Conditions	Fishery Ranch – developed Coastal area	History Culture Economy Geo-space	Clan community Agriculture/ Ranch Middle range mountain area
Networking/ Solidarity Movements	Anti-naval bases movements	Local Resistance	Increasing Returnees
	Solidarity with other citizen movement groups	Solidarity & Collaboration Types	Collaboration with professionals
Local Initiatives	Strong voluntary and active engagement against local development	Local Community Voluntary Participation	Low voluntary participation but strong community identity
	Scoping out alternative to development projects by the governments	Eco-Democracy Learning	Carrying out Community development projects
Governance/ CSR	Grass-roots direct democracy	Decision-making process	Delegate democracy
	From Ranch to Community business (Solar power company) Collaboration with KOSPO	Managing Common-pooled Resources (Community Ranch) Apple mango and Fish farming with hot water from KOPOS	Community Ranch COOP

Two Communities Compared

Let's compare the two communities along the factors. First, the external conditions imply accumulated history, memories, geospatial features, and various activities for a long time. Geographically, coastal villages are more exposed to development policies than villages at the middle range mountains, which cause residents to face more conflicts with governments and businesses. The latter has traditionally been a residential village, jointly running a communal ranch, and farming livestock as well as tangerine farming. In other words, Gasiri more isolated has been inferior to Hwasoonri with reference to quality of life and culture. When the government-led development policy was launched, it could not develop any conflictual relationship. They hardly keep solidarity and collaboration with civil movement organizations at Jeju. Such conditions have significant impact on the dynamics of local residents' movements, lack of solidarity, and political apathy toward local governance.

Second, Voluntary tradition at local communities led to community culture, which enables the residents to actively participate community activities. The village ranch is a good example. When community development projects are launched, the residents cannot avoid selling the village ranch where most projects include in their plan. They have to discuss how to use the ranch for the future, in which they experience ' existing democratic decision-making process and develop community consciousness. If they just carried out resistance against the local development for the better compensation, they could not sustain the community. Hwasoonri at the coastal area faced the challenge of selling the village ranch by embracing a thermal power plant. Notably, they discussed and worked together to find alternatives to benefit themselves ecologically. As threatened by climate change, they focused on renewable energy with dreaming self-reliance on energy transition and then established a community business of solar power generation.

On the other hand, development project area is expanding from coast to mountainside. The community at mountainside faced similar challenges from developers. Local leaders familiar with local governance could utilize various financial support and resources. Accordingly, the people welcome the policies prioritizing economic values rather than social and ecological values. They would promote quality of life by carrying out the community development and improvement projects led by the government. They actively collaborate with project experts but rarely seek after collaboration with other local civil society. Rather they often focus on local tourism and cultural programs with overwhelming support from the governments. For example, Gasiri residents witness that both Jeju Energy Corporation and SK wind power generation rarely consider local community's engagement into decision-making process. Rather they try to make local residents feel comfortable with rental fees. Unfortunately, the Gasiri people did not seek after alternatives such as energy transition and self-reliance. Even worse, they have not been involved in building the wind power facilities at all. They just enjoy getting a small amount of sponsorship from Jeju energy corporations or SK wind Power Company.

Third, local initiatives for alternative provide an important opportunity for the residents to

learn democracy and movement frame. The village ranch has been run as a joint ranch for a long time. Such collaborative tradition is certainly valuable asset and serves as leverage for finding alternatives to local development. In addition, local community maintaining solidarity with civil society tries to expand their resistance from the community to Jeju regional level. For instance, since a thermal power plant was introduced three decades ago. Hwasoonri has been seeking alternative, which is, solar energy and decided to make community businesses, Beonae-gol Solar panel. In the meantime, they experienced their own energy transition and self-reliance processes. Interestingly, their unceasing trial an error for renewable energy is still in progress. On the other hand, Gasiri chose to introduce wind power generation facilities based on the tradition of village delegate decision-making process. The Gasiri residents have not developed fully ecological value. Rather they focused on economic benefits from village improvement as well as from community business of cultural center and pony riding park supported by the government. Whereas Hwasoonri residents experience eco-democracy towards energy self-reliance by actively engaging conflicts with the government and business, Gasiri residents have kept a delegate democracy of relying on external experts. As a result, the two cases highlight difference in speed, scale, and scope of introducing renewable energy facility and adopting ecological value.

Fourth, the governments-led energy policy is too powerful for local community to scope with renewable energy projects in Jeju. Increasing conflicts along energy transition projects at Jeju made local communities fall into a swirl of conflict. The government promotes the project quickly enough that it cannot properly balance between economic and ecological value. To the extent that governance is not enough, residents are pushed to the periphery and then developers and a few local leaders raise their voices. In order to reclaim horizontal governance, local movements should play a key role in standing and working on alternatives together, to set ecological democracy at grassroots level.

The Hwasoonri case highlights how the central or local governance should be operated to develop robust social enterprise in promoting renewable energy in Jeju. In addition, it shows how local communities apply CSR frame as leverage to collaborate with business group to promote

sustainable development at local. At the same time, they should tackle on technological innovation based on ecological value. If not, they keep facing challenges or counter-frames based on economic value.

The case studies highlight how local residents themselves voluntarily participate in the process of learning ecological values and climate justice frame, jointly figuring out appropriate policy alternatives. Especially renewable energy projects at Jeju sometimes produce both ecological sensibility and energy independence frames over development profit frames. On the other hand, local conflicts between developers and residents become frequent whenever local development projects are unsustainable.

Tug of War on Power Plant Projectsⁱⁱ

Local residents' initiative for seeking alternative is an important opportunity for them to learn democracy and ecological movement frame. Let's explain why the Hwasoonri residents are interested in and how they initiate renewable energy projects. Unfortunately, the local initiative for renewable energy is facing a gigantic opponent, Korea Southern Power Co (hereafter KOSPO). Recently, the Hwasoonri people rapidly changed their position from collaboration with government and business to resistance. Why they reversed the course? At the end of 2017, KOSPO announced to add two power plants with LNG combined cycle system to the Hwasoonri Thermal Power Plant. It was a notice to unilaterally explain the draft environmental impact assessment to the residents. The whole community got angry and boycotted the hearing with their protests. Despite the unsuccessful public hearing, the KOSPO would pursue it without their consent because it just completed its legal condition that it tried to have a public hearing. Since the Hwasoonri thermal power plants are already in operation, it is not easy to oppose further construction. LNG system is more economical than heavy oil one, so it is difficult to find the counter frame. KOSPO argues that we need to construct additional power plants due to the increase of electricity demand in Jeju. However, power plants are already

being built in other site, Samyang-dong. We can solve increasing demand by using electricity supplied through more submarine cables. The sea temperature in summer is rising by 2-3 degrees due to the discharge of hot water of the power plant. Residents are concerned that the addition of LNG power plant will further increase the sea temperature to 3-7 degrees. The Hwasoonri fishing ground, which is barely maintained, will almost be wiped out. The marine ecosystem is facing a more serious crisis. Therefore, there is nothing but the movement frame against the adding plants, which is "the destruction of marine ecosystem in Hwasoonri is due to the drainage of the power plant."

The biggest victims are fishermen. The hot water outlet was not located far enough. It is installed in the fishery where the women divers (Jeju Haenyeo) are catching seashells. Abalones and sea urchins are all gone. They say the water is so hot to tear off the suit right out of the water in summer. At the beginning, the hot water drainage amounts about 20k tons. The LNG plant addendum will increase 6,000 ton drainage. The fishery will be completely depleted in near future. It is threatening to see the hot water coming out of the sea when you go to the discharge site. If the power plant is operated with the consent of the residents, it is necessary to extend the outlet further to the sea tide. Then the hot drainage will be relatively quickly diluted by ocean currents. Unfortunately it is now circulating in the fishing area because it is discharged from the area without ocean currents. The KOSPO refutes that if it goes further out, it will destroy coral reefs. Kyungbo Kang, village head criticizes the ironic statement. "Are coral reefs more important than people? It is only an excuse to save coral reefs while sacrificing people. The KOSPO tries to conciliate the fisher men with a little compensation of about 10-20 million."

The residents tried to mobilize political support from the national assembly member of their constituency, Sung-gon Ui. Even though he made a supporting visit to the site, there is a lack of a framework of movement beyond the claim that economic value - the expansion of the power plant - is necessary to meet increasing demand. The marine ecosystem is facing hot drainage and the power to support disappearing fishery is getting weak. The number of fishermen is only 0.1% of the whole village. They are so old as to be rarely motivated to continue fishing and are inclined toward much

reward. Despite its aggressive policy on alternative energy and renewable energy business, the Jeju government still has no position concerning the thermal power plant. It is a contradictory situation. In the meantime, local residents are considering the benefits of guaranteeing the LNG power plant. If the gas line comes in anyway, it is suggested that the Hwasoonri can request city gas providing. It is being discussed throughout the village council meeting to expand the warm water directly to farming. Talking politics really matter. They have developed benefits of talking politics on various issues so far.

CSR Project at Hwasoonri KOSPO is a very interesting case of weak and tentative collaboration between local residents and KOSPO. The CSR project shows a double-edged feature of utilizing hot drainage of the thermal power water while sacrificing fishery. Only a few people got benefits from apple mango and fish farming. Fishing business and beautiful landscapes are disappearing. The recent conflict between the residents and KOSPO concerning the addendum of LNG power plant reverse the course of governance from cooperation to conflict. Actually economic value among the residents still wins over ecological view by which the local government easily carried out the developing projects there. For example the Gold Sand Beach will disappear soon due to the construction of Korea Coast Guard Port. The residents are still working hard to develop alternatives such as marina resort project and waterpark of using hot water from the power plant. The recent resistance to KOSPO implies unsustainable CSR projects. Thus they need to create, share, learn, and practice the opposition frames which can overcome the thermal power energy frame. They should demonstrate that they can sustain energy independence at the community level and show it practically. If not, they could be so vulnerable from the outside projects.

The renewable energy project in Hwasoonri is noteworthy in several respects. First, the village development innovation started from below. The local initiative for finding alternative energy has become a driving force for the creation of innovative policy alternatives. They have tried various projects such as solar power generation, a coastal pool of spring water, a four-season water park, tropical fish culture, and apple mangos of using power plant hot water.

Second, bringing thermal power plants to villages long ago became the biggest obstacle to

long-term village development. Firms are in the process of expanding the thermal power plant to the village in return for some economic compensation. In order to meet electricity demand, the frame of the sacrifice of the local villages which are inevitable for economic development of Jeju Island is too strong. However, it is core difficulties for the opposition movement now that the local residents have led the discussion on the assumption of some economic compensation.

Third, the local resistance movement has been empowered and united through the village democracy, and the development of the alternative policy. Jeju development frame is winning Carbon-free frame. Jeju government promotes to expand electric vehicles by providing various subsidies for rental car companies. In addition, local people with exemption from parking lot requirement can buy electric cars. However, all the policies are based on economic rather than eco-friendly frameworks. If the Jeju government is to promote eco-friendly policies, it should focus on energy conservation campaigns and energy efficiency rather than allowing LNG power generation facilities to meet increasing energy demand. It is an unreasonable demand to expect ordinary citizens and local residents to voluntarily choose renewable energy.

In the case of the KOSPO's power plant expansion, it is more difficult for local residents to resist because it is to expand power generation facilities in existing facilities. Despite its limitation, however, local residents continuously argue that the fishery itself is in danger because the hot water destroys the marine ecosystem with sea high temperature. They keep insisting that it should be a contradiction for KOSPO to ignore the local ecosystem and foster local economic development. KOSPO also ignores the process of ecological democracy. It disregarded local residents' opinions and tried to hold such a formal public hearing. Although the residents boycotted and blocked the event, KOSPO believed that it fulfilled the procedural duties by planning the event itself rather than listening to them.

Implications and Challenges to Eco-Democracy from Below

Why do we need eco-democracy for regional-based energy transition projects? It is important for residents who would preserve the local ecosystem and natural scenery to activate a public space for sharing information and opinions on energy transition. It is also possible to raise community consciousness by discussing together development policies suitable for local ecosystem at the public space. Local residents prioritizing economic value over social and public goods are less likely to actively embrace ecosystem protection and energy independence frames. Then local conflicts become more frequent whenever local development policies are introduced.

In areas that have complained their alienation in the development process, a development frame will win over the frame of ecosystem protection and energy independence. For the case, the residents will fall into a few weak voices that oppose the development project. Recently, renewable energy business in Korea is on the rise while attracting much more attention from the public because they are concerned with the climate justice. More wind and solar power generation facilities are rapidly introduced in the local areas with the government support. However, conflicts between the local development discourse and the energy transition are rising. Do the government policies consider the geographical, historical and socio-cultural contexts while introducing renewable energy facilities? Do they reflect the residents' voice from below and ensure their participation in the decision-making process? Do they agree on that local initiative is a very important factor in implementing long-term climate justice?

In reflecting on Korea's energy projects in the past, we note that the renewable energy business has been criticized for wearing the mask of 'greening of development' and damaging the local ecosystem. Residents and citizens disappear in the regional development projects, leaving only the government and developers. For this reason, it is very important how local initiative should be implemented in the development policy process. No one denies how important it is for residents to engage in the decision-making process. Furthermore, it is also important for the residents themselves to voluntarily participate in the implementing programs. Interestingly, the voluntary participation and

practice of residents are different in each region, and we should pay more attention to why. It is cooperation and solidarity embedded in the residents for a long time that enabled them to agree to utilize the common-pooled resources for the community. In other words, historical and socio-cultural experiences are valuable assets for the residents themselves to learn and internalize ecological and social values in the process of opposing top-down development policies.

With the increasing impact of the globalization, no matter how small the local space, now it meets the convergence between national and global factors. With the expansion of climate change, carbon reduction policy is expanding through global joint efforts. Korean local governments are expanding renewable energy facilities while establishing supporting institutions to increase the proportion of renewable energy. Jeju Province shows both notable policies and local initiatives concerning renewable energy projects. It is true that Jeju residents have a high desire for development due to development alienation. At the same time, it has a natural ecosystem and has a strong need to make profit from tourism through development restrictions and ecosystem conservation. Since the announcement of the '2030 Carbon Free Plan' in 2012, the governors have spurred renewable energy business and actively promoted the wind and solar power generation facilities with the central government financial support. As a result, the residents in which the facility is coming in have fallen into turmoil of development and conservation conflicts. Although the Korean government tried to introduce various facilities such as naval bases, nuclear power plants, garbage disposal plants, renewable energy facilities as a regional development, it often gets frustrated by the strong local opposition to the facilities.

In fact, Jeju Island has become a test ground for policy implementation of the Korean government. We need to examine how the residents do not simply stay in the resistance, but how to go beyond the developmental benefits for the facilities and how to develop better alternatives with more appropriate facilities in the local space. Actually the rental income from the introduction of renewable energy facilities cannot guarantee the ecological sensibility among local residents. They need to develop alternatives together. Interestingly, there are emerging a few examples of social economic

activities designed to make residents become ecologically sensitive and profitable to local communities.

One of the key characteristics of civil society in Jeju is that it is often limited to its residents' resistance only. It is difficult for local resident to promote solidarity of civil society beyond its boundary. Although many supporting groups outside the local resistance are aware of the obstacle, they should share the limitation with local residents and appeal for their engagement in much stronger solidarity movement. The Jeju ecosystem at risk is not the problem of Jeju, but that of all the Korean people. It is time that Hwasoonri people should expand its scope and shares their movements with more people beyond the region to challenge the strong counter movements of KOSPO. Such solidarity will bring in the achievement of ecological democracy.

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Notes

ⁱ This Paper is prepared for the Joint Workshop on Korea-Japan CSR Workshop at Jeju Korea on March 15th, 2019. Do not quote without permission. For more reference, please email the author at skong@snu.ac.kr.

ⁱⁱ The following analyses are based on both in-depth interviews of village leaders and young staff members and participant observation of key sites in Hwasoonri. The author had made three time visits for the last two years. Basic Information on Hwasoonri as follow: Population 2,781 (Male: 1,373; Female: 1,408); Household, 918; Size, 530.9ha; Clans: Last name (No) Kim(410), Yang(353), Lee(323), Koh(308), Park(270), Kang(267), Jin(259), Ji(259) Source: Hwasoonri Statistics (2001)