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NEOLIBERALISM AND THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISES IN SOUTH KOREA:  
THE DYNAMICS OF NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENTALITY AND HEGEMONY

by

JOOHWAN KIM

Under the Direction of Anthony R. Hatch (PhD)

ABSTRACT

Social enterprises have been promoted globally as alternative economic institutions to neoliberalism for the last few decades. In this study, I explored how social enterprises and the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs emerged as new discursive formations and institutional mechanisms in the neoliberal transformation of governance strategies in South Korea. Three broader questions guide this study. First, how have social enterprises emerged as a new discursive formation and a new institutional mechanism in neoliberal South Korean society? Second, how are the new subjectivities of social entrepreneurs produced in ways that are consistent with neoliberalism? Finally what are the implications of the emergence of social enterprises and the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs in terms of the neoliberal transformations of South Korean society? I situated these research questions within the

theoretical frameworks of Neo-Marxist social theory and Foucauldian governmentality theory. In order to answer these questions, I analyzed newspaper articles, South Korean governmental policy reports, academic journal articles, and guidebooks for social entrepreneurs. I argue that the promotion of social enterprises operates as a new neoliberal government strategy that captures anti-neoliberal progressive social movements and shifts the responsibilities of the state for solving particularly problems of poverty and unemployment onto civil society and social activists. Central findings demonstrate that, despite the pervasiveness of the statements of progressive social movements—solidarity, public good, feminist empowerment, and social change—in the discourses of social enterprises, these statements are dominated by the logic and principles of the market regardless of the discourse producers’ political orientations. In forming the partnership with progressive social movement forces, state power mobilizes them into the mechanisms to promote social enterprises. Social activists are encouraged to be professional social entrepreneurs by arming themselves with an entrepreneurial spirit, knowledge of business administration, and a sense of responsibility for the disadvantaged. Theoretically, this study has broader implications in terms of its exploration of new neoliberal governance mechanisms inscribed in the promotion of social enterprises and social entrepreneurs. This study also has important practical implications insofar as it reveals how Korean progressive leftists are unintentionally allied with neoliberalism, and thereby ironically reinforce its hegemony.

INDEX WORDS: Social enterprise, Social entrepreneur, Neoliberalism, Governmentality, Hegemony, Social economy

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JOOHWAN KIM

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2016

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May 2016

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this study to my parents and wife whose sacrifices and love made it possible. I would also like to dedicate this study to my friends, colleges, and advisors, especially Dr. Anthony Hatch, in thanks for all of their labor. I also dedicate this study to all of us who study and work to resist power systems of capitalism and neoliberalism.

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I want to acknowledge the work of scholars and activists who have long been dedicated to illuminating new ways of governmental strategies and technologies and to resisting neoliberal power mechanisms. Intellectual conversations with many scholars, peers, and activists on the politics of social enterprises contributed to the development of this dissertation. I would like to acknowledge diverse sources of support from the Department of Sociology at Georgia State University.



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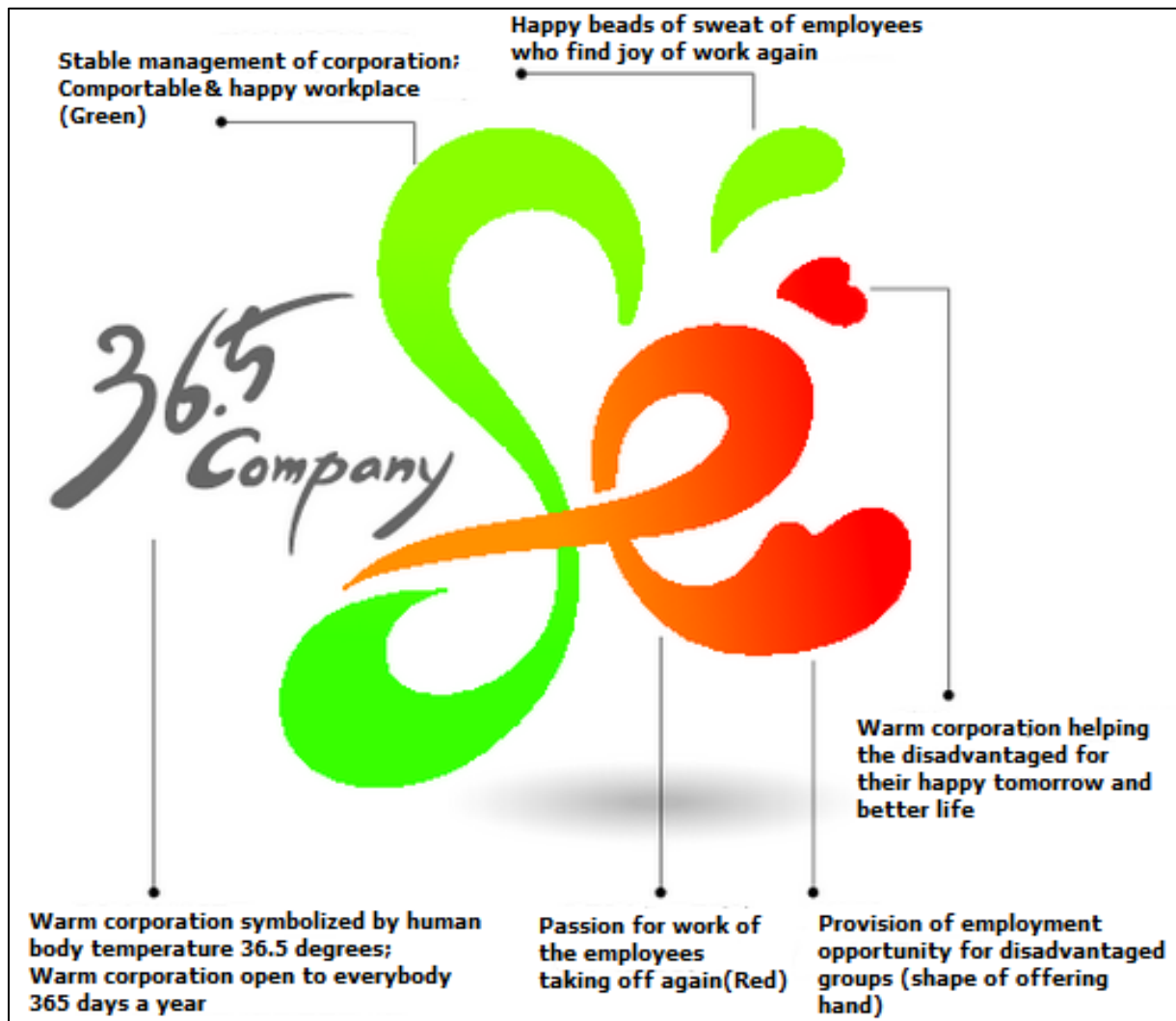
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## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 The Emergence of Social Enterprises in South Korea

Over the last few decades, various negative effects of the neoliberal market economy—economic polarization, inequality, instability of the social safety net, erosion of communal solidarity, and so forth—have taken place. As a response, various alternative discourses relevant to the concept of social economy, which combines mutually heterogenic domains of the social and economy, have emerged and spread rapidly all over the world (Eikenberry and Kluver 2004; Kim, Seong-Yun 2011; Kim 2012). The explosive growth of the following terminologies and discourses show this trend: the third way, big society, compassionate conservatism, solidarity economy, fair trade, ethical consumption, corporate social responsibility, ethical management, communal capitalism, community business, shared value, social capital, socially responsible investment, and social enterprise. For instance, those social enterprises that are the most representative forms of social economy are adopted and promoted in many countries as a promising national policy to resolve various social problems such as poverty and unemployment. Furthermore, social entrepreneurs are represented as new heroes who change the world and lead the spirit of the age with their innovative ideas (Park 2011; Kwon 2010; Kim 2012); their success stories spread rapidly in every quarter of the globe (Eikinberry 2009; Elington & Hartigan 2008; Yunus 2007). Around twenty years after the death of the social was proclaimed by Margaret Thatcher (1987), who opened the era of neoliberalism by declaring that “there is no such thing as society,” the social is resurrected in the combined form with market principles.

These trends are no exception in South Korea. Social enterprises as an institutional mechanism play a central role in the discursive and institutional expansion of social economy particularly in South Korea. What is noteworthy in the institutional mechanism of social enterprises in South Korea is that it reflects the change in the forms of governance in the era of neoliberalism. The official social enterprise symbol mark (Figure 1) and logo song created by the state summarize the characteristics of the central discursive practices of the state power concerning the promotion of social enterprises.



\*Explanations of each part of the symbol are given by Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency

**Figure 1. Official Symbol Mark of Social Enterprise**

## Official Logo Song of Social Enterprise

Title: Beautiful Social Enterprise

Words and music by Jung-hun Chun

Song by Hey-sung Shin

Get lots of love. Get lots of hope too.

Here, a lovely and beautiful place.

This place is a social enterprise.

Happy jobs, hope and love for this world.

Social enterprise is all so full of humans and love.

People with dreams, let's work.

People who lost their dreams, let's work again.

Doing good things and making profits, let's stand up with indomitable courage.

We are impassioned and courageous people.

Let's work together.

Get lots of love. Get lots of hope too.

Sharing love, sharing hope, this place is a beautiful social enterprise.

Get lots of love. Get lots of hope too.

Sharing love, sharing hope, this place is a beautiful social enterprise.

Endless despair in this suffocating world

Nevertheless, the rising sun, social enterprise

As a river is made out of raindrops and a sea is made out of rivulets of rivers.

Let's come together and enlighten this world.

Get lots of love. Get lots of hope too.

Sharing love, sharing hope, this place is a beautiful social enterprise.

This place is a social enterprise.

This place is a social enterprise.

Broadly four categories of words and statements are distinctive in the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency's explanations about the official symbolic mark and the official lyrics of the logo song: (1) a group of flowery words of humanitarianism and community such as "human," "love," "beautiful," "warm," "we," and "together"; (2) a group of words related to work such as "job," "work," "passion for work," and "beads of sweat"; (3) a group of negative statements about the current world such as "suffocating world," and "endless despair"; (4) a group of words related to the optimistic future such as "hope," "happiness," "dream," and "joy." In the arrangement of these words and statements, social enterprise is represented as a "warm corporation" that gives "jobs" and "hope" to the disadvantaged people and an alternative corporation that does "good things" "in this suffocating world" characterized by "endless despair." In this glorifying discourse of social enterprises, the language of the corporation and market—such as cold monetary calculation, rational management, profits, efficiency, and productivity—and complaints about poor working conditions are not stated; hope, happiness and dreams are defined as what can be obtained and realized only through diligent labor. In this sense, these discursive strategies operating in the symbolic mark and the logo song of the social enterprise epitomize the instigative nature of the dominant discourses of social enterprises.

These discursive strategies also epitomize the differences between the past authoritarian governing mechanisms and the current neoliberal governing mechanisms. It would be useful to outline the differences by comparing the official logo song of the social enterprise promotion movement with the official logo song of the *Saemaul* Movement (New Village Movement) that the military dictatorship pushed in order to mobilize the entire nation during the 1970s in South

Korea. *The Saemaul Song*, the official logo song of the *Saemaul* Movement, encourages people to make “a rich village,” “our good village for living,” and “a new country [...] on our own efforts” by “getting up as soon as morning bell sounds, [...] helping one another, working while sweating, and increasing income.” In these lyrics of *The Saemaul Song*, people’s diligence, self-help, and cooperation are described as the engines to make a livable rich village and a new country. Instead of the state’s obligation to protect citizens’ well-being and their rights, every citizen’s obligation and sacrifice for the village and the nation are emphasized. To the contrary, even though diligence, self-help, and cooperation are also emphasized in *Beautiful Social Enterprise*, the official logo song of social enterprises, these virtues are described as needed for the realization of individuals’ hope, dreams, joy, and happiness, not for the prosperity of the nation. Furthermore, *The Saemaul Song* stimulates people’s material desires, as with the use of the verse “increasing the income, let’s make a rich village”; whereas *Beautiful Social Enterprise* arouses more comprehensive social and communal values and people’s mental satisfactions, which can be obtained by their participating in doing good things for communities and others, as the expressions of “love,” “hope,” “happiness,” “dream,” and “joy” demonstrates. These differences in discursive strategies imply that neoliberal government through social enterprise mechanisms targets citizens’ active participation not only for their own self-interest but also the broader public good in a community, instead of forcing citizens’ unilateral obligation and sacrifice for the nation.



The definition of social enterprises varies across scholars, organizations, and countries.<sup>1</sup> Generally, however, social enterprises are characterized as corporations that utilize commercial business strategies to achieve social purposes. In the South Korean context, social enterprise is defined as “an organization which is engaged in business activities [...] while pursuing a social purpose of enhancing the quality of local residents’ life by means of providing social services and creating jobs for the disadvantaged”(Article 2 of the Korean Social Enterprise Promotion Act). Though social enterprises are corporations, they differ from ordinary commercial corporations in that their primary goals are not economic profits for stock holders but the achievement of social values and public good. Though both social enterprises and non-profit civic organizations pursue public goods, social enterprises differ from non-profit civic organizations in that the former pursue their social goals through market-based activities. In this sense, social enterprises as unique combinations of social values and market principles can be understood as the best embodiment of the idea of the social economy. In South Korea, social enterprises were chosen by the state as the central strategy for the promotion of social economy, and the Social Enterprise Promotion Act was enacted for the institutional promotion of the social enterprises in 2007. Furthermore, not only the state but also within the private sector entities such as civic organizations and corporations, have participated in the promotion of social enterprises and stimulated the expansion of social economy.

South Korean social enterprises have developed in a different historical and social context from those of the United States and Europe where social enterprises had developed in

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<sup>1</sup> For example, “a private activity conducted in the public interest” (OECD 1999:10), “a social purpose enterprise” (Wallace 1999), and “a for-profit social venture” (Dees and Anderson 2003).

advance (Bacq and Janssen 2011; Friedman and Desivilya 2010). In the United States, social enterprises generally have taken the form where non-governmental organizations or non-profit organizations establish independent commercial companies and run these companies commercially in order to obtain sources of revenue needed for running their organizations. For that reason, the U.S social enterprises are likely to be indistinguishable from ordinary commercial enterprises, and thereby they tend to have a strong commercial orientation (Eikenberry and Kluver 2004, Dees 1998; Froelich 1999; Arthur et al. 2009; Jeong 2007). The South Korean social enterprises and the U.S ones are similar in that they put much importance on market profitability in market. Contrary to the U.S social enterprises, however, the South Korean social enterprises have been promoted with the leading role of the state, and the activities of the South Korean social enterprises take the form of direct realization of social purposes in that they provide social service commodities and jobs for disadvantaged groups.

South Korean social enterprises and European ones are similar in that the state has deeply intervened into the institutionalizations of social enterprises, and they have developed under the circumstance of rising unemployment, problems of poverty and increasing needs for social services (Defourny and Nyssens 2008). Contrary to the European contexts in which social enterprises have been institutionalized on the basis of a relatively long history of the development of civil society, however, the state initiative in the institutionalization of social enterprises is much stronger in South Korea because the institutionalization has proceeded alongside the relative under-development of civil society in South Korea. Additionally, contrary to European social enterprises that have been promoted in the relation to the privatization and marketization of public welfare sectors in line with the neoliberal attack on the state-driven

social welfare system, South Korean social enterprises have been promoted for the purpose of the artificial creation of the market-based welfare system under the circumstances of a weak public welfare state. Despite these differences in the form and historical or social contexts of social enterprises between these countries, social enterprises are common in that they are the organizations that pursue social values and public good by adopting commercial strategies.

In South Korea, the term social enterprise was first suggested in public at “The International Forum for Overcoming of Poverty and Unemployment: Invigoration of Self-sufficiency Programs and the Creation of Social Employment” held at Sungkonghoe University, Seoul in 2000(Dec. 16-19), when the problems of poverty and unemployment had become acute due to the aftermath of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. This forum was substantially organized and led by South Korean progressive social movement organizations. Introducing and referring to cases in Europe, those organizations suggested the creation of social employment as an effort to overcome problems of poverty and unemployment. In their discussions, social enterprises were highlighted as promising strategic vehicles for the creation of social employment. A remarkable aspect of these discussions was that the promotion of social enterprises were considered a way for social movements to rehabilitate communal characteristics of society and to realize social democracy, beyond being considered simply as productive organizations. Since that time, through introducing diverse forms of social economy, the mass media have placed social enterprises at the center of the social economy, and thus, the mass media have played an important role in popularizing the discourses of social enterprises.<sup>2</sup> Governmental policy reports

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<sup>2</sup> For instance, concerning newspapers, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* published the special series titled “Social Enterprises Are Our Hope” in 2007; *Chosun Ilbo* has introduced social economy and social enterprises through the special series titled “The Better

(The South Korean Government 2012; The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2012c; 2013), which evaluate the performance of social enterprise promotion during the first term (2007~2012) and present the basic plans for the promotion during the next second term (2013-2018), mention that social enterprises have made remarkable growth in numbers and have played a very important role in stimulating the expansion of the concerning discourses and the vitalization of various forms of social economy. In these evaluations, it is suggested that targeting policy goals during the next second term of the promotion are conducted under the following lines: mutual growth of social enterprises and other types of social economy, and the qualitative growth of social enterprises so that they can innovate the social economy. As these governmental reports illustrate, social enterprises have played a leading role in the promotion of social economy within South Korea.

## 1.2 *Aporia* of Neoliberalism and Social Enterprises

Neoliberalism is based on the faith that all of social domains—state, society, family life, and individual everyday life—can produce the most ideal results when these social domains operate on the principles of the free market, and freedom and spontaneity of rational individuals (Eikenberry 2009). On this faith, neoliberalism regards all of traditional non-market social domains as markets, and has reorganized these social domains into markets (Foucault 2008;

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Future” since 2010; Particularly, *Hankyoreh Shinmun* has made a considerable contribution to the formation of the relevant discourses through publishing a set of special series which included “Flying with Two Wings of Growth and Distribution” in 2003, “Corporative Management for Coexistence” in 2004, “Win-win of Corporations and Society: The Way to the Sustainability” between 2004 and 2005, “The Way to Growth with Distribution beyond Polarization” in 2005, and the section titled “Eye of HERI.”

Lemke 2001; Burchell 1993; Shamir 2008; Simpsona and Cheney 2007). In these processes, neoliberalism has undermined the public natures of society through corporatization, marketization, deregulation, reduction of welfare budgets, and small government policies. Furthermore, it has transformed community members into atomized *homo economicus* characterized by the pursuit of the maximization of their economic self-interests. South Korea also could not avoid the extensive neoliberal restructuring of its entire society. The 1997 Asian Financial Crisis was a decisive turning point at which South Korean society entered large-scale neoliberal restructuring processes. By requesting bailout funds from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to resolve the economic crisis, the South Korean government came under its control. Under the control of IMF, the South Korean government cannot but accept its imperatives of neoliberal social restructuring, such as the increase of the flexibility of the labor market (deregulation of employment protection), the privatization of public organizations, government budget cuts, the liquidation of insolvent banks, and harsh business restructuring of corporations. As IMF report (2000) mentions “over the past two years [...] bold policies and a commitment to reform have made Korea a more open, competitive, and market-driven economy”(80), the previous state-driven South Korean economic system has rapidly changed into a market-driven one under the IMF management system since 1997. The neoliberal transformation of South Korea was not confined only to economic areas. It also caused extensive changes in cultural areas such as individuals’ everyday lives and their ways of thinking and behaving. Workers began to be regarded as corporations which manage their human and social capital, and trade their capital with their employers (Seo 2009). Housewives began to be represented as professional managers who manage their household economies and their

children's human capital (Park 2010). Under the influence of the considerable popularity of self-help books, self-help attitudes began to be considered as desirable norms, while dependence on the state for solving diverse difficulties began to be considered as abnormal (Seo 2009).

By reducing everything into free market principles, however, neoliberalism could not but cause various socioeconomic problems, such as the polarization in wealth, unstable employment status, and rising employment rates. These problems also endangered the reproduction of the neoliberal system because these problems ultimately stimulated an increase in social conflicts and a consequent crisis in social integration. Traditionally these problems were issues that would be resolved through the state's welfare programs and other types of redistribution policies. These problems have worsened, however, under neoliberal policies such as the orientation toward the small state and reduction of welfare budgets. Besides the state, traditionally families, civil society, or communities have operated as the mechanisms that absorb and resolve the negative impacts of these socioeconomic problems. Neoliberalism could not provide proper language and methods for organizing and invigorating communal solidarity, however, because neoliberalism places its top priority on the principles of competition between free individuals who rationally calculate profits and losses on the market. Consequently, as the socioeconomic problems that are derived from neoliberalism are conceived as unsolvable by the internal principles of neoliberalism, neoliberalism inevitably came to be faced with a crisis in legitimacy. This crisis in legitimacy stimulated challenge and resistance from competing forces to neoliberalism. This oppositional ferment was embodied in a series of social movements in reality like the anti-globalization, the struggles against the US–Korea Free Trade Agreement, and the poor people's diverse protests against the neoliberal government's national policies.

Consequently, neoliberalism came to be face with dual pressures. One pressure is that neoliberalism must demonstrate its superiority over other systems by proving its ability in resolving socioeconomic problems—polarization in wealth, mass production of the poor, unstable employment status, rising employment rates, and so forth—derived from neoliberalism itself, without logical inconsistency with its fundamental principles. The other pressure is that it must respond to the challenges and resistances of the competing alternative counter-neoliberal discourses and anti-neoliberal social movement forces. As stated previously, traditionally the resolution of these socioeconomic problems has been the main responsibility of the state. Neoliberalism, however, does not have proper language to justify the intervention of the state, and thus, it is antagonistic to this prescription. In contrast, alternative discourses and social movement forces have traditionally argued for improving distributive justice through the state's proactive intervention, and social reform through resistance-oriented solidarity among people. In this sense, the transfer of hegemony from neoliberalism to other alternative resistant discourses and social forces looks natural and reasonable. How then could South Korean liberalism have solved this *aporia*?

To solve this *aporia* which looks so difficult might be easier than one would think. The answer is to accept the demand for the strengthening of the communal values raised by alternative discourses and resistant social movement forces, and to reframe these values firmly within market languages, so that the alternative and resistant forces' activities to realize these values can be performed only on the basis of market. For instance, by reframing communal values such as solidarity, reciprocity, and trust within the market language of social capital, one can remove or distort the resistant and critical implications of these values, and make these

values be understood only in terms of the economic utility of the market. Furthermore, if one could make the resistant social movement forces participate as the main actors in the realization of these communal values, which are reframed within the market language, this can be an ideal situation. This is because resistant social movement forces' practices pursuing the reframed communal values would ultimately result in the reinforcement of neoliberal market system. This solution that ironically reinforces the neoliberal system by utilizing the anti-neoliberal forces is a way to realize the maximum efficiency of power in terms of the economy of power, which aims at maximizing the effects of subjugation with the minimum cost of power.<sup>3</sup>

### **1.3 Toward a Critical Theory of Social Enterprises**

The emergence of social enterprises as an institutional mechanism needs to be understood in the context of the change in the governing strategies of neoliberal regimes. As the name “social enterprise” suggests literally, social enterprise is characterized by the combination of the social value of communal solidarity condensed in the expression of “social” and the market principles condensed in the expression “enterprise.” Thus, despite its various definitions across scholars, countries, and institutions, generally social enterprise means the corporation which

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<sup>3</sup> In South Korean circumstances under which the people underwent an authoritarian state regime for the last several decades, the participation of the progressive civil social movement forces into the promotion of social enterprises tends to be understood as an effort to confine the excess of the state's legitimate authority and to form an alternative democratic system. For instance, Im et al. (2007) argues that the alternative of social enterprises is a heterarchical welfare governance through which state, civil society and market divide welfare domains and rule their own territories. By overlooking the trend that the governing mechanism is changing into a kind of partnership between these sectors, however, this perspective fails to grasp the dimension of domination and power mechanisms surrounding social enterprises movements.



pursues social purposes by means of entrepreneurial strategies; the main management actors are those who were civil social movement activists, not the state or commercial companies.

Particularly in South Korea, social movement organizations had participated in the Public Works Program that was implemented soon after the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, and Social Employment Program that was implanted since 2003, as the main partners of the government. In the current national policy of Social Enterprise Promotion, social movement organizations and the activists are participating in the management and the promotion of social enterprises as the central actors beyond simply being the supporters of the government policy. In this sense, the emergence and the development of social enterprises have two broader implications in terms of political sociology. First, social enterprises reflect the transformation of the relationship between state, market, and society. Second, social enterprises serve as useful sites for understanding the dynamics of political struggles between diverse social forces and political capturing mechanisms of oppositional resistance, because social enterprise mechanisms show how neoliberal system internalizes resistances and newly arranges them in order to strengthen neoliberal system itself.

Concerning the changes in the dividing lines of the state/market/society under the neoliberal regime, Foucault's social theory of power provides a useful insight. From the perspective of this theory, the distinction between these sectors is the effect of power/knowledge formations that are deployed for government, not a fixed entity (Foucault 2008; Mitchell 1999). Accordingly, the change in these dividing lines reflects the change in government strategies. Thus, the emergences and the developments of social enterprises and social entrepreneurs need to be analyzed from the perspective of how neoliberalism, which regards every social domain as market domains, governs the entire society. Next, concerning the theme of how neoliberalism

deploys resistance to strengthen its regime, the discussions of hegemony, which were suggested by Antonio Gramsci and elaborated by Laclau and Mouffe (2001), provide a useful insight. Contrary to top-down rule through authoritative coercion, the concept of hegemony aims to explain how a dominant political force can articulate other forces with its political interest and positions, and thus, mobilizes these other forces so as to reinforce and reproduce its domination. Particularly, the crucial point is a dominant force's intellectual and moral leadership through which it can articulate other forces' political interests and positions with its political interest and position under the latter's dominance (Gramsci 1971; Laclau and Mouffe 2001). In this sense, the political mechanisms operating in social enterprises need to be understood in terms of a series of political struggle processes for hegemony through which neoliberal forces and anti-neoliberal social movement forces respectively articulate the opponent parties' political interests and positions with their interests and positions.

Accordingly, what should be focused on in the criticism of neoliberal governing mechanisms concerning social enterprises are the very technologies of power/knowledge and the modes of hegemonic struggles. The critical analysis of the politics of social enterprises has both theoretical and practical implications in relation to the popular tendency of criticisms of the neoliberal regime surrounding the social enterprise promotion in South Korea. As the well-known rhetoric of "good company," "economy with a human face," and "warm corporation" imply, most commentators who advocate social enterprises criticize neoliberalism for its erosion of progressive social values—such as empathy, solidarity, coexistence, humanism, citizen's democratic participation—and suggest social enterprises as an alternative to the neoliberal market economy. The legitimacy of this type of normative criticisms of neoliberalism and its

advocacy of social enterprises is based on the logic of these social values. These normative criticisms hardly question the possibility that these social values can serve to reinforce neoliberalism.

What should not be overlooked in social enterprise mechanisms is that the neoliberal regime operates on the basis of the social values that are the very basis of normative legitimacy of the criticism on neoliberalism. Neoliberalism does not simply eradicate these social values. It transforms and restructures these values so that they become suitable for the goals of neoliberal domination, and properly arranges these values in the mechanisms of the domination (Rose 1996a; Shamir 2008). Thus, the basis of this normative legitimacy is not neutral one apart from power, but the product of power that is mediated by strategies and techniques of power and knowledge. In this sense, the basis of the normative legitimacy also should be brought to the court of critique. This form of critical analyses should focus on the mechanisms through which neoliberalism restructures these social values, which were considered as heterogeneous to neoliberal market logic, into what are consistent with this logic, and arranges these restructured social values inside its system of domination. This form of criticism should problematize normative legitimacy instead of establishing it, by revealing the descent of will to power inscribed in it (Foucault 1977; 1984c). Specifically, criticism on the neoliberal governing mechanisms operating in social enterprises should pay attentions to diverse strategies and techniques of power and knowledge and competitions between various social forces.

#### 1.4 Literature Reviews

Social enterprises have spread globally during the last two decades (Bull 2006). The studies on social enterprises and social entrepreneurship have been mainly informed by business administration scholarship (Ritchie and Lam 2006; Granados et al. 2011). This means that the aspects of “enterprise” in the term of social enterprise have been focused on more than the aspects of “social” in the relevant scholarship. Actually, the central and popular subjects of these studies have been the measurement of the social impacts of social enterprises, the entrepreneurial strategies of successful social enterprises, and individual abilities of social entrepreneurs (Granados et al. 2011). Fundamental criticisms of social enterprises are marginal in social enterprise studies because social enterprises are “granted such a self-evidently good image”(Dey 2006: 121) and the mainstream social enterprise studies have been done from the perspective of business administration and the neighboring disciplines’ market-oriented instrumental points of view rather than critical points of view.

This situation is not different in South Korea. In South Korea, the studies of social enterprises are overwhelmingly concentrated within business administration and closely related fields such as accounting and marketing. The history of social enterprises is relatively short and the term is new in South Korea. For that reason, a considerable number of studies focus on the introduction of the concept of social enterprise and the relevant cases in the advanced countries such as the US and Europe that have a relatively long history of social enterprises. Except for these types of studies, the majority of these focus on instrumental and pragmatic subjects such as the measurement of market performance, the strategies for financial sustainability, and the policy proposals for institutional supplements (Cho et al. 2013). Furthermore, social enterprises tend to

be conceived as a positive alternative to market economy and neoliberalism in South Korea. Understanding the current neoliberal era as the situation characterized by “the excess of market” and “the withering of civil society by market logic,” South Korean progressive social movement forces tend to conceive of social enterprises as the strategic vehicles for “the reorganization of state, market and other neighboring sectors, through the reinforcement of civil society”(Uhm 2008: 17-18). For these reasons, it is not easy to find radical criticisms of social enterprises in South Korea. For instance, at the present (August, 2015), only two radically critical papers by Kim (2014; 2015) which critically analyzes the politics of the discourses about social enterprises’ success and the gender dynamics in social enterprise discourses are found among the papers published in the academic journals accredited by The National Research Foundation of Korea.

This dissertation aims to analyze the politics of social enterprises critically. Thus, in this literature review section, I focus on the critical discussions of social enterprises. These critical discussions on social enterprises are common in that they place social enterprises within the contexts of the marketization of non-profit sectors or neoliberal strategies inscribed in social enterprises mechanisms, while rejecting social enterprises’ supposed alternative nature to the neoliberal market economy. These critical discussions can be categorized into four types, according to their forms of critique and the underlying theoretical bases. The first type is the traditional form of ideological critique; the second type is the normative critique of the political effects of the social enterprises; the third type is the Foucauldian critique of neoliberal governmentality; and the final type is the critiques that pay attention to individuals’ refusal and resistance to a dominant ideologies or discourses.

### 1.4.1 The Type of Ideology Critique

The form of traditional critique of ideology is a way to demystify taken-for-granted popular ideas or representations by revealing their inconsistency with true realities (Eagleton 1991: 72). Concerning the critique of the ideologies of social enterprises, Cook et al. (2003) and Kerlin and Pollak (2011) show the typical form of this critique. In the context of Australia, Cook et al. (2003) argue that most literature dealing with social enterprises are based on the two main false premises. First, most literature finds the causes of the mass unemployment in the mismatch between job supply and demand and excessive government regulations, not in market failure. Second, most literature assumes that the government is experiencing financial constraints due to the provision of welfare services. Cook et al. (2003) reveal that the true cause of the mass unemployment is market failure, by comparing unemployment rates between the Keynesian full employment period and the current neoliberal period, and by discovering the discordance between neoliberal advocates' proposals and the reality concerning unemployment rates. They also reveal that the government is not confronted with financial constraint in reality, by demystifying the hardly unquestioned but false analogy between household and government budget in relation to financing mechanisms. Consequently, they criticize the ideology of social entrepreneurship movement that is not different from neoliberalism; they argue that the social entrepreneurship movement would erode the universal welfare system based on social justice and citizens' rights. Additionally, for these reasons, they also demonstrate that the social entrepreneurship movement cannot be an adequate solution to the growing mass unemployment and the consequent increase of welfare needs.

Kerlin and Pollak (2010), in the context of the U.S, criticize the popular perception concerning the tendency of the commercialization of non-profit organizations. The commercialization of non-profit organizations including social enterprises has dramatically increased in the U.S since 1980. The representative popular belief about the background context of this phenomenon is that non-profit organizations have intensified their commercial activities in order to secure funds for the operation of the organizations because of the decreases in private donations and government grants, due to the state's financial constraints. On the basis of the analysis of the official income statistics of non-profit organizations between 1982 and 2002, however, Kerlin and Pollak (2010) discovered that there is no statistical significance in the association between the growth in commercial revenue of non-profit organizations and decreasing private donations and government grants. Revealing the antinomy between the popular representation and the reality, these authors demonstrate that the popular representation is an ideology that influences non-profit organization activists' thinking and behaviors in a certain way.

This type of ideological critique has political implications in that it debunks the falsity of the taken-for-granted beliefs about social enterprises. This type of critique is based on the binary of false conception and true reality. The discourses of social enterprises, however, operate in the forms of objective scientific knowledge, which cannot be simply reduced to false conceptions. Furthermore, as Foucault (1978) points out, "truth is not by nature free—nor error servile—but that its production is thoroughly imbued with relations of power" (60). That is, truth or knowledge is already mediated by power, and in turn, they render power operative. Thus, truth or

knowledge is inseparable from power. In this sense, this type of ideological critique has a limitation in that it overlooks the power effects of truth or knowledge.

#### **1.4.2 The Type of Normative Critique**

The second type of critique of social enterprises is normative critique of the political effects of social enterprises and the relevant discourses. This type of critique criticizes social enterprises on the basis of normative legitimacy such as ideal values or ethical criteria. Typically, the discussions that advocate social enterprises normatively criticize the neoliberal market economy for its erosion of universal social and public values, and suggest social enterprises as an alternative to the neoliberal system. In these critical discussions of neoliberal system, the universal social and public values serve as the bases of the normative legitimacy of the criticism. For these critics, the promotion of social enterprises is a strategy to build a “big society” that aims to enlarge the logic of community and social solidarity that have been undermined for a period by neoliberalism (Jeong 2011). Contrary to these popular discussions that criticize neoliberalism and simultaneously advocate the promotion of social enterprises, however, the type of normative criticism of social enterprises generally take the position that social enterprises undermine diverse social values—communal solidarity, democracy, human rights and so forth—and justify the reduction of the state’s welfare programs, by inducing market logic into non-market domains. Briefly, this type of criticism demonstrates that the aspects of the “enterprise” in the term “social enterprise” repress the aspects of the “social.”

Humphries and Grant (2005) provide an example of the typical form of these criticisms. From the perspective of the theory of communicative rationality suggested by Jürgen Habermas



(1987), the authors demonstrate that social enterprises function as the channels through which the logic of instrumental or functional rationality of market system encroaches on the lifeworld and colonizes it, and ultimately, represses relational rationality among people in the lifeworld. Therefore, they argue that, in spite of the nominal purpose of the realization of social missions, social enterprises cannot achieve their purpose in so far as they put overarching emphasis on the logic of the instrumental rationality of market. Warning of the danger of social enterprises that are deeply penetrated by market logic, the authors argue that the efforts to realize social purposes should be performed on the basis of relational rationality in civil society (lifeworld), not the instrumental rationality of the market. Specifically, the authors suggest alternatives as follows: “the empowering of communities to ensure that our processes of trade and exchange are governed by guiding principles of democracy, [...] the generation of civil society strong enough to instruct its governments, and governments robust enough to facilitate the mutuality necessary for a just society” (Humphries and Grant 2005: 48).

Eikenberry (2009) and Eikenberry and Kluver (2004) also demonstrate that social enterprise mechanisms erode participatory democracy. Currently the idea that market models—such as “business and professionalism, entrepreneurial behavior, and market-based solution to resource problems” (583)—is the best way for the operation of non-profit organizations is rapidly spreading all over the world (Eikenberry 2009: 583). Eikenberry (2009) argues that this idea is based on the neoliberal ideology which assumes that “political and economic life is a matter of individual freedom and initiative” and pursues “the extension of market to more and more areas of life” for the key purposes of forming “a free-market society and a minimal state” (584). According to Eikenberry (2009), “social entrepreneurship is an important part of this

ideology”(584). Demonstrating that the marketization of non-profit organizations is undermining participatory democracy, Eikenberry (2009) suggests struggling against these neoliberal ideologies through forming counter-discourses that support the expansion of the “spaces for citizen participation and deliberation” (583).

Dempsey and Sanders (2010) explore how the marketization of the non-profit sector constructs the normative meaning of “meaningful work” and what political effects are produced in these processes, by analyzing autobiographies of the prominent American social entrepreneurs. According to the authors, these autobiographies are based on the premises which describe “stressful working conditions, significant personal sacrifice and low wages” as natural for conducting meaningful work and propagate the necessity of the “complete dissolution of a work/life boundary” (Dempsey and Sanders 2010: 449). In these terms, the authors criticize social entrepreneurship discourses transmitted by these autobiographies as justifying the sacrifice of individuals’ lives for the performance of meaningful work. Ultimately, from the perspective of the authors, social entrepreneurship discourses undermine values of human rights and humanism.

Social enterprises tend to be called “good corporations” and “corporations with human faces.” The type of normative critique of social enterprises, however, designates that this rhetoric is truly contradictory. These criticisms emphasize that the very underlying central principle of social enterprises is the market’s instrumental rationality, which is hardly reconcilable with social and public values, and thus, the social entrepreneurship movement would result in the shrinkage of social and public values against the advocates’ expectations.

As Nikolas Rose (1996a) points out, however, in reality the marketization mechanisms of non-profit sector or social domains, such as social enterprises, are operating through encouraging

citizens' participations and vitalizing social values rather than shrinking their participation and eroding social values. In this sense, the criticisms by Humphries and Grant (2005), Eikenberry (2009), and Eikenberry and Kluver (2004) discussed previously aim at a wrong target. The marketization mechanism of non-profit sector or social domains needs to be understood from the perspective of the emergence of new governance strategies in the era of neoliberalism (Kim 2012; 2014), rather than from the perspective of the zero sum game between market and the social (Kim, Seong-Ki. 2011: 58, Uhm 2008: 17-18). The following type of critique of social enterprises shows this alternative critical perspective.

### **1.4.3 Foucauldian Critique of Neoliberal Governmentality**

Contrary to the first two types of critiques—ideological critique and normative critique—whose bases of legitimacy in criticisms are truth and normative values respectively, the type of Foucauldian critique of neoliberal governmentality focuses on the social construction of these bases of legitimacy through power mechanisms. In Foucault's late life, he developed a series of analyses of governmentality in each historical period while analyzing the genealogy of the emergence of the modern state (Foucault 2000a; 2007; 2008). Governmentality refers to a set of principles, procedures, strategies, techniques and knowledge that guide a certain political rationality and is mobilized for the purpose of governing. Foucault (2007; 2008) regards neoliberalism as a kind of governmentality. Neoliberal governmentality is a political rationality that regards all non-market domains of human life—state, society, communities, families, individuals and so forth—as market domains, reorganizes all these domains within the frame of market and economy, and transforms subjectivities of individuals into corporations (Foucault

2008; Kim 2012: 215-216). Foucault's works dealing with the theme of governmentality were translated in English and published over the last decade. Furthermore, the emergence of social enterprises is a recent new phenomenon. For these reasons, the studies focusing on social enterprises from the perspective of Foucauldian critique of governmentality are not sufficient in number. However, Foucault's discussions on governmentality provide insightful guidance for the criticism of social enterprise mechanisms.

Dean (2010a; 2010b), Rose (1996a) and Lessenich (2011) acutely analyze, though they do not exclusively focus on the subject of social enterprise, how neoliberal governing strategies transform the social to reinforce neoliberal regime. Rejecting the thesis "the death of the social" proclaimed by Margaret Thatcher (1987) and Jean Baudrillard (1983), they pay attention to the current rehabilitation of the new sociality. This rehabilitated sociality is new in that it is combined with market models as in the case of social enterprises. These Foucauldian scholars demonstrate that the current revitalization of the social reflects the current transformation of governing strategies. That is, the social is currently constructed into a new territory of neoliberal government and serves to strengthen it. In this context, Dean (2010a) defines this situation as "the emergence of a post-welfarist regime of the social" (202) and Rose (1996a) encapsulates this new mode of governmental mechanism into the phrase "government through community" (332). In the same contexts, paying attention to the emergence of the subjectivities in the era of the post-welfarist regime, which willingly assume responsibilities toward not only themselves but also others and the entire society, Lessenich (2011) calls these new types of subjectivities "socialized *homo economicus*." The socialized *homo economicus* is the subjectivity which "want

to serve society by protecting it from themselves, i.e. from the risk they pose to society if they do not act as responsible selves” (315).

From the perspective of Foucauldian discussions of governmentality, Dey (2006; 2010; 2014) and Dey and Steyaert (2010) argue that social entrepreneurship should be understood “as a construct of particular truth regimes.” Thus, they place analytical focus on the truth effect of power/knowledge operating in social entrepreneurship, i.e. the matter of “how [these truth regimes] are related with technologies of power which normalize social entrepreneurship as a legitimate epistemic formation” (Dey 2010: 4). They argue that social entrepreneurship is a kind of government technology which is deployed in order to transform the arrangement of social responsibility under the changing social conditions of neoliberalism. That is, by inscribing the ideas of markets—efficiency, management strategies, entrepreneurship, and so forth—into the domains of the social, social entrepreneurship serves to transform individuals into both socially responsible and entrepreneurial subjectivities. Social entrepreneurship also functions to constitute a political mechanism through which state’s traditional role of social responsibility toward its population is transferred to individuals. In these senses, social entrepreneurship epitomizes the way in which neoliberalism govern the social.

Specifically, Dey (2006) and Dey and Steyaert (2010) explore how neoliberal governmentality operates in social entrepreneurship discourses. These authors discovered that, in the discourses of social entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurs’ heroic deeds and their activeness are highlighted. Using the metaphor of medical treatment, social entrepreneurs are represented as physicians who remedy diseases of a society, while the disadvantaged people are represented as patients. The logic of professionalism and efficiency infiltrates into non-profit and social sectors,

and the inefficiency of the state is emphasized as a taken-for-granted truth. Additionally, the masculine characteristics of successful social entrepreneurs are emphasized. Their analyses thoroughly reveal how and why social entrepreneurs are represented as exclusively positive images in the relevant discourses. Carmel and Harlock (2008) explore specific government technologies that operate in social enterprises. Particularly in the context of the U.K, the state power takes the form of a dispersed state in that it forms a partnership with private sectors and distributes its power to them. This partnership operates as a new form of government technology. The authors demonstrate that the purpose of the partnership is to reorganize social sector into governable objects.

The criticisms of social enterprise mechanisms that are raised in terms of the analysis of governmentality are in a developing stage, and thereby, these types of critical analyses are limited in number. Furthermore, the existing critical analyses of government mechanisms about social enterprises tend to be theoretical rather than empirical. Even the existing empirical analyses concentrate on the exploration of the discursive strategies concerning social enterprises. For these reasons, the relevant critical analyses are not sufficient to provide readers with a specific and comprehensive understanding of the government mechanisms of social enterprises, which operate in a constellation of discourses or knowledge, technologies and strategies of power, techniques of the self, and so forth. Thus, comprehensive critical analyses of specific operational mechanisms of neoliberal government concerning social enterprises are required. Specifically, as in putting a special emphasis on the aspects of the construction of subjects by power and discourses, Foucauldian critique of neoliberal governmentality is likely to overlook the aspects of individuals' refusal or resistance to hegemonic discourses and power. A series of

critical analyses that are reviewed in the following section pay attention to these individuals' refusals, resistances, and the formation of counter-discourses to the dominant social enterprise discourses. In this sense, these analyses designate what should be complemented in the Foucauldian critiques of neoliberal governmentality that penetrate social enterprise mechanisms.

#### **1.4.4 The Type of Critique Focusing on Individuals' Resistances**

The popular discourses and rhetoric that are spread by the state apparatuses and mass media are not uncritically implanted into the thinking and language of social entrepreneurs or activists. Some commentators (Parkinson 2005; Parkinson and Howorth 2008; Seanor and Meaton 2007; Dey 2011; Dey and Teasdale 2013; Baines et al. 2010; Cho 2006; Spear 2006) demonstrate that there is a discordance between the popular representations concerning social enterprises and the language of social enterprise activists; occasionally, the latter refuses, disdains, and resists to the former. For instance, Parkinson and Howorth (2008), in the U.K context, report that social enterprise activists negatively respond to the business languages of the popular social enterprise discourses by redefining it "as 'dirty', 'ruthless', 'ogres', 'exploiting the black economy', 'wealth and empire building' and 'treating people as second class'"(300-301). Furthermore, some activists feel insulted when people call them social entrepreneurs. They occasionally identify themselves with working class, not entrepreneurs. Similarly, Parkinson (2005), Cho (2006) and Spear (2006) demonstrate that social entrepreneurs and entrepreneurs live in different worlds of meaning. For instance, Parkinson (2005) discovers that the meanings of success and performance in social entrepreneurship discourses are different from those in entrepreneurial discourses. Cho (2006) and Spear (2006) report that there is a tension between

the emphasis on the collective solidarity in social entrepreneurial cultures and the emphasis on the individualism in entrepreneurial cultures. These analyses reveal the concrete places where dominant ideologies or discourses relevant to social enterprises fail, and the resistance and refusal to them take place. The results of their analyses lead researchers not to conceive of dominant ideologies or discourses as monolithic entities that do not contain internal contradictions and tensions.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

This study raises the following research questions and tries to answer them:

First, how are social enterprises emerging as a new discursive formation and new institutional mechanism in neoliberal South Korean society?

Second, how are the new subjectivities of social entrepreneurs produced in ways that are consistent with neoliberalism?

Finally what are the implications of the emergence of social enterprises and the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs in terms of the neoliberal transformation of the South Korean society?



In order to answer these questions, I analyze the politics of social enterprises fundamentally from the perspective of the critique of neoliberal governmentality.<sup>4</sup> That is, I explore how relevant discourses, knowledge, and specific power techniques are combined, and thus, create neoliberal government effects.

## **1.6 Organization of the Study**

In order to answer the comprehensive questions above, this study proceeds as follows. In chapter two (Theoretical Frameworks and Methods), I outline the theoretical frameworks and methodological procedures. Both Foucauldian analysis of governmentality and neo-Marxist social theory serve as the main two theoretical frameworks that I employ to analyze the politics of social enterprises. Adopting critical discourse analysis methods, I analyze the relevant data: the main progressive and conservative newspapers articles, governmental policy reports, the relevant academic journal articles, and the guidebooks written by gurus of social entrepreneurs for the future or current social entrepreneurs.

In chapter three (Social Contexts of the Emergence of Social Enterprises in South Korea), I analyze the broader historical conditions of the emergence and the development of social enterprises in South Korea. In order to reveal the power relations inscribed in these processes,

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<sup>4</sup> The type of ideological critique is premised on the dichotomy between false representation and true reality. Thus, this type of ideological critique tends to overlook the connection between truth and power in which the former is mediated by the latter and it guides and reinforces the latter. The type of normative critique of social enterprises takes the stance of a zero sum game between the market and the social i.e. social enterprise mechanisms enlarge neoliberal market logic and shrink the social. For that reason, this type of critique cannot reveal that in reality both neoliberalism and social enterprise mechanisms stimulate and vitalize the social, not shrink it, and operate on the basis of restructuring of the relationship between state, society, and market.

particularly, I situate these processes within the broader social contexts, such as structural changes in the South Korean society, the competition and compromise between diverse social forces, the changes in the relevant governmental policies, and the principles of rationality guiding social enterprise mechanisms.

In chapter four and five, I explore the discursive structures of social enterprises and the modes of discursive struggles between progressive and conservative forces, by comparatively analyzing progressive and conservative newspaper articles. Specifically, in chapter four (*Discursive Structures of Social Enterprises I: An Discursive Analysis of Social Enterprises' Success*), I analyze the politics of the discourses about success of social enterprises; the theme of social enterprises' success is one of the central subjects that condenses the fundamental mechanisms of the promotion of social enterprises. I pay particular attention to the following three key aspects. First, when social enterprise is understood as the combination of the traditionally progressive agenda of social values and the traditionally conservative agenda of the market-based interests, how are these two heterogeneous dimensions combined in a discursive formation. Second, what kinds of discursive strategies are deployed and how do they form the meaning of social enterprise's success? Finally, are there differences in discursive structures and strategies between the progressive and conservative forces?

Unlike commercial entrepreneurial discourses, social enterprises discourses are unique in that the statements of feminine values are predominant in the discourses. Thus, in chapter five (*Discursive Structures of Social Enterprises II: Gender Dynamics in Social Enterprise Discursive Formation*), I explore the discursive structures of social enterprises with respect to the gender dynamics and the differences in the discursive structures between progressive and conservative

forces. I pay attention to the following three key aspects. First, how are the masculine discourses and the feminine ones articulated with each other in social enterprise discourses? Second, concerning the theme of the relationship between social enterprises and gender, what kinds of discursive strategies are deployed and how they operate in the discursive formation of social enterprises. Finally, are there any differences in the discursive structures and strategies between the progressive discourses and the conservative discourses?

The analyses in chapter four and five illuminate how the domain of the social represented by social public values and feminine values are articulated with hegemonic masculine market logic in the level of discursive practices. On the basis of the analyses in these two chapters, in chapter 6 (Neoliberal Government of the Social: Problematization, Knowledge and Power) I explore how the social is redefined and reframed into market languages, and how it is transformed into governable objects in the social enterprise mechanisms. In this chapter I pay attention to how knowledge and techniques and strategies of power are combined and reinforce each other in neoliberal government mechanisms through social enterprises.

In chapter seven (Discursive Structures of Social Enterprises III: Discursive Construction of Social Entrepreneurs), I investigate how the new subjectivities of social entrepreneurs are discursively constructed. Particularly, I focus on the following four aspects. The first aspect is to grasp the typologies of the subject forms in which social entrepreneurs are represented. Second, which subject form among those dominates the other subject forms, and how these subject forms are articulated with the dominant subject form and subjugated to it? Third, how are social entrepreneurs constructed into a new universal subjectivity instead of the subjects of citizens?

Finally, are there any differences in the discursive structures and strategies between the progressive discourses and the conservative discourses?

On the basis of the analyses in chapter seven, in chapter eight I explore more comprehensively how the new and unique subjectivities of social entrepreneurs are produced in social enterprise mechanisms. I pay attention to how knowledge, techniques of power, and technologies of the self are intervened and encountered in these processes.

In the concluding chapter of the study (The Politics of Social Enterprises in South Korea), I summarize the main findings and interpretations. On the basis of these findings and interpretations, I outline the theoretical and practical implications of the study.

## **2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND METHODS**

### **2.1 Theoretical Frameworks**

In order to answer the research questions raised in the preceding section, I draw on the core themes of two bodies of scholarship: Neo-Marxist social theory and Foucauldian governmentality theory. In this section, I first illuminate the main themes of the two theoretical frameworks that are germane to this study. Then I synthesize these main themes in consideration of convergence and divergence across these two theoretical frameworks.

#### **2.1.1 Neo-Marxist Social Theory**

Neo-Marxism refers to a set of diverse Marxist approaches which revise or extend classical Marxism. Through incorporating other intellectual traditions outside Marxism—Weberian sociology, psychoanalysis, structuralism, post-structuralism and so on—neo-Marxism reformulates or rejects some main principles of classical Marxism (Lowy 2008: 228). Neo-Marxism includes various Marxist traditions, such as the Frankfurt school, structural Marxism, and post-Marxism; neo-Marxism is not one single theory, but rather a collection of theoretical traditions that are in dialogue with Marx. One dominant theme in neo-Marxist social theory that contrasts sharply with classical Marxism is an empirical emphasis on the analyses of the role of ideology and culture, rather than economic processes, in shaping social life (Antonio Gramsci 1971; Althusser [1965]1969; Laclau and Mouffe 2001). The following three ideas from neo-Marxist social theory provide important theoretical frameworks for analyzing ideology and

culture in my study: the concept of hegemony, the ideological construction of subjects, and the process of articulation as the main hegemony securing mechanism.

First, Gramsci distinguishes between coercion and consent as mechanisms of domination and power as a way to explain the concept of hegemony (1971: 137). Gramsci considers hegemony not as a rule of the dominated class by the dominant class but as a process in which the dominant groups leads the dominated groups through “consent” on the basis of “intellectual and moral leadership”(1971: 57, 148). Domination through coercion designates the capacity of people in power to mobilize violence against those who resist to the dominant social system. To the contrary, domination through consent refers to convincing dominated groups to embrace dominant social norms or values so that they are subjugated to the dominant social system. Gramsci argues that hegemony cannot work without producing the consent of dominated groups (1971: 123-205). This concept of hegemony illuminates two important domains of neo-Marxist analysis. First, the cultural realm of society where ideologies are produced and circulated becomes an important battleground to secure hegemony (Lears 1985). Second, hegemony is not a unidirectional coercion but a process of continuous conflicts and struggles between diverse social forces to secure consent from other forces. This means that hegemony is not a monolithic entity but a set of continuous and flexible processes in which conflicts and compromises between diverse forces take place (Hall 1980: 24; Poulantzas 2000; Jessop 1990; Stoddart 2007; 193).

Second, domination cannot be maintained without the production and reproduction of certain types of subjects that those in power aim to govern (Althusser [1970]2001; Laclau & Mouffe 2001; Žižek 1989). For instance, the capitalist social order requires forging individuals into rational economic subjects that internalize capitalist social norms and values through family,

school, and mass media. Particularly, influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure's structural linguistics, neo-Marxist theories draw attention to ideological construction of subjects. Ideologies work, in part, through using language to define and structure people's ways of thinking about themselves and their relationship to society. Humans are not masters of language but rather slaves to it. In this sense, ideology is not only a process to win the consent of other groups, but also an effort to constitute certain types of subjects who think and behave in a certain manner. By producing certain types of subjects, hegemonic ideologies subjugate social groups, and consequently reproduce the hegemonic social order.

Third, neo-Marxist social theories advance the notion of articulation as a process through which social meanings of particular linguistic elements are produced and hegemonic ideologies are established (Laclau & Mouffe 2001; Žižek 1989; Hall 1996, 2002). For those neo-Marxists who were influenced by the post-Structuralist analyses of discourse, meaning is not an essence that is inherent in a word or thing; it is produced in particular relationships to other linguistic elements and power. The notion of articulation refers to "any practice establishing a relation among [different] elements" (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 105) that "can make a unity of [those] different elements" (Hall 1996: 141). For example, the right-wing rhetoric of 'redistribution through growth' articulates the left-wing ideology of redistribution on the basis of a right-wing ideology of growth in a consistent way. Stuart Hall demonstrates that articulation functions within three broader dimensions: between different elements within ideology, between ideology and social forces, and between different social groups in particular power relationships (1996: 143-144). Thus, social meaning is ideologically constructed through articulation mechanisms between those three dimensions. The notion of articulation is useful to understand the social

process in which hegemony is established through consent. For instance, concerning the above example of right-wing rhetoric ‘redistribution through growth,’ right-wing does not unilaterally impose logic of growth on the people. Articulating a redistribution ideology on the basis of growth ideology, it elicits consent from the people by convincing them that only growth can guarantee more redistribution.

These ideas from neo-Marxist social theory provide a useful framework for my study of Korean social enterprises. First, the concept of hegemony suggests that the cultural realm should be treated as an important site for the production of neoliberal ideologies that work to establish hegemony in South Korea. Second, these ideas suggest that social enterprises are not a unilateral top-down form of domination imposed on the ruled groups by the ruling groups, but a result of the hegemonic compromise between diverse forces. Third, the theme of the ideological construction of subjects suggests that analyses of what types of social entrepreneurs are produced and what types of discourses are deployed to produce these subjects are integral to the understanding of the politics of social enterprises. Finally, the theme of articulation provides a useful tool to analyze how ideologies are produced in relationships to the establishment of hegemony. Particularly, the analysis of the way in which ideologies of community-based public goods are rearticulated through market-based ideologies of capitalism help me to illuminate the struggles for hegemony between diverse social forces in South Korea.

### **2.1.2 Foucauldian Governmentality Theory**

Foucauldian social theory serves as a second important theoretical framework guiding my study. Michel Foucault coined the concept of governmentality in the process of analyzing the



genealogy of the modern state. The idea of governmentality is a construct that connects seemingly disconnected social theories of Foucault, such as theory of power/knowledge and his later theme of ethical subjects<sup>5</sup> (Lemke 2002: 50; Dean 2010b: 17). That is, Foucault's term governmentality is a site for the convergence of the diverse themes and concepts of his social theory.<sup>6</sup> In this sense, Foucault defines governmentality as an "encounter between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self" ([1994]1997a).

In other way, Foucault calls governmentality "the art of government" ([1978]1991: 87). His concept of government is not limited to its current meaning of state politics. Paying attention to its diverse usages before the eighteenth century, Foucault uses the notion of government to encompass a variety of micro and macro control techniques applied to diverse objects such as individuals, families, population, and the body (Foucault [2004]2007, [2004]2008; Dean 1994). In short, governmentality refers to a network of methods and social processes through which individuals and groups are rendered governable. Foucault ([1979]2000a) also calls governmentality a kind of "political rationality" that establishes a set of general principles that

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<sup>5</sup> There is a widespread misconception concerning the theoretical trajectory of Foucault. Many commentators (Deleuze 1988b; Miller 1993) demonstrate that Foucault turned to the theme of ethical subjects in his later years in order to escape from a stalemate of his power theory, because his power theory could not provide any possibilities of resistance to power. In this demonstration, the relationship between Foucault's power theory and the theme of ethical subjects is broken. However, his lectures about the idea of governmentality at Collège de France have been published during last several years, and this demonstration has proven to be a misconception. By the idea of governmentality, Foucault aimed to combine his power theory and the theme of ethical subjects. Foucault's definition of governmentality "[an] encounter between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self" demonstrates this aim ([1994]1997a: 225).

<sup>6</sup> In this sense, Michel Dean demonstrates that Foucault's term government "is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes" (2010b: 17).

rationalize various concrete techniques of government in a historical period. For example, *Raison d'Etat*, liberalism, Keynesianism, and neoliberalism are political rationalities that have their own distinct characteristics within specific historical contexts. To understand these thinking systems as political rationalities implies that they are not simply neutral political philosophies but sets of concrete social practices and strategies that rationalize a deployment of means for specific governmental ends (Foucault [1979]2000a; Simon 1995: 55-56). Particularly, the following four themes are integral for Foucault's idea of governmentality: (1) relationship between power and knowledge; (2) changes of the relationship between state, market, society and individuals according to each mode of political rationality in history; (3) production of subjects; and (4) the technology of individuals as a strategy for social integration.<sup>7</sup>

First, the relationship between power and knowledge is a core theme in Foucauldian thought that matters for governmentality theory. In Foucault's understanding, power and knowledge constitute each other. According to Foucault, "there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" ([1975]1995: 27) and "[b]etween techniques of knowledge and strategies of power, there is no exteriority" ([1976]1978: 98). That is, knowledge renders its objects governable. Simultaneously, power renders the domains that it aims to govern as knowable objects. In this sense, Foucault ([1994]1997b: 117) calls his works analyses of "problematizations." It means that he aims to analyze why, how, and under what specific times

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<sup>7</sup> A leading Foucauldian scholar Thomas Lemke calls technology of individuals "technology of the social" (2011: 175). While the term technology of the self designates a set of practices employed for the formation of 'individual' subjects, according to him, the term technology of individuals designates those employed for the formation of 'collective' subjects.

and circumstances certain things became objects for thought “in the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis etc.,” and how certain kinds of technologies of power intervened in these processes ([1984]1988a: 257). In this sense, the analysis of an apparatus of knowledge and power is critical for the analysis of governmentality as a political rationality.

Second, the transformation of the binaries—public/private, state/market, and society/economy—reflects a substantial shift in how power functions at the intersection of state and society (Foucault [2004]2008; Rose 1996, 2004; Mitchell 1999). Foucault analyzes how the relationships between market, civil society, and state have been transformed in diverse political rationalities such as *Raison d’Etat*, liberalism, and neo-liberalism ([2004]2008). The objective of *Raison d’Etat* was only an augmentation of wealth and strength of the state for its existence and permanence ([2004]2008: 5). Thus, market was governed by the state under this objective. Under the political rationality of liberalism, the concept of the civil society, which is understood as a domain based on the “natural” law of market and economic actors’ “spontaneity,” was invented. Thus, market and civil society were regarded as limitations which the state should not exceed ([2004]2008: 291-316). Under the political rationality of neoliberalism, the distinctions between market, social society, and state are denied. Under neoliberalism, even all non-market domains, such as state, social society, and individuals, are regarded as market domains ([2004]2008: 239-265). The dividing lines of those binaries—public/private, state/market, and society/economy—distinguish the objects to be governed from the other objects that a government should not exceed. Thus, if those dividing lines change, it means that new governmental objects emerged. Of course, this process accompanies the emergence of new governmental technologies through which previous ungovernable objects are transformed into governable objects. For example, the

human body hardly had been considered as a ‘public’ domain that state power needs to intervene in until the seventeenth century. Since about the eighteenth century when capitalism based on human labor power began to be formed, human bodies became ‘public’ governmental objects of state power. The emergence of this new governmental object shifted the distinction between non-public and public domains. In this process, various new government technologies—the close observation of human bodies or health conditions, the control of birth rates, the spread of hygienic disciplines and so on—were also invented in order to render human bodies governable; Foucault calls these new technologies of power, which exercise on human bodies of entire populations, bio-power ([1976]1978).

Third, power cannot operate without the production of subjects that it aims to govern. Thus, Foucauldian governmentality theory pays attention to the subject production mechanisms.<sup>8</sup> The uniqueness of Foucauldian governmentality theory concerning the production of subjects is that it focuses on the connection between the axis of power/knowledge defined in the relation to others (power/knowledge exercising on an individual from outside the individual) and the axis of power/knowledge defined in the relation to the self (power/knowledge exercising on the self by the individual). Particularly, Foucault (1978; 1982) calls the latter *technologies of the self*. In this sense, Foucault (1997a) defines government as an “encounter between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self” (225). As Collin Gordon (1987: 296-7) points out, Foucault intends to combine micro-dimensions of power dynamics with its macro ones with the term governmentality. For Foucault, power is first exercised on the body, i.e. on behaviors or

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<sup>8</sup> In this context, Foucault (1982) says “[m]y objective [...] has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human being are made subjects” (208).

conducts, rather than at the level of mind. In this sense, Foucault also defines governmentality as “conduct of conduct” (1982: 220-221; [2004]2007: 193-201). This definition of governmentality implies that the core of the subject production processes is to form certain modes of conducts, i.e. certain modes of *ethos* among individuals. Thus, Foucauldian governmentality study on the subject production mechanisms focuses on these specific modes of conducts and the concrete technologies of power/knowledge and technologies of the self that operate to form these specific modes of conducts. In the context of neoliberalism, Foucault and his successors have drawn attention to how governmentality establishes a process for individuals to constitute themselves into self-help subjects who are characterized by the *ethos* of personal responsibility and an entrepreneurship. For example, Foucault ([2004]2008: 226) analyzes that in neoliberalism individuals are constituted into entrepreneurs who manage themselves as both producers and sources of their capital, particularly in human capital discourses. Exploring self-help literature, Rimke (2000) demonstrates that the self-help practices promoting personal responsibility are fundamentally associated with the governmental management of populations. Dean (2006; 2010b) also points out that neoliberal governmentality transforms individuals into active or enterprising citizens who are characterized by self-governance and responsibility.<sup>9</sup>

The fourth concept — the technology of individuals — refers to “the way by which [...] we have been led to recognize ourselves as a society, as a part of a social entity, as a part of a nation or of a state” (Foucault [1988]2000b: 404). That is, the technology of individuals is a political technology of social integration. Foucault demonstrates that the effects of modern governmentality “are both individualization and totalization” ([1979]2000a: 325) and the modern

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<sup>9</sup> For more examples, see Rose (1999; 2007), Rose & Miller (1992), and Cruikshank (1996).

“state’s power is both an individualizing and a totalizing form of power” (1982: 213). Foucault examines the technology of individual through the exploration of the genealogy of the modern state. Foucault ([1979]2000a) argues that the modern state is a unique set of particular techniques, practices, and rationalities that are deployed to govern individuals and to totalize them into a collective. According to him, the modern state is a convergence of shepherd/flock game (pastoral power) and city/citizen game. Like a shepherd, the modern state cares for everyday lives of individuals; like a politician in a city who focuses on the unity of a city, the modern state simultaneously integrates individuals into society. As a combination of those two forms, the modern state is both an individualizing and a totalizing power. Before the neoliberal regime, particularly state-driven social welfare institutions had functioned as core social integration technologies, by providing various forms of support for those who were in disadvantaged conditions (Donzelot [1982]1991; Rose 1996; Dean 2010a). However, the neoliberal regime is reducing state-driven social welfare programs. Thus, the neoliberal regime reinvents new types of social integration technologies with which the state-driven social welfare programs can be replaced. In this sense, the analyses of governmentality in the context of neoliberalism need to draw attention to the emergence of the new types of social integration technologies.

In conclusion, as stated above, the ideas from Foucauldian governmentality theory provide a useful framework for my study of the politics of social enterprises in South Korea. Social enterprises are distinctive examples which show the transformation of the relationship between market, state, society and individuals. Foucauldian governmentality theory, which sees a relationship of these domains as effect of government strategies, suggests that social enterprises need to be analyzed in relations to the transformation of government strategies. Power cannot

operate without the production of subjects who it aims to govern. Thus, Foucauldian governmentality theory pays attention to how certain types of subjectivities are produced by ensemble of discourses, power, and individuals' self-formation practices. This point demonstrates that it is important to analyze how the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs, who are particularly characterized by the ethos of social responsibility, are forged in the politics of social enterprises. The theme of social integration technologies (technologies of individuals) in Foucauldian governmentality theory also provides a useful framework for my study. What is noteworthy about the politics of social enterprises is a current tendency in which the activities of social enterprises increasingly replace state-driven social welfare programs. Social entrepreneurs are willing to assume social responsibility for others instead of the state-driven social welfare programs which have traditionally functioned as main social integration technologies. In this sense, social enterprises serve as useful sites for the exploration of an emerging neoliberal social integration technologies. The theme of the power-knowledge relationship of Foucauldian governmentality theory suggests how knowledge was intertwined with the emergence and development of social enterprises should be explored. Paying particular attention to economic, managerial, and statistical knowledge deployed in these processes in this study, I explore how social, public or moral interests were transformed into both measurable objects of knowledge and governable objects of power, and thus, how those were combined with governmental ends.

### **2.1.3 Synthesis of Neo-Marxist and Foucauldian Governmentality Theory**

Neo-Marxist social theory and Foucauldian governmentality theory serve as the two main frameworks in my analysis of social enterprises in South Korea. However, there are considerable

convergences and divergences between these two bodies of theories. Thus, in this section, I synthesize these two bodies of theories in consideration of these convergences and divergences so that they can serve as useful frameworks for my study.

### **2.1.3.1 *Convergences***

Some commentators have identified irreconcilable gaps between Marxist and Foucauldian approaches to political analysis. For instance, Jean-Paul Sartre blamed Foucault's thought for "an attempt to construct a new ideology, the last bulwark which the bourgeoisie can still erect against Marx" (1966:87-89 quoted in Descombes [1979]1980: 110). Etienne Balibar also regards Foucault's work as "a genuine struggle with Marx" ([1989]1992: 39). However, as Dominique Lecourt ([1969]1975: 189-190) and Mark Olssen (1999: 49) point out, despite some significant differences between Foucault and Marx, Foucault's approach can be understood as a new form of historical materialism in that he pays attention to material characteristics of discourse and power. Foucault also acknowledges that absolutely Marx is at work in his methodology ([1983]1988b: 46). That is, despite some tensions, there are considerable commonalities and mutual complementarities between neo-Marxist social theory and Foucault's governmentality theory (Lemke 2002: 49; Springer 2012). This point explains why many neo-Marxist scholars, such as Poulantzas (2000), Jessop (1990), Hall (1997c), and Laclau and Mouffee (2001), employ Foucault's ideas in order to develop and renew Marxism.

First, both neo-Marxist social theory and Foucauldian governmentality theory focus on forms of social domination. Neo-Marxist social theorists have attempted to explain how the domination of the ruled class by the ruling class is produced and maintained in a capitalist



system. From a different perspective, Foucault also has investigated the various exercises of power. Particularly, both theories pay attention to complex power relations between diverse forces and the role of symbolic systems in domination mechanisms. When it comes to the complex power relations between diverse forces, in terms of neo-Marxist social theory, hegemony is not a top-down rule of the dominated group by the dominant groups, but a flexible compromise between diverse forces (Gramsci 1971: 137). Likewise, from the perspective of Foucault, power is not a property of someone or the state; it is “a complex strategic situation in a particular society” ([1976]1978: 83). Power is defined in relation to the diverse competitions and struggles between various social forces ([1977]1980b: 91). This commonality between the two bodies of theories serves to focus on complex power relations between diverse forces that cannot be reduced into simply top-down operations of power. When it comes to the role of symbolic system in domination mechanisms, from the perspective of Foucault ([1979]2000a), liberalism and neoliberalism are forms of governmentalities, i.e. sets of general principles which rationalize various government techniques and procedures. In terms of neo-Marxist social theory, those are forms of ideologies that have been deployed to dominate a society (Lemke 2002: 54). In that sense, both theories emphasize the role of symbolic system in the production and reproduction of social domination.<sup>10</sup>

Second, those two theories emphasize not only the relationship between discourses but also the interrelationship between those discourses and non-discursive dimensions. Concerning the relationship between discourses, the two bodies of theories contend that meaning is not what

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<sup>10</sup> Of course, the critical difference between Foucault’s understandings of liberalism and neoliberalism as forms of governmentalities and neo-Marxist social theory’s understandings of those as forms of ideologies should not be overlooked. I deal with this issue in the divergence section.

is inherent in a linguistic element but a product of the relationships between those elements. Thus, the relationships between multiple discourses become an important object of analysis. The Neo-Marxist notion of discursive (or ideological) articulation and Foucault's notion of discursive formation designate these relationships between multiple discourses. In this sense, Laclau and Mouffe define discursive articulation as "any practice establishing a relation among elements" of discourses (2001: 105). Similarly, Foucault defines discursive formation as a series of "rules," "regularities," or "patterns" through which statements, concepts, and themes are connected with each other (1972: 38, 74). Concerning the interrelationship between discourses and non-discursive dimensions, such as political or economic conditions, the two bodies of theory argue that a discourse operates in relation to non-discursive dimensions. The relationships between discourses are structured through those non-discursive dimensions. For instance, demonstrating "[I]deology has a material existence," a key neo-Marxist theorist Louis Althusser argues that ideology operates in relation to various institutions, such as school, church, and press, which he calls "ideological state apparatus" ([1970]2001: 112). In the same line of thought, another key neo-Marxist theorist Gramsci also demonstrates that non-discursive factors, such as "libraries, schools, associations and clubs of various kinds, even architecture, the layout of streets and their names [...] directly or indirectly influences or could influence public opinion belongs to it[ideological structure]" ([1975]1996: 53). Foucault also contends that discourse should be analyzed in relation to non-discursive dimensions such as architectural forms, administrative measures, economic and social conditions ([1969]2002: 49-50, 75; [1971]1981: 67).<sup>11</sup> By

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<sup>11</sup> Foucault's distinction between discursive practices and non-discursive practices is a methodological distinction rather than substantial distinction. For Foucault, substantially, all practices are formed both discursively and non-

situating discourses within the broader non-discursive contexts, both theories serve to reveal the political contexts of discourses.

Third, the two theories outline the political processes of the production of subjectivities, in which individuals are transformed into certain types of subjects. In terms of both theories, a subject is not something that exists before ideology, discourse, and power. Domination cannot be maintained without producing individuals into certain types of subjects which are obedient to the domination system. In this sense, while explaining the reproduction of domination, Althusser contends “ideology has the function [...] of ‘constituting’ concrete individuals as subjects” ([1970]2001: 116). Other key neo-Marxist theorists, such as Stuart Hall (1997a; 1997b), Laclau and Mouffe (2001), and Žižek (1989), also pay attention to the role of ideology or discourse in the production of subjectivities in order to explain the reproduction of domination. For Foucault, a subject is a product of discourse and power. Foucault reveals how discourses shape subjects’ modes of thinking in each period ([1963]1973; [1966]1989; [1961]2006). He also analyzes how modern human subjects were produced by discourses and various technologies of power ([1976]1978; [1975]1995).

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discursively, and all discursive practices are always intertwined with non-discursive practices. In this sense, Foucault states that “I don’t think it’s very important to be able to make the distinction, given that my problem isn’t a linguistic one” ([1977]1980c: 198). However, methodologically discursive practices and non-discursive practices need to be distinguished, because both heterogeneous practices cannot be reducible to each other. Thus, Foucault suggests a methodological rule for discursive analysis as follow: “the discourse under study must carry out in a field of non-discursive practices [...] [for instance] the Analysis of Wealth played a role not only in the political and economic decisions of governments, but in the scarcely conceptualized, scarcely theoretized, daily practice of emergent capitalism, and in the social and political struggles” ([1969]2002: 75).

### 2.1.3.2 *Divergences*

However, there are also several divergences between those two theories. These divergences can mutually complement each theory's limitations. First, concerning the production of subjectivities, neo-Marxists social theorists tend to overlook how subjects autonomously constitute themselves.<sup>12</sup> That is, subjects are regarded simply as products of discourses. Furthermore, by focusing on thinking-constitutive dimension of discourses<sup>13</sup> rather than concrete power techniques, neo-Marxist theorists cannot reveal concrete technologies of power that operate in practical and corporeal dimensions—bodies, norms, conducts or behaviors—beyond simply cognitive dimensions in the subject production processes. Thus, neo-Marxist social theory needs to be complemented with Foucauldian governmentality theory. Foucauldian governmentality theory focuses on not only the effects of discourses and power, but also individuals' autonomous practices that they adopt in order to transform themselves into certain types of subjects. Foucauldian governmentality theory also draws attention to technologies of power that operate in practical and corporeal dimensions beyond simply cognitive dimensions. For Foucault, power is exercised at the level of body, i.e. on behaviors or conducts, rather than at

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<sup>12</sup> Some neo-Marxists scholars do not disregard the aspects of autonomy or agency in subject production processes. For instance, exploring the reproduction of class in school in England, Paul Willis (1981) demonstrates that working class kids are reproduced into workers by resisting “normal” school culture or ideology rather than by obeying the school culture or ideology. Particularly, a group of scholars of The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, such as Raymond Williams (1965) and Edward Thompson (1964), emphasized the aspects of autonomy or agency of subjects in subject production processes. However, for the majority of neo-Marxist scholars, a subject is simply a passive product of mass culture or dominant ideology (Horkheimer & Adorno. 2002) or a position in discourse or ideology system (Althusser [1970]2001; Laclau and Mouffe 2001: 116).

<sup>13</sup> Althusser ([1970]2001) defines ideology as “misrecognition” in opposition to scientific true knowledge (117).

the level of mind. In this sense, Foucault defines governmentality as “conduct of conduct” (1982: 220-221; [2004]2007: 193-201; Senellart 1995: 389).

Second, neo-Marxist theorists tend to understand the concept of discourse as a kind of ideology characterized by misrepresentation or non-scientific knowledge.<sup>14</sup> Neo-Marxists tend to presuppose the dichotomy between ideology as false knowledge and science as true knowledge.<sup>15</sup> On the basis of this distinction between ideology and science, they tend to think that ideologies should be overcome by scientific knowledge in order to overthrow domination of the ruled by a ruling class. For them, scientific knowledge as true knowledge is a key for emancipation, whereas ideology is a shackle of class domination. For that reason, however, neo-Marxist social theory is likely to pay little attention to how scientific knowledge is allied with power. To the contrary, Foucault rejects the distinction between ideology as false knowledge and science as true knowledge ([1971]1977, [1977]1980a). He rather pays attention to the alliance of knowledge with power and its power effect, regardless of whether that knowledge is true or not. That is, in terms of Foucauldian governmentality theory, knowledge cannot be separable from power. Exercise of power relies on the constitution of knowledge; knowledge presupposes power and the former is produced by the latter (Foucault [1975]1995: 337). For instance, Foucault reveals how Marxism as a human science served to forge the modern human subjects who are

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<sup>14</sup> For instance, Althusser defines ideology as “a ‘representation’ of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence”([1970]2001: 109). In this sense, he denotes that the function of ideology is a misrecognition function that prevents true recognition or scientific knowledge (Althusser [1970]2001: 116-117).

<sup>15</sup> Althusserian Marxists, such as Althusser and Balibar, represents this tendency. One of the core arguments of *For Marx* by Althusser ([1965]1969) is that Marxism is a science about history and society, not a world-view or philosophy as a proletariat ideology.

governed by the modern social order<sup>16</sup> ([1966]1989). Thus, the power effect of knowledge should be analyzed in order to explore operations of power. In this sense, neo-Marxist theory needs to be complemented with Foucauldian governmentality theory.

Finally, Foucault methodologically begins from the presupposition of conflicts between various forces. That is, even when Foucault analyzes something seemingly stable and well-ordered without conflicts, he pursues to reveal the conflicts between diverse forces inscribed in its history. Foucault calls this methodological presupposition “Nietzsche’s hypothesis”; Nietzsche’s hypothesis presupposes that “the basis of the relationship of power lies in the hostile engagement of forces” ([1977]1980b: 91). In another way, inverting Clausewitz’s thesis, Foucault (2003) rephrases this methodological principle into “politics is the continuation of war by other means” (15-19; 43-64). As many critics point out, however, his analysis of power unintentionally tends to result in a quasi-functionalism or quasi-system theory in which finally the conflicts between these various forces disappear from view (Honneth [1985]1991: 176-202; Brenner 1994; Deleuze [1986]1988b). This tendency is caused by seeing changes of power with respect to the efficiency of power, rather than with respect to continuous conflicts between various forces. In this context, neo-Marxist social theory’s key concept of hegemony provides a useful idea that can overcome a limitation of Foucauldian governmentality theory. From the perspective of neo-Marxist social theory, hegemony is not a fixed monolithic entity but a continuous and flexible process of compromises and competitions between various forces (Gramsci 1971: 57, 148; Hall 1980: 24; Poulantzas 2000; Jessop 1990).

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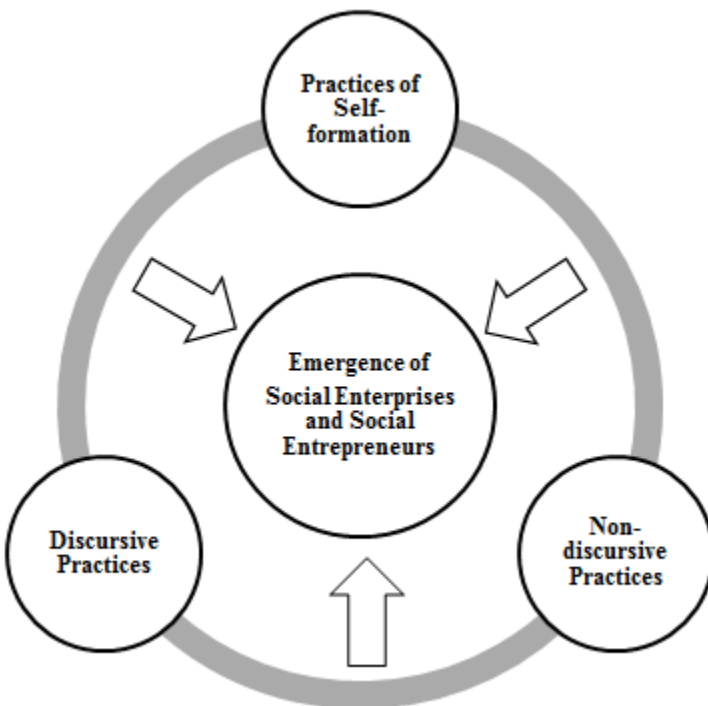
<sup>16</sup> Foucault argues that the modern human subjects are products of human sciences of labor, life, and language. Marxism is a part of the human sciences of labor which define human beings as laboring beings while producing knowledge of labor ([1966]1989).

### 2.1.3.3 *Synthesis*

In order to explore the politics of social enterprises in South Korea in this study, I focus on how social enterprises as a new discursive formation and a new institutional mechanism emerged, and how social entrepreneurs as a new type of subjects have emerged in neoliberal South Korean society. Synthesizing neo-Marxist social theory and Foucauldian governmentality theory, I analyze the assemblage of discursive practices, non-discursive practices, and practices of self-formation (technologies of the self) in the emergences of social enterprises and social entrepreneurs.

As to the analysis of discursive practices, I analyze how diverse heterogeneous discourses are connected with each other; thus, what types of meaning systems and knowledge are produced and connected to power mechanisms. However, I reject the neo-Marxist hierarchical distinction between ideology as false conception and true reality, i.e. the distinction between ideological knowledge and scientific true knowledge. I regard all those knowledge as discourses. I situate the discourses within broader non-discursive practices in order to explore the power effect of the social enterprise discourses, and to investigate the political and historical contexts of the emergence and the development of the discourses. I pay particular attention to diverse types of power technologies and struggles for hegemony between diverse political forces under the neoliberal regime in South Korea. Both discursive and non-discursive practices are engaged in the subject-production processes of social entrepreneurs. However, beyond the neo-Marxist social theory that tends to understand human subjects simply as products of ideologies, I also pay attention to how individuals autonomously constitute themselves into social entrepreneurs. As

Foucault demonstrates, government is an “encounter between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self” ([1994]1997a). Thus, I focus on how individuals’ self-formation practices are intertwined with discursive and non-discursive power mechanisms. Figure 2 represents the theoretical frameworks of the study.



**Figure 2: Theoretical Frameworks of the Study**

## 2.2 Methods and Data

Three questions guide this study. First, how are social enterprises emerging as a new discursive formation and a new institutional mechanism in neoliberal South Korean society? Second, how are the new subjectivities of social entrepreneurs produced in ways that are



consistent with neoliberalism? Finally what are the implications of the emergence of social enterprises and the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs in terms of the neoliberal transformations of the South Korean society? In order to answer these questions, I employ critical discourse analysis methods to analyze the social enterprise discourses.

### **2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

I analyze documents that were produced by diverse institutions and organizations. As I stated earlier, meaning is not an essence that is inherent in a word. Meaning is produced by the relationships between multiple discursive elements, i.e. by discursive formations. In turn, those relationships between discursive elements are shaped by broader non-discursive factors, such as institutions, political, economic, and historical conditions. I use critical discourse analysis as the primary research method for this study (Fairclough 1989; 1992; 1995; 2003). Fairclough classifies critical discourse analysis into three interrelated analyses: text, discursive practice, and social practice (1992: 73; 1995: 97). The analysis in the dimension of text focuses on identifying linguistic formal features such as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Those formal features of texts are shaped by discursive practices. Thus, the analysis in the dimension of discursive practice focuses on how discourses or their elements are arranged and combined with each other. Discursive practices are shaped by wider social practices. Thus, the analysis in the dimension of social practice focuses on how the discursive practices are related to non-discursive social practices such as hegemonic power relations. By focusing on the linking role of discursive practices between the dimension of texts and that of social practices, the critical discourse analysis reveals the broader political contexts of texts (Phillips and Jorgensen 2002: 69-70).

Specifically, on the basis of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model, I designed the research procedures of my study as follows.

### **2.2.1.1 *The Dimension of Text***

The purpose of this step is to identify the types of statements that constitute the social enterprise discourses.<sup>17</sup> In this stage, I identify the types of terms that were frequently used in those data. The purpose of this stage is not to define a meaning of a discourse but to identify what main statements of a discourse constitute the discourse itself. Particular attention is given to the terms in the following categories: public values, commercial business, scientific knowledge (e.g. economics, business management, biology, social capital, public administration, and statistical knowledge), social groups, and social problems, and qualities of social entrepreneurs. In order to identify key terms that constitute the discursive formation of social enterprises, I used the word frequency searching tool of NVivo 10, a qualitative data analysis program. Additionally, I also codified the key terms with NVivo 10, on the basis of the results of the word frequency analysis.

### **2.2.1.2 *The Dimension of Discursive Practice***

The purpose of this step is to explore the order of discourse i.e. the main patterns or structures through which the sub-elements of the social enterprise discourse are arranged with each other. Specifically, I focus on the following three core aspects for the analysis. First, I analyze how certain social phenomena are problematized, and how the causes and solutions of

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<sup>17</sup> The term 'statement (*énoncé*)' is atom of a discourse, which constitutes a discourse (Foucault [1969]2002).

the problematized social phenomena are constructed in the social enterprise discourses. Second, I focus on how diverse types of knowledge are articulated with social enterprise discourses. Finally, how each political force articulates its discourses with other forces' discourses in order to secure hegemony is investigated.

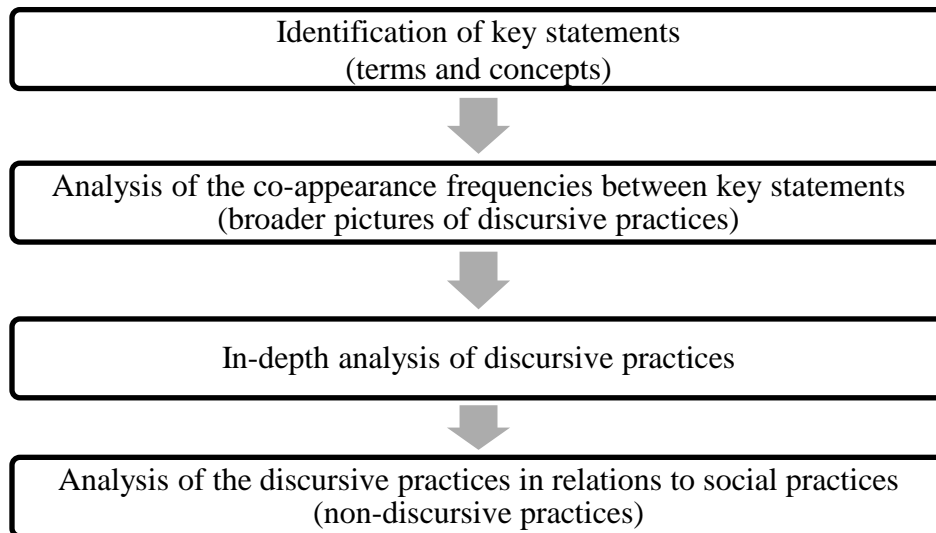
In order to explore how the key sub-elements of the social enterprise discourses—the key terms identified through the previous stage of the text analysis—are arranged with each other, I designed the following two procedures. First, I identify the co-appearance frequencies between those key terms in the same texts. Using NVivo 10, I generated the co-appearance frequency matrix, and then, I input this matrix into the NetDraw program of UCINET, a network analysis program, in order to establish a broader picture of the structures of the social enterprise discourses. This first step provides information about the salient structures of the social enterprise discourses. However, this step of analysis cannot provide the deep and concrete information about the meaning of discursive structures.

Thus, at the second step, I conduct an in-depth analysis of discursive structures based on the results of the co-appearance analysis. I conduct this in-depth discursive analysis on a sub-sample of representative texts that show the salient discursive structure observed at the first step of the analysis. Suppose that the results of the first step of the analysis demonstrate that the social enterprise discourses have two salient discursive structures: one is the structure through which the public value-based terms and the commercial business-based ones are connected to each other in the same texts, and the other is the structure through which only commercial business-based terms constitute the social enterprise discourse without the connection with the public value-based ones. Then, I focus on the analyses of the two groups of the representative texts that

show these two salient discursive structures. In this in-depth discursive analysis stage concrete discursive structures are investigated with a limited number of documents, such as the discursive structure of causality and solution (cause—social problem—solution) about the success and failure in social enterprises' performance; which statements replace established statements (which statements are said and which statements are repressed or unsaid); how the relationship between social entrepreneurs and the disadvantaged (the target group of social enterprises' missions) is represented, compared to the typical relationship between revolutionary activists and proletarians; which virtues or abilities are represented as desirable qualities for social entrepreneurs; how public value-based terms are integrated into market-based terms and consequently transformed into countable qualities; and how social entrepreneurs, social activists, commercial entrepreneurs are differently represented.

### ***2.2.1.3 The Dimension of Social Practice***

The purpose of this third step is to interpret the social enterprise discourses in relations to non-discursive social practices. Thus, in this stage, I investigate under what non-discursive social conditions—institutions, political, economic, historical conditions and so on—the social enterprise discourses and their meaning are produced. Specifically, I focus on the following aspects. First, I pay attention to which social forces, apparatuses, and disciplines produce and distribute discourses and knowledge about social enterprises. Second, I investigate how these discourses and knowledge are intertwined with the operations of power operating in social enterprises. Finally, I focus on under which economic, political and social conditions the social enterprise discourses emerged. Figure 3 represents analytical procedures of the study.



**Figure 3: Analytical Procedures**

### 2.2.2 Data

I analyzed the relevant documents published in South Korea since January 2000, when the social enterprise discourses emerged, until May 2014. The types of the documents are newspaper articles, governmental policy reports (including governmental research reports), academic journal articles, and guidebooks for the current and the future social entrepreneurs. I analyzed newspaper articles in order to grasp both the popular discourses and modes of hegemonic struggles between diverse social forces. It is not only impossible but also ineffective to analyze all related articles due to their massive volume. Thus, I narrowed down the range of newspapers according to the following three strategies. First, in order to concentrate on politically opposing forces' discourses, I chose two progressive newspapers (*Hankyoreh* and

*Kyunghyang*) and two conservative ones (*Chosun* and *Joongang*). By comparing discourses produced by these politically oppositional newspapers, I aim to explore mode of discursive struggles for hegemony between progressive forces and conservative forces. Second, I gathered the articles that contained the terms “social enterprise,” “social entrepreneurship,” or “social entrepreneur” at least once. A total of 2,706 articles (862 from *Hankyoreh*, 485 from *Kyunghyang*, 740 from *Chosun*, and 619 for *Joongang*) were collected. Finally, I selected the most relevant articles again among these 2,706 articles according to the analytic focuses. For instance, in chapter four in which the discourses of the social enterprises’ success are analyzed, finally 126 articles were analyzed; in chapter five in which the relationship between gender dynamics and social enterprise discourses are analyzed, finally 71 articles were analyzed; and in chapter seven in which the discursive analysis on the construction of social entrepreneurs is carried out, finally 176 articles were analyzed.

One of the core objectives of the study is to explore how both knowledge and power reinforce and condition each other in social enterprise mechanisms. Truth or knowledge is not merely a pure and abstract concept. It has its materiality. That is, it is produced through diverse material and institutional apparatuses, such as academic associations, universities, research institutes, research funding systems, and the intervention of state power (Rose 1996d: 109). Particularly in South Korea, the government has played a leading role in promoting social enterprises. Thus, I paid particular attention to the aspect that state power and state apparatuses purposively produce and spread certain types of knowledge in South Korea. In this context, I analyzed governmental policy reports in order to explore the connection between knowledge and power in social enterprise mechanisms. The state collects and produces knowledge needed for

pushing its policies, examines the feasibilities of the policies on the basis of the knowledge, and chooses the most effect policy strategies. In these sense, governmental policy reports can be said to be one of the most suitable sources of data in exploring the connection between power and knowledge in relation to social enterprise mechanisms. I used the search engines of Policy Research Information Service & Management ([www.prisim.go.kr](http://www.prisim.go.kr)), the South Korean government's research information digital archive, and digital archive of Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency (<http://www.socialenterprise.or.kr>).

Concerning the subject production of social entrepreneurs, governmental policy reports acknowledge the importance of various qualities and abilities of social entrepreneurs. These reports, however, tend to concentrate on macro institutional issues, rather than micro subjectivity issues like the qualities and abilities required for becoming good social entrepreneurs. For that reason, as an alternative, I analyzed seventeen academic journal articles instead of governmental policy reports in order to explore the truth regime intervening in the processes of subject production of social entrepreneurs.

Finally, in order to investigate how individuals constitute themselves into desirable social entrepreneurs i.e. in order to explore technologies of the self, I analyzed three guidebooks written by successful and prominent social entrepreneurs or experts for current and future social entrepreneurs. These guidebooks contain opinions, advices, recommended rules, and so forth for social entrepreneurs. The three guidebooks are as follows: *Nine Necessary Conditions for Successful Social Enterprises* by Woo, I. (2010); *Textbook for the Start-up of Social Enterprises* (Korean edition) by Shigeru (2011); and *True to Yourself: Leading a Values-based Business* (Korean edition) by Albion (2007).

### **3. SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISES IN SOUTH KOREA**

Foucault (1977) suggests regarding institutions as the condensation of struggles between diverse forces. Furthermore, the meaning of discourses can be understood in relation to broader social contexts. From this perspective, in this chapter I situate the emergence of social enterprises in South Korea within broader social contexts, such as social structural changes, the development of progressive civil movements, process of changes in the relevant state policies, and changes in the principles and forms of neoliberal governance.

#### **3.1 The Contexts of Social Structural Changes in South Korean**

The institutionalization of social enterprises has been promoted as a response to the problems of the growing unemployment and poverty in South Korea. Unemployment and poverty do not simply imply the economic difficulties of the disadvantaged and the decline in their quality of life. Unemployment and poverty confine the opportunities for diverse social resources, such as education, culture, and social networks, and thus, lead them to experience multi-dimensional social exclusion. Furthermore, in terms of the state, the deterioration of those problems produces a chain of other social problems: the decline of domestic demand, the growth of crime, the growth of social conflict between classes, and the growth of welfare expenditure. The problem is that the growth of unemployment and the expansion of poor groups are not transient phenomena derived from economic fluctuations, but structural phenomena that are



anticipated as lasting for a while due to social structural changes in the South Korean society. Particularly, the transformation of industrial structure, the demographic change of the rapidly aging population, and the expansion of women' labor market participations and the neo-liberal transformation of the society function as the structural causes that worsen the problems of unemployment and poverty.

As a developing country, the South Korean economy has rapidly developed with a substantially full employment on the basis of manufacturing industry since the 1960s. As the industrial structure shifts from the labor-intensive industry to the advanced industry based on high-technology and knowledge, South Korea is experiencing a jobless growth. Furthermore, the polarization in labor market i.e. big gaps in salary, working conditions, and employment conditions between permanent positions and temporary positions and big companies and small-and-medium companies, is causing so-called "new poverty" that refers to a situation in which people suffer from poverty despite their being employed. The aging of the population is also progressing rapidly due to the growth of the average life span and the decline of birth rates in South Korea. South Korea entered into the stage of "aging society" in 2000 (the rate of the population over the age 65 was 7.2 percent in 2000); the proportion of the population over the age 65 became 12.7 percent in 2014; it is anticipated that South Korea will enter the stage of "aged society" soon (Statistics Korea 2014).<sup>18</sup> The growing rates of the senior population cannot but exacerbate the problems of unemployment and poverty in a society because they are one of the representative disadvantaged groups in employment; furthermore, it inevitably causes a

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<sup>18</sup> The birth rate is on the decrease gradually in South Korea as follows: 2.820 in 1980, 1.570 in 1990, 1.460 in 2000, and 1.190 in 2013 (Source: Statistics Korea. 2013. "2013 Birth Statistics in South Korea.").

decline in labor productivity and growth in the state's welfare expenditure. The expansion of women's labor market participation also constitutes the social structural context of the emergence of social enterprises. The expansion of women's participation in the labor market makes caring labor, which was traditionally carried out at home, difficult to be fully conducted at home any more. This situation stimulates the socialization of caring labor, and thus, it presses the growth of the state's welfare expenditure. Finally, the neoliberal social transformation of the South Korean society since the 1997 Financial Crisis is also one of the central social structural factors that have caused massive unemployment and the production of the poor. Particularly, the restructuring of the labor market that has been performed in the name of global standards and the flexibility of labor has produced massive temporary workers and deeply weakened the stability of employment.

These social structural changes have affected increasing unemployment and impoverishment of the lower classes, and caused social exclusion of the disadvantaged from diverse social, economic, political, and cultural resources. What is to be noticed here is the irony that neoliberalism which caused these problems was also adopted as the solution to these problems. As a solution to these problems, social enterprises reflect the neoliberal faith that even social values and social purposes can be realized best by market principles, not by the state and social movements.

### 3.2 The Development of Progressive Civil Movements and Social Enterprises

Social enterprises were first suggested by not the South Korean government but the progressive civil movement forces that had grown in the process of democratization movement during 1980s in South Korea; these progressive civil movement forces have constituted a mainstay of social entrepreneurship movements in South Korea (Im et al. 2007; Uhm 2008; Yang 2012; Seo 2013). For instance, the present mayor of Seoul Won-sun Park, who founded the South Korean representative social enterprise Beautiful Store and has actively stimulated institutionalization of social enterprises, is also the representative progressive anti-neoliberal civil movement activist.<sup>19</sup> This situation implies that South Korean progressive civil movement forces have allied with the state and capital. This alliance is very exceptional in South Korean historical circumstances in which progressive civil movements have developed in struggles against the authoritarian state and capitalism.

Contrary to the U.S civil society that is substantially likely to be identified with the realm of economic relationships in opposition to the state, the South Korean civil society has developed in antagonistic relations to not only the state but also the free market economy. This difference is derived from the different contexts of the development of civil movements between these countries. Since its founding, South Korea has been governed by dictatorial governments for about forty years until 1987. The dictatorial governments oppressed people's needs for democracy. Particularly, pushing state-driven economic development policies, the South Korean

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<sup>19</sup> Categorizing South Korean progressive forces into seven types, Lee (2011) classifies the trend represented by Won-Sun Park and the Hope Institute into the type of the bourgeois anti-capitalism. This trend of South Korean progressive force pursues so-called "the capitalism with human face." That is, they believe that the pursuit of public good and social justice through the market strategies is possible. In this context, they have developed the corporate social responsibility or social economy (social enterprise) movements.

military dictatorial governments strategically promoted some conglomerates intensively since the early 1960s. Thus, economic growth was overemphasized and various redistribution needs of the disadvantaged were neglected by the state. These situations involving the long-term dictatorship and the growth-first national policies constituted a condition where both the flow of the social movement for political democratization against dictatorship and the flow of the excluded disadvantaged groups' social movement for socioeconomic rights against capital and the state power were joined together. Thus, social movements at that time carried out critical and resistant practices to both state power and capitalism, and the movements became radicalized.<sup>20</sup>

Particularly, the combination of student movement and workers' movement constituted the most important driving force in the radical movements in the 1980s in South Korea. Under the circumstances of Cold War and the division of Korean nation into the liberal democratic South and the communist North, student movements, which were influenced by radical revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and *Juche* ideology (the official political ideology of North Korea), were combined with labor movements, and thus, socialist revolution was used to be proclaimed publicly. In this process, social movements were radicalized in South Korea during the 1980s (Koo 2001: 100-125). In 1987, finally, the military dictatorship was overthrown

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<sup>20</sup> Though they did not take the form of the radical social movements, diverse forms of civic organizations were formed to support the disadvantaged groups. The practices of these organizations were chiefly carried out not in context of the compensation of the state's roles, but the resistance to the state power through solidarity with the disadvantaged excluded by the state and capital. The state cannot but be wary that social activists enter into the lives of the disadvantaged because the alliance between the social activists groups and the disadvantaged might threaten the stability of the society. For that reason, the state did not stop monitoring these activists. State power would be used to oppress innocent activists under false charges of state subversion or violent revolution. These conditions suggest that the activities of the civil organizations should be understood in the context of the resistance to state power and capital.

by these social movements, and the constitution was amended to strengthen civil rights and to reduce the power of the president: particularly, indirect presidential election system was changed to direct presidential election system. In these processes of the South Korean democratization movements during the 1980s, a variety of social movement forces were organized broadly, and these forces played critical roles to expand civil movements and to progress social reforms of the South Korean society (Seo 2013). Most South Korean progressive social movement forces abandoned the vision of socialist revolution along with the collapse of the socialist Eastern Bloc in the early 1990s. South Korean progressive social movements, however, continued to perform critical and resistant practices to the state power and capitalism ever since, in alliances with socially disadvantaged groups such as workers, peasants, the disabled, women, and the poor. These historical conditions concerning the development of South Korean social movements explain why civil society was developed in antagonistic relations to the state and the capitalist market economy instead of supplementary relations in South Korea.<sup>21</sup>

The civil movements, which had developed through political democratization processes during the 1980s, led to a considerable expansion of civil society and quite a number of figures of the progressive civil movements moved into politics during 1990s. South Korean civil movements contributed to the end of military dictatorship and the achievement of political democratization. Soon after, however, the civil movements began to go adrift without

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<sup>21</sup> *The Civic Organizations Inventory*, which has published by *NGO Times* every three years since 1997, classifies NGOs into civic organizations and private organizations. The first category of the civic organizations chiefly refers to the right claim-oriented or conflict-oriented NGOs in the dimension of social movements in the *Civic Organizations Inventory*; the other types of NGOs are classified into the category of the private organizations. This classification implies that the activities of a number of civic organizations have the characteristics of social movements in terms of anti-state power and anti-capitalism in South Korea.

determining the ways to go after the enemy at the gate disappeared. Furthermore, being criticized for their excessive political orientation and radicalism, South Korean civil movements were confronted with the dilemma of “civil movements without citizens” (Ha 2003; Kim 2006). That is, civil movement organizations that were thought to best positioned as fostering a close relationship with citizens and local residents were criticized for having too close relationship with the official political sector and operating like progressive political parties. Additionally, a criticism that civil movements do not reflect the needs of citizens’ everyday life by continuing the radicalism of the civil movements during the 1980s was raised broadly (Seo 2013). As an alternative to the problem of the civil movements isolated from citizens, what the civil movement forces paid attention to was the trend of “new social movements” introduced from Europe. New social movement is a new trend which concentrates on the agendas of everyday life, such as foods, environment, local communities, human rights, and minority issues, escaping from the excessive concentration on the traditional issues of labor and politics. This new trend of social movements, which used to be called life politics, was accepted by South Korean civil movement forces as a promising alternative that could overcome the dilemma of civil movements without citizens, and thereby enable civil movements to adhere to the everyday life of citizens more firmly (Cho 1996: 57-59). As new social movements have been absorbed into the hegemonic social systems while losing their radicalism in Western societies since the 1980s (Kuchler and Dalton 1990; Schmitt-Beck 1992), South Korean civil movements also have proceeded toward a cooperation with the state power and capitalism with taking a pragmatic stand instead of radical opposition (Koo 1995; Kim, Seong-Ki 2000).

The 1997 Asian Financial Crisis forced South Korean progressive civil movements to advance a cooperative relationship with the state and capitalism, rather than adopting a stance of resistance to them. This crisis also amplified fears that the nation could be destroyed. For this reason, progressive civil movement forces in South Korea were not able to adequately respond to the impending neoliberal social restructuring derived from the crisis. They failed to organize general struggles in response to it. Instead, they took up the strategy of entering more directly into the lives of citizens by trying to solve problems of unemployment and poverty generated by the crisis and consequent neoliberal social restructuring. This strategy was embodied in the progressive civil movement organizations' active intervention in the state's array of policies developed for the disadvantaged: from Public Work Programs implemented as an emergency action immediately after the 1997 crisis, through Social Employment Creation Programs since 2003, to today's Social Enterprise Promotion Policy. "The third way" agenda, which was suggested by Anthony Giddens (1998) for the purpose to generate "synergy between public and private sectors, utilizing the dynamism of markets but with public interest in mind" through "the new mixed economy" beyond state and market, played an important role in this process (100). Giddens' concept of the third way was adopted as a central doctrine of the U.K Labor Party administration's social reform programs, and influenced the U.S Clinton administration's welfare reform plans. In South Korea, this idea also became central to the national agenda during the late term of the Roh administration which has been characterized as a progressive administration (Han and Hwang, 2009: 189). Taken together, third way strategies involving the promotion of social enterprises were accepted and supported by progressive political parties or governments not only in South Korea but also in the advanced countries such as U.K and U.S. In this

atmosphere, progressive civil movement forces in South Korea also have tended to understand social enterprises as a new and feasible progressive solution through which they can realize their missions and values beyond the dichotomy between the state and market (Seo 2013).

On the one hand, the South Korean government wanted to elicit cooperation from progressive civil movement forces, because the former needed the experiences and expertise of the latter in terms of their close relationship with socially disadvantaged groups; the former thought that the latter would actively participate in national policies for the disadvantaged with a sacrificial mind and attitude (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2003; The Ministry of Health and Welfare 2005). On the other hand, the progressive civil movement forces did not think of their participation in governmental policies simply as a supplementing the state's roles to create jobs and to provide welfare services; rather they thought of it as a social movement practice through which they could reform society by rehabilitating communal and social values, beyond the logic of market (Yun 2007; Uhm 2008).

With these coinciding interests, the two parties of the state and the progressive civil movement forces came to form a kind of alliance. Lee (2009) expresses this alliance situation as being marked by "a creative tension" between the state and the progressive civil movement forces (36). According to Shin (2003), progressive civil and labor movement forces led the institutionalization of National Basic Living Security System from the garnering of public support to the legislative implementation of the relevant act. Since then, progressive civil movement forces have actively participated in a series of related national policies—Self-sufficiency Program, Social Employment Program, and Social Enterprise Promotion Policy—as important partners of the state. Particularly, concerning the promotion of social enterprises,



progressive civil movement organizations and the activists have established social enterprises or social enterprise supporting institutions and become social entrepreneurs.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, progressive civil movement forces play a critical role in promoting social enterprises. The Korea Rural Economic Institute (2010) reports that, “conceiving the activities of social enterprises as those of activist groups,” market actors sometimes “refuse business relations with the social enterprises”(114). This statement sums up the situation in which progressive civil movement forces have played an important role in the promotion of social enterprises in South Korea.<sup>23</sup>

### **3.3 Changes in the Relevant National Policies**

#### **3.3.1 Public Work Program and Self-sufficiency Work Program**

Immediately after the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, which has been called the worst national ordeal since the Korean War (1950 – 1953), serial bankruptcies of companies generated

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<sup>22</sup> According to the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2012c), the past organizational forms of the present social enterprises in 2012 are as follows: 36.3 percent as NGO, 17.9 percent as the participant organizations in Social Employment Program, 16.1 percent as self-sufficiency communities, 15.1 percent as commercial enterprises, and 10.7 percent as rehabilitation facilities and other forms of organizations (16). As the research shows, the majority of the social enterprises in South Korea were started from civic organizations, participant organizations in Social Employment Programs, and self-sufficient communities. Of course, all these organizations are not progressive ones. Considering the condition in which the development of the South Korean civil society has been led by progressive forces, the research results imply that the progressive civil movement forces play a leading role in the production of social enterprises. Yang (2012) also points out that social enterprises have been led by the relatively progressive civic organizations in general, while the Village Corporations have been led by the relatively conservative vocational organizations (226-227).

<sup>23</sup> The report searches for the main reason why the social economy is relatively vitalized in certain places in Gangwon-do Province in the historic backgrounds of the places where various social movements and the democratization movements took place.

a large-scale unemployment; the bold restructuring of the labor market also caused a massive increase in temporary workers and seriously undermined the stability of employment. The average rate of public welfare expenditure for GDP of OECD countries was 19.2 percent in 1997, whereas that of South Korea was only 3.7 percent (OECD National Accounts Statistics Database). As it suggests, the sudden serious financial crisis took place under circumstances where the welfare system was not prepared enough due to the long-term stance of growth-first policy in South Korea. Therefore, thousands of unemployed and disadvantaged people were forced to be in danger of social exclusion. As an emergency action, the South Korean government urgently implemented Public Works Programs in order to compensate them for their loss of income by creating short-term jobs in the public sector. Aside from governmental action, civil movement organizations and faith communities also engaged in practices oriented around addressing the suddenly occurring massive unemployment and poverty immediately after the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis; many different forms of unemployment-related civic organizations were established in this process. These two dynamics—the state's policies and civil society sectors' practices—were embodied in the National Movement Committee for Overcoming Unemployment, the organization for a pan-national unemployment movement, in a partnership between the government and the civil society. The South Korean government particularly employed civil movement organizations as agents of the Public Work Program. However, this Public Work Program did not have a vision of stable job creation because, as a provisional emergency policy, it concentrated on the creation of temporary jobs. For that reason, this Public Work Program could not be a fundamental and sustainable measure for solving the problem of unemployment.

Thus, a series of efforts to create more stable jobs by systematically associating welfare with work were made. This was called “productive welfare” in South Korea. These workfare programs were actively invented and implemented after the enforcement of National Basic Living Security Act in 2000. The National Basic Living Security Act aims to financially support low-income families on the condition that they work in order to support themselves. On the basis of this Act, the South Korean Ministry of Health and Welfare has implemented Self-sufficiency Works Programs since 2000. The Self-sufficiency Work Program aimed at facilitating the disadvantaged people’s participation in the labor force and providing them with opportunities for job training and self-sufficiency, by creating jobs in five business areas for the disadvantaged people: cleaning, patients care, recycling of food waste, recycling of resources, and repair of houses. These programs also helped to support the disadvantaged to run businesses for themselves in the forms of self-sufficient communities. The self-sufficiency communities that were promoted by the Self-sufficiency Work Program can be understood as an early form of social enterprises in that they combined the social mission of the provision of employments for the disadvantaged with the application of business strategies (Kim, Seong-Ki 2011: 37). The focus was put on encouraging welfare recipients to work rather than the creation of stable jobs. Thus, the Self-sufficiency Work Program has a limitation as a measure for the creation of stable jobs. Furthermore, it had no incentive for the disadvantaged to work. In a substantive sense, it was difficult for the low-skilled and low-educated disadvantaged people to establish self-sufficient business communities on the basis of their own efforts, and to support themselves. Additionally, the Self-sufficiency Work Program came under criticism for introducing excessive competition in low-profit business areas such as patients care and the recycling of food waste,

where poor small self-employed stores were competing against each other for small profits (Uhm 2008: 231).

### **3.3.2 Social Employment Program**

The Social Employment Program of the Ministry of Employment and Labor was raised in discussions about future improvement of the direction of the past programs for the employment of disadvantaged groups such as the Public Work Program and Self-sufficiency Work Program, and it played a critical role in the emergence of social enterprises. From the beginning, the Social Employment Program was promoted in considering social enterprises as the central form of job creation. The Social Employment Program aimed at devising diverse alternatives in order to test out proper solutions concerning the problem of job creation for the disadvantaged, more than it had its own distinctive specific form of job creation policy. These many diverse efforts around social employment creation, however, are similar in that they pursued broadly two purposes. One was to create stable jobs for the disadvantaged. The other was to promote the social service market. Cooperation with civil social movement organizations was adopted as an important strategy for these purposes. The Social Employment Program can be understood as a process through which the outlines of Social Enterprise Promotion policy were drawn in that these goal and strategies later determined the general direction of social enterprise promotion policy.

The definitions of social employment stated in governmental policy reports and governmental meeting documents designate the purpose and the intent of Social Employment Promotion. By defining social employment as “the employment provided by social enterprises that supply social services, which commercial enterprises do not supply,” the Ministry of

Employment and Labor (2003) distinguishes this new concept of social employment from its old concept that was in large measure understood as “the employment that is created for the disadvantaged by means of the governmental financial resources” during the Kim administration<sup>24</sup> (104). The Ministry of Employment and Labor (2004a) defines social employment as “the employment created by non-profit organizations mainly in social service areas where commercial enterprises are not as easily able to enter because of the lower expected profits and because the government’s welfare services are not sufficiently supplied despite their usefulness”(1). The Ministry of Strategy and Finance (2004) defines it as “social service jobs created through the government’s financial support and the private sector’s human resources since these jobs are difficult to adequately develop due to the lower rates of profit despite their social usefulness” (2).

Both job creation and the provision of social services for the disadvantaged are central in these definitions of social employment. One of the remarkable points here is the appearance of the new term “social service.” “Social service” here refers to the services that are difficult for the government and commercial enterprises to supply due to their lower expected rate of profits. In substantial terms, the social service area mainly designates the area of family welfare that has been traditionally conducted in families or communities by women. In this sense, the term “social service” reflects the state’s purpose of reconstructing the domestic sphere of family welfare as a market arena. The state conducted thorough calculation and research into the effects of the marketization of family welfare areas on job creation, the reduction of the state’s welfare expenditures, the present and expected supply and demand of social services, economic growth,

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<sup>24</sup> President: Kim, Dae-Jung; Term: from February 25, 1998 to February 24, 2003.

and so forth.<sup>25</sup> As a result of this calculation and research, the state determined to construct social service market for three broad reasons. Firstly, the job creation effect in the social service area was envisioned as being considerable because this area is characterized by labor-intensive face-to-face activities. Secondly, the social service area was understood as an area that low-educated and low-skilled disadvantaged people can access easily because a high level of professionalism is not required for working in this area. Finally, it was envisioned that the social service area could reduce the government's welfare expenditures and function as a new economic growth engine; the employment rates in the social service area were only 1/3~1/2 of what they were in European advanced countries at that time, despite the expected growth in social service demands derived from a widening gap between rich and poor, aging of the population, and women's participation in economic activities.

Another notable point in these definitions of social employment is that social employment is defined as jobs created by non-profit organizations, not by the government and commercial enterprises. This foreshows the form which social enterprises would take and which would be institutionalized a few years later. It was highly controversial within the government to form a partnership with civil movement organizations around the implementation of the state policy of Social Employment Program. The opponents of partnership with civil movement organizations made the following counter arguments: first, civil movement organizations would indefinitely demand the government's support by emphasizing the government's responsibility

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<sup>25</sup> The Ministry of Strategy and Finance 2006a; 2006b; 2007b; 2008; The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2004b; 2005; 2009; 2012; 2013a; The Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs 2005; The Ministry of Health and Welfare 2010a; 2010b; 2011; The Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs 2009; The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family Republic of Korea 2013; The Korean Women's Development Institute 2007; The South Korean Government 2012.

rather than their creation of economic profits in the market; second, they have little experience of commercial activities and they lack business acumen; finally, it would not be easy for civil movement organizations to maintain cooperative relations with the government because they had grown in their antagonistic relationship to the government through the democratization movements in South Korea (The Ministry of Health and Welfare 2005: 210; The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2005: 15; The Ministry of Government Legislation 2011: 32). The government, however, finally determined to have civil movement organizations participate in the program as partners. The government considered these organizations as having a comparative advantage in the social service market, because they had developed close networks with the disadvantaged and had built high levels of trust with them, while having conducted community-based activities for the improvement of the disadvantaged groups' social and political rights (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2003: 118; 2009: 113; The Ministry of Health and Welfare 2005: 210-223; The Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning 2012: 39).

The Social Employment Program was an advance in one regard compared to past job creation programs for the disadvantaged in that it deepened the consideration of the material base of stable job creation. In terms of its main contents, however, the Social Employment Program did not make a meaningful difference compared with past programs. In reality, it unduly relied on the government's financial resources, and tended to concentrate on the quantity of jobs created rather than the qualitative creation of stable jobs. The participating civil movement organizations invested minor interest in commercial management because these organizations still understood their activities as social movement, not entrepreneurial activity (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2004b; 2005; 2008; The Ministry of Strategy and Finance 2006a; The

Ministry of Government Legislation 2011). Additionally, the participating organizations could not conduct the activities systematically due to the absence of a legal basis for the institutional supporting system (Kim 2009).

### **3.3.3 Institutionalization of Social Enterprises and the Discursive Instigation**

The outline of the social enterprise policy that was drawn through Social Employment Program was integrated into the legislation of the Social Enterprise Promotion Act in 2007 and the establishment of Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency, the responsible authority for the promotion of social enterprises, in 2010.<sup>26</sup> The basic strategies developed in the Social Employment Program—job creation for the disadvantaged, the promotion of the social service industry, and the participation of civil movement organizations—constitute the essences of the policies of the social enterprise promotion. In these processes, the Self-sufficiency Work Program of the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Community Business Program designed as a Social Employment Program by the Ministry of Knowledge Economy were absorbed into the Social Enterprise Promotion Program. What distinguished the policy of the Social Enterprise Promotion from the past relevant governmental policies were the following: first, the former defines the organizational form of the actors of job creation as corporation; second, it also defines the material base for the promotion of social enterprises as the promotion of the social service market. These distinguishing features imply that the social enterprise promotion policy

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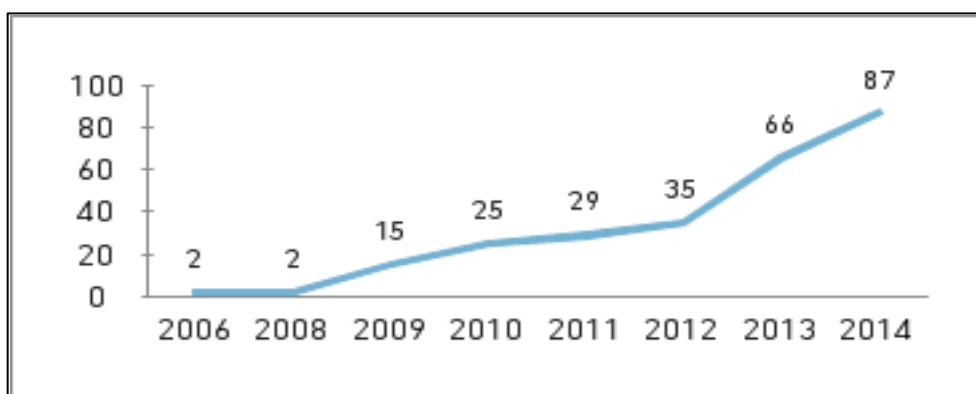
<sup>26</sup> The Social Enterprise Promotion Agency, a state apparatus, plays a crucial role in making diverse policies concerning the promotion of social enterprises and producing the relevant studies and discourses. In this way, it would be a good policy to focus on the activities of the Social Enterprise Promotion Agency. The problem is, however, that the history of the Agency is not long enough to serve as a focal site for the study of the politics of social enterprises.



aims to solve the problems of the disadvantaged by means of market principles, not the state-driven social welfare system.

The promotion of social enterprises involves the production and dissemination of the relevant discourses. Diverse apparatuses with material bases—state apparatus of Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency, mass media like television and newspapers, and academic world including academic journals and schools—have produced and spread the discourses of social enterprises (Kim 2009: 95-101). For instance, among newspapers, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* published the special series titled “Social Enterprises Are Our Hope” in 2007; *Chosun Ilbo* has introduced social economy and social enterprises through the special series titled “The Better Future” since 2010; Particularly, *Hankyoreh Shinmun* has made a considerable contribution to the formation of the relevant discourses through publishing a set of special series including “Flying with Two Wings of Growth and Distribution” in 2003, “Corporative Management for Coexistence” in 2004, “Win-win of Corporations and Society: The Way to the Sustainability” between 2004 and 2005, “The Way to Growth with Distribution beyond Polarization” in 2005, and the section titled “Eye of HERI.” The academic world also has produced and spread related knowledge and discourses that guide and justify social enterprise promotion. As Figure 4 illuminates, the number of the papers whose titles contain “social enterprise,” “social entrepreneur,” or “social entrepreneurship” out of those published in academic journals accredited by The National Research Foundation of Korea has rapidly increased as social enterprise promotion policy has been implemented. The Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency has played a central role in the production and dissemination of social enterprise discourses. The Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency sets forth its strategic objective as

being “the proliferation of social enterprise values” for the realization of the vision of “social integration and the improvement of the quality of life through sustainable social enterprises” (<http://www.socialenterprise.or.kr/about/vision.do>). Toward this goal, the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency has carried out different forms of public-relations relating to social enterprises. For instance, it publishes various social enterprise-related magazines, such as *social enterprise*, *36.5*, *Store 36.5*, and booklet-type webtoon series. It also created an official social enterprise symbol mark and logo song introduced in the introduction chapter.



**Figure 4: The Number of KCI-accredited Papers Concerning Social Enterprise Issues**

### 3.4 Principles of Governmental Rationality

Social enterprise is an apparatus that combines the realization of social values as its end and entrepreneurial strategies as its means. The disadvantaged are arranged as employees or consumers of social service commodities in this apparatus. The progressive civil movement organizations and the activists are arranged as social enterprise promotion organizations and

social entrepreneurs respectively. The state is arranged as a total supervisor that controls and facilitates social enterprises and social entrepreneurs behind them. In this sense, social enterprise is the governmental apparatus in which diverse resources and actors are systematically arranged for certain governmental ends. Foucault (2007) demonstrates that the definition of government given by French writer in the sixteenth century La Perrière “the right disposition of things, arranged so as to lead to a convenient end” best encapsulates the essence of the meaning of the government (96). From the perspective of this definition of government, an economist’s statement below, which was presented in the forum organized by the Ministry of Employment and Labor and titled as “Ecosystemic Development together with Social Enterprises,” explicitly reveals the ideal of the governmental rationality that drives social enterprise mechanisms in South Korea.

Social enterprise [...] is important because it can be a crucial policy strategy for endogenous growth, by arranging all available resources. Big companies are expanding their economic territories despite the intensifying international competitions. The impoverishment of some classes and localities that cannot engage in this competition, however, keeps on worsening. In order to escape this situation, it is needed to reconnect all resources effectively that were ‘excluded’ from the resource mobilization of ‘the market’ and ‘the government’ or utilized inefficiently. In other words, we must realize a so-called ‘all people economy’ in which ‘all’ Korean citizens, including women, seniors, and the disabled, participate. Social enterprise can function as an important policy strategy for the realization of the ‘all people economy’ (Kim, J. 2011: 7-8).

In this quote, social enterprises are described as a policy strategy that can “arrang[e] all available resources” for the purpose of “the realization of the ‘all people economy.’” What the speaker problematizes here is that the “resources” such as “some classes [...] that cannot engage in the competitions” are not “mobilized” by “the market and the government or utilized inefficiently.” In this context, social enterprise is defined as a policy instrument that “reconnect[s] all resources effectively” such as not only the disadvantaged but also all Korean citizens and civil movement organizations. Leaving aside the totalitarian mentality that underlies the expression of “all people economy,” “all Korean citizens including women, seniors, and the disabled” are defined as “resources” that must be “mobiliz[ed],” “reconnect[ed],” and “arrange[d]” “effectively.” Additionally, in that quote, the term “exclusion” is not used to refer to a systematic social alienation process of the disadvantaged from the opportunities to access to diverse resources in terms of social justice. Instead, the term “exclusion” refers to a state that the disadvantaged are not “mobiliz[ed]” as “available resources” by the “market and the government.” Social enterprises used to be called good corporations and represented through humanitarian rhetoric such as community, solidarity, empathy, caring, public good, ethical, human, capitalism with human face, and warm capitalism. In that quote, however, these flowery words are removed and the underlying governmental rationality that guides “the right arrangement of things for a certain end” is explicitly mentioned. What must be focused on are not these flowery words, but the cold ideals of governmental rationality and the concrete governmental strategies being exercised in social enterprise mechanisms.

. Of course, the state does not approach the problems of unemployment and poverty from humanitarian position of resistance and solidarity against unjust social structures. From the

state's perspective, the existence of the disadvantaged is a risk factor that might generate suicides, crimes, social conflicts, and the growth of welfare expenditure, and thus, endangers the reproduction of a stable government system. A number of governmental research reports concerning social enterprises point out that the problems of unemployment and poverty cause crimes and social conflicts, and thus, the state should take active actions to solve these problems. For instance, the Ministry of Employment and Labor mentions that "the growth of unemployment rates not only negatively impacts the economic situation, but also widens the gap between classes [...] and generates social pathologies such as crimes and suicide; thus, the problem of unemployment is the most urgent issue for the state to solve" (2005: 1). Defining the current situation of South Korean society as one of "being confronted with the amplification of serious social conflicts derived from the widening polarization of wealth," it also demonstrates that "social enterprises' effective and active social value creations will considerably contribute to not only the building of communities but also the continuation and development of South Korean capitalism" (2010b: 4). In this line of thought, the First Basic Plans for Social Enterprise Promotion by the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2008) presents the vision of social enterprise promotion as "the contribution to building an active market economy and social integration through the promotion of third sector-based innovative corporations" (18); The Social Enterprise Promotion Act stipulates that "the purpose of this Act is to contribute to the integration of society as well as to the enhancement of the quality of the people's life [...] by means of expanding social services [...] and creating jobs" (Article 1). The National Vision 2030, which the Roh administration submitted in 2006 as the long-term development strategy of South Korean society and played a critical role in prompting earnest discussions about the

institutionalization of social enterprises, situates the promotion of social enterprises within a preemptive investment in the prevention of the anticipated growth of the social costs that would be caused by increasing social conflicts (The Roh administration 2006).

These statements imply that the state approaches social enterprises and the problems of unemployment and poverty in terms of risk management. Then, the remaining question becomes how power can manage the risks to the continuation of its system that would be generated by increasing unemployment and poverty. The management of the risks involved is a complex process that is composed of various sets of principles of governmental rationality and governmental strategies. Among these, particularly the unquestioned belief that market is efficient and competent while the state is inefficient and incompetent, and thereby all non-market domains should be regarded as markets and reorganized into market domains is crucial.

From the earliest stage of Public Work and Self-sufficiency Work programs, the state has blamed the state-driven social welfare system as a wasteful and immoral model, because it cannot motivate recipients' will for self-help and rather encourages the moral hazard of irresponsible dependence on the state. As an alternative to the past state-driven social welfare programs, the state adopted and began to enhance the workfare model (work-based-welfare model) in which the disadvantaged can obtain welfare benefits in as long as they work. This model was called "productive welfare" in South Korea. The rhetoric of productive welfare is a conservative discursive strategy that was devised to attacks the past state-driven social welfare model as wasteful. One of the central factors that pushed the shift of government policies from the Public Work Program and Self-sufficiency Work Program to the Social Enterprise Promotion was the criticism that the former had not completely broken off from the state-driven social

welfare paradigm, and thus, the former operate ineffectively while causing a waste of government's financial resources.

The promotion of social enterprises is also an extension of the workfare model in that it was designed to increase the wellbeing of the disadvantaged by providing jobs for them. The idea of linking welfare and work together is based on the understanding that unemployment and poverty are rooted in individuals' lack of work ethic related to idleness or indolence, and that only their consistent hard work can bring wealth to them. This belief is based on a myth in that it obscures the following realities: Most people in poverty are poor because they are employed in lower-income occupations despite their long hours of work, rather than being lazy; the wealth of the upper class is mainly created from capital income rather than from labor income; and social structural factors are more determinant factors generating poverty on a large-scale than individual ones. In this fundamental sense, social enterprise mechanisms are influenced by the myth of work—the typical capitalist worldview—that regards state-driven social welfare as a wasteful and immoral system and approaches problem of poverty in terms of individual dimensions, rather than social structural dimensions.

What is interesting is that the ideology blaming the state-driven social welfare system as wasteful and immoral has been disseminated in the South Korean society as if it were based on an unquestionable truth, because the state-driven social welfare system has also been replaced by the new model of workfare in the advanced countries such as the U.K and the U.S. That is, the dissemination of this ideology was not carried out on the sole basis of self-reflection from within South Korean society. While pursuing the strategy of “growth-first and welfare-later” for several decades, unlike European social welfare countries, South Korea has never established what can

be called a state-driven social welfare system. Furthermore, South Koreans have internalized strong labor norms and discipline in the process of rapid economic growth more than many other nations. Unlike in some advanced countries in which certain lower classes reproduce culture of poverty with their abandonment of hope of upward mobility, South Korea has much less experience with this (Cho 2012). For instance, it is a universal and strong cultural attitude in South Korea that people do their best to educate their children to escape from poverty, even though they may be poor and not educated. In this sense, it is an irony that the discourses of the welfare model were spread with the criticism of the state-driven social welfare system in South Korea where the state-driven social welfare system was not sufficiently prepared; this irony is partially a result of the truth regime of “the cases of the advanced countries,” which are regarded as carrying within their experiences unquestionable universal truths and ideal models for South Korea as a developing country.

To reorganize all non-market domains into market domains, while regarding the former as the latter and contrasting the inefficiency of the state with the efficiency of market, was another principle of governmental rationality that penetrated the processes of the emergence and promotion of social enterprises. Traditionally, the promotion of citizens’ well-being has been the core responsibility of the state. Particularly, under the governmentality of Keynesianism whose fundamental principle is economic growth through the state’s artificial creation of demands, the main state policy instruments for this goal were maintaining full employment, the expansion of universal welfare, and the provision of free integral social services such as health care and education (Fulcher and Scott 2011: 570). To the contrary, the neoliberal South Korean state adopted the strategy of minimizing the state’s welfare expenditure while leading market



organizations to provide jobs and welfare services for the disadvantaged. For the effective exercise of the strategy, the state pursued forming the material base required for the operation of social enterprises by reorganizing the non-market family welfare domains, such as education, child rearing, and health care of patients and seniors, into new market domains of the social service industry. The faith that even welfare and public good can be realized more effectively by the market than the state and the faith that all social domains should be regarded as markets underlie these strategies of the state.

To sum up, these strategies of state policy about the promotion of social enterprises are guided by a complex set of principles: the management of risk to the continuation of the government system through social integration of the disadvantaged; the workfare paradigm based on the faith that poverty is a problem of personal responsibility to be solved through hard work; the contrast between the inefficiency of the state and the efficiency of market; the orientation toward the small state and big society; the principle of regarding all non-market domains as market domains; and the faith that even social goals or social problems can be more effectively realized and addressed by market than the state. These principles constitute the governmental rationality that guides the mechanisms of social enterprise promotion.

### **3.5 Conclusion: Hegemony as a Neoliberal Governing Strategy**

As discussed previously, in South Korea the institutional mechanism of social enterprise emerged as a response to structured unemployment and growing numbers of the working poor derived from many structural factors. The emergence and expansion of social enterprises have

been pushed not only by the state's strategic intervention but also the progressive civil movement forces' active participation. Throughout these processes, principles of neoliberalism have guided the emergence and development of institutional mechanisms of social enterprises. In terms of struggles between various forces, South Korean social enterprises were able to emerge through the hegemonic articulation of the state's interest in the poverty-related risk management with the progressive civil movement forces' interest in the restoration of communal solidarity beyond neoliberalism and the market economy. As examined previously, the main interest of the state was to manage risks that might be caused by increasing unemployment and a widening gap between rich and poor. For this purpose, the state needed the cooperation of the progressive civil movement forces that had formed a close relationship of solidarity with the disadvantaged. For the progressive civil movement forces, their participation in the state policy of social enterprise promotion was seen as a strategy to overcome their dilemma "civil movements without citizen," which had been raised since the 1990s. They considered that civil social movements could be rooted firmly in citizens' everyday lives by engaging in state policies to solve problems of unemployment, poverty, and social exclusion that are the most important issues in citizens' everyday lives. Simultaneously, they judged that their participation in the process of the social enterprise promotion could be a useful strategy to replace the market economy with a social economy and to develop anti-neoliberal movements. In these conditions, both the state and the progressive civil movement forces entered into an alliance in the promotion of social enterprises. The state accepted the progressive civil movement forces' orientations towards collective solidarity and public good in order to articulate them with its interests, and integrate their orientations within the mechanism of neoliberalism. This alliance between the state and the

progressive civil movement forces implies that the struggles for seizing hegemony took place between these two forces.

Unlike authoritarian top-down rule, hegemony operates on the basis of the subordinate articulation of other forces' interests with the ruling force's interests, by partially accepting the former's demands and partially sacrificing the latter's interests. In these processes, each force makes diverse efforts to motivate their interests as being not simply special interests but universal ones that are compatible with the interests of other forces and the masses. This mass persuasion process is also the process through which each force obtains consents from the competing forces and the public, and proves its superiority in the intellectual and moral leadership over other competing forces. The following statement by the Ministry of Health and Welfare demonstrates a form of the mechanism of hegemony operating within institutions of social enterprise promotion.

To satisfy various goals and demands of civil movement forces and each interested group is very important in order to achieve the expected results of the Social Employment Creation policy. [...] The government needs to proactively accept the civil movement force's argument that the purpose of the social employment creation should be the building of social economy. It is because the South Korean society is in the situation in which it has to make a historical decision to rehabilitate people's undermined everyday lives through building the social economy. Furthermore, considering that the creation of social employment is impossible without the cooperation of non-profit private sectors, it is inevitable to embrace the civil movement force's interests and demands. Therefore, the operational way of pursuing social utility, not economic profitability, and support for the promotion of social enterprises (the demand of civil movement force) needs to be reflected in the relevant policies (The Ministry of Health and Welfare 2005: 218-219).

In this quote, the Ministry of Health and Welfare demonstrates that the government needs to accept the demands of the civil movement force, the formation of communal solidarity, through the building of the social economy for the success of the Social Employment Program. It suggests social utility-pursuing policies and the promotion of social enterprises as the concrete orientation and policy instruments. This suggestion demonstrates an articulation strategy through which the government aims to mobilize civil movement forces into participation in state policies. Paying special attention to the current governmental strategy that the state power constructs a partnership with civic organizations and mobilizes them into its policies, Dahlstedt (2009) calls this current social situation “a partnering society” and calls this new way of governing strategy “government through partnerships.” In partnering societies, the traditional roles of the state are transferred to these partners. In this new mode of government, these partners govern themselves. For the state, government through partnership makes the voluntary obedience of these partners to the state power possible. In this way, this new governmental strategy can maximize the efficiency of power.

#### 4. DISCURSIVE STRUCTURES OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISES I: A DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISES' SUCCESS<sup>27</sup>

##### 4.1 Social Enterprise as a Combination of Social Public Values and Market Principles

The promotion of social enterprises is pushed as a national policy with extensive support of almost all social groups across the political spectrum in South Korea. Social enterprises are distinguished from both commercial enterprises and social movement organizations in that they are the organizations pursuing social and public purposes by means of entrepreneurial strategies. Social enterprises are unique in that they combine the heterogenic dimensions of social values and market principles together. Even, the term social enterprise reads like an oxymoron along the lines of the expression “square circle.” This uniqueness and its seemingly oxymoron nature ironically serve as the magical factors that combine the mutually oppositional political forces together within the social enterprise’s mechanisms. The following two questions can be raised to make best sense of how this magic happens. First, how are both social public values and market principles combined in a social enterprise mechanism? Second, how does the hegemony that makes the combination of the progressives and the conservatives operate in this mechanism?

One of the most crucial discourses that can reveal the central operational mechanisms of social enterprises would be the discourses of social enterprises’ success. Thus, in this chapter, I analyze the politics of social enterprises that operate in the discourses of social enterprises’

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<sup>27</sup> The main analysis in this chapter was first written in Korean and published in the Korean Journal, *Culture and Society* 16 (pp. 223-274), under title “The Discursive Structures of Social Enterprise’s Success and Neoliberal Hegemony in Korea.” I revised some parts of the original paper; this chapter is based on the revision of this paper.

success in order to answer these questions suggested above. I pay special attention to the three following aspects. First, how both the social public values, which have been traditionally the agenda of the progressives in South Korea, and market principles, which have traditionally been the core agenda of the conservatives, are articulated with each other in the discourses around social enterprises' success. Second, through what discursive strategies, the meaning of social enterprise is constituted. Finally, whether or not there are meaningful differences in these discursive structures between the progressive forces and the conservative ones; if there are differences, how they are different.

Regarding the data for the analysis, I use newspaper articles published by January 2014, in which social enterprises or social entrepreneurs are dealt with as main subjects. In order to explore the modes of discursive struggles between progressive forces and conservative ones, I analyzed the articles from two progressive newspapers *Hankyoreh Shinmun* and *Kyunghyang Shinmun* and two conservative ones *Chosun Ilbo* and *Joongang Ilbo*. Specifically, at first, I collected a total of 2673 articles that contain the term “social enterprise,” “social entrepreneur,” or “social entrepreneurship” at least once: *Hankyoreh Shinmun* (853 articles), *Kyunghyang Ilbo* (476 articles), *Chosun Ilbo* (732 articles), and *Joongang Ilbo* (612 articles). Next, I narrowed down the range of the collected data into articles in which the term “social enterprise” or “social entrepreneur” and the term “success” or “failure” appear simultaneously in a sentence, in order to focus on the issues relevant to the success of social enterprises. I used paragraphs that contained these sentences as the final analytic data.<sup>28</sup> Finally, I gathered 144 paragraphs among

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<sup>28</sup> Some cases from among the paragraphs gathered in this way are too short to be analyzed: one group of them are composed of one-sentence titles; another group are composed of only one or two sentences. I excluded the former

126 articles: 41 paragraphs among 36 articles from *Hankyoreh*; 39 paragraphs among 34 articles from *Kyunghyang*; 36 paragraphs among 40 articles from *Chosun*; and 24 paragraphs among 20 articles from *Joongang*.

Concerning the methods, I organized the following methodological procedures on the basis of the methodological designs that are stated in chapter two:

(1) Regarding the dimension of text in Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model, I paid special attention to the vocabularies that appear in the texts. Particularly, I focused on the two groups of vocabularies that have been traditionally the interests of the progressive forces and those of the conservative ones respectively: those vocabularies that have close affinities with social and public values, and those vocabularies that have close affinities with market principles, at the level of ideal type. Using NVivo 10, I abstracted these two groups of vocabularies that most frequently appear in the data, and denominated these two groups of vocabularies as "social-public value vocabularies" and "market principle vocabularies" respectively. The Table 1 illuminates the lists of the two groups of vocabularies abstracted in the data.

(2) I codified the texts on the basis of the vocabulary lists created in the first step, using NVivo 10. For a comparative analysis, coding was conducted at both levels: all the articles (2,673 articles) and the final analytic data (144 paragraphs).

(3) Using NVivo 10, I measured the appearance counts of both social-public value vocabularies and market principle vocabularies at both levels: all the articles and the final data. I

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cases from the analysis. Concerning the latter cases, I extended the range of the paragraphs back and forth so that a paragraph can be composed of at least four sentences.

conducted the measurements in the distinction between the progressive newspapers and the conservative ones for the comparative analysis between these two political forces.

(4) In order to obtain information about the connecting structures between the two groups of vocabularies beyond simply measuring appearance frequencies of these vocabularies, I measured co-appearance frequencies of the vocabularies in a text with NVivo 10. Then, I inputted the results of the co-appearance frequencies into NetDraw, a social network analysis program, and conducted network analyses among these vocabularies and the main component analysis of the networks. These analyses were conducted in terms of the distinction between the progressive newspapers and the conservative ones.

(5) I conducted in-depth analyses of the discourses about the issues of social enterprises' success on the basis of the results of the previous step. I paid attention to how the criteria and strategies for the success are described in these discourses; more fundamentally, under what discursive framework of “problem-cause-solution” the social enterprise discourses are organized. This step of the analysis was also conducted in the distinction of the progressive newspapers and the conservative ones.

(6) Finally, situating the results of these analyses within the broader contexts of social practices—particularly within the neoliberal social transformation and political struggles for hegemony between the progressive and the conservative forces—beyond simply the narrow discursive dimension, I interpreted the political implications of the results.



**Table 1: The Lists of the Social-Public Value and Market Principle Vocabularies**

Social-Public Value Vocabularies ( ): original Korean	Market Principle Vocabularies ( ): original Korean
<p>Empathy (공감), community (공동체), coexistence (공존 or 공생), public good(공익), public (공적인), sharing (나눔), moral (도덕적 인), together (동반, 함께, or 다같이), philanthropic (박애), non-profit (비영리), social- contribution (사회공헌), social purpose (사회적 목적), social responsibility (사회적 책임), win- win (상생), good-natured (선한), citizen (시민), solidarity (연대), ethical (윤리적), meaningful (의미있는 or 보람있는), neighbor (이웃), altruism (이타성), humane (인간적인), humanitarian (인도적인), charity (자선), righteous (정의로운), good-hearted (착한), cooperation (협동), collaboration(협력), reciprocal (호혜적), sacrifice-spirit (희생정신)</p>	<p>Management (경영), competition (경쟁), competitiveness (경쟁력), economy* (경제), economics (경제학), client (고객), corporation** (기업), risk (리스크), sales (매출), business (비 즈니스), business-man (사업가), private-interest (사익), productivity (생산성), service[commodity] (서비스), growth (성장), consumption (소비), consumer (소비자), loss (손실), profit-loss (손익), profits (수익), income-expenditure (수지), market (시장), commercial (영리적인), selfishness (이기심), profits[margin] (이윤), capital (자본), deficit (적 자), stockholder (주주), consultant (컨설턴트), consulting (컨설팅), investment (투자), quality[commodity] (품질), innovation (혁신), efficiency (효율성), surplus-balance (흑자)</p>

NOTE: \*economy: ‘social economy (사회적 경제)’ is not included;

\*\*corporation: ‘social enterprise’ (사회적기업) is not included.

## **4.2 Appearance Frequencies of the Social-Public Value Vocabularies and the Market Principle Vocabularies**

I analyzed the appearance frequencies of the social-public value vocabularies and the market principle vocabularies. Table 2 and Figure 5 illustrate the results. What should be focused on are the relative appearance frequencies. The rates in Table 2 are the values of the appearance frequencies of the market principle vocabularies for those of social-public value vocabularies. Figure 5 is a visualization of the rates according to each newspaper, each political orientation of the newspapers, and the average of the total texts. The results of the analyses that are illustrated in Table 2 and Figure 5 demonstrate broadly two interesting points.

First, the relative appearance frequencies of the market principle vocabularies for those of social-public value vocabularies in the focal data of 144 paragraphs (the texts in which the term “social enterprise” or “social entrepreneur” and the term “success” or “failure” appear simultaneously in a sentence) are approximately 1.26 times larger than those in the entire data of 2,673 articles (the texts including the term social enterprise, social entrepreneurs, or social entrepreneurship at least once). Furthermore, even though there are differences in the degree, these tendencies are found in all newspapers unexceptionally. These results suggest that the role of the market principle vocabularies in the discourses of the social enterprises’ success would become more central than in the discourses of the social enterprise in general; to the contrary, the role of the social-public value vocabularies in the discourses of the social enterprises’ success would become less central than in the discourses of the social enterprise in general. These results also suggest that the meaning of the success of a social enterprise would be constituted in terms of the success in the market rather than the success in the realization of social and public values.

Second, contrary to popular belief, the market principle vocabularies appeared more frequently in the progressive newspapers than the conservative ones, in both levels of data (both the texts of the total of 2,673 articles concerning social enterprise in general and the texts of the 144 paragraphs concerning social enterprises' success). This suggests that, contrary to the pervasive belief, progressive forces may have been more active in reframing the success of social enterprises within the language of the market rather than the conservative forces.

**Table 2: Appearance frequencies and Their Rates of the Social-Public Value Vocabularies and the Market Principle Vocabularies**

(coding unit: word)

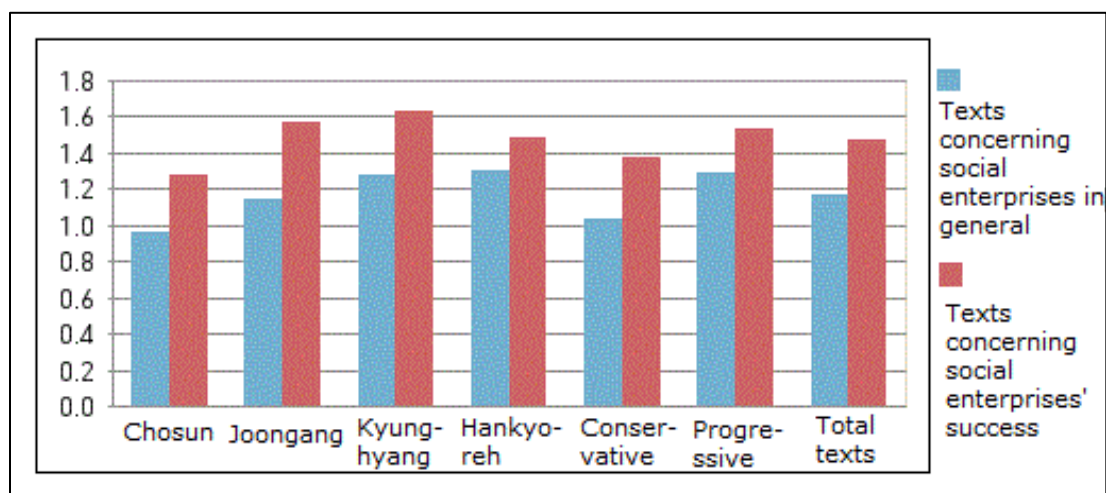
	Discourses of social enterprises (2,673 articles concerning social enterprise in general)			Discourses of social enterprises' success (144 paragraphs concerning social enterprises' success)		
	Social-public value vocabularies	Market principle vocabularies	Rate	Social-public value vocabularies	Market principle vocabularies	Rate
<i>Chosun</i>	7555 (691)	7298 (666)	0.97	58 (31)	74 (32)	1.28
<i>Joongang</i>	4765 (568)	5428 (529)	1.14	28 (15)	44 (19)	1.57
<i>Kyunghyang</i>	5974 (456)	7603 (457)	1.27	48 (25)	78 (28)	1.62
<i>Hankyoreh</i>	7543 (807)	9832 (770)	1.30	73 (33)	108 (37)	1.48
Conservative	12320 (1259)	12726(1195)	1.03	86 (46)	118 (51)	1.37
Progressive	13517 (1263)	17435 (1227)	1.29	121 (57)	186 (64)	1.54
Total	25837 (2522)	30161 (2422)	1.17	207 (100)	304 (115)	1.47

NOTE: Rate =  $\frac{\text{The frequency of the market principle vocabularies}}{\text{The frequency of the social-public value vocabularies}}$

-The figures inside ( ) are the numbers of texts

-Conservative: *Chosun* and *Joongan*

-Progressive : *Hankyoreh* and *Kyunghayang*.



NOTE: Rate =  $\frac{\text{The frequency of the market principle vocabularies}}{\text{The frequency of the social-public value vocabularies}}$

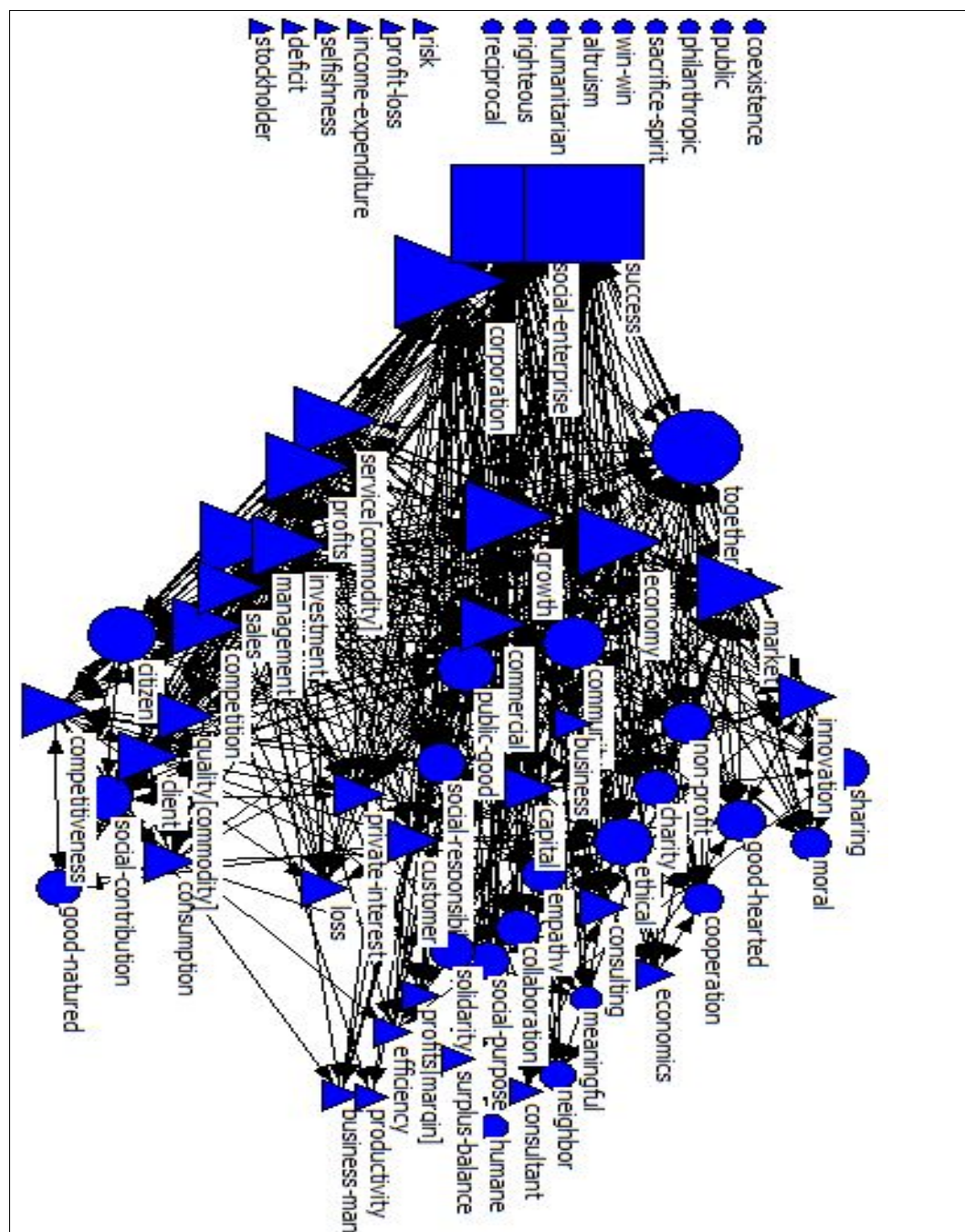
**Figure 5: Changes in Rates of the Appearance frequencies of the Market Principle Vocabularies for those of the Social-Public Value Vocabularies**

### 4.3 Semantic Networks in the Discourses about success of Social Enterprises

The analyses that were conducted in the previous section simply offer information about how frequently the two groups of vocabularies appear. These analyses do not offer any information about how these vocabularies are articulated with each other i.e. about the discursive patterns or structures. However, what should be focused on is the patterns or the structures themselves, because meaning is not an essence that is inherent in a word or thing, but a product of discursive patterns or structures mediated by power (Foucault 2002; Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Žižek 1989). Thus, I focus on the analyses of the discursive structures of the discourses about success of social enterprises in this section and the subsequent sections. In order to outline these structures, I analyzed co-appearance frequencies of the social-public value vocabularies, the market principle vocabularies, the vocabulary “social enterprise,” and the vocabulary “success.” Figure 6, Figure 7, Figure 8, and Figure 9 illustrate the results.



● Social-public value vocabularies ▲ Market principle vocabularies ■ Social enterprise & Success



**Figure 7: Semantic Network in the Discourses about Success of Social Enterprises (conservative newspapers + progressive one: political orientation is not considered)**

● Social-public value vocabularies ▲ Market principle vocabularies ■ Social enterprise & Success

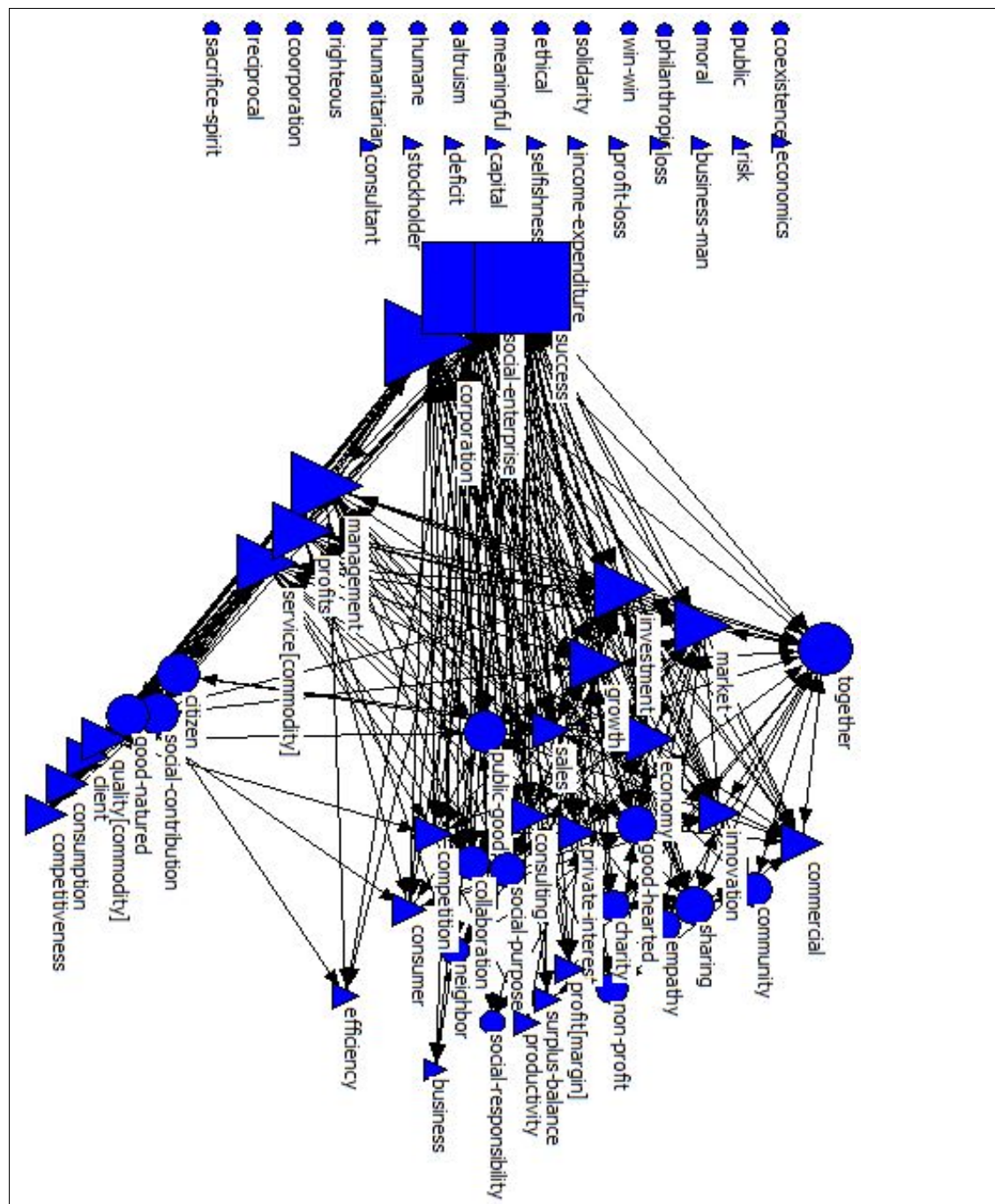


Figure 8: Semantic Network in Conservative Force’s Discourses about success of Social Enterprises (*Chosun and Joongang*)





Figure 6 and Figure 7 illustrate the results for all of the data concerning social enterprises in general and the texts concerning the success of social enterprises respectively. Most vocabularies are closely assembled into a group in Figure 6. This form of the corpus implies that a social enterprise discourse in general has the discursive structure that closely articulates the social-public value vocabularies and the market principle vocabularies in certain ways. That is, Figure 6 suggests that a social enterprise would be described as the unique organization which unites these two groups of vocabularies, which have been traditionally considered as opposites. It also suggests that a key to understanding social enterprise mechanisms is to analyze how these two groups of vocabularies are combined with each other.

Unlike in Figure 6, broadly three grouping patterns are found in Figure 7. The first corpus, which is extensively located around the center and the upper area in Figure 7, is evenly composed of both social-public value vocabularies and market principle vocabularies. This grouping pattern implies that the discourses of social enterprises' success would have the discursive structure that would connect both categories of vocabularies in certain ways.

The second corpus stretches between the direction of four o'clock and that of ten o'clock like a peninsula at the bottom in Figure 7. This corpus is mostly composed of the market principle vocabularies, such as "management," "investment," "service (as commodity)," and "profit." The link intensity of the corpus is larger than that of the first form of corpus. What is interesting is that the corpus which is composed of exclusively social-public value vocabularies is not found in Figure 7. These discursive patterns suggest that the meaning of the success of a social enterprise would tend to be constructed in terms of market principles rather than social and public values in a number of texts, even though these discourses would generally connect social-

public values and market principles in certain ways. To the contrary, the absence of the corpus that is composed of exclusively social-public value vocabularies suggests that the voice representing the success of social enterprises as their success in the realization of social and public values would be relatively silenced.

The final corpus, which is situated at the left center in the Figure 7, is composed of “social enterprise,” “success,” and “corporation.” This corpus has the biggest centrality in the semantic network in Figure 7. Most vocabularies are closely connected to this corpus. It means that this corpus functions as the center in the semantic network in Figure 7. The fact that these three vocabularies, “social enterprise,” “success,” and “corporation,” are intensely connected with each other suggests that the success of a social enterprise would be represented in terms of social enterprise’s corporative nature rather than its social nature.

Consequently, these results of the semantic network analyses imply that the market principle vocabularies would play a dominant role than social-public value vocabularies in the discourses about success of social enterprises. That is, social enterprises would be represented as social *enterprises* rather than *social* enterprises, and thus, the success of social enterprises would be represented as the success in market rather than in the realization of social missions.

Figure 8 and Figure 9 illustrate the semantic networks of the conservative forces and progressive forces respectively. Both semantic networks share considerably similar grouping patterns to those of the semantic network in Figure 7. Like the semantic network in Figure 7, both semantic networks in Figure 8 and Figure 9 have broadly three types of grouping patterns: The corpus that is composed of both the social-public value vocabularies and the market

principle vocabularies, the corpus that is composed of mainly the market principle vocabularies, and the corpus that is composed of “social enterprise,” “success” and “corporation.”

Most vocabularies of the two categories are gathered around the top right part of Figure 8. In Figure 9, most vocabularies of the two categories are gathered around the right center. A corpus that is predominantly composed of the market principle vocabularies, such as “management,” “profit,” and “service,” is found in Figure 8, and this corpus has higher link intensity than the first type of the corpus. In Figure 9, two corpora that are predominantly composed of the market principle vocabularies are found: one that is located at the upper part of the center is composed of the vocabularies such as “management,” “growth,” “investment”; the other that is located at the left lower part is composed of the vocabularies such as “service (as a commodity),” “market,” and “economy.” No corpus that is predominantly composed of the social-public value vocabularies is found in both the conservative forces’ semantic network (Figure 8) and that of the progressive forces (Figure 9). Finally, “social enterprise,” “success,” and “corporation” are strongly connected to each other and constitute a group in both forces’ semantic networks. These vocabularies are connected to the other vocabularies universally and intensively. In this sense, these corpora play a central role in both networks.

Figure 7, Figure 8, and Figure 9 illustrate that the three semantic networks have similar patterns. Thus, it is possible to anticipate that, regardless of political orientations, the discourses about success of social enterprises combine social public values and market principles in certain ways but the latter would play a dominant role in the discursive formation. That is, one can anticipate that both conservative and progressive forces’ discourses about success of social enterprises would emphasize the commercial nature of the social enterprises rather than their

social and public nature; these discourses would tend to describe the success of social enterprises in terms of their commercial success in the market rather than their success in the achievement of their social mission; the social public values would be subordinate to market principles in these discourses regardless of political orientations. These anticipated results might also imply that both conservative and progressive forces might make similar discursive practices, contrary to the popular belief that the both forces would instigate discursive struggles against each other for hegemony. In the subsequent sections, I explore the discursive structures about social enterprises' success more deeply under the guidance of those results found in this section and the previous section.

#### **4.4 The Discursive Structures of Social Enterprises' Success: In-depth Analyses**

The semantic network analyses in the previous section presents bigger pictures concerning the internal discursive structures of social enterprises' success. These analyses, however, do not provide in-depth information about the discursive structures. In this section, I conduct in-depth analyses of the discourses about success of social enterprises, using these bigger pictures obtained in the previous section as heuristic tools. I pay special attention to the following three aspects. First, how are the criteria for the success of social enterprises described? Second, how are the success strategies of social enterprises described? Finally, within what discursive frameworks of "problem-cause-solution" are the successes of social enterprises situated? I interpret the results of the analyses of these subjects in relation to dimensions of broader social practices, such as hegemony struggles and neoliberal social transformation.

#### **4.4.1 Criteria of the Success of Social Enterprises**

In the relevant texts, the success of social enterprises is defined in two ways: Success in terms of social and public performance, and success in terms of commercial performance on the market. The criteria of the former are suggested in terms of reinvestment in local communities, the number of social service recipients who benefited from social enterprises' activities, the number of jobs created by social enterprises for the disadvantaged, and so forth. The criteria of the latter are framed around financial independence, profits, financial sustainability, the number of branches and subsidiary companies, market competitiveness, and so forth. Except the texts whose statements about the criteria of the success are uncertain, 70 texts (seventy nine texts in permission of duplications) out of the total of 144 texts state the criteria of the success relatively clearly and specifically. The number of the texts that define the success in terms of social and public performance is 23 (twelve texts in the conservative newspapers and eleven texts in the progressive ones). 52 texts identify this success with commercial success in market (22 texts in the conservative newspapers and 30 texts in the progressive ones). Four texts define the success with other aspects besides these two categories of the criteria. Both conservative texts and progressive ones tend to identify the success of social enterprises with the commercial success in market rather than social and public aspects.

Even though social enterprises share both commonalities and differences with commercial enterprises and non-profit civic organizations, a large number of texts, regardless of their political orientations, emphasize the differences between social enterprises and non-profit civic organizations, while emphasizing the commonalities between social enterprises and

commercial enterprises. Through these discursive practices, the success of social enterprises is likely to be defined in terms of their commercial characteristics rather than their social and public characteristics.

The success of social enterprises, which provide jobs for the disadvantaged (the poor, seniors, the disabled and so forth) and simultaneously pursue making profits, relies on the organizations' financial independence. The social enterprises that concentrate only on the provision of jobs for the disadvantaged, and thus, cannot make a profit cannot be called social enterprises in the strict sense (*Chosun* November 30, 2010).

What is interesting in the *Chosun*'s text quoted above is that, even though the text defines social enterprises as the organization having both the social and public characteristic of "the provision of jobs for the disadvantaged" and the commercial characteristic of "making profits" in the first sentence, it soon refuses this dual characteristics by suggesting the social and public purpose of "the provision of jobs for the disadvantaged" as the obstacle to the commercial purpose "to make profits" in the subsequent sentence. Of course, this antinomy is justified by the logic that the success of social enterprises "relies on the organizations' financial independence." In this way, the logic that the success in the market is in essence the success of social enterprises is forged.

The main reasons why South Korean progressive forces pay attention to social enterprise are because they consider social enterprise as a promising instrument for the realization of social purposes, not the pursuit of profits, and they find potential to overcome the capitalist system in social enterprises. If this were the case, to the contrary, one would expect that discursive logic such as "if social enterprises put all energy only in making profits, they cannot achieve their

social and public purposes” would be found in the texts of the progressive newspapers. However, there was no text transferring the same discursive logic in the progressive newspapers’ texts. There was only a text that transfers slightly similar logic to that, however, though not exactly the same.

Substantially, it is not difficult to find the profit-first attitude among successful social entrepreneurs. This attitude might make social entrepreneurs downplay social enterprises’ essential purpose of the pursuit of social values, and cause the danger of leading both the social entrepreneurs and the social enterprises to surrender to the logic of capitalism. Nevertheless, they think it is still valuable to survive in market in itself (*Hankyoreh* January 21, 2004).

In this text of *Hankyoreh*, a progressive newspaper, “the profit-first attitude” is described as what might lead social enterprises’ essential orientation to the pursuit of social values to be undervalued and what might introduce “the logic of capitalism” into the activities of social enterprises. The subsequent sentence, however, transfers the idea that the survival in market is still valuable in itself in neutral tone, not in critical tone. In this arrangement of statements, the dangers that might be derived from the profit-first attitude are ultimately nullified. In terms of struggles for hegemony characterized by consent through persuasion of competing forces, the *Hankyoreh*’s text quoted above takes the form of being persuaded by the opponent force’s logic that places top priority on the pursuit of profits, rather than persuading the opponent forces.

Consequently, while arguing that social enterprises cannot achieve their social purpose without placing the top priority on the success in market, not only the conservative forces but also the progressive forces reverse the priority between end and means i.e. the social purposes

and the commercial strategies. The two categories of statements—the statements of the social public values and those of the market principles—are floating without particular interconnections in a network of signs, prior to the organization of the hierarchy between them. By articulating the statements of social public values with those of market principles under the latter's dominance, the hierarchy between these statements produce a particular logic: *social enterprises cannot achieve their social purposes without the success in market in advance, whereas to place the priority on the pursuit of social purpose prevents the survival in market*. This conservative discursive strategy functions as a hegemonic discourse in that it operates as a central logic even in the progressive forces' discourses.

The progressive forces fail to create their own counter-hegemonic discourses that articulate market principles with social public values under the dominance of the latter. Contrary to popular belief, the progressive forces employ a conservative discursive strategy that identifies the success of social enterprises with commercial success in the market more actively than conservative forces; the progressive forces are more active in defining social enterprise as *social enterprise* rather than *social* enterprise. It implies that the progressive forces' discourses about success of social enterprises are subjugated by the conservative forces' discursive hegemony, while failing to create their own progressive discursive strategy.

#### **4.4.2 Strategies for the Success of Social Enterprises**

In this section, I explore the structures of the discursive articulation about the success strategies of social enterprises. I also interpret the results of the analyses in relation to the broader dimension of social practices. Table 3 indicates the typologies and the appearance counts



of the success strategies of social enterprises. 91 texts out of the total of 144 texts suggest a variety of success strategies; in permission of duplication, 157 texts (conservative newspapers: 72, progressive newspapers: 85) contain the success strategies.

**Table 3: The Typologies and the Appearance Counts of the Success Strategies of Social Enterprises**

Success Strategy	Political Orientation	Count	Success Strategy	Political Orientation	Count
Big companies' support (partnership with big companies)	conservative	9	Concentrating more on market principles than social public values	conservative	6
	progressive	11		progressive	2
	Total	20		Total	8
Central governments' support	conservative	3	Business strategies (professionalism in business, marketing strategies, increase in sales, strengthening of competitiveness, efficient management, and market development)	conservative	14
	progressive	5		progressive	13
	Total	8		Total	27
Local governments' support	conservative	2	Citizens' support and interest in social enterprises	conservative	2
	progressive	8		progressive	1
	Total	10		Total	3
Strengthening of ability for financial independence	conservative	7	Promotion of social entrepreneurs	conservative	3
	progressive	8		progressive	2
	Total	14		Total	5
Spontaneity of the private and market sectors	conservative	4	Youths' entrepreneurship-encouraging culture	conservative	3
	progressive	5		progressive	2
	Total	9		Total	5
Attitude and ability of social entrepreneurs (creativity, proactivity, passion, spirit of community service, pragmatic attitude, management ability, and commitment to community)	conservative	8	Building various social networks	conservative	3
	progressive	7		progressive	6
	Total	15		Total	9
Concentrating on both social public values and market principles	conservative	0	Expansion of investment	conservative	2
	progressive	2		progressive	1
	Total	2		Total	3
Concentrating more on social public values than market principles	conservative	1	Others (trust, reform of the relevant institutions, early education of social service for children)	conservative	6
	progressive	1		progressive	10
	Total	2		Total	16

NOTE: Numbers are counts of texts; Conservative: *Chosun* and *Joongang*; Progressive: *Hankyoreh* and *Kyunghyang*.

The most frequently suggested success strategies regardless of political orientation are the business strategies, such as the professionalism in business, marketing ability, and the strengthening of competitiveness in quality and price. Broadly two aspects in the results demonstrated in Table 3 are noteworthy. One is the hierarchy between social public values and market logic. The other is how the discourses reframe the strategic roles of state, civil society, and market for the success.

Concerning the first issue, the discourses concerning the success strategies of social enterprises can be categorized into three types: the arguments that both social public values and market logic should be pursued evenly; the arguments that the former should be pursued more importantly than the latter; and the arguments that the latter should be pursued more importantly than the former. The first type of arguments is submitted in two texts and all the two texts are brought from the progressive newspapers. The second one is submitted in two texts: one from conservative newspaper and one from progressive one. The final one is submitted in eight texts (six texts from the conservative newspapers and two texts from the progressive ones). As these results demonstrate, the final type of discursive strategy that places more importance on market logic than social public values is much more frequently deployed than the other types of discursive strategies. There is a distinctive difference, however, between the discourses of conservative forces and those of progressive forces. The conservative forces tend to concentrate on the final type of discursive strategy i.e. they place more importance on commercial strategies than social public values. To the contrary, the progressive forces are likely to deploy these three types of discursive strategies evenly. Specifically the following text quoted from *Chosun*, the

conservative newspaper, demonstrates a tricky discursive strategy through which the logic to place top priority on commercial strategies is transferred.

He points out that the biggest misunderstanding about social enterprises is to confuse social enterprises with NGOs or donation organizations. “Social enterprises are also corporations. NGOs operate by grants and donations. Social enterprises operate, however, through economic activities to make profits by selling commodities and services. The worst enemy that prevents the success of social enterprises is to think that customers will buy our commodities and services, even though the commodities are less beautifully packaged and the qualities of those are worse by a little bit, because we do good things.” I mean that social enterprises cannot achieve success without making a resolute determination to compete with rivals in the market, only in the qualities of the commodities and our abilities instead of appealing to customers’ sympathies for our activities (*Chosun* February 14, 2011).

In this text, the enhancement of the quality competitiveness and business ability is suggested as an important prerequisite for the success of social enterprises. Technically, it does not mean that this market-based attitude is prior to the social public values-based attitude. What needs to be paid attention to, however, is the arrangement of the statements. Through the statements that social enterprises are also “corporations” and they should not be confused with “NGOs or donation organizations” in the first two sentences, “corporations” and “NGOs or donation organizations” are described as what go against each other. In the subsequent sentences, the entrepreneurial attitude to compete in the market is contrasted to the complacent and dependent attitudes to rely on customers’ sympathies for social enterprises’ good activities. Consequently, the arrangement

of the statements formed according to the strategy of contrast produces the discursive effect that social entrepreneurs' attitude placing larger emphasis on social public values is identified with a complacent and dependent attitude. Thus, the social public value-oriented attitude is represented as "the worst enemy" of the success of social enterprises.

What should be given attention next is how the roles of state, civil society and market are represented in the discourses about success of social enterprises. This is because, as discussed in the previous chapters, a social enterprise as an institutional mechanism cannot be separable from the neoliberal transformation of the relationships between these sectors. A total of 8 texts (conservative newspapers: 3 and progressive newspapers: 5) present support of the state as a strategy for the success of social enterprises. However, though 3 texts (conservative newspapers: 2 and progressive newspapers: 1) among those 8 texts emphasize support of the state, these texts also confine the support of the state to a limited role. In those texts, the arguments for seeking the state support are suggested on the condition that "gradually the support of the state should be reduced" (*Hankyoreh* July 15, 2009) or that this support should be confined to "an institutional preparation and establishment of the infrastructures at the early stage" (*Chosun* September 21, 2009). Thus, only 5 texts suggest the "active" support of the state (conservative newspapers: 1 and progressive newspapers: 4); when local governments support is added, 15 texts suggest "active" roles of the central and local governments (conservative newspapers: 3 and progressive newspapers: 12). Superficially, these results seem to reflect the traditional difference in political position between the conservative forces and the progressive forces, which have conventionally emphasized market-based solutions and the state's active institutional intervention respectively. On the basis of these results, one might anticipate that the conservative forces would employ a

discursive strategy to justify the shift of the state's roles and responsibilities to the private sectors, whereas the progressive forces would employ a discursive strategy to demand more active roles and the responsibilities of the state. This assumption, however, turns out to be a superficial and hasty judgement, when the way in which the relationships between the roles of other domains are represented is explored.

Big corporations' support or partnership with them is suggested as an important success strategy in 20 texts (conservative newspapers: 9 and progressive newspapers: 11). A total of 14 texts suggest the enhancement of social enterprises' business abilities enough to be financially independent without the help of the state and big corporations as an important success strategy (conservative newspaper: 7 and progressive newspapers: 8). The spontaneity of the private or market sector is suggested as an important success strategy in 9 texts (conservative newspaper: 4 and progressive newspapers: 5). The reinforcement of social entrepreneurs' entrepreneurial spirit is suggested in 15 texts (conservative newspaper: 8 and progressive newspapers: 7). For these success strategies, there is no significant difference in the number of the texts between the conservative forces and progressive ones. What needs to be paid attention to is that the discourses which emphasize the roles and the responsibilities of market, private sectors and individual social entrepreneurs rather than those of the state are much more predominant than the discourses that emphasize the state's roles and responsibilities, regardless of the political orientations of the newspapers.

In those texts, the statements on the government's interventions or government-driven policies are associated with the negative statements as follows: "the failure and limitation of big government" (*Hankyoreh* November 11, 2010), "the possibility of distorting the original purpose

by the government's excessive intervention" (*Joongang* November 19, 2008), and "the harmfulness of being certified as social enterprises by the government" (*Chosun* November 23, 2010). To the contrary, the statements of market, private sectors and individual social entrepreneurs are associated with the positive statements as follows: "spontaneous ideas and passion" (*Kyunghyang* March 26, 2011), "autonomy" (*Kyunghyang* December 19, 2012), "solving socioeconomic problems that cannot solved by the central and local governments" (*Hankyoreh* June 4, 2010). In these discursive arrangements, the government is represented as incapable, ineffective, and even harmful for the success of social enterprises, whereas the private sectors such as market and individual social entrepreneurs are glorified as more capable, effective, and desirable for the success. The following text of *Chosun* epitomizes the way in which the relationships between state, market and individuals are represented in the discourses of social enterprises' success.

The government-initiated microcredit bank that the MB administration<sup>29</sup> attempts to establish has lots of problems. The government has to change the way of thinking for the success of the microcredit institution, the core of the promotion of social enterprises, which innovatively help disadvantaged people through creative ideas of corporations and markets. [...] David Bernstein said that the crucial factor for the success of social enterprises is the existence of pure social entrepreneurs who can devote their whole lives to the activities of social enterprises. If the government wants the success of microcredit institutions, it has to confine its role. Its role should be limited to the institutional preparation and establishment of the infrastructures in the early stage of the promotion of social enterprises. The rest should be left to social entrepreneurs and the

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<sup>29</sup> The term "MB" is the initial of the previous South Korean president Lee, Myung-Bak. His presidential term was between February 25, 2008 and February 24, 2013.

market so that the microcredit institution can be sustainable regardless of change in governments  
(*Chosun* September 21, 2009).

A “government-initiated” policy is contrasted to the “innovati[on]” and “creative[ness]” of “corporations and market” in this text. In this discursive structure, the social public purpose to “help disadvantaged people” is represented as the role of social entrepreneurs and market, not the government. The government is represented as simply a supporter of the social entrepreneurs and market. In this way, the discourses of social enterprises’ success reframe the traditional relationship between government, market, and individuals.

The discursive strategy that directly contrasts the negative aspects of the government to the positive aspects of market and individuals is employed in a considerable number of texts. There is another type of discursive strategy, however, that is contributing to the reframing of the traditional relationships between government, market, and individuals. This second type of discursive strategy emphasizes the superiority of market and individuals to the government without mentioning its roles and negative aspects. By directly contrasting the government’s inferiority to the private sectors’ superiority, the first type of discursive strategy clarifies the basic ideological premise of the argument. Therefore, the first type of discursive strategy may unintentionally produce a reverse effect to bring its proposition of “the superiority of the private sector to the government” into controversy instead of naturalizing it as irrefutable truth. For instance, criticizing the problems of the governmental initiative and advocating the private sectors’ superiority, the *Chosun*’s text quoted above argues that the government’s role should be limited and the private sector must play a leading role. However, it does not offer enough



evidence to support this argument, except citing an authoritarian celebrity's statement. Furthermore, no evidence as to why the private sector is more effective than the government to help the disadvantaged is provided. Thus, the readers would be likely to interpret that argument as an extreme free market liberal's or a pro-neoliberalist's dogmatic assertion. For these reasons, from the perspective of discursive struggles for hegemony, this quoted *Chosun*'s text could be an example that fails to persuade others and to obtain consent from them.

In terms of the effect of discourse, the second type of discursive strategy that emphasizes the leading roles of market and individuals without mentioning the roles or responsibilities of the government could be more effective to justify the neoliberal reorganization of the relationship between government, market and individuals. This is because this discursive strategy does not refer to the role and responsibility of the government at all, and thus, can make the fundamental controversial issues invisible. By making issue substantially invisible, the neoliberal logic—shifting the traditional role and responsibility of the government to market and individuals—can be transferred naturally as if it were self-evident truth. The following text of *Kyunghyang* epitomizes this type of discursive strategy.

As Okolloh changed the way of thinking i.e. when she applied “design thinking,” entirely new horizons opened up. With information technology experts, she introduced a “internet mapping solution.” In other words, she decided to draw a violence map and won a big success. Thanks to the internet mapping solution, people came to be able to see the places where violence is rampant at a glance. The citizens' spontaneous participation was the key to the success of the project (*Kyunghyang* Jun 4, 2011).

This text above describes how a social enterprise could succeed in solving problems of violence in Kenya. Broadly three factors are described as the main contributors to the success: Okolloh's creative and innovative way of thinking, the cooperation with experts, and the spontaneous participation of the citizens. In this discourse, the discussions about the public power of the state that has responsibility to resolve the violent state—a *quasi*-state of nature in Thomas Hobbes's (2011) term—in Kenya are not raised.<sup>30</sup> In this way, this discourse makes the core issues of the debate between the advocacy of the state's initiative and that of the private sectors' initiative invisible. Therefore, this discursive strategy substantially makes the proposition that the private sectors are more effective to resolve problems of violence than the state into a self-evident truth.

In the texts studied, the second discursive strategy that makes the state's role invisible is more predominant than the first discursive strategy that contrast the state's inferiority with the private sectors' superiority. There is no significant difference between the conservative newspapers and the progressive ones. Thus, the expectation that the progressive forces' discourse, contrary to the conservative forces' discourse, would tend to justify the state's active roles and to raise the evils of market logic is rejected. That is, both the conservative forces and the progressive ones tend to employ a similar discursive strategy that justifies the limitation of the state's role and the shift of its role to private sectors. In this sense, South Korean progressive forces are failing to produce a counter-hegemonic discourse that resists the conservative forces'

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<sup>30</sup> Since Thomas Hobbes' discussion on the establishment of the state, the most essential role of the state has been understood as the formation of social order, by turning the private violence between individuals into the official violence of the public power, and thereby ending the war of all against all. Weber (1946) also defines the modern state as "a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force" (78). In this sense, it has been the most fundamental task of the state to manage the violence between individuals.

hegemonic discourse. The progressive forces' discourses are captured by the logic of the neoliberal reorganization of the society.

#### **4.4.3 Discursive Structure of Problematization: The Patterns of Problem-Cause-Solution**

South Korean progressive forces have understood social enterprise as a promising alternative to market economy and the neoliberal capitalist system. Accordingly, they have actively disseminated social enterprise discourses and participated in the promotion of the social enterprises as the main actors. The results of the analyses so far, however, demonstrate that their social enterprise discourses are dominated by the hegemonic neoliberal discourses of conservative forces, and thereby those discourses “unintentionally” result in the reinforcement of the neoliberal regime. The question of how then this irony took place is raised. In this section, I especially explore the discursive structures of the problematization, i.e. discursive patterns of *problem-cause-solution* of the progressive forces' discourses about success of social enterprises, in order to answer the question.

A discourse as a meaning system is formed by not only discursive practices but also various non-discursive social practices. Under the South Korean circumstances in which the state leads the promotion of social enterprises, particularly the state's various social practices—its financial and legal support, production and dissemination of the relevant discourses, and the relevant institutions—cannot but confine the autonomy of the producers of these discourses. Accordingly, the formation of the progressive forces' social enterprise discourses cannot be free from the influences of the state's social practices. Thus, the irony of the progressive forces' discourses stated above should be understood in relation to the influence of the state's social

practices. In this sense, the analysis of the discursive structures of the progressive forces' problematization about social enterprises in this section does not aim to find "the first" cause or "the most determinant" factor that causes the irony at all. The purpose of the analysis in this section is to find "a" discursive factor among various factors, with confining the analysis within the dimension of the discursive practices.<sup>31</sup>

Seo (2013) argues that the practices of progressive civil movement forces concerning social enterprises unintentionally have resulted in the reinforcement of neoliberalism in South Korea. According to him, the main reasons why this contradiction took place is because they underestimated the strong adaptability of capitalism to changing circumstances and failed to recognize the change in the operational logic of the current capitalism. That is, they failed to analyze how current capitalism operates; it transforms the crucial components of the social enterprise discourses such as "spontaneity, autonomy and social and communal solidarity" into "a buffer zone that absorbs the fatal effects of the capitalist contradictions," and converts them into the mechanisms that reinforce capitalism (Seo 2013: 72). From a similar perspective, in this section, I focus on what social phenomena are described as problems to be solved by social enterprises and which factors are described as the causes of the problems in the texts of progressive newspapers.

In this context, first, I analyze what social phenomena are described as problems that social enterprises must solve. Broadly 6 items in 11 texts (12 texts under the permission of duplication of items) are stated as problems. Among those texts, 5 texts suggest the deterioration

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<sup>31</sup> The analyses of the broader social practices beyond discursive practices are given in chapter seven and chapter eight.

in well-being of the disadvantaged such as poverty, polarization in wealth, and the vulnerability of social safety net. The failure of the state are described as a main problem in 2 texts. “The failure of market,” “the dark sides of globalization,” “the social situations in which the corporate social responsibility is required,” “socioeconomic problems,” and “the unemployment problem” are stated once respectively. What is interesting is that, though these texts mention diverse social problems and suggest social enterprises as the solution, these texts hardly discuss the causes of these problems. Only 2 texts state the causes of the problems. These results demonstrate that the discussions of problems jump directly to the discussions of solution without the analyses of the fundamental causes of the problems in the progressive forces’ discourses about success of social enterprises.

Many people suffer from poverty in globally standardized economy and consumption culture. One way to solve this crisis in happiness is localization, i.e. the rehabilitation of local cultures. [...] I was able to find several good examples of the localization, when I visited organically developing twenty nine production communities in *Hongseong* city. Additionally, my belief that the substantial change of local societies [...] can be possible through the construction of ethical solidarity economy and the participation of citizens became firmer than before (*Kyunghyang* December 14, 2009).

In this text, social enterprise is raised as a solution to the problem of “poverty in globally standardized economy and consumption culture.” The discussion of the problem jumps to the discussion of the solutions of “localization” and “the rehabilitation of local cultures.” The solutions of “localization” and “the rehabilitation of local cultures” are directly drawn from the

problematic phenomena of the “globally standardized economy and consumption cultures.” In this discussion of the solutions, social enterprises like “production communities” are described as the representative methods for the solutions. There is no statement about the structural factors that generate the problems of poverty, standardized global economy and consumption culture. Therefore, there is no room for criticism of the social structural factors of the problems, e.g., global capitalism, market logic and capitalist state policies, to be raised in this discursive structure.

The notion of social enterprise has emerged together with the privatization of the public services in the conversion process of the welfare system into the active workfare system in the Western Europe in the late 1970s when discourses around the crisis of the welfare state had emerged as a major issue. [...] Some social enterprises have already established the basis for the financial independence, and have returned their profits to society. For the success of the social enterprises, excellent leaders with both social and business minds must effectively manage the social enterprises, because social enterprises have both characteristics of commercial enterprises and charities. The more important thing, however, is that the sustainability of social enterprises will not be guaranteed unless there is active participation and support from local communities (Kyunghyang July 4, 2009).

This text of *Kyunghyang* demonstrates that some *problems* happened with respect to the welfare service delivery system *due to* state failure called “the crisis in welfare state,” and social enterprises are suggested as a way to *solve* these problems. Exceptionally, this text identifies a social structural cause of a problem. What needs to be paid attention to, however, is that the state failure pointed out as the cause of the problem is the same stereotyped cliché that justifies

neoliberal transformation of the welfare system. This progressive newspaper's text premises the state failure—the discourse that the state-driven welfare is ineffective and problematic—as an unquestionable truth. On this premise, the logic that the problem of citizens' well-being should be solved by “the excellent leaders with both social and business minds” and “active participation and support of local communities” instead of by the state is deduced naturally. This text quoted above demonstrates that the progressive forces do not have their own discursive problematization strategies concerning social enterprises; they are rather captured by the conservative neoliberal discursive hegemony.

As the analyses in this section demonstrate, the progressive forces' discourses of social enterprises' success take the form of jumping directly from a problematic phenomenon to the discussions of solution without the analyses of social structural causes. When the discussions of the causes of a problem are stated, these discussions are dominated by the hegemonic neoliberal discourses. As John Pearce (2003) points out, these findings designate that the discourse of social enterprises are the language of problem-solving rather than the critical language of social structural cause analysis. This discursive strategy of problematization, which deduces a solution directly from a problematic phenomenon without the analysis of social structural causes, produces political effects broadly in two ways. First, by making the market and neoliberal state as social structural factors that caused diverse social problems invisible, this discursive strategy generates the effect of exempting the market and neoliberal state from criticisms; particularly, the state is exempted from the responsibility to solve these problems. Second, it conditions the discourses of social enterprises to be organized within the framework of the pragmatic problem-solving rather than that of social structural criticism. Especially, the framework of the problem-

solving is likely to lead people to take a cooperative conciliatory attitude and the perspective of purposive/instrumental rationality, instead of an attitude of resistance and the perspective of normative criticism of the social structures that cause certain problems. Accordingly, the main social actors such as state, market, civil society and individuals are represented as the members of a community that have to cooperate with each other for the same purpose of the problem-solving in social enterprise discourses. Commercial methods and market principles are affirmed as the most efficient instruments for the achievement of the purpose. Therefore, the discursive framework of problem-solving converts the dynamics of the progressive forces' critical resistance practices into the dynamics of problem-solving. Consequently, the progressive forces' discursive strategy of the problematization functions as a factor through which the language of criticism and resistance practices disappear.

#### **4.5 Conclusion: *Social Enterprise* or *Social Enterprise*?**

The results of the analyses in this chapter demonstrate that the discourses about success of social enterprises articulate social public values and market principles with each other under the latter's dominance. Concerning the criteria of the social enterprises' success, the success is likely to be defined in terms of their commercial nature rather than social public natures. Accordingly, the success of social enterprises tends to be identified with success in the market. Even the pursuit of social public values is often described as an obstacle to the success.



Concerning these results, there is no significant difference between the conservative discourses and the progressive ones.<sup>32</sup>

Regarding success strategies, the intervention of the state tends to be represented as an important obstacle to success, whereas market strategies and individuals' spontaneity are described as crucial strategies for success. The progressive forces' discourses tend to emphasize the active role of the state more than the conservative forces' discourses. Both the conservative forces and the progressive ones, however, suggest market principles and the spontaneity of individuals as the determinant success strategies far more often than that. Most of these discourses do not mention the role and responsibility of the state. By making the state's role and responsibility invisible, these discourses make the core issues of the controversy invisible, and thus, convert the contentious issues—such as the inferiority of the state versus the superiority of market and private sector, the minimization of the state's role, and privatization of the public welfare services—into irrefutable truth. Concerning these results, there is no significant difference between the conservative discourses and the progressive ones.

Social enterprise is commonly represented as a new form of corporation that pursues social public good with entrepreneurial strategies and a model for an alternative society and economy beyond market economy and neoliberalism. Substantially, however, the dimension of social public values is dominated and marginalized by market logic in the discourses about

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<sup>32</sup> The publications concerning social enterprises and social economy published by the *Hankyoreh* Economic Research Institute, the affiliated research institute of *Hankyoreh Shinmun* tend to place higher emphasis on aspects of “financial sustainability,” “financial independence,” “management ability,” and “management strategies” than aspects of the pursuit of social values, more than any other conservative media or research institutes. In this sense, though the *Hankyoreh* Economic Research Institute understands itself as a progressive organization, it plays a leading role in bringing neoliberalism into the areas of the social and to reinforcing its dynamics. See *Hankyoreh* Economic Research Institute 2008; 2011.

success of social enterprises.<sup>33</sup> In this sense, social enterprise is social *enterprise*, not *social enterprise*. Progressive forces' discourses are not exceptional from these general discursive characteristics. Thus, South Korean progressive forces' discourses about social enterprises' success cannot be understood as counter-discourses to the hegemonic neoliberal discourses of the conservative forces. Their discourses are dominated by the hegemonic discourses of neoliberalism, and thus, these discourses unintentionally function to reinforce the latter.

Within the dimension of discursive practices, one of the main reasons why South Korean progressive forces fell into the fallacy of thinking of social enterprises as alternatives to neoliberalism rather than the typical apparatuses of neoliberal governing mechanisms is because their discourses are organized within the framework of problem-solving instead of the framework of cause analysis. Within the framework of problem-solving, normative radical criticisms of social structural factors and the attitudes of resistance practices are replaced with the logic of purposive/instrumental rationality, such as principles of efficiency and value neutrality, and collaborative and conciliatory attitudes. Therefore, the social structural factors such as the market and neoliberal state are represented as members of a community rather than somethings to be criticized; especially, market strategies are affirmed as effective methods for the purpose of problem-solving.

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<sup>33</sup> The language of the mass media is not the same as the actual language of social entrepreneurs in the fields. The social entrepreneurs in the field do not simply accept the discourses of the mass media uncritically. On the basis of interviews with the social entrepreneurs in the field, Dey (2010), Dey and Teasdale (2013), Parkinson and Howorth (2008), and Seanor and Meaton (2007) demonstrate that social entrepreneurs sometimes distinguish their activities from those of commercial entrepreneurs and resist the dominant social enterprise discourses.

## 5. DISCURSIVE STRUCTURES OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISES II: SOCIAL ENTERPRISES AND THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF GENDER<sup>34</sup>

### 5.1 The Return of the Feminine

A number of commentators have shown that the dominant practices and paradigms within the market economy are organized on the basis of a patriarchal model (Reed 1996; Mulholland 1996; Ahl 2004; 2006; 2007). Under the traditional gender division of labor between home and workplace, economic activities outside home have been regarded as those for men; a set of human characteristics that have been considered as virtues of the market—freedom, competition, efficiency, rational calculation, individualism, pioneering spirit, and risk-taking—are also those that have been traditionally framed as being masculine. In contrast, many feminine characteristics have been regarded as not being conducive for motivating entrepreneurial achievement (Fagenson 1993; Buttner and Moore 1997; Masters and Meier 1988; Changanti 1986). The language of the market has been that of men, while the language referring to traditionally feminine characteristics has been antonym of the languages of the market.

Given this gendered hierarchical market paradigm, the social enterprise economy is interesting because women's participation in social enterprises as social entrepreneurs and employees is far higher than their participation in ordinary commercial enterprises.<sup>35</sup> It is also

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<sup>34</sup> The main analysis in this chapter was first written in Korean and published in the *Korean Journal of Cultural Sociology* 18 (pp. 329-380) in Korea; the title of the paper is “The Political Dynamics of Gender Surrounding the Social Enterprises in South Korea.” This chapter is a revised version of that paper.

<sup>35</sup> According to the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2013), the proportion of the female executives in social enterprises is 32.4 percent, while in the top 100 big companies in South Korea it is 1.5 percent. This proportion of the female executives in social enterprises is far bigger than that in the commercial enterprises. Furthermore, the

important that the repressed language of the feminine re-emerges in the discourse of social enterprises. In the discourse of social enterprises, the market economy tends to be denounced as the fundamental cause of diverse social problems; simultaneously, the masculine is criticized. In stark contrast, values that have been traditionally regarded as having feminine characteristics—empathy, relational or community-orientation, ability to take care of those who are weaker physically or more vulnerable, unconditional sacrifice and devotion to one’s family, and so forth—are suggested as shaping alternatives to the masculinized market economy. Accordingly, the language of the feminine is pervasive in the texts of social enterprises; seemingly even the traditional gender hierarchy appears to be dismantled or reversed in relevant discourses. For these reasons, many progressives and feminists have developed an interest in social enterprises as prefiguring a type of feminist alternative to the market economy. They tend to see the social enterprise as female-friendly economic organizations that are conducive to elevating socioeconomic status of women, inspiring women’s subjectivities, and valorizing women’s works (Kim, H. 2014; Oh. 2007; Hong. 2011; Kim, U. 2011).

In this chapter, I examine how the political dynamics of gender are entangled with the mechanisms of social enterprises. Specifically, I critically analyze the discursive structures of social enterprises in relation to gender dynamics, by comparing the modes of discursive practices of the conservative forces and those of the progressive ones. With respect to the texts under consideration here, I analyzed newspaper articles that contain both the term “social enterprise” (including “social entrepreneur” and “social entrepreneurship”) and the term “woman”

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rate of female employees in social enterprises is 66.0 percent, while the average economic activity rate of women is 51.4 percent (9). As this shows, women’s participation in social enterprises is quite remarkable.

(including “mother,” “mom” and “housewife”) more than three times. These texts were collected from the articles published in the progressive newspapers (*Hankyoreh* and *Kyunghyang*) and the conservative newspapers (*Chosun* and *Joongang*) up until May 2014. In order to investigate the modes of discursive struggles between progressive forces and conservative ones, I focused on these two groups of newspapers that take politically oppositional stances. Finally, 71 articles were gathered: a total of 41 texts from the progressive newspapers (11 texts in *Hankyoreh* and 30 texts in *Kyunghyang*) and a total of 30 texts from the conservative ones (22 texts in *Chosun* and 8 in *Joongang*).

I designed a series of analytic procedures under the guidance of Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis methodology discussed in detail in chapter two as follows:

(1) Concerning the dimension of text, I abstracted the main vocabularies of masculinity and femininity from the texts analyzed. For the classification of the two groups of vocabularies, I employed the measures of the Korean Sex Role Inventory (KSRI) remodeled by Jean-Kyung Chung (1990) on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem 1974) in consideration of the Korean usage of the language and the cultural situations. Specifically, I employed the 19 linguistic measures of the human traits for masculinity and femininity respectively among the 20 human traits measures for the two gender categories respectively of the KSRI<sup>36</sup>. The synonyms are included in each category of the 38 vocabularies. I used the Korean dictionary search engine NAVER (<http://krdic.naver.com>) for searching for the synonyms. Table 4 designates the vocabulary lists of masculinity and femininity that I employed in this chapter.

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<sup>36</sup> I excluded the linguistic measures of “Masculine” and “Feminine” from each gender category because I thought these measures are too comprehensive to be used as analytic tools for my study in this chapter

(2) In the next step, I conducted a semantic network analysis of the main terms in order to obtain a bigger picture of the distinctive discursive structures. First, I conducted co-appearance analysis between the terms “social enterprise,” “woman,” and the vocabularies of masculinity and femininity, using NVivo 10 program. Then, using NetDraw program, I conducted the main component analyses of the word-networks and visualized the results. These analyses were conducted for the three data sets: the entire set of texts (N=71), the progressive newspapers’ texts (N=41), and the conservative newspapers’ texts (N=30).

(3) Under the guidance of the information obtained in the previous step, I conducted in-depth discursive analyses, directly exploring the texts. I paid special attention to the discursive practices about the subjects as follows: the gendered separation of home and work, the ways the social relationships among main actors were represented, and the narrative structures within which the masculine and the feminine are articulated with each other.

(4) Finally, I interpreted the results in relations to broader contexts of social practices, such as political struggles for hegemony between the progressive forces and the conservative forces, the politics of gender (subversion and reproduction of gender hierarchy), and neoliberal governmentality.

**Table 4: Vocabulary Lists of Masculinity and Femininity**

<b>Masculinity</b>		
Linguistic Measures for Masculinity (Based on Chung's KSRI)		Added Synonyms (Korean)
English	Korean	
trustworthy	믿음직스럽다	듬직하다, 든든하다, 진중하다, 점잖다
zealous	의욕적이다	적극적이다, 능동적이다, 성취욕구가 강하다, 활동적이다, 경쟁하다
taciturn	과묵하다	진중하다, 점잖다
strong-conviction	자신의 신념을 주장한다	확신하다, 소신있다, 자신하다, 자부하다
strong	강하다	굳세다, 확고하다, 강인하다, 튼튼하다, 힘이 세다
willful	의지력이 강하다	성취욕구가 강하다, 의욕적이다
self-reliant	자신감이 있다	자신하다, 자신만만하다, 확신하다, 낙관하다
bold	대범하다	대담하다, 담대하다, 과감하다, 용감하다, 용기있다. 위험을 무릅쓰다, 얽매이지 않다
easy-going	털털하다	수수하다
strong tenacity	집념이 강하다	고집있다, 일념이 강하다, 철전팔기의 정신을 갖는다, 끈질기다, 억척스럽다, 줄기차다, 집요하다, 포기하지 않는다, 의지력이 강하다, 성취욕구가 강하다
energetic	박력이 있다	추진력이 있다, 밀고 나간다,
loyal	의리가 있다	신의를 지키다
independent	독립적이다	자립적이다, 주체적이다, 자활, 자조, 스스로, 자력으로, 혼자 힘으로
has leadership abilities	지도력이 있다	리더십이 있다, 통솔력이 있다, 주도하다, 앞장서다, 이끌다
brave	씩씩하다	능름하다, 용감하다, 명량하다, 쾌활하다
decisive	결단력이 있다	과감하다
ambitious	야심적이다	야망이 있다, 포부가 크다, 패기 있다
risk-taking	모험적이다	위험을 무릅쓰다(감수하다), 도전, 실험, 시도, 개척정신, 프론티어
solemn	근엄하다	엄하다, 엄숙하다, 권위적이다, 권위주의적이다
<b>Femininity</b>		
Linguistic Measures for Masculinity (Based on Chung's KSRI)		Added Synonyms (Korean)
English	Korean	
delicate	섬세하다	치밀하다, 용의주도하다, 꼼꼼하다, 세심하다, 신중하다, 빈틈없다

friendly	다정다감하다	다정하다, 살갑다, 친근하다, 사랑, 정답다, 상냥하다
affectionate	어질다	자상하다, 자비롭다, 인자하다, 자애롭다, 관대하다, 보듬다, 께안다, 끌어안다, 선하다, 사랑, 포용하다
calm	차분하다	조용하다, 침착하다, 암전하다
kindhearted	친절하다	상냥하다
frugal	알뜰하다	지극하다, 살뜰하다, 알뜰살뜰하다, 근검하다, 절약하다
mild	온화하다	온후하다, 따뜻하다, 어질다, 온순하다, 인자하다, 상냥하다, 자상하다, 너그럽다, 자애롭다, 포용하다
docile	유순하다	순하다, 순종적이다, 부드럽다, 고분고분하다, 암전하다
tender	부드럽다	유순하다, 순하다, 원만하다, 유연하다, 유하다
sensitive	민감하다	예민하다, 까다롭다
soft-spoken	상냥하다	다정다감하다, 다정하다, 정답다, 친절하다, 부드럽다
obedient	순종적이다	순응적이다, 따르다
sentimental	감정이 풍부하다	감상적이다, 낭만적이다, 감정이입하다, 눈물 흘리다, 울다, 감동하다
meticulous	꼼꼼하다	섬세하다, 치밀하다, 용의주도하다, 세심하다, 신중하다, 빈틈없다, 조심스럽다, 철두철미하다, 철저하다
clean	깔끔하다	매끈하다, 정갈하다, 정결하다, 청결하다, 깨끗하다, 위생적이다
quiet	암전하다	온순하다, 순하다, 부드럽다, 차분하다, 조용하다
warm	따뜻하다	온화하다, 온후하다, 자상하다, 인자하다, 너그럽다, 자애롭다, 정답다, 다정다감하다, 다정하다, 사랑, 포근하다
compassionate	인정이 많다	정이 많다, 공감적이다, 정감적이다, 연민을 느끼다, 동정심을 느끼다, 불쌍히 여기다, 애처롭게 여기다, 딱하게 여기다, 측은하게 여기다, 안타깝게 여기다, 슬프다, 가엽게 여기다, 안쓰럽게 여기다, 가슴 아프다, 마음 아프다, 애통해하다, 애석해하다, 감정이입하다, 인간적이다, 인간적이다, 마음이 따뜻하다, 착하다, 선하다, 사랑
affable	싹싹하다	나긋나긋하다, 상냥하다, 친절하다

## 5.2 Semantic Networks of Social Enterprise Discourses in Relation to Gender

Prior to in-depth discursive analyses of the texts, I conducted semantic network analyses between the vocabularies described in Table 4. Figure 10, Figure 11, and Figure 12 show the results. Figure 10 illustrates the semantic network, when the text sources' political orientations



are not considered. This figure shows some distinctive connection patterns between the vocabularies. The first pattern is that a core corpus at the right center in the network is closely condensed around the terms “social enterprise.” This group of vocabularies is composed of four feminine vocabularies—“compassionate,” “affectionate,” “warm” and “meticulous” – and two masculine vocabularies—“independent” and “has leadership ability.” This connection pattern suggests that the feminine vocabularies would play more crucial role than the masculine ones in the discourses of social enterprises.

The second pattern is that two distinctive corpuses are arrayed around the core corpus. One stretches to the direction of ten o’clock from the core corpus. The other stretches to the direction of seven o’clock from the core corpus. The former is mainly composed of feminine vocabularies: “docile,” “clean,” “sensitive,” “delicate,” “soft-spoken,” “kindhearted,” and “affable.” The latter is mainly composed of masculine vocabularies: “strong,” “risk-taking,” “willful,” “self-reliant,” and “strong-conviction.” These connection patterns imply that social enterprise discourses would be composed of broadly two discursive types: the discursive type that would be mainly composed of feminine vocabularies, and the discursive type that would be composed of both feminine and masculine vocabularies. Particularly, the first corpus out of the two secondary corpuses, which is mainly composed of the feminine vocabularies and stretches to the direction of ten o’clock, is connected only to the core corpus, which is mainly composed of feminine vocabularies; thus, it tends to be marginalized in the entire network. This implies that the first discursive type, which would be mainly composed of feminine vocabularies, would be relatively marginalized in the social enterprise discourses. To the contrary, the second corpus out of the two secondary corpuses, which is mainly composed of the masculine vocabularies and

stretches to the direction of seven o'clock, is widely connected to not only the core corpus but also other vocabularies. This suggests that the second discursive type, which would be composed of both masculine and feminine vocabularies, would be more universal than the first discursive type in the social enterprise discourses.

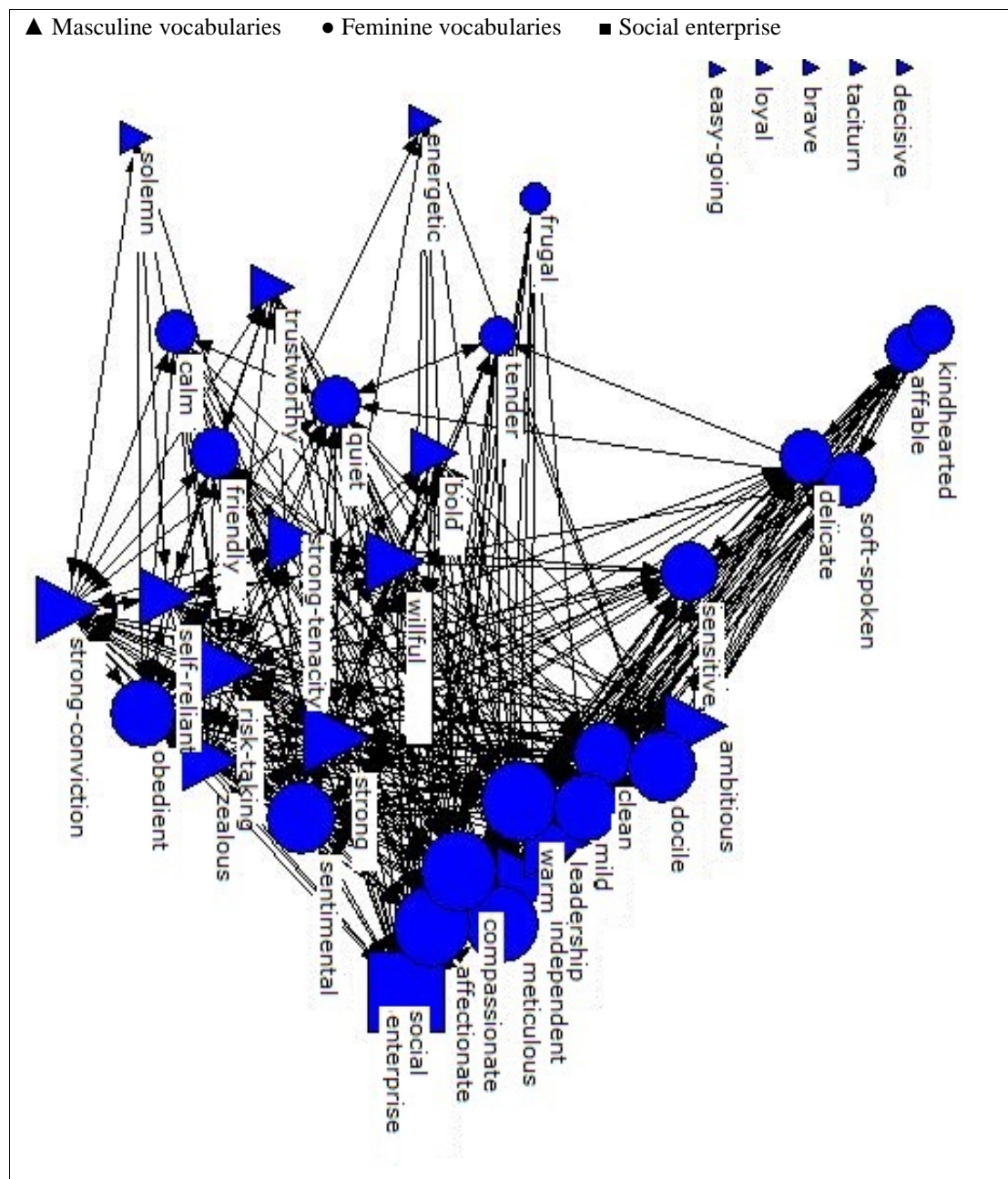


Figure 10: Semantic Network among the Vocabularies of Masculinity and Femininity

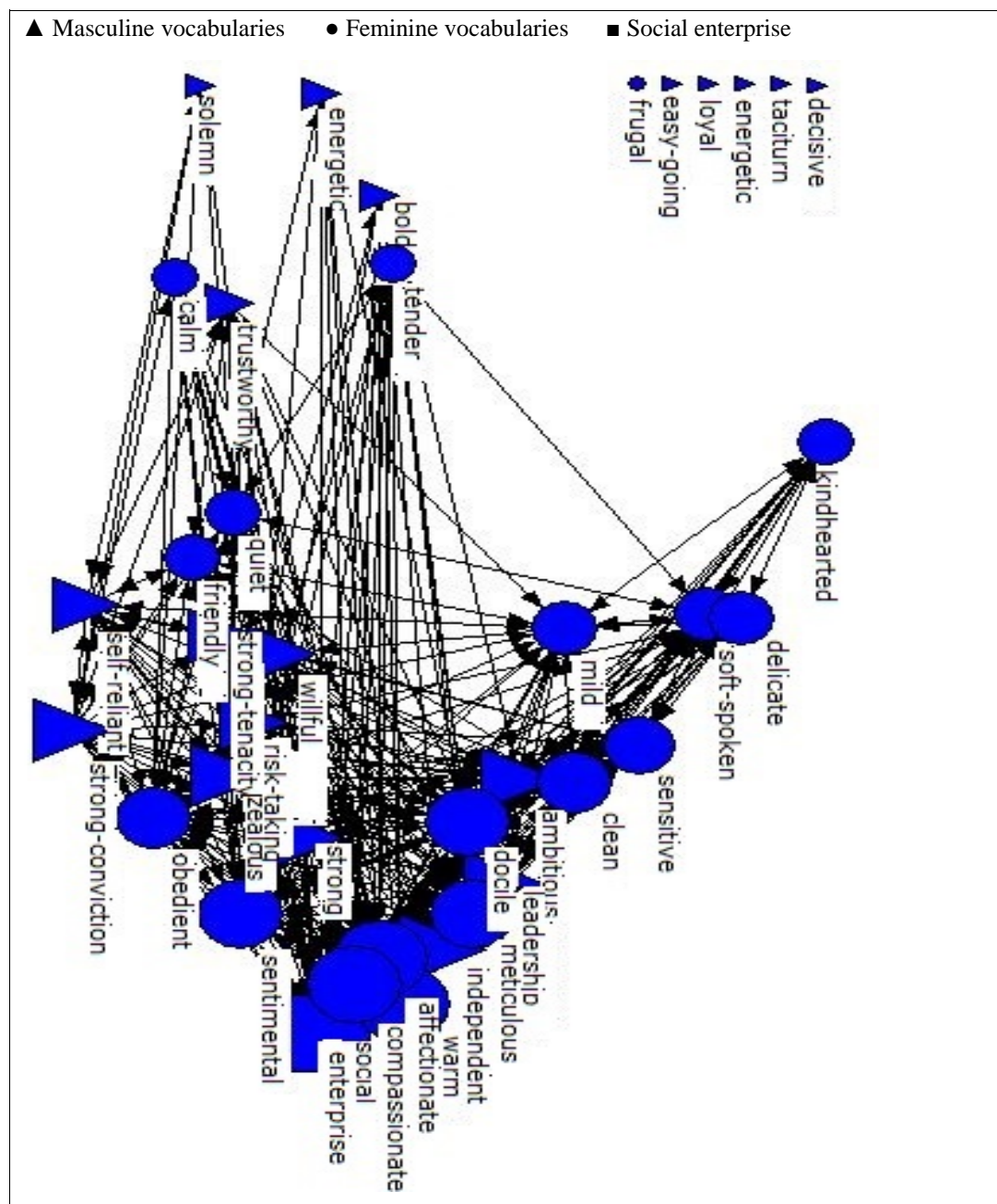
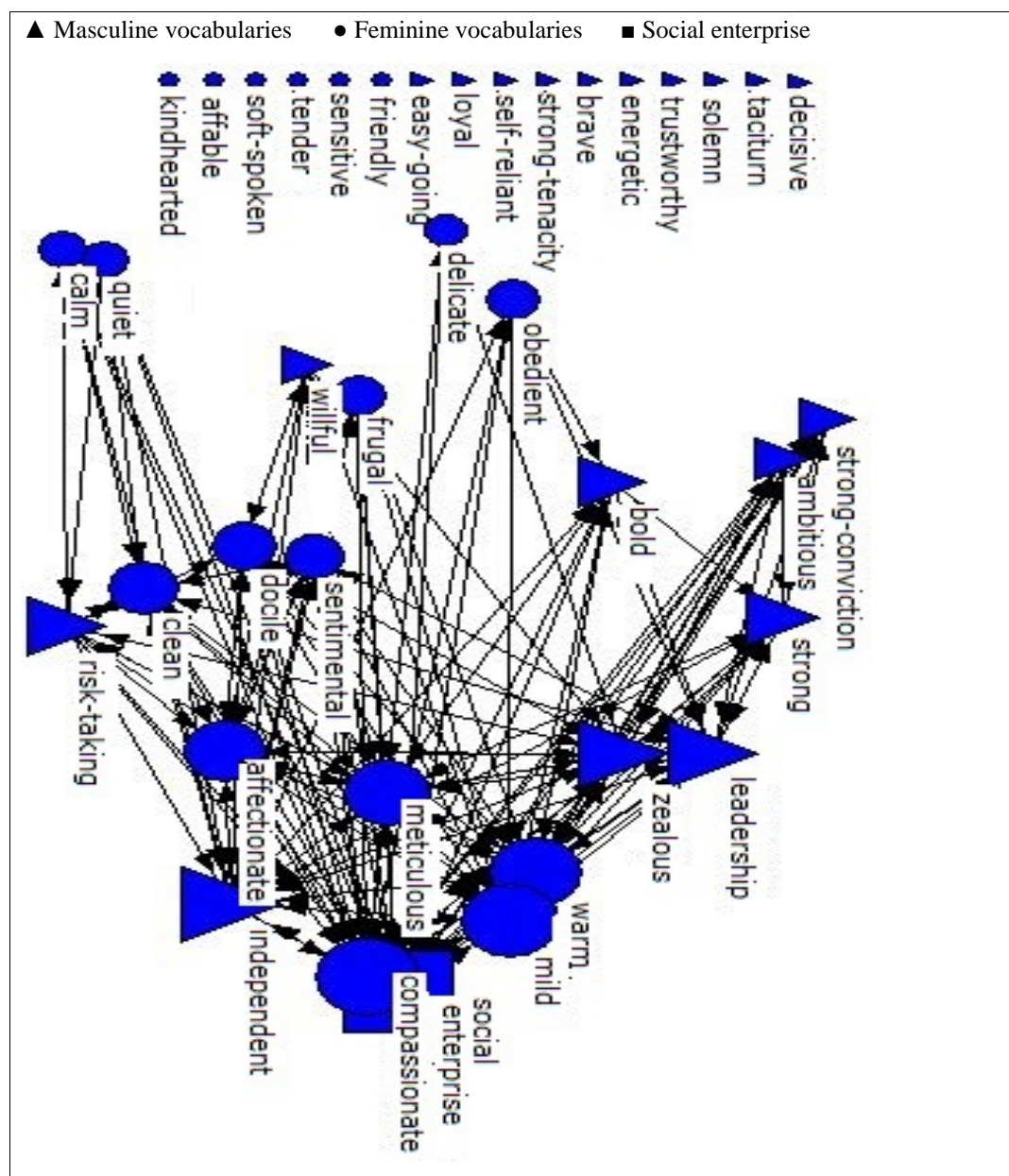


Figure 11: Semantic Network among the Vocabularies of Masculinity and Femininity in Progressive Force’s Discourses of Social Enterprises



**Figure 12: Semantic Network among the Vocabularies of Masculinity and Femininity in Conservative Force's Discourses of Social Enterprises**

The progressive force's semantic network illustrated in Figure 11 shares quite similar patterns with the semantic network of Figure 10, to the extent that additional explanations about the connection patterns are not required. In comparison with these two similar semantic networks

in Figure 10 and Figure 11, however, there are both commonalities and differences between the conservative force's semantic network in Figure 12 and the former two semantic networks in Figure 10 and Figure 11. Similar to the former two semantic networks, a corpus that is composed of four feminine vocabularies—"compassionate," "warm," "mild," and "meticulous"—and one masculine vocabulary of "independent" is closely condensed around the term "social enterprise." These vocabularies, which are mainly composed of feminine vocabularies, constitute the core corpus in the conservative force's semantic network. Furthermore, two secondary corpuses, which stretch to the directions of ten o'clock and eight o'clock respectively, are connected to this core corpus. Like the former two semantic networks in Figure 10 and Figure 11, one of the two secondary corpuses is mainly composed of the masculine vocabularies such as "willful," "has leadership ability," "strong," "ambitious," and "strong-conviction"; the other is mainly composed of feminine vocabularies such as "affectionate," "sentimental," "docile," and "clean." Contrary to the former two semantic networks, however, the first one out of the two secondary corpuses that is mainly composed of masculine vocabularies, not the second one which is mainly composed of feminine vocabularies, tends to be connected only to the core corpus, and thus, the first corpus is relatively isolated in the network; whereas the other corpus that is mainly composed of feminine vocabularies tends to be widely connected to not only the core corpus but also the other vocabularies. Thus, one can anticipate that the discursive type that is composed of mainly feminine vocabularies would be more universal than the discursive type that is composed of both feminine and masculine vocabularies in the conservative force's discourses of social enterprises; while the latter discursive type would be relatively marginalized. Under the guidance

of these results of the semantic network analyses, I explore the discursive structures of social enterprise discourses in relation to gender dimensions more deeply in the next section.

### **5.3 The Subversion and Reproduction of the Gender Hierarchy Based on Home-Workplace Separation**

#### **5.3.1 The Subversion of Gender Hierarchy Based on Home-Workplace Separation**

As discussed in the previous section, the appearances of a series of femininity vocabularies are distinctive in the discourses of social enterprises regardless of the data sources' political orientations. The in-depth discursive analysis on the texts demonstrates that these vocabularies of femininity intensely appear in the context of explaining the definitions, missions and activities of social enterprises. Typically a social enterprise is explained as “a good corporation” that pursues seeking to form “warm” communities “embracing” the disadvantaged with “love” and “empathy.” In this way, social enterprises are represented as the organizations that take care of the disadvantaged as if “mothers” take care of weaker children with devotion and love. Particularly, women are described as being representative among the disadvantaged social groups that a society should take care of.<sup>37</sup> As these discourses show, social enterprise policies aim to shift poor women and the other disadvantaged people from the home to the

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<sup>37</sup> Actually, the problem of women's poverty is a very serious situation in South Korea. According to Seok (2004), 21.0 percent of all female headed households were below the poverty line in the early 2000s, when discussions of the institutionalization of social enterprises began in South Korea; this proportion was 3 times larger than that of male headed households. The proportion of female headed households out of the total families in poverty was 45.5 percent; this proportion was 2.5 times larger than the percentage of female headed households out of the total number of families, 18.5 percent.

workplace. Thus, the social enterprise discourses inevitably cause some changes in the traditional gender hierarchy based on the home-workplace separation.

The emergence of industrial society promoted the separation between home and workplace, and the discriminatory gender ideology reinforced the belief that the suitable place for women was home, while the one for men was workplace. When women have worked outside the home, they have faced wage discrimination. Particularly, the ideology of the family wage, which is based on the sexist assumption that men are breadwinners and women are housewives, has served to devalue women's labor and justify wage discrimination between men and women (Barrett and McIntosh 1980). Furthermore, as only the labor at market outside home is regarded as official labor, women's domestic labor has been devalued. Women were expected to be "angels in the house" who must devote their lives to their children and be submissive to their husbands. With this being the case, how then would the gender hierarchy be represented in social enterprise discourses in which this economic sphere is characterized as an alternative to the masculinized market economy? A text of *Chosun* below partially reverses the traditional gender hierarchy and the gendered home-workplace separation.

A surprising fact that we found is that the family welfare improves much faster, when we lend money to women than men. Women, more than men, invested far more money in education of the children, and they spent much more money to take care of their families. Women have special ability to assess the demands of families and to allocate limited budgets efficiently. Bangladeshi women were thoroughly trained economically not to waste money up to even a cent in fear of being scolded by their husbands. Men are accustomed to spend money for themselves. It is common that they hang around with their friends, and run out of all their money quickly on



gambling and drinking. Men put the satisfaction of their pleasure first, while women put their family members first, not themselves (*Chosun* September 15, 2007).

In this *Chosun*'s text, women are represented as well trained economic humans who can make more profits than men in the market, because they have an ability to allocate limited resources efficiently without wasting resources. Women's traits—devotion to their families before themselves, attention to the education of their children, frugal management of household budgets, and so forth—are described as market-friendly elements, not as somethings against market mechanisms. To the contrary, men are represented as not being economical in that they tend to waste money on their own pleasure such as with gambling and drinking. Their human traits are described as contradictory to the virtues required in market. In this manner, the text partially subverts the traditional gender hierarchy and ideas about what is the desirable place for women. Furthermore, it also challenges stereotypical ideas about the market that have been understood as being based on a patriarchal model.

There is no single text that glorifies women's lives as full-time housewives among a total of 71 texts analyzed in this chapter. The absence of this type of text may be derived from the situation that one of the important target groups which social enterprise promotion policy aims to mobilize is women in South Korea. The policy aims to deploy women from the home into social enterprise mechanisms as social entrepreneurs or workers. For that reason, social enterprise discourses contrast housewives' dependent, lethargic, thoughtless and meaningless lives at home with the independent, energetic and meaningful lives they will experience after beginning to

work at social enterprises. The following statement of a woman who was a full-time housewife prior to working as a lecturer in an education-related social enterprise is typical in this respect.

The occupation of lecturer requires ceaseless study. The experience of discovering one's new self and obtaining intellectual satisfaction through continuous study, escaping from the thoughtless and numbing aspects of the home, provides great impetus to promote the development of a lecturer (Kyunghyang October 12, 2009).

In this text, the life of a lecturer in a social enterprise, which is characterized by the discovery of the self, the intellectual satisfaction and the development of the self, is contrasted with the “thoughtless and numbing” life of being confined to the home. In this discourse, the desirable place for women is described as the workplace, not the home. Discourses that dismantle the traditional gender division of labor are associated with modern capitalism's labor paradigm that defines labor as the essence of humanity and the fundamental source for the realization of the self, history and civilization.

Social enterprise discourses demonstrate that the work in social enterprises provide three broader advantages for women. First, it encourages women's self-esteem. Second, it is conducive to the improvement of the socioeconomic status of women. Finally, it also contributes to the valorization of women's labor because the institutionalization of social enterprises is an effort consistent with socializing women's labor. Concerning the first advantage, the restorations of women's self-esteem and subjectivity are the subjects that quite frequently appear in the relevant discourses. Numerous texts emphasize that the most serious problem for the disadvantaged

including women is for them to abandon themselves to despair, not only economic poverty itself. Consequently, the restoration of self-esteem and subjectivity are described as a more important and urgent task than simply escaping from poverty.

Concerning the second advantage of the improvement of women's socioeconomic status, social enterprise discourses demonstrate that women's participation in the work of social enterprises helps them to escape from the status of being economically dependent on their husbands. A *Chosun*'s text that introduces Grameen Bank, the social enterprise that runs a microcredit business mainly for women in Bangladesh, states the following:

The advancement of women's rights and interests is one of the most significant effects of the microcredit movement. Until 1976 when the microcredit business started, women could not leave the home without the permission of their husbands or their mothers-in-law due to Muslim tradition. As the women participated in the microcredit loan business, they began to leave the home freely for center meetings once a week and for group activities. They began to be able to live as business women confidently (*Chosun* September 15, 2007).

This text demonstrates that women's participation in the microcredit business of the Grameen Bank enabled them freed them, allowing them to escape from the control of their husbands and mothers-in-law; it also helped them to live as businessmen beyond simply being housewives. In similar term, many texts place social enterprises within the context of the improvement of women's socioeconomic status.

Concerning the final advantage of the valorization of women's labor, social enterprises are frequently described with respect to the socialization of women's labor which has been

devalued by being regarded as unofficial labor. This type of discourse is closely related to the fact that the social service area, the main business area of social enterprises, is the new domain in which the state has reorganized traditional women's unpaid domestic labor area for familial needs into the paid official economic area for social needs. As traditional women's unpaid domestic labor began to be performed as official paid labor through social enterprises, traditional women's labor came to be valued as higher than it previously had. For instance, introducing a social enterprise for postnatal care services, a text of *Kyungnyang* (2009) demonstrates that "women's health is the very base of a healthy society," and thus, "women's bodies" are directly associated with "the socially significant problem [...] of the crisis in the national growth engines derived from the low birthrate of South Korea" (July 6). In this text, the postnatal care business of the social enterprise is represented as socially quite valuable for the satisfaction of social needs. In the same line of thinking, the female workers of the social enterprise are represented as "postnatal coordinators [...] with objective professionalism, [...] not simply charwomen" (July 6).

In these ways, social enterprise discourses subvert the traditional idea of the hierarchical gender division of labor between home and workplace. The modern capitalist labor discourses, which aim to transform housewives into workers by representing the former's lives as meaningless and the latter's lives as meaningful, are articulated within these discourses. The traditional feminist discourses that pursue the improvement of women's self-esteem, their socioeconomic status and the value of their labor also intervene in those discourses. Overall, the modern capitalist labor discourses and the traditional feminist discourses are combined within

the discourses of social enterprise. This mode of discursive articulation is unique in terms of the traditional relationship between capitalism and patriarchy (Hartmann 1979).

The connection between the two discourses around social enterprise needs to be understood in terms of discursive struggles for hegemony. Hegemony refers to a governing mechanism through which each social force struggles to obtain consent from other forces by persuading them that their arguments are universal enough to satisfy all forces' interests, not merely special arguments for their narrow interests. In order to gain consent, a political force must be able to partially accept other forces' positions and to articulate those with its position under the latter's supremacy (Gramsci 1971). In terms of discursive struggle for hegemony, on the one hand, the strategy of the capitalist labor discourses aims to mobilize women into the social service market as workers, accepting a degree of weakening of patriarchal power derived from the women' mobility to workplaces from home. On the other hand, the discursive strategy of feminism pursues to attain the representative demands of women—the improvements of women's socioeconomic status, elevation of their self-esteem, and the rise of the value of their labor in official paid labor market—through the expansion of the women's participation in the formal labor market, at the expense of the demand for the valorization of the unpaid domestic labor. The problem is which of these two discourses plays a dominant role in the discursive articulation, and thus, which of them obtains discursive hegemony. I explore this subject in the next section.

### 5.3.2 The Reproduction of the Gender Hierarchy Based on Home-Workplace Separation

As discussed above, the discourses of social enterprises break down the assumption that the proper site for women is the home in order to move women from that site to the official workplace, i.e. to transform housewives into workers. These discursive strategies, however, are followed by other types of discursive strategies that reinforce and reproduce the assumption. The discourses of the latter have broadly two forms. The first form of the discourse represents women's engagement in the work of social enterprises as abnormal and exceptional processes caused by unexpected experiences of trial and hardship in *normal* home life. The other form of the discourse represents social enterprises as women-friendly economic organizations in which women's properties and abilities can be best exercised. The following text is the typical example of the first form of the discourse.

They are the members of *Yakson-Umma*<sup>38</sup>, the patient-caring social enterprise. They are also the masters of the company. Kim, Unkyung (52 year-old) is one of those. Her husband was on the board of a major company. After retirement, he launched three enterprises but all of those businesses went bankrupt in sequence. Consequently, he lost all assets amassed in his lifetime. There was no moment to resent him making money for paying her children's school tuition. [...] Cho, Yungsuk (54 year-old) also cannot forget the fall in 1999 when she visited a self-sufficiency-agency. She was a full-time housewife whose social life outside the home was only participating in church-based volunteer work. Due to the debt in the billions of won caused by her husband's failure in business, she and her husband got a fake divorce in order to escape from being hounded by creditors; her husband fled abroad. [...] She would not be in this world unless there were her two children who she had to take care of. [...] These people were swept away by troubled waters

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<sup>38</sup> This Korean term literally means "Mom's healing hands" in English.

in their lives! [...] The place which they visited with their final hopes was *Yakson-Umma* (Kyunghyang March 7, 2006).

In this text, the two women's engagement in the patient-caring social enterprise *Yakson-Umma* as workers was facilitated by their experiences of unexpected trial and hardship in their *normal* home life. The two women who were middle class full-time housewives underwent personal trials, involving economic hardship due to their husbands' failures in business and family disruption; they fell into despair even up to the point that they seriously contemplated suicide. The last place where those women "who were swept away by troubled waters" visited in despair was the social enterprise *Yakson-Umma*. Of course, these discourses aim to emphasize that social enterprises help women in hardship so that they can overcome the hardship and start new lives. By describing women's participation in labor at social enterprises as exceptional cases that were made by special and unexpected experiences, however, this form of discourse simultaneously reinforces and reproduces the idea that the proper site for *normal* women is not workplace but the home. Women's poverty and their consequent participation in social enterprises tends to be discussed in relation to a series of phrases such as "husbands' failure in business," "due to divorce," "death of husbands," and "poor female breadwinners" in both progressive and conservative texts studied. Describing these women's poverty in terms of the absence of their husbands who they can rely on economically, these discourses ultimately generate the effect to reproducing the idea that it is *normal* for women to depend on their husbands.

The other form of discourse represents social enterprises as women-friendly economic organizations. Actually the proportion of women in social enterprises is reported as much higher

than that in ordinary commercial enterprises. Nine out of the world's most influential top thirty social entrepreneurs named by Forbes in 2011 were women. In South Korea, the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2013) and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2013) report that the proportion of female social entrepreneurs are 32.4 percent and 37.9% respectively. These percentages are at quite high level and make the phrase "glass ceiling" sounds unreasonable, when notes that in comparison the percentage of female executives in the South Korean top one hundred major companies was only 1.5 percent (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2013). The proportion of female workers is also relatively quite high. The proportion is reported as 66 percent and 64.3 percent by the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2013) and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2013) respectively. These situations characterized by women's high participation in social enterprises generate a tendency where people implicitly identify the positions in social enterprises with those of women or regard social enterprises as women-friendly corporations (Kim 2011). The following text embodies this tendency.

Women's activities are remarkable in social enterprises which pursue both the creation of jobs and profits. There are 81 preliminary social enterprises, which wait for certification by the Ministry of Employment and Labor, and 72 certified social enterprises in *Gyeonggi* Province at present in December 2010. The chief executives of 50 social enterprises among those are women. The main business items of social enterprises, such as household chores, childcare, patient care, and lunch box delivery, are concentrated in the areas in which women can display their abilities, because social enterprises pursue caring for vulnerable classes. These conditions imply that social enterprises can serve as good job-creation measures for women (*Chosun* December 13, 2010).



The perception of regarding social enterprises as women-friendly economic organizations is closely related to the fact that the main business areas of social enterprises are social service areas characterized by caring services. That is, the work in these areas is conceived as appropriate for women because they have traditionally carried out this caring work. Furthermore, this work is also regarded as activity that women can easily access without professional knowledge and skills. The assumption that social enterprises and social services areas are suitable for women's abilities and traits, however, is premised on two additional assumptions. One assumption is that ordinary commercial enterprises and their business areas are not suitable for women's traits or qualities. The other assumption is that social enterprises and their main business areas, social service areas, are not suitable for men.

Regarding these assumptions, there is no empirical evidence supporting the proposition that women's traits are more suitable for social enterprises and less suitable for commercial enterprises (McAdam and Treanor 2012: 3; Roper and Cheney 2005). A number of empirical studies demonstrate that there is no significant difference in economic performance between men and women in the market, when available capital, business sizes, industry fields and so forth are controlled (Boden and Nucci 2000; DuRietz and Henrekson 2000). Cliff (1998) demonstrates that there is no significant difference in growth-desiring attitudes between male and female entrepreneurs. According to him, the typical difference in business size between male-headed companies and female-headed ones, relatively larger and relatively smaller respectively, can be explained by the difference in the size of resources that they can mobilize, not by gender differences in attitudes, intentions and motivations. The findings of these empirical studies suggest that the assumptions – social enterprises are suitable for women while commercial ones

are not suitable for them, and women are essentially deficient in entrepreneurial attitudes – are merely prejudices. Nevertheless, these fallacies are rampant in social enterprise discourses. That is, social enterprise discourses are firmly based on the gender division of labor that regards the areas suitable for men as commercial business and those suitable for women as social service business. Representing work in social service areas as that which women can easily access without professional skills, those discourses also devalue female labor. In this sense, social enterprise discourses replicate and reinforce the gender hierarchy based on home-workplace separation.

As discussed above, on the one hand, social enterprise discourses subvert the home/workplace-based gender hierarchy. On the other hand, discursive practices that reproduce and reinforce the hierarchy in other ways ensue immediately. It is quite ironic in that most social enterprise texts represent social enterprise as an alternative to the male-hegemonic market economy paradigm. These discursive practices also suggest that the articulation between the modern capitalist labor discourses and the feminist discourses is performed under the latter's subordination to the former, and thus, it results in the reinforcement of the former's hegemony.

#### **5.4 Social Enterprise and Community**

The market economy has been typically characterized by male heroes' rational management strategies and competition between them (Reed 1996; Mulholland 1996; Ahl 2004; 2006; 2007). On the contrary, social enterprises discourses emphasize the restoration of communal values such as cooperation, solidarity, and empathy with others' pain, with criticizing

the evils derived from the male heroes' rational management strategies and competition between them. For that reason, various statements concerning communitarian values are omnipresent in the discourses of social enterprises. In these discourses, community is described as an ideal model that replaces the competition model between rational and individualistic male heroes (Amin et al. 2002; Cho 2006; Parkinson and Howorth 2008). The emphasis on communitarian values is not exceptional in the texts studied in this chapter. As the semantic analysis conducted previously illuminates, a group of feminine vocabularies is densely clustered around the vocabulary of "social enterprise." These feminine vocabularies are simultaneously the vocabularies that represent communitarian values. These conditions imply that social enterprises are discursively constructed in close relations to community discourses.<sup>39</sup> In this context, I explore how gender discourses and community discourses are articulated in this section. I pay special attention to the following subjects: How the relationship between social entrepreneurs and the employees is represented; how the relationship between social enterprises and their consumers is discursively constructed; and how the communities in social enterprise discourses differ from other types of communities.

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<sup>39</sup> The names of a number of the social enterprises that appear in the texts studied also reflect the characteristics of community. For instance, "Dureh Mauel (Cooperative Village)," "Pang Dureh (Bread Cooperation)," "Sisters' Garden," and "Yakson-Umma (Mom's healing hands)" are these names of the social enterprises.

### **5.4.1 Social Enterprises as Family Communities: the Relationship between Social Entrepreneurs and the Employees**

The employers and the employees are connected to each other fundamentally on the basis of the wage labor contract in commercial enterprises. The interests of employees and interests of employers are opposed to each other. Typically, as Karl Marx(1976) points out, the opposing interests between them have taken the form of antagonistic conflict between the former's strategies for the maximization of labor exploitation and the latter's strategies for the increase of wage and the improvement of working conditions. In this sense, the relationship between the employers and the employees is sharply opposed to the traditional communal relationship that is formed on the values such as common interests, emotional bonds, solidarity, and cooperation. The relationship between employers and the employees in social enterprises cannot be the same as the relationship between them in commercial enterprises, because the main purpose of the social enterprises is the pursuit of the realization of social values and public good, not the pursuit of profits. Oftentimes social enterprises are described as "companies that sell bread to create jobs for the disadvantaged, not profits," the central priority of social enterprises is not the interests of the stockholders but job creation for the disadvantaged. Thus, though formally social entrepreneurs and the employees are also connected on the basis of wage labor contracts, social enterprises are characterized by communal relationships rather than economic interest-based relationships.

Social enterprises are typically represented as family communities in the discourses of social enterprises, regardless of the political orientations of the texts. The co-workers are described as the members of a family and the atmosphere in the companies is expressed as

homelike in a number of the texts. Social entrepreneurs and the employees are represented as the mothers who devotedly take care of the disadvantaged and the weak children who are taken care of by them respectively.

*Pang-dure* [bread-making cooperative group in English] was named in the meaning to make bread together and to share it with neighbors. Ten employees including Yeonghee Kim, who is called the “bread-factory manager,” work here. There are female heads of households and those who have suffered the pain of long-term unemployment among them. These employees who overcame their own hardship and came to be a family could have hopeful dreams (*Joongang* July 31, 2009).

“The poor are not different from potted plants that should be taken care of.” [...] Dr. Yunus argued “the poor are not at fault for their poverty; if they are taken care of like the potted plants, they could lead better lives” (*Kyunghyang* August 17, 2011).

A social enterprise is represented as “a family” in the first text quoted above. The term “factory manager” is described as merely a functional byname to call Yeonghee Kim, rather than a high position in the position-hierarchy of the social enterprise; the factory manager is also described as a member of a family. Dr. Yunus describes the poor and the social entrepreneurs as “potted plants” that should be taken care of and persons who should take care of them respectively in the second text quoted. This rhetoric can be understood as a metaphor for the family. That is, the relationship between social entrepreneurs and the employed poor is described in terms of the metaphor of the relationship between mothers and their children.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Sometimes, social entrepreneurs are described as sterile fathers of discipline rather than benevolent mothers in some texts. For instance, the text of *Chosun* (June 8, 2008) introduces a social entrepreneur who runs a social

As social enterprises are represented as warm and compassionate ideal family models, the employees' satisfaction of working in social enterprises is also excessively glorified. The complaints they might voice concerning the low-wage, poor working conditions and long working hours in social enterprises are drowned in exaggerated praise for their satisfaction of being able to work in social enterprises. The empirical studies of how the employees of social enterprises actually understand and experience their work have hardly been conducted in South Korea. In this sense, the field research by Kim (2011) deserves to be given attention. According to her, there are two types of social enterprises. One is social enterprises that operate according to the principles of the ideal communities. The other is those which operate almost the same ways to ordinary commercial enterprises, while emphasizing financial independence of their organizations and the efficiency of their management. Particularly in the cases of the latter, the employees' complaints of not only the high labor intensity, low-wage and poor working conditions but also the authoritarian corporate culture, which forces individuals to sacrifice for companies and neglect their individuals situations, are considerable. Furthermore, in the latter cases of social enterprises, the communication among its members has not been conducted well, and thus, they have maintained fragmented relationships with each other. These features suggest that the discourses in which social enterprises are overwhelmingly represented as idealized warm

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enterprise employing the North Korean defectors. In that text, the social entrepreneur forces the North Korean defectors to join in the educational programs for learning the principles of capitalism. If the North Korean defectors fail to pass the educational programs or they are absent from the classes, the social entrepreneur regards them as those who do not prepare themselves for better lives, and then drastically fires them. This type of description of social entrepreneurs is, however, rare. The majority of the texts describe them as the mothers who take care of the poor and socially excluded people.

and compassionate families are not consistent with reality. This type of discourse also functions as an ideology that represses the employees' voices and justifies their sacrifice.

#### **5.4.2 Consumers as Neighbors: the Relationship between Social Enterprises and Consumers (Service Recipients)**

Corporations and the consumers enter into contract relationships as sellers and buyers in the market. The former sell their goods for the maximization of the profit, whereas the latter buy their goods for the maximization of their usefulness and the satisfaction. Thus, the relationship between the sellers and the buyers is characterized by strategic behaviors based on rational calculations. If this the case, how would the relationship between social enterprises and the consumers be framed in social enterprise discourses? The Social Enterprise Promotion Act stipulates that one of the important roles of social enterprises is to provide the disadvantaged with social services in order to increase their quality of life. As the Act stipulates, the main consumers, i.e. the main recipients of the social enterprises' social services are the disadvantaged who need to be taken care of. For that reason, the activities of social enterprises are seen as being characterized by efforts to strengthen community solidarity. Thus, contrary to cases involving commercial enterprises, the relationship between social enterprises and their consumers tends to be represented as a warm-hearted communal relation rather than a cold contractual market one.

The patient who I first served was a cancer patient with an artificial anus. At that time, I would turn my head because it was too awful to take care of the patient. Now, though my hands have become dirty due to the patients' excreta or phlegm, I came to be concerned for the patients'

condition first rather than to feel their dirtiness. Now, I feel as if they are members of my family  
(*Kyunghyang* March 7, 2006).

As the name *Pang-dureh* literally means, the social enterprise *Pang-dureh* pursues making bread together with neighbors and sharing the products with them. [...] A part of the sales of *Pang-dureh* is given to the starving children, multi-cultural families and seniors in the local community. [...] *Pang-dureh* also donates its bread and cake to after-school facilities for low-income family children twice a week, and to “*Kumteo*” and *Chun-an 1366*—the local civic center for the preservation of children and the local civic center for women’ security respectively—monthly  
(*Joongang* July 31, 2009).

In the first text quoted above, a worker at a social enterprise for patient-care confesses that it was “awful” to clean patients’ excrement and to care for them at first. This means that the consumers of her care services were completely perceived as others for her at first. Now, however, she feels as if they are members of her family. The patients have changed from awful others into members of a family; the sense of revulsion at the patients’ excrement has been replaced with the empathy for their pain. Similarly, in another text of *Kyunghyang*, a social entrepreneur, who runs a lunchbox-making social enterprise for the disadvantaged, mentions that she “makes lunchboxes with the mind of both a mother and a daughter” (July 20, 2009). In this way, the relationship between the members of a social enterprise and the consumers, or those who receive its services, is described using the metaphor of family in a number of the texts. In the second text quoted above, the activities of a social enterprise are pursued according to the logic of co-producing and sharing with neighbors. What is noticeable in these two quoted texts is



that the disadvantaged groups are represented as “neighbors” or “families.” In these discourses, the term “disadvantaged group” that is fundamentally defined as a socioeconomic class in a vertical hierarchy is replaced with the term “neighbors” that is fundamentally defined in terms of horizontal community relations based on spatial closeness. The term “neighbors” appears quite often as interchangeable with the term “the disadvantaged classes.” These conditions suggest that the relationship between social enterprises and their consumers, or those who receive their services, is represented as a communal relationship.

In these discursive practices, normative meaning is given to the employees’ work. Thus, their work comes to be understood as not private interest-seeking activity but socially valuable one of helping neighbors in difficulties and realizing community solidarity. In this way, social enterprise discourses exaggerate employees’ satisfaction with their work and its contributions to community. Simultaneously, the high intensity of their labor and its low-wage character are hidden. Just as workers’ sacrifices were glorified and justified in the name of “the modernization of the country” in the era of the developmental dictatorship in South Korea between 1960s and 1970s, the sacrifices of employees of social enterprises are glorified and justified in terms of the cause of the “communities and neighbors” in the discourse of social enterprises at present in South Korea.

Saying “I don’t feel arduous when I think the lunchboxes made by me are served at poor neighbors’ dining tables,” Lee, Meyong-Sim (47), a female head of household, grinned. [...] The employees’ satisfaction for their works is quite high because they think they work for their neighbors, not merely for money (*Hankyoreh* April 3, 2009).

In this text, the statements concerning poor working conditions and low-wages are camouflaged within references to “poor neighbors’ dining tables” and “work for their neighbors.” In this discursive arrangement, the voice of the employees’ complaint cannot but be understood as shameful grumbling, in comparison to the greater cause of serving poor neighbors for the greater good of the community. Consequently, the voices of individual employees’ asserting their just rights for improved working conditions and wages are silenced for the greater cause of community, and the silence is replaced and glorified by the employees’ “grin.”

### **5.4.3 Marketization of Community**

The analyses conducted so far in this chapter demonstrate that the relationships between social entrepreneurs, the employees and consumers are represented as communal relationships. The meaning of community in social enterprise discourses, however, is not the same as the traditional meaning of community. Max Weber (1978: 40-41) classifies social relationship into two types: communal relationship and associative relationship. According to him, communal relationships are characterized by shared subjective feelings among the members, whereas associative relationships are characterized by mutual agreement among the members motivated by rational interest-seeking like the form of the market contract. In this sense, the communal relationship and the associative relationship are in contrast to each other. What is noteworthy is that the community represented in social enterprise discourses is a new type of contradictory community in that it combines a market model characterized by associative relationship.

Undoubtedly, charity and donation are the representative communal solidarity-based activities that are motivated by the empathy with others’ pain and difficulties, not self-interest-

pursuing activities. Though social enterprise discourses emphasize the importance of communal values such as empathy, sharing, caring, serving, solidarity, and neighbors, these discourses contrast charity and donation with the activities of social enterprises, and exclude the former from the category of the meaning of the community. The following text shows an example of the new discursive construction of the community.

Microcredit is to lend very small amounts of money to impoverished borrowers without collateral. It is not to give money to them for free at all. “Charity” is contrary to the spirit of microcredit. No matter how poor they are, borrowers must repay the money that they borrowed by working anything to increase their assets with the seed money [...] Even beggars are no exceptions. [...] The money given to the poor in the form of charity cannot but be exhausted, whenever it is donated. If a virtuous circle of money is formed, however, a loan can be repaid. It is the reason why I think that “the business-based solutions to poverty” can be a powerful measure. [...] If Bill Gates asked me for advice before he set up a huge fund for charity, I would certainly suggest a different way. [...] It would be an example to give some money to a beggar, and then to let the beggar buy some candies and resell those with some profit margins. If the beggar comes to know the principles of money, he or she could continuously make money (*Chosun* September 15, 2007).

In this text above, Yunus, the founder of Grameen Bank (the microcredit bank in Bangladesh), criticizes “charity” and “donation,” even though he also promotes the spirit of communal solidarity to help poor people. From his perspective, though charity and donation might help poor people temporarily, ultimately they are merely money-wasting behaviors. What occupies the absence of these notions associated with community from which the meanings of charity and donation are excluded are the statements of market such as “business,” “profit,” “the principles

of money,” “work,” and “repayment of a loan.” In this discursive arrangement of these statements, the notion of communal solidarity to help disadvantaged people is reframed on the basis of these market-based statements. The meaning of *helping others* changes into *developing others’ self-help abilities*. Simultaneously in these discourses, to help the poor through merely being motivated by sympathy for their suffering is reframed into activity inconsistent with genuine communal solidarity in that it ultimately cannot contribute to the development of their self-help abilities and rather facilitates their dependence. Consequently, charity and donation are redefined as the behaviors that ultimately spoil the poor. This type of discourse that devalues charity and donation as unsustainable temporary helping of the poor and contrasts these activities with an orientation toward the communal solidarity of social enterprises widely appears in both progressive and conservative forces’ texts. In this manner, in social enterprise discourses, the meaning of communal solidarity and the way to realize it are reframed into what is possible only through the market. It is not difficult to read the effects of neoliberalism in these discursive practices, which reorganizes even philanthropic activities into market-based ones (Foucault 2008; Lemke 2001; Kim 2012).

## **5.5 The Narrative of the Retreat and Return of the Feminine**

According to the semantic network analyses conducted in the previous section, mainly a set of vocabularies of femininity are densely connected to each other around the vocabulary of “social enterprise.” These femininity vocabularies constitute the core vocabulary group in the semantic network. There are two other distinctive sub-groups of vocabularies which are closely connected to this core vocabulary group: one is mainly composed of another series of femininity

vocabularies; the other is mainly composed of masculinity vocabularies. At the level of the entire text, the network structure in which the core vocabulary group and the second sub-group of vocabularies are linked to each other is more dominant than the network structure in which the core vocabulary group and the first sub-group of vocabularies are linked to each other. These semantic network patterns imply that the discursive structure in which femininity vocabularies and masculinity vocabularies are connected would be more dominant than the discursive structure that is composed of exclusively femininity vocabularies in social enterprise discourses. These patterns are the same in the progressive newspapers' texts. To the contrary, in the conservative newspapers' texts, the semantic network that is composed of exclusively femininity vocabularies is relatively more universal and dominant in the entire network; it is anticipated that the discursive structure that is composed of exclusively femininity vocabularies would be more central than the discursive structure that is composed of both masculinity vocabularies and femininity vocabularies in the conservative newspapers' texts. In this section, I explore the concrete discursive strategies that are reflected in these semantic network patterns.

As discussed previously, the semantic network patterns in which the vocabularies of both femininity and masculinity are connected to each other are conspicuous in the discourses of social enterprises. In order to explore the political implications of the discursive structures, it would be useful to refer to the discussions regarding discursive arrangement of the masculine and the feminine in the modern narratives of progress. Rita Felski (1995) argues that the patriarchal modern narratives of progress are ironically based on "a nostalgia paradigm" (35-60). According to her, the feminine are left outside the history of progress in these narratives. On the one hand, the feminine used to be identified with what is prehistoric or oriental. On the other

hand, it also used to be represented as an ideal status like a destination of history at which the modern progress will arrive someday. What is remarkable is that the masculine and the feminine have been described in ambivalent terms. That is, the history of patriarchal modernity has been understood and experienced as not only a time of material affluence and progress, but also a lost time characterized by moral degeneration and the collapse of an organic totality of community. On the one hand, as the opposition of progress, the feminine used to be represented as underdeveloped and pre-modern *quasi*-natural state. On the other hand, as the state of Eden lost in the process of progress, the feminine simultaneously used to be represented as an ideal future state that human history ought to arrive at someday in its process of progress.<sup>41</sup>

Foucault's (1989) analysis of modern epistemological arrangement provides useful insights into understanding how the ambivalence in the hierarchy between the masculine and the feminine functions to reinforce the hegemony of masculinity. According to Foucault, one of the core three themes of the modern epistemological arrangement is the theme of "the retreat and return of the origin" in the axis of time (358-365).<sup>42</sup> In the modern epistemological arrangement, historical progress is discussed as a process to be away from the origin, i.e. as a process of the retreat of the origin. Ironically, it also takes the form of accelerating the history of progress toward the future in order to recover the ideal past state of the origin. That is, the paradoxical narrative of "back to the future" appears in the discursive structure of modern progress. Thus, the

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<sup>41</sup> Though the connotations and interpretations of this ambiguity are different, Edward Said (1977) and Homi Bhabha (1994) also denote that both the Orient and the Occident have been described in ambiguity. For instance, on the one hand, the Orient has been identified with the inferior femininity as the opposition of the superior masculinity of the Occident; on the other hand, it also has described as more ideal and superior state in which the evils of the masculine material civilization of the Occident are overcome.

<sup>42</sup> The remaining two themes are follows: the double of the empirical and the transcendental in the axis of object, and the double of the *cogito* and the unthought in the axis of subject.

retreated origin returns in the modern epistemological arrangement concerning the progress of history.<sup>43</sup> Considering that the feminine has been represented as outside of the process of historical progress in that it has been represented as the past origin state from which human history has departed or as the future ideal state at which the human history ought to arrive, Foucault's expression "the retreat and return of the origin" could be rephrased as "the retreat and return of the feminine."

The problem is that the feminine is situated outside the process of progress of the patriarchal human history in the narrative of modernity. The progress of the patriarchal human history pursues to arrive at the ideal state of the feminine origin by accelerating the progress toward the future. In order to move forward, however, it ironically must discard the past states of the feminine origin: it must discard the feminine for the feminine. As the typical oxymoronic rhetoric of hawks "war for peace" ironically justifies war in the name of peace, the modern patriarchal narrative of the progress justifies the exclusion of the feminine from the process of the progressive human history and reinforces the hegemony of the masculine in the process in the name of the feminine. Consequently, the oxymoronic theme of the retreat and return of the feminine is a discursive strategy that not only constitutes the patriarchal modern narrative of progress but also justifies and reinforces the hegemony of the masculine.

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<sup>43</sup> For instance, in the Hegelian philosophy of history, the final stage of history characterized by the state of totality of being and thinking, and the subjective and the objective, is the same as the original state of totality at the starting point of the history in their forms. For Marx, the state of the communism as the final stage of history characterized by non-state and non-classes is pre-figurative of the state of primitive communism, the starting stage of history, in that both stages share the characteristics of non-state and non-classes. The philosophies of Hegel and Marx stated above demonstrate how the past state of the origin is repeated in the future, i.e. how the origin returns while retreating, in the grand narratives of progression.

The theme of the retreat and return of the origin similarly appears in the discourses of social enterprises. A series of femininity related themes—community orientation, solidarity, empathy, compassion, the care of the disadvantaged, and so forth—are arranged in relation to the critical discussion on the evils of the patriarchal capitalist market economy in the discourses of social enterprises. For instance, the capitalist market economy based on the masculine model, which is characterized by rational calculation, growth, pursuit of private interests and risk-taking, is blamed in that it consequently widens the gap between rich and poor, engenders crisis in social integration, and expressed disinterested in issues of communal solidarity and the care of the disadvantaged. The promotion of social enterprises in which the importance of the feminine characteristics is emphasized is suggested as an alternative to the patriarchal market economy. In the discourses of social enterprises, the masculine is represented as the core factor that caused a number of social evils. To the contrary, the feminine is represented as superior value to the masculine that can save the world from the evils caused by the latter. In these discursive practices, the feminine, which retreated in the masculinity-governing capitalist market economy paradigm for a while, returns together with the emergence of social enterprises. As the term “social enterprise” literally suggests, social enterprise pursues the recovery of compassionate and humane communities that are represented by the statements championing femininity, by means of entrepreneurial strategies based on the masculine paradigm. Like the rhetoric of “war for peace,” social enterprise discourses transfer the message that the feminine must be postponed for a minute in order to realize the ideal feminine social states in the future. In practice, it means that social entrepreneurs have to put the top priority on the application of entrepreneurial strategies rather than the pursuit of communal solidarity. In this discursive strategy, the feminine is



substantially excluded from the real operations of social enterprises, nevertheless it functions to justify and reinforce the hegemony of the masculinity in the social enterprise mechanisms.

Specifically, the withdrawal (re-retreat) of the returned femininity and the predominance (return) of the retreated masculinity occur in the veins of the emphases on the importance of the sustainability and the survival of the social enterprises.

Social enterprises should increase profitability in order to perform meaningful works continuously (*Kyunghyang* June 11, 2009).

Social enterprises must survive so that they can hire disadvantaged people and return profits to society. In order to survive, social entrepreneurs ought to run social enterprises as they manage commercial enterprises (*Joongang* June 14, 2012).

These texts above commonly emphasize that “social enterprises must survive” in order to achieve their social missions. These texts also argue that the increase of “profitability” and the employment of “commercial” management strategies are integral for their survival. What is noticeable in this type of discourse is that the idealized state of femininity represented by achievement of social enterprises’ social mission is not irreconcilable with masculinity language of the market. The statements of femininity rather bring masculinity language of the market into social enterprise discourses, and justify the hegemony of the masculine over the feminine. The social enterprise discourses are superficially framed by the glorification of femininity and denouncement of masculinity. This discursive framework, however, ironically justifies the fact that the masculine functions as the engine of the social enterprises’ operations in reality, while

excluding the feminine from the real operational processes. In this sense, the feminine and the masculine are articulated with each other under the hegemony of the latter in social enterprise discourses.

There are some commonalities and differences in discursive structures between the progressive newspapers' texts and the conservative ones. The texts studied in this chapter typically share a pattern of the story line as follows: First, these texts begin with the explanations of social enterprises; second, the interviews with social entrepreneurs and the employees, or the introductions to the concrete "good" activities of social enterprises are stated at the middle of the texts; finally, the texts conclude with the analyses on the financial problems that social enterprises are confronted with and the suggestion of the application of entrepreneurial strategies in order to improve profitability. The languages of masculinity intensively appear particularly at the final stage of the pattern.

This pattern is relatively more typical in the progressive texts than the conservative ones. Of course, conservative newspapers' texts also have this pattern. These texts, however, comparatively tend more to concentrate on publicizing government policies concerning social enterprise promotion and introducing the purposes and positive effects of social enterprises than the progressive newspapers' texts. That is, the progressive newspapers devote relatively more space to the final step of the pattern, while the conservative newspapers devote relatively more space to the first step of the pattern. Furthermore, the progressive newspapers tend to devote more space to the interviews with female social entrepreneurs. Specifically, female interviewees' identity as professional managers is emphasized in these interviews. The main focuses are put on the managerial issues that female social entrepreneurs are confronted with. The conservative

newspapers, in comparison, tend to represent women as the representative disadvantaged social group rather than female social entrepreneurs. Thus, these texts are likely to describe women as poor people who social enterprises must help.

These differences between the progressive newspapers and the conservative newspapers explain why, in the semantic network analyses conducted previously in this chapter, the semantic network that is composed of both masculinity vocabularies and femininity vocabularies is more universal than the semantic network that is composed of only femininity vocabularies in the progressive texts; while the latter form of semantic network is relatively more universal than the former form in the conservative texts. There are some small differences in discursive structures between the progressive newspapers and the conservative ones. Ultimately, however, there is no fundamental difference in that both forces' discursive practices operate within the masculinity-hegemonic framework and reinforce it.

## **5.6 Conclusion: Neoliberal Government and Patriarchal Hegemony**

Contrary to the commercial market paradigm, the representations of femininity are more distinctive in social enterprise discourses. These discourses represent social enterprises as the alternative models that take care of the disadvantaged with the spirit of warm-hearted empathy and solidarity similar to the way in which mothers take care of their children. Particularly, the provisions of jobs and social services for the disadvantaged are described as representative concrete practices of social enterprises. Women are described as the representative disadvantaged social group in these discourses. Thus, social enterprise discourses take the form of promoting moving women to the workplaces of social enterprises, and subverting the

traditional gender hierarchy framework based on the separation of home and workplace. Soon after this subversion, however, the discursive strategies that reinforce and reproduce the gender hierarchy in a different manner intervene in the discourses again. Social enterprise discourses are contrasted with the market economy discourses in that those discourses represent the main actors concerning social enterprises—social entrepreneurs, employees, and consumers or service recipients—as the members of a community. Simultaneously, however, the community discourses function as the ideologies that silence the employees' voices about low-wage, high intensity of labor, and poor working conditions, and force and justify their sacrifices in the name of community. While idealizing the feminine, the social enterprise discourses ironically withdraw the feminine and take the masculine market principles into the place where the feminine is withdrawn. Ironically, the feminine functions to justify the masculine market principles' re-entering into the discourses as the leading mechanisms of the real operations of social enterprises. With respect to the findings of these analyses, there is no significant difference between the progressive texts and conservative texts.

Social enterprises have been understood as alternative model to the patriarchal market one. The results of the analyses, however, demonstrate that social enterprise discourses reinforce the patriarchal gender hierarchy, and that the feminine is deployed as a cause to justify the suppression of the disadvantaged just demands. Even the progressive newspapers' texts, which have criticized neoliberalism and the market paradigm and supported the voices of feminism, are no exceptions in generating these ironic discursive effects. The dynamics of neoliberal hegemony that penetrate the mechanisms of social enterprises need to be closely analyzed in order to grasp this irony.

Neoliberal government needs to prevent problems of poverty and the exclusion of the disadvantaged from endangering its system. Under the neoliberalism, this process takes the form of reorganizing the past welfare sector into market sector, while avoiding the state-driven form of welfare system. The South Korean government's institutionalizations of social enterprises have been promoted in these contexts (Kim 2012; 2014). Low wage female labor power was required for the operations of social enterprises. Furthermore, female labor power was specifically relevant for neoliberal governing system because the main operational areas of social enterprises, social service areas, are women-friendly areas. Feminists have demanded the improvement of women's socioeconomic status, the encouragement of their self-esteem and subjectivities, and the revaluation of the traditional female labor. Producing and disseminating the discourses that demonstrate these women's traditional demands can be satisfied through the promotion of social enterprises, the neoliberal government system succeeds in representing the social enterprises as the institutional mechanism that can satisfy women's interests. By doing so, the neoliberal government system also succeeds in gaining the consent of women or feminist forces. With respect to women, the discursive articulation of feminism with neoliberalism in social enterprise discourses results in their expectations of partial achievements in the improvement of their socioeconomic status, encouragement of their self-esteem and subjectivities, and the valorization of traditional female labor. These partial achievements, however, could only be possible at the expense of the reinforcement and the reproduction of patriarchal hegemony.

In this way, feminism and patriarchal hegemony are not oppositional in social enterprise discourses. Rather both of them reinforce and support each other. Of course, what produces this

unique set of political dynamics between feminism and patriarchal hegemony is the very neoliberal governing mechanism that operates beyond this oppositional distinction. The neoliberal governmental mechanism operates in seemingly positive ways. It does not simply dominate subjects such as women and the disadvantaged vertically. It empowers and promotes them so that they can develop their abilities and exercise their active subjectivities and conscious determination, and then dispose them at the right place for its own purposes.

Neoliberal government also operates through arranging and subsuming its oppositional forces or the resistance within its mechanisms in order to produce the maximum effect of power with the minimum resistance. The problem is that the critics of neoliberalism tend to fall into the fallacy of understanding the governing mechanism of neoliberalism as a single mechanism, not as flexible and complex set of mechanisms. One of the main reasons why the South Korean progressive social movement forces unintentionally entered into an alliance with neoliberalism in its social enterprise mechanisms is because they understand neoliberalism simply as a unilateral imperative system based on the patriarchal market paradigm that represses communal and feminine values. Paying attention to the feminine characteristics of social enterprises, they tend to consider social enterprise as an alternative to neoliberalism. They fail to see the neoliberal government system as a complex set of governing techniques that operate with deploying and combining heterogenic elements such as the communal and the feminine within the patriarchal market paradigm. The critique of neoliberalism needs to focus on the complex nature of neoliberal governmental mechanisms.

## **6. NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIAL: PROBLEMATIZATION, KNOLWEDGE AND POWER**

### **6.1 The Problematization of Poverty and Unemployment**

#### **6.1.1 Problems of Poverty and Unemployment as Risks to the Continuation of the Government System**

As I state in chapter three, the emergence of social enterprises was a response to a set of social phenomena and needs—the occurrence of massive unemployment, a dramatic increase in the numbers of the poor and disadvantaged, as well as increased demand for social services—which were generated by structural changes taking place within South Korean society. The institutionalization of social enterprises demonstrates that these social phenomena were recognized as problems that might endanger the maintenance of the governmental system, and thus, into which power should intervene. Foucault (1997) defines problematization as “development of a given into a question,” i.e. “transformation of a group of obstacles and difficulties into problems to which the diverse solutions will attempt to produce a response” (118). In this sense, using Foucault’s term, the institutionalization of social enterprises has progressed through a series of practices of problematization, i.e. a set of epistemological frameworks and social practices, which problematize the problems of unemployment and poverty in certain ways and seek solutions to these problems.

In terms of governmentality, two broader questions about these exacerbating problems of unemployment and poverty are raised. First, why the exacerbation of unemployment and poverty

is problematic for the continuation of current governing system? Second, if these phenomena are problematic, how should they be controlled? Concerning the first question, in terms of governmentality, the problems of unemployment and poverty are not simply the issues of philanthropy or humanitarianism. As the texts below demonstrate, a number of governmental policy reports place these problems of unemployment and poverty within the context of social conflicts and the crisis in social integration, and suggest active and prompt responses to these problems.

The state has the biggest responsibility in settling the problem of unemployment. This is because growing unemployment rate worsens not only the economy but also the gap between rich and poor. It also generates pathological social problems such as crimes and suicides. Thus, unemployment is the most urgent problem that the state must solve (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2005: 1).

Today, capitalism in South Korea faces serious amplification of social conflicts derived from the widening gap between rich and poor [...]. The shortage of social infrastructures such as employment, education, medical care, housing, and transportation service, and insufficient social value creation amplifies transaction costs, and thereby generates various social conflicts such as ones involving those between employers and workers. Thus, effective and active social value creation by social enterprises would not only play an absolute role in building communities in this society but also contribute to the maintenance and development of capitalism in South Korea (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2010b: 4).



In these texts, problems related to poverty such as the existence of a “growing unemployment rate” or widening “gap between rich and poor” are not conceptualized simply as personal tragedy and destitution undergone by the unemployed or poor. These problems are described as risk factors detrimental to “the maintenance and development of capitalism in South Korea” in that these problems could generate various “pathological social problems” and “social conflicts” that may cause a disintegration of “communities” and be harmful to “the economy.”

Insofar as the problems of unemployment and poverty are framed as risks to the governing system, the second question of how these problems should be managed is raised. As the texts above illuminate, unemployment, poverty, and other various social problems derived from the first two mentioned earlier are understood as certain kinds of “pathological social problems”; like a doctor, the state intervenes in a kind of social body in order to cure these pathological problems. Of course, one of the central prescriptions given by the state as a doctor was the promotion of social enterprises.

### **6.1.2 The Idealization of European and American Models**

One of the main characteristics of the problematization of poverty and unemployment in South Korea is that the solutions of advanced countries in Europe and the USA are assumed as ideal models for resolving these problems. In South Korea, a number of academic journal articles concerning social enterprise focus on the introduction of its concept, history, and activities. Most governmental research reports relevant to social enterprise promotion have a pattern of providing basic information about social enterprises, such as the basic concept, their history and activities, in the first a few chapters. These tendencies are natural in that social enterprises are new forms of

organizations that are unfamiliar to a majority of people particularly in South Korea. What is noteworthy, however, is that social enterprises and the relevant national policies of the advanced countries, such as those within Europe and the USA, are uncritically introduced as universal ideal models that can be applicable to South Korean conditions. This means that these social enterprise models of the advanced countries operate as a type of truth regime in South Korea.

It might be desirable to refer to the cases of these advanced countries because social enterprises have developed there first and have yielded meaningful results. However, the problem is that the models from these advanced countries are uncritically implanted into South Korean contexts without a thorough consideration of the differences between the contexts in these advanced countries and those in South Korea. The proliferation or institutionalization of social enterprises in Europe and the USA have progressed as a response to so-called the failure of the state-driven welfare system in close relation to the expansion of neoliberalism (Cook et al. 2003; Trexler 2008; Latham 2001). However, South Korea has not had what can be called a state-driven universal welfare system. At the exact moment when a state-driven universal welfare system ought to be established as a response to increasing unemployment and the massive generation of poverty derived from neoliberal social restructuring, the social enterprise models of those advanced countries were introduced into South Korea through the promotion of its relevant discourses. This situation has led the promotion of social enterprises to be advanced while the failure of the state-driven universal welfare system as a basic premise is uncritically accepted. This is all the more ironic given that South Korea has never experienced such a welfare state. Even South Korean progressive forces' social enterprise discourses are unable to avoid this

tendency. For this reason, South Korean social enterprises have been promoted in a contradictory way. It has reinforced the hegemony of neoliberalism at the very moment in which it has failed.

### **6.1.3 The Mixture of the Anglo-Saxon Liberalist Problematization of Poverty and European Social Solidarity Problematization of Social Exclusion**

A problematization determines the whole process through which a phenomenon is constituted as a problem to be solved: from the perspective to the phenomenon, throughout the cognitive frameworks to conceptualize the problem, to the ways in which power intervenes in solving the problem. Thus, for instance, diagnoses and prescriptions of the problem of poverty depend on how the problem of poverty is framed, i.e. within which problematization poverty is conceptualized. An important characteristic of the social entrepreneurship movement in South Korea is that, concerning the issues of poverty and unemployment, the Anglo-Saxon liberalist problematization of poverty and European social solidarity problematization of social exclusion are combined.

In the Anglo-Saxon liberalist problematization, poverty is regarded as fundamentally a matter of individuals, rather than a social structural matter that the state should intervene in. Specifically, the problem of poverty tends to be discussed in the framework of the culture of poverty, which regards a set of mental characteristics or individual attitudes of the poor—dependence, indolence, lack of motivation to succeed or work hard, lethargy, lack of will to empower oneself, and so forth—or an unique culture among the poor communities as the main causes of their poverty. Furthermore, poverty is framed simply as a state in which economic income or assets are absent, while the opposite of poverty is explained as a state of affluence.

Blaming the state-driven universal welfare system for fostering individuals' dependence, the Anglo-Saxon liberalist problematization of poverty sees the solution in terms of the acquisition of income or assets through individuals' own efforts and motivating the work ethic of the poor (Pearson 2001).

To the contrary, in the European social solidarity problematization of social exclusion, the problem of poverty is conceptualized as a complex process through which the poor are socially excluded from a multi-dimensional social fabric including political, economic, social and cultural areas of society, not as simply individual hardship derived from lack of income or assets. Thus, emphases are placed on diverse social structural dimensions and their mechanisms that systematically exclude the poor from society, rather than personalities or attitudes of the poor. Thus, the problem of poverty is the problem of social exclusion and social solidarity, rather than an individual problem. From this perspective, the solution to poverty is to inspire social participation among the excluded, and thus, to further integrate them into society (Levitas 2006).

Ever since the early stages of the Public Work Program and the Self-sufficiency Work Program between the late 1990 and the early 2000 in South Korea, the hegemonic groups have criticized state-driven universal welfare system as a form of philanthropic welfare that cannot motivate recipients' work ethic and thereby foster their moral breakdown. They also have blamed the state-driven universal welfare system for wasting national resources, which could have been invested in more productive areas. Thus, the state had to find a solution that could promote the poor to address their poverty harnessing their own efforts, while minimizing the responsibility and intervention of the state. As a solution, the South Korean government introduced a workfare system that is characterized by a combination of work and welfare, and

began to provide welfare benefits for recipients on the condition that they participate in labor. This was called “productive welfare” in South Korea. The rhetoric of the productive welfare is a kind of discursive strategy to criticize the state-driven universal welfare as being wasteful. One of the important reasons why both the Public Work Program and the Self-sufficiency Work Program were criticized and changed into the Social Enterprise Promotion policy was the criticism that these two former programs were implemented through the use of public funds, and thus, were not yet completely broken off from the forms of “unproductive” and “wasteful” state-driven welfare programs. The promotion of social enterprises is also an extension of the workfare in that it provides a level of welfare benefits for the disadvantaged by providing them with jobs. The idea of connecting work and welfare is based on the Anglo-Saxon liberalist belief that poverty is caused by individuals’ indolence and the lack of work ethic, and that hard work brings wealth.<sup>44</sup>

The concept of social exclusion derived from European social solidarity problematization has underlain both the entire social enterprise promotion policies and related discussions, since social enterprise was first suggested in South Korea. According to De Haan (2000), the term “social exclusion” was first suggested in France in the 1980s in order to help frame and address social problems of the disadvantaged—unemployment, ghettoization, and family issues, and so forth—from the perspective of social solidarity, while avoiding both the market-based solutions

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<sup>44</sup> In a number of texts published in South Korea, social enterprises are situated within a typical Anglo-Saxon liberalist framework emphasizing the internalization of work ethic, independence, and the acquisition of wealth through hard work. Among the early authors who introduced social enterprises to South Korea, Jeong (2005; 2007) particularly demonstrate this perspective. She repeatedly argues that governmental support for social enterprises would encourage their dependence, while emphasizing the rehabilitation of independence and self-esteem through hard work.

of Anglo-Saxon liberalism and the traditional state-driven welfare system. While the European Union (EU) has implemented a set of “Anti-poverty Programs” since then, the term “social exclusion” became popular all over the world. The EU defines this term as “the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live” (European Foundation 1995: 4). As this definition suggests, with greater depth and texture than the simple term “poverty” designating a poor state, the term social exclusion refers to a complex process through which the disadvantaged are systematically excluded from diverse social, economic, political, and cultural domains by social structural factors. The promotion of social enterprises has been suggested as a crucial measure to integrate excluded groups into society in South Korea. In this context, the state suggests the goals of the promotion of social enterprises as “facilitating social integration” (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2008: 4), “helping to realize a community of warmth” (The Coordination of the South Korean Government Ministries 2012: 12), and “fostering a culture of warmth and coexistence” (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2013b: 22).

The institutional mechanisms of social enterprises in South Korea are characterized by a mixture of the Anglo-Saxon liberalist problematization of poverty and the European social solidarity problematization of social exclusion. In the institutional mechanisms of social enterprises, the social solidarity problematization that emphasizes social integration is embodied in an effort to provide jobs for the excluded and disadvantaged so that they can be reintegrated into society. The Anglo-Saxon liberalist problematization of poverty argues for the minimization of the state’s interventions and its responsibility in resolving the problem of poverty, and emphasizes the importance of individuals’ efforts to escape from poverty by participating in the

labor force. This has taken the concrete form of transforming the traditional public or domestic welfare domains into market domains for social enterprises' business, and then seeking to create jobs for the disadvantaged in these domains. In this context, as a new form of welfare institution, social enterprises in South Korea have played important roles in creating jobs and providing social services for the disadvantaged. The first article of the South Korean Social Enterprise Promotion Act also stipulates that the purpose of the Act is "to contribute to the integration of society as well as to the enhancement of the quality of the people's life thereof, by means of expanding social services, which are not sufficiently provided in society, and creating jobs." This statement encapsulates both the liberalist problematization of poverty and the social solidarity problematization of social exclusion.

## **6.2 The Truth Regime of Social Capital**

In terms of neoliberal governmentality, the reintegration of the socially excluded poor into society was one of the overarching goals of the promotion of social enterprises. Thus, areas of social relations and solidarity, such as communities, social norms, and relationships among individuals or groups, became the new sites where government systems had to intervene. The accumulation of diverse knowledge that renders these areas measurable, calculable, and manipulable has been part of this process. One of the crucial knowledge systems that have played a crucial role in the emergence and development of the governmental apparatus of social enterprises is the scholarship of social capital. Knowledge systems of social capital have played the role of a channel through which power intervenes in the areas of the social in order to

transform these areas to the objects and means of government (Coole 2009; Rose 1996a; Fitzsimons 2000). In this sense, the knowledge system of social capital needs to be understood as “indexing an assortment of ways of thinking and acting, practices, techniques, forms of calculation, routines and procedures,” rather than simply as a pure and neutral academic discipline (Rose 1996d: 104).

Social capital is a construct to conceptualize the characteristics of social relations in a community in terms of measurable capital. According to Putnam (1993), trust, norms, and networks are the core components of the concept of social capital (175). Putting more emphasis on the characteristic of capital, Lin (2001) defines social capital as “investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace” (19). At first, the concept of social capital was invented by French progressive sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) in the context of explaining how social inequality between classes and dominant power are reproduced. However, a group of scholars including Colmen (1988), Putnam (1993a; 1993b; 2000), Fukuyama (2000), and Lin (2001), who were at the opponent side of Bourdieu in political ideology, appropriated this concept and have led related discussions since the late 1980s; furthermore, as the World Bank which is a leading institution of capitalist neoliberalism began to disseminate this term in order to explain and to promote the economic success of developing countries, the term social capital became popular all over the world. Consequently, the underlying theoretical and political concerns of Bourdieu were discarded in the mainstream scholarship of social capital (Fine and Lapavitsas 2004: 19).

The discourses of the Social Investment State that the Roh administration pursued in the mid-2000s as a new vision for national development played an important role in popularizing the



term social capital throughout South Korean society beyond the academic world. The discourse of Social Investment State, which was influenced by the Third Way theory of Anthony Giddens, was a national development strategy that located the new engine of economic growth in the expansion of welfare for the disadvantaged through the state's investment in human capital and social capital (Yang et al. 2008). Arguing that the state's social investment would bring about the expansion and accumulation of social capital, the Roh administration suggested the promotion of social enterprises as an important strategy for the social investment.

Assuming that certain aspects of the social, such as trust, norms of reciprocity, and networks, can positively impact profitability in the market, economic growth, and the stability of the dominant system, social capital theory reconstructs them into calculable and measurable objects. For instance, the social participation of individuals is quantified with the following indicators: voter turnout, how often people participate in voting, how many times people engage in local community events, and whether or not one affiliates to political parties or civic organizations. Reciprocity is also quantified with the following countable indicators: the degree to which people can accept immigrants or the disadvantaged as their neighbors, and the degree to which people can tolerate different opinions or cultural differences. The correlations of these quantified social dimensions with economic growth, crime rates, degrees of social conflict and so on are measured statistically and the concerning knowledge is accumulated.

In these quantification processes, aspects of resistance practices and normative social criticisms embedded in the social are discarded; the social begins to assume the responsibility for economic growth and the reproduction of the social and political *status quo* (Kim 2012). For instance, various forms of game theory in economics, such as the prisoner's dilemma,

cooperative/non-cooperative games, tragedy of the commons, and ultimatum game, frequently appear in texts concerning social enterprises or social economy in order to demonstrate the positive impacts of the social or social capital on economic profits. These game theory discourses support the premise that mutual benefit-seeking reciprocity, cooperation, participation in communities, and communication between community members, and other forms of the social contribute to the decrease of unnecessary social transactional costs by increasing social trust, and thereby increasing economic efficiency. That is, game theories situate the social, which was regarded as outside of the purview of economics, within its basic framework.

In terms of social capital theory, the social exclusion of the disadvantaged caused by the unemployment or the gap between rich and poor implies an increase of their level of distrust in the dominant system. Thus, the increase of social exclusion of the disadvantaged implies the decrease of social trust, and the consequent increase of social cost. Therefore, it is seen as a threat to the stability of the government system. Accordingly, power intervenes in the problems of the disadvantaged in order to reintegrate them, by rehabilitating the social for the enhancement of social trust. In this sense, the social or communities are deployed as instruments to manage potential risk factors that could threaten social stability (Rose 1996a; 1999; Herbert-Cheshire 2000; Fitzsimons 2000; Hay 2003; Coffey 2003; Lipschutz 2005; Dey 2010; Kim 2012). In this sense, social enterprises can be understood as a governmental strategy to fortify the stability of the government system by reintegrating excluded people into society.

The Roh administration's Vision 2030 Final Report, which presented the dual development of welfare and the economy as part of a long-term national development strategy

and played a determining role in institutionalizing social enterprises, shows this in the following way:

Consequently, social capital can contribute economic growth by improving the efficiency of material and human capital, and can also improve welfare by facilitating social integration. This is because social capital is conducive to the enhancement of trust and cooperation among community members, the improvement of rationality in institutions and norms, an increase in productivity through the smooth resolution of conflicts, [...] the enhancement of the sense of belonging and identity, and the improvement of welfare through the improvement of social stability” (The South Korean Government: the Roh Administration 2006: 34).

This text above shows that the South Korean government saw the institutionalization of social enterprises in terms of the expansion of social capital through social integration and the reproduction of the capitalist system. Particularly, social exclusion caused by unemployment is problematized as a crucial factor that undermines social capital of the unemployed poor and ultimately that of entire society. Thus, the most crucial social integration strategy for increasing social capital is conceived as stimulating participation of the excluded in the labor market; the promotion of social enterprises is understood as one of the most effective policy instruments for this strategy. A policy report of the Ministry of Security and Public Administration summarizes it as follows:

Exclusion from employment causes diverse negative effects. To be socially excluded implies that one’s participation in community is limited. [...] Exclusion from employment is a serious

problem for both individuals and the society in that work is social and people can establish their identities through social relationships around their work. [...] The rise in the unemployment rate, polarization in income inequality and rates of consumption, the expansion of temporary workers, and so on [...] are threatening the stability of South Korean society. [...] Social enterprises would be very helpful in alleviating the problem of social exclusion. Social enterprises function to help not only disadvantaged groups but also an entire community by relocating excluded people within social networks through leading them to participate in labor. [...] Social networks can be stably formed when social capital generated by trust, reciprocity, and citizen-participation is continuously reinvested. Social enterprises are the most effective institutions for achieving this “social purpose” (The Ministry of Security and Public Administration 2009: 31-32).

In this text, “the exclusion from employment,” the most crucial mechanism of social exclusion, is conceptualized as “a serious problem for both individuals and the society [...] threatening the stability of South Korean society.” In this context, the provision of jobs through social enterprises is considered as a solution for the reinforcement of social stability through forming social capital by reintegrating the disadvantaged into social networks, not simply as a solution to individual hardship or poverty. Both activities of social enterprises, as the institutional embodiment of “trust, reciprocity, and citizen-participation” that generate social capital, and support for their activities are conceptualized in terms of investment in social capital and guarantors of the security of the society. Government has carried out detailed research into diverse issues concerning the relationship between social enterprises and social capital along the following lines: the size of social capital that can be generated by social enterprises, social enterprises’ economic effects, the effects of social capital on the development of social

enterprises, and so forth.<sup>45</sup> Research into various policy instruments needed for the promotion of social enterprises and the feasibility analyses of these policy instruments also have been carried out.<sup>46</sup> The institutionalization of social enterprises as a governmental technology has been pursued on the basis of the findings and knowledge obtained through this research and analysis.

### **6.3 Governing through a Hierarchical Partnership with Private Sectors**

Partnership between the state and the private sector is one of important mechanisms through which social enterprises are promoted. In this strategy of partnership, governing takes the form of dispersing power of the state partially to the private sector, and then reorganizing this dispersed power into a hierarchical structure. This form of government, i.e. government through partnership with the private sector, indicates a change in governing strategy, not the diminution of state power (Carmel and Harlock 2008; Dahlstedt 2009; Dey 2014). As discussed in chapter three, the state has institutionalized social enterprises in a partnership with particularly progressive civil social movement forces in South Korea. In this partnership, these civil social movement organizations have taken charge of running social enterprises. Focusing on the government's Social Entrepreneur Promotion policy in South Korea, in this section, I investigate

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<sup>45</sup> Among academic journal papers, Park (2009; 2011), Kim and Kim (2010), Lee and Cho (2012), Shin and Seo (2014), and Park and Jeun (2012) are examples of these. Among the governmental policy and research reports, see the Ministry of Strategy and Finance (2007a), the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (2009), Roh Administration (2006), the Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (2010), and the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2003; 2012c; 2013b).

<sup>46</sup> A number of governmental policy reports have carried out these analyses. Particularly, the Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (2005), the Ministry of Strategy and Finance (2008), and the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2011a) are noteworthy in terms of their in-depth and comprehensive analyses.

the mechanisms through which the government technology of partnership with the private sector operates.

In the case of the Social Entrepreneur Promotion program, the partnership with the private sector as a governing technology has broadly two characteristics. One is that the government institutes like the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency do not directly perform the task of incubating social entrepreneurs. The government delegates this task to the private sector. Thus, in substantial terms, the overall processes of incubating social entrepreneurs—such as the recruitment of future social entrepreneurs, the provision of offices for start-up of businesses, mentoring about starting up businesses and management, and execution of the budget—are performed by private organizations, such as civil society organizations certified by the government, private academic institutes, successful social enterprises and so on, not by government institutes. According to the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency (2012a: 6), approximately twenty organizations—18 in 2008 and 19 in 2015—were selected as designated institutes by the government, and they have carried out tasks related to incubating social entrepreneurs. Actually, most government-designated institutes performing those Social Entrepreneur Promotion programs and Social Venture Contest Programs, and a considerable portion of these institutes carrying out the Social Entrepreneur Academy Programs have been civil organizations that are rooted in progressive civil social movements. Through establishing partnership with the private sector in the form of “business contracts,” particularly with progressive social movement organizations, the government intended to mobilize their experiences and abilities.

The other characteristic of this government technology of partnership with the private sector is that the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency, government-designated private institutes, and those teams wanting to start their businesses are structured within a hierarchy, by assigning rights and obligations regarding management and supervision to these actors differently. For instance, after making contracts with private institutes designated by the government, start-up teams should regularly report how they executed supported budgets to their upper level institutes, i.e. to these designated institutes every month; after the completion of the supporting period of three years, they should report to the upper institutes specific aspects of their business performance such as sale size, employment status, whether or not they started their business, and whether or not they were certified as official social enterprises by the government. These designated institutes should hold meetings with start-up teams that they are incubating every quarter; they also have an obligation to check and supervise these teams' progress and performance monthly, and then to report the results to the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency in forms of quantified statistical figures. The Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency supervises and controls these overall processes concerning the promotion of social entrepreneurs, positioned at the top of the hierarchy among these three actors. The Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency assesses the other actors' performance, judges their certifications, and supervises them, on the basis of the information reported about their capacities.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> The Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency classifies the capacities of government-designated private institutes into sub-categories as follows: their financial status, the number of full-time mentors, capability that they can provide sufficient space for start-up teams, ability to mobilize diverse resources, specification of their own unique and specified goals and strategies, experiences, professionalism, and so on. The Agency gathers detailed information about each category of capacity, and uses the information as evidence for selecting designated institutes and evaluating their capacities.

In this way, private sectors are mobilized through the governing strategy of partnership. Then it establishes a hierarchical power structure in the partnership by assigning different rights and obligations to each level of institutes. In this hierarchy, upper-level of institutes supervise and assess their lower-level institutes' performance and capabilities. In this power mechanism, on each level competition is fostered. Consequently, the governing strategy of partnership with the private sector embeds mechanisms of competition into civil society instead of resistance and solidarity. In these ways, governing through partnership pursues to maximizing the efficiency of power by minimizing the state power's direct intervention. Therefore, this partnership between the state power and the private sector cannot be understood as a division of powers between the state and the civil society; rather, it implies change in how the social is governed.<sup>48</sup>

#### **6.4 Reframing the Social**

As discussed thus far, the institutionalization of social enterprises in South Korea is a process of reframing the social within the territory of the neoliberal government. This territorialization of the social is preceded by redefining the social with language of the market, and resituating the social within the framework of neoliberal governmentality. In this neoliberal governing mechanism, activities of social enterprises are led to be carried out within the framework of market, not the framework of critical social movements and resistance. In this

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<sup>48</sup> Some commentators see this governance form surrounding social enterprises or the social economy as "cooperation" or a form of "cooperative governing" between state, civil society, and market. However, they overlook the actually existing power imbalances between these three sectors, and thereby seriously distort the realities of the mechanisms of social enterprises or the social economy. Im. et al. (2007) typically shows this perspective. Im and his colleagues (2007) argue that social enterprise movement as a third alternative characterized by heterarchy where state, civil society and market share authority.



process, social and public value-oriented activities of social enterprises are reduced to financial success-oriented activities at the market; even social performance of social enterprises are assessed according to standards of market. Particularly, the state's evaluation of the performance of social enterprises functions as an important channel through which the language and framework of the market enter into the social and restructure it. Certification of social enterprises by the state also plays an important role in leading their activities in this direction of reinforcing the mechanisms of neoliberal government. It is in this context that I next explore how certain types of knowledge and power technologies transform the social into governable objects, focusing on those mechanisms of evaluating the performance of social enterprises and the related system of certifying them.

#### **6.4.1 Evaluation of Performance**

The state has evaluated performance of officially certified social enterprises every year since the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency was established in 2011 (see the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency 2010a; 2011a; 2012b; 2013a; 2014b). This regular performance evaluation serves as the foundation for the elaboration of the policies relevant to the promotion of social enterprises. Through these performance evaluations, the government can gather information and knowledge concerning social enterprises' activities; on the basis of this information and knowledge, the government examines diverse situations about these activities, prepares required institutions and policies, and establishes new plans. Individual social enterprises can also review their performance and set up new strategies and plans on the basis of these evaluations. In this sense, for both the government and individual social enterprises, this

regular performance evaluation functions as a technology of self-examination based on knowledge of themselves. It also serves as a technology of control that is employed to monitor social enterprises and to insure their moral hazard.

The Social Enterprise Promotion Act requires every certified social enterprise to submit information concerning its business management and social and economic performance in the form of performance evaluation reports. In order to collect accurate information, the Act also stipulates the right of the government to make social enterprises take legal responsibility for submitting dishonest information. Additionally, the Act encourages social enterprises to publicly disclose information about their management performance. The obligation to submit performance evaluations and encouragement of public disclosure of management performance serve as technologies of power to collect knowledge and enhance individual social enterprises' responsibilities concerning financial independence. In this context, what kinds of knowledge and information the state collect and employ in evaluating performance of social enterprise needs to be paid attention to. A performance evaluation is composed of the evaluation of the social performance and economic performance of a social enterprise. In this section, I focus on the evaluation of social performance, because the process through which essentially unquantifiable "social" performance is transformed into measurable objects for evaluations condenses the core governing mechanism through which the social are rendered governable.

The mission of social enterprise is to achieve social purposes. The notion "social purpose" encompasses diverse meanings: it might refer to simply the provision of jobs for the disadvantaged; broadly, it might refer to the pursuit of critical and resistance by social movements to power and capital. The progressive civil and social movement forces have actively

participated and played important roles in the institutionalization of social enterprises in South Korea. From the beginning, they have understood the institutionalization of social enterprises as an effort on the part of critical social movement engaged in resistance. As the Social Enterprise Promotion Act in South Korea, however, defines social enterprise as “an organization which is engaged in business activities of producing and selling goods and services while pursuing a social purpose of enhancing the quality of local residents' life by means of providing social services and creating jobs for the disadvantaged,” the state confines the meaning of “social purpose” narrowly. According to this Act, the meaning of “social purpose” is substantially limited to “enhancing the quality of local residents' life” by “providing social services” and “creating jobs for the disadvantaged.” In this reframing of the meaning of the term “social purpose,” multiple dimensions of the implications of the term, including the aspect of being a critical social movement engaged in resistance, are eliminated or reduced.

Accordingly, narrowly eliminating comprehensive dimensions of the term “social performance,” the focus in the evaluation of social performance is placed on how many social services a social enterprise provided for how many people; how many disadvantaged people it employed, and so on. The social performance is reduced into quantifiable economic values. Social Return on Investment (SROI) and Balanced Scorecard (BSC) are the representative methods that are utilized for the measurement of social performance. The following text shows how the state institute the Social Enterprise Promotion Agency quantifies some items concerning the social performance of Edu-Angel, a social enterprise for childcare, with the SROI method.

As to the impact on the local community, I calculated the effect on forming a safe community that was enabled by taking care of home-alone children in double-income and single-parent families, with its financial proxy of the police budget required for the prevention of crimes. On the basis of the results of the research into the estimation of social costs of crime carried out by the Korea Rehabilitation Agency, the Ministry of Justice-affiliated organization, I estimated that the budget required for reducing a case of crime costs 3,850,000 KRW. [...]

The activities of Edu-Angel contributed to alleviation of marital conflicts thanks to parents' emancipation from the stress of child caring. The alleviation of marital conflicts resulted in the decrease of divorce rate and the maintenance of healthy families. I estimated the economic value of the decrease in divorce rate to be 3,100,000 KRW (100,000 KRW for documentary fee; 3,000,000 KRW for employing attorney) for one divorce case. The children who are cared for by the employees of Edu-Angel were able to get psychological and emotional stability. Thus, activities of Edu-Angel could prevent juvenile deviances and delinquency. Furthermore, meals cooked with organic ingredients by those employees of Edu-Angel are conducive to the improvement of children's health conditions, the prevention of their diseases, and the decrease of medical expenses for them. As their financial proxies, I used the expense of counseling therapy. The counseling therapies cost 200,000 monthly for one child. Art therapy expenses are not covered by public medical insurance. In case of ADHD, drug treatment including treatment for the improvement of sociality costs approximately 500,000 KRW for a month. The value of counseling therapy for an adolescent is around 1,200,000 KRW. As the financial proxy for after-school organic meals, the health care expenses for a child under seven teen was used. According to the data of Statistic Korea, the health care expense for a child under seventeen in 2008 was 27,000 KRW for a month, 320,000 KRW for a year.

[...] Consequently, the social enterprise Edu-Angel creates an economic value of 700 million KRW, and around 300 million KRW of social value. Thus, the blended value of the economic and social values is 960 million KRW. On balance, when general administrative expense of 920

million KRW is deducted from it, the net profit is around 40 million KRW. This net profit, however, does not appear on Edu-Angel's financial statement. Though essentially the social value does not return to this company in the form of cash, the social value created by Edu-Angel is evaluated at such an amount (Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency 2010a: 201-202).

As the text above illuminates, social values are thoroughly translated into economic values by means of their economic proxies. For instance, the social value of the decrease in divorce rate that the social enterprise Edu-Angel produces is identified with the sum of the related documentary fees and the attorney's fees. Though social values are unquantifiable in essence, these values are quantified into economic values in order to render them recognizable, and thus, controllable. In this manner of reframing the social, the social is subsumed into a governmental mechanism and rearranged into its territory.

The government's evaluations of social enterprises' performance are carried out on the basis of the performance evaluation reports that each social enterprise submits. These performance evaluation reports must be organized according to a standardized format suggested by the government. Even though there have been some minor changes in the format from year to year, the fundamental format is almost the same. According to the *Performance Report Writing Manuals* of the Ministry of Labor and Employment and Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency in 2014, each social enterprise should report ten categories of information in its performance evaluation report. Table 5 shows the major items of those ten categories. As Table 5 designates, the items regarding social values or pursuit of social purposes are supposed to be

reported in the forms of figures, such as the amount of money, the number of employees, and the number of disadvantaged people who a social enterprise supports.

**Table 5: Major Information That Should Be Contained in Performance Reports**

Economic Values		Social Values (Social Purposes)	
Categories	Specific Items	Categories	Specific Items
Organizational Status	type of certification, organizational form, type of business, main activities, the number of paid-employees, ownership structure	Demographic Decision Making Process	the numbers of major decision-making meetings, the range of participation among stakeholders, major issues in the meetings
Financial Performance	total sales, operational profits/net profits	Employment	register of the employees (age, sex, type of disadvantaged group, wage, working time, employment type, occupational category)
Affiliation with Other Organizations	affiliation with local governments or corporations, the amount of financial support, amount of the cost of the purchase of commodities, financial support for management	Provision of Social Services	type of provision, type of services, the groups being provided for, the number of those benefiting
Expense	production cost, selling and administrative expense, other expense except operational expenses, labor costs	Devotion to Local Communities	region of the business , the focus of devotion activities
Financial Support	financial support from the outside (e.g., the central government, corporations, donations etc.)	Reinvestment for Social Purposes	amount and contents of profit reinvestment (e.g., job creation, provision of social services, members' incentives, reinvestment in local communities, etc.)

\*Source: The Ministry of Labor and Employment and the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency 2014. *Performance Report Writing Manuals*

Though the social purposes and social values that social enterprises pursue are wide ranging and most of them are essentially impossible to be measured in number, those purposes and values that cannot be quantified are consequently excluded from the categories of social performance under evaluation. For that reason, the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency (2011a) defines “a high-performance social enterprise” as “one which makes operational profits and which run without financial support from the outside” (403). Therefore, the government

tends to place much more importance on social enterprises' economic performance than its social performance, in these evaluations. Actually, almost all the government's performance evaluation reports are carried out by business administration experts of business administration and those with similar backgrounds. These experts employ a range of statistics and accounting methods, and broad knowledge to evaluate impacts of social enterprises' activities and to quantify social values in terms of economic values. This is characteristic of a situation in which power and knowledge are connected with each other within social enterprise mechanisms.

Considering the fact that there are some real challenges in measuring social performances of social enterprises quantitatively, the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency has carried out a set of research towards the development and elaboration of analytic tools to evaluate social performances.<sup>49</sup> What should be paid attention to here is not a technical issue concerning methodological accuracy or perfection in evaluating social performance. The more important point is the political effect that the nexus of power and knowledge produce in these processes of elaborating evaluation tools.

The government's annual performance evaluations of social enterprises and research into the development of elaborative measures redefine the meaning of the social purposes of social enterprises and transform them into measurable objects of knowledge. It is the state power to reframe the social through annual performance evaluations. In the state's performance evaluations, the social purposes of social enterprises are reduced to the provision of jobs and social services for the disadvantaged. Thus, the social performance of a social enterprise is measured on the basis of the number of jobs created by it and the number of disadvantaged

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<sup>49</sup> See Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency (2011c; 2011d; 2013c; 2014c).

benefiting from its provision of social services. The quantification of the social is an important way in which power constructs a system of knowledge about the objects which it aims to govern, and thus, territorializes social domains. What is required for rendering certain objects governable and increasing the efficiency of the governing mechanism is measurable knowledge of them. The technology of the state's performance evaluation functions to conform social enterprises' activities to be consistent with the purposes of the state power. That is, as social purposes are narrowly reframed into the provision of jobs and social services for the disadvantaged through the state's performance evaluation mechanisms, the activities of social enterprises are also restructured to be consistent with these narrowly reframed social purposes. Therefore, a paradox occurs. Progressive civil social movement forces have actively participated in the institutionalization processes of social enterprises in South Korea. However, the aspect building a critical social movement oriented around resistance, which they initially intended to develop and practice by this institutionalization, is ultimately eliminated from the mechanism of social enterprises. Instead, social enterprises' activities are rearranged so that these activities can be consistent with reinforcement and reproduction of this governing system.

#### **6.4.2 Technologies of Symbolic Violence of the State**

Paraphrasing Weber's (1946) definition of the state as "a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical violence" (78), Bourdieu (1999) redefines the state as "a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical and symbolic violence" (56). As Bourdieu's redefinition of the state demonstrates, he pays attention to state's symbolic mechanisms of power. According to Bourdieu (1999), the modern state has concentrated the authority to invest people with diverse forms of symbolic



capitals—certificates, licenses, status, privilege, and so forth—which were dispersed among diverse institutes, organizations and influential figures. The members of the state came to have their identities and qualities only through the state. Thus, the mechanism through which they inevitably came to depend on the state and to be subordinate to it was formed. In this way, the state could take the modern form of the centralized bureaucratic state.

The state's monopoly of symbolic violence has played a crucial role in transforming the social into a governable territory in the process of the institutionalization of social enterprises in South Korea. According to the Social Enterprise Promotion Act, an organization or an individual who intends to establish a social enterprise should be certified by the state, specifically by the head of the Ministry of Employment and Labor; they can receive a range of support from the state insofar as they are certified by the state.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, prohibiting uncertified organizations from using the title "social enterprise" or similar titles, the Act specifies that the state is the only agent which has the right to call something social enterprises. That is, the state monopolizes symbolic violence from the right to certify social enterprises to the right to use the term itself. The certification of social enterprises by the state and the prohibition of the use of the title "social enterprise" without the state's permission serve as specific technologies of symbolic violence.

The state's monopoly of symbolic violence enables the state to subjugate and control diverse autonomous economic communities, civic organizations, and social movement

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<sup>50</sup> The Social Enterprise Promotion Act stipulates seven requirements certification as follows: (1) the form of organization, (2) hiring paid employees, (3) the pursuit of social purposes, (4) the democratic decision making process, (5) the profits made by business activities, (6) the equipment of articles of association, rules, etc, (7) the reinvestment of 2/3 of the profits or more in social purposes (Item 1 of the Article 8).

organizations. These organizations should be certified as official social enterprises by the state, if they want to receive any of its various levels of institutional support. Insofar as being supported by the state, these organizations should satisfy the demands of the state, i.e. to provide jobs and social services for the disadvantaged. The activities of non-certified civic organizations to pursue social values and objectives are excluded from the official social value-pursuing activities certified by the state. The certification system of the state divides a civil society into certified civic organizations and ones which are not, i.e. into civic organizations supported by the state and those unsupported by the state. In this manner, it stimulates competitions among civic organizations for state certification, and enhances the state's power to control civil society.

Of course, there has been some controversy about the legal definition of social enterprise and the certification of social enterprises by the state. For instance, the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2012c: 64; 2013a: 3; 2014: 1) and the Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training (2011) argue that, by placing excessive emphasis on the provision of jobs and social services for the disadvantaged, the legal definition of social enterprise and the requirements for certification limit the possibility of innovative and creative solutions to diverse social problems. They also limit the range of social enterprises and their development consistent with changes in time and conditions. In this context, both state institutes suggest the revision of the legal definition of social enterprise and their certification requirements. The target of this criticism, however, is the issue concerning the efficient operation of the government apparatus of social enterprises, not the critical and more far reaching question of how social enterprise mechanisms operate in order to capture and control the critical resistance of civil society. However, what should be paid attention to here are the mechanisms through which a government

system territorializes the social or civil social movement areas. In this context, the technologies of symbolic violence, such as the certification of social enterprises by the state and the limitation of the use of the title “social enterprise,” can be understood as the government technologies that deploy civil social movement organizations’ resistance activities for social justice for the reinforcement of neoliberal government.

### **6.5 From *Social Enterprises* to *Social Enterprises***

One of the most salient characteristics of social enterprise discourses is that the logic of the market overwhelms the logic of social values, and that the former dominates the overall discourse. It implies that financial sustainability, i.e. financial independence of social enterprises, is a significant issue concerning the promotion of social enterprises. Actually, financial sustainability of social enterprises must be a crucial issue from the perspective of the government. This is because the government must continue financial support for social enterprises, if they fail in achieving financial independence. More importantly, their potential failure in creating conditions of financial sustainability inevitably produces results that are not in accordance with the basic mechanisms of neoliberal governmentality which aims to resolve the social problems threatening the dominant system by mobilizing civil society or the private sector instead of the state. For that reason, there have been continuous concerns about the possibility of financial independence of social enterprises throughout their institutionalization process.

These concerns often are based around three contexts in which South Korean social enterprises are placed. First, most social enterprises do not have the business acumen,

professionalism and experiences required for making profits, because most of the social enterprises have been developed from civil social movement organizations. Second, the social service industry, the main business area of social enterprises, is a labor-intensive lower value-added business. Finally, those who work in social enterprises are generally unskilled and uneducated. According to the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2014: 1), actually, 86.4 percent of all the social enterprises recorded a profit deficit in 2011. A multiplicity of technologies for strengthening social enterprises' management abilities have been invented and exercised since 2008, when the first policy plan for the promotion of social enterprises was established. The representative technologies put into practice were "the partnership program of One Social Enterprise for One Corporation" and "*Pro Bono* campaign."<sup>51</sup> Through these technologies, the logic of professionalism in management and related knowledge could enter into the mechanisms of social enterprises.

In the First Basic Plans for the Promotion of Social Enterprises (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2008), "the partnership program of One Social Enterprise for One Corporation" was established as a strategy "to shift the previous corporate one-time charitable social contribution activities to investment in social enterprises and management-support for them" (21). Criticizing corporations' traditional social contribution activities for having concentrated on one-time charitable donations, the First Basic Plans encourages corporations to form partnerships with social enterprises as part of "sustainable" social contribution activities.

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<sup>51</sup> Latin term *pro bono* means "for the public good." It refers to the voluntary public service undertaken mainly by experts with professional skills or knowledge for the benefit of those who need these professionalisms. For instance, a marketing expert can voluntarily provide consultant services concerning marketing skills or strategies for those who intend to run social enterprises but do not have enough experiences and skills about marketing for free.

The First Basic Plans describes forming partnerships with social enterprises as a form of social investment. Specifically, the First Basic Plans suggests corporations contribute to “the enhancement of the competitiveness of social enterprises in the market” by “vitalizing sales-association, donation of professionalism, co-sales, and so on.” The Second Basic Plans for the Promotion of Social Enterprises (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2012b) designed in 2012 also leads bigger corporations to contribute to strengthening financial sustainability of social enterprises by providing various forms of support—financial support, consulting, purchasing of social enterprises’ commodities, education, and so forth—for them as a social contribution (6). Giving larger companies tax breaks, the government encourages these companies to provide economic support for social enterprises. The government sees the partnership program of “One Social Enterprise for One Corporation” as bringing benefits to both social enterprises and large companies. According to the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2007), it gives benefits to these corporations along the following lines: First, it facilitates their social contribution to local communities. Secondly, they can utilize the reputation of certain NGOs or social enterprises in their marketing. Finally, it ultimately improves the governance of these corporations. It also give benefits to social enterprises in the following ways: First, social enterprises can escape from the government’s control derived from their dependence on state funding by diversifying their sources of revenue. Secondly, social enterprises can obtain a range of management skills and techniques. Finally, it functions as an opportunity for social enterprises to learn and equip themselves with accounting ability and performance-oriented attitudes.

*Pro bono* is the Latin phrase designating “for the public good.” It refers to professionals’ donation of their talents and professional abilities for the public good. Chiefly, the experts who

were executives at major corporations or have professional knowledge and expertise in management participate in *pro bono* activities to support the management of social enterprises. Identifying a *pro bono* approach as beneficial to both the participating experts and social enterprises, the Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency (2014b) encourages such individuals to participate in *pro bono* activities. According to the Agency, it gives benefits to individual experts as follows: First, as a model for social contribution, it can be a meaningful practice for local communities. Second, it can be not only a career for the experts but also an opportunity for them to cultivate their leadership. Finally, it can be an opportunity for them to construct social networks. It also gives benefits to social enterprises as follows: First, it contributes to the enhancement of social enterprises' management abilities. Second, it can be an opportunity for them to construct broad social networks. Finally, it contributes to the development of their abilities for innovation, through evaluation and assessment of their activities from the new perspective which experts bring.

As these governmental institutes show, what the government system aims at with both the partnership program of “One Social Enterprise for One Corporation” and *Pro Bono* campaign is the enhancement of financial independence of social enterprises through the improvement of their professionalism in management. Actually, a number of corporations and experts join in these programs or campaign, and support social enterprises directly or indirectly. Through them, their professional management knowledge and techniques of large corporations and management experts are integrated into the mechanism of social enterprise. The following statement of a social entrepreneur, who runs a cafeteria with hiring the disabled, sheds light on what kinds of knowledge enter into social entrepreneurship through these technologies.

I underwent a lot of difficulties, when I began to run this social enterprise, because I had been a full-time housewife. [...] I contemplated abandoning it many times. [...] To sell the goods produced by our company was the top priority at first. I took on running this social enterprise without knowing much about it. And then one day, I met the *pro bono* expert Si-ne Lee. I came to know what I have to really be concerned about thanks to her. As the meeting with her continued, I began to consider production costs of the products and to think of strategies of how I can make profits. The meetings with her enabled me to prepare for the next step systematically. [...] The social enterprise *Saeum-café* has achieved a functional development in the items bread, coffee and beverages during 2012, for an entire year since I established it only on my own will. [...] However, it was time to contemplate financial independence much more. [...] It became necessary to learn basic concepts of cost and financial accounting. [...] Two *pro bono* experts from the Export-Import Bank of Korea informed me of accounting guidelines and methods for business administration one by one. The size of *Saeum-café* was growing in terms of the scale of sales, number of stores, and it was being upgraded to the form of a corporation. It was in this situation that the management of profit and loss and the systematic management of financial accounting were urgently required. The advice of the two *pro bono* participants was so much help. Especially, they recommended *Saeum-café* be supported by the social enterprise supporting program of the Export-Import Bank of Korea. We could get a number of different forms of support through the program, such as an Espresso machine, dough mixing machine, and education for disabled youth. They are the greatest benefactors of *Saeum-café* (The Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency 2013b: 37-38).

The social entrepreneur interviewed here faced difficulty in running the social enterprise *Saeum-café*, because she did not have enough knowledge and experience concerning management.

Through the meetings with *pro bono* experts, she came to be interested in the matter of “financial independence”; she “began to consider production costs” and “strategies [... to] make profits.” She could learn “accounting guidelines and methods for business administration,” and could have help regarding “the management of profit and loss and the systematic management of financial accounting” from the *pro bono* experts. Ultimately, she could expand business networks and increase the scale of sales. What is noteworthy here is that this woman, who had been a full-time housewife and started running a social enterprise “only with her own will,” and “without knowing much about it,” came to acquire the terminologies of management and accounting; and became born again as a professional manager who can apply knowledge of management and accounting to the management of her social enterprise. These changes were possible with the help of *pro bono* experts. As the text above shows, broader knowledge and methods concerning management permeate the operation of social enterprises through these technologies of strengthening management ability such as the partnership program of “One Social Enterprise for One Corporation” and *Pro Bono* campaign.

## **6.6 Conclusion: Government of the Social and Government through the Social**

Foucault (2007) defines government as organizing “the right disposition of things, arranged so as to lead to a convenient end” (96). In this sense, a social enterprise is a governmental apparatus that aims to arrange various resources and people effectively for the purpose of the government. Government mechanisms of social enterprises operate by



transforming the domains of the social inside the territory of the government. Diverse forms of strategies and technologies of power and knowledge are mobilized in these processes.

Problematizing unemployment and poverty in terms of potential or actual risks to the governing system, neoliberal governmentality seeks to find ways in which disadvantaged groups can be integrated into society through participating in labor under the leading role of private sectors instead of the state in South Korea. The promotion of social enterprise was adopted as a crucial solution to these risks and came to be institutionalized. Power and knowledge were connected with each other and mutually reinforced each other in this process. Diverse state apparatuses have promoted the production of knowledge required for this. Professional knowledge particularly concerning social capital, management, accounting, and quantification of social enterprises' social performance is accumulated with the support of state power. On the basis of this accumulated knowledge, the government can judge the following issues: On which sites it must concentrate its policy instruments; which countermeasures it should prepare for; and which technologies are effective to meet the requirements of control. This knowledge is also conducive to the establishment and exercise of concrete governing technologies. The regular evaluations of social enterprises' performance by the state, the state's monopoly of the right to certify official social enterprises, the partnership program of "One Social Enterprise for One Corporation," and *Pro Bono* campaign are these representative technologies of power. Through these processes and the exercise of these technologies, governing mechanisms intervene in the domains of the social, and the domain of the social is restructured into measurable, manipulable and governable objects.

The government through the mechanisms of social enterprises is able to control and domesticate the unpredictability and socially explosive potential of progressive and radical movements, which might threaten the stability of the governing system, into market mechanisms. This mechanism differs from those of top-down authoritarian rule. Neoliberal government through social enterprises is characterized by flexible governing through hegemony. That is, neoliberal government vests progressive social movement forces with a certain degree of autonomy and authorities, and then captures them into its territory. One of the main reasons why this type of governing mechanism is stronger than authoritarian top-down rule is because the former takes the form of guaranteeing and promoting its governmental objects' freedom, authority, and autonomy, and then leads them to conform with its hegemony. For that reason, the promotion of social enterprises tends to be misunderstood as a promising strategy to overcome the reign of neoliberalism; sometimes, it is misunderstood as a new type of governance that is characterized by the division of powers and mutual cooperation between the state, civil society, and the market.

Social enterprises tend to be glamorized with the rhetoric of being “good corporations” or fostering an “economy with a human face” in South Korea. As this rhetoric implies, there is a strong tendency to understand the promotion of social enterprises as an effort to rehabilitate the communal solidarity among people, which has been repressed by impersonal monetary logic. That is, the promotion of social enterprises is understood as an effort to re-embed market into society in Polanyi's (2001) terms; as a decolonization of the life-world from the logic of the systems of the state and market in Habermas's (1987) terms; and as an effort to overcome human alienation in capitalist society in Marx's (1988) terms. In this context, it is one of the most

celebrated perspectives to advocate social enterprises as a strategy to rehabilitate the values of community, humanitarianism, and participatory democracy that have been repressed by the neoliberal logic of the market. In this sense, these values that are attached to social enterprises serve as normative foundation for the critique of neoliberal market logic and the advocacy of social enterprises as an alternative. The problem is that this normative foundation is hardly questioned. The analyses in this chapter show that this normative foundation of the critique of neoliberalism and advocacy of the promotion of social enterprises is already a product of power and knowledge; it is mediated and constructed through neoliberal government mechanisms. That is, this normative foundation is the product of the power-knowledge nexus, not a power-free neutral criterion.

Neoliberal government is never contradictory to the normative values of community, humanitarianism, and participatory democracy. Rather neoliberal government effectively operates through transforming the social into the object of governance, and then invigorating it. As the analyses in this chapter demonstrate, the government operates through social enterprises in the following way: It promotes the participation of civil organizations, individuals, and other elements of the private sector; it also transforms aspects the social such as those pertaining to mission and values into quantifiable knowledge; it promotes a range of people and organizations pursuing this transformed concept of the social. In this sense, South Korean progressive forces fail to understand these new governing mechanisms of neoliberalism that operate in connection between neoliberal logic of the market and the social. This is because they tend to see the relationship between the neoliberal logic of the market and the social in terms of a zero sum game, i.e. an expansion of one of them and the reduction of the other. This perspective of South

Korean progressive forces fosters the illusion that the promotion of social enterprises are a critical resistance strategy to rehabilitate civil society, communal values, humanitarianism and participatory democracy against the regime of neoliberalism. Therefore, they ultimately contribute to the reinforcement of neoliberalism unintentionally by actively participating in the promotion of social enterprises. Thus, what South Korean progressive forces should give more attention to are the mechanisms through which neoliberalism and these social values are articulated with each other, and thus, enable new form of neoliberal governmentality.

## 7. DISCURSIVE STRUCTURES OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISES III: THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS<sup>52</sup>

### 7.1 The New Subjectivities of Social Entrepreneurs

Above all, all citizens must have an entrepreneurial spirit. I wish the first article of the South Korean constitution could be amended to include “all South Korean citizens can be small business owners” (Park, W. 2009).

This statement might seem as if it were coming from an extreme free market neoliberal, but they are actually the words of Won-sun Park, a representative celebrity figure of South Korean progressive civil social movement. Park is the Mayor of Seoul, a social entrepreneur himself, and an influential proponent of social entrepreneurship movement. Of course, he was advancing this argument specifically in order to promote and encourage the social entrepreneurial spirit and broader movement, rather than market ideology generally. In this context, the term “small business owners” is actually meant to designate social entrepreneurs, rather than small commercial entrepreneurs generally. However, Park’s argument contains the core political elements and themes that that is put forward in South Korea today around the relationship between social enterprises and neoliberalism. In this Park’s argument, a progressive alternative to market economy is conveyed through the use of the terms “entrepreneurial spirit,”

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<sup>52</sup> I presented the main findings and discussions in this chapter in 2014 Critical Sociology Conference that was held by the Critical Sociological Association of Korea in Hanshin University (Seoul) in Oct. 25, 2014. This chapter is a revised version of the paper presented at the Conference with an additional section. .

“small business owners,” “all citizens,” “the first article of the constitution,” and so forth. “All citizens” are represented as “small business owners” who are able to arm themselves with “entrepreneurial spirit” in this statement. The sovereigns of the nation are recast from political subjects “citizens” into economic subjects “small business owners.” Instead of rights and obligations as qualifications for citizenship, “entrepreneurial spirit” is envisioned as integral to the qualification for being these new sovereigns “small business owners.”

Ultimately, this assertion by Park excludes those who can’t or don’t want to be small business owners from the category of the nation. In this sense, his statement indicates the overall potential political result of the social enterprise movement in South Korea, independent of the intentions of its advocates.

Following this line of thinking, in the present chapter, I will explore how the new subjectivities of social entrepreneurs are discursively constituted and what the political implications of these discursive practices are. An individual is composed of various characteristics. An individual becomes a subject with an identity, when these various characteristics are arranged and synthesized under a certain characteristic’s dominance (Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Žižek 1989). The problem is which characteristic plays the dominant role in synthesizing the rest characteristics. Each political force’s discursive practices and strategies to constitute individuals into certain types of subjects intervene in these processes. In this sense, the problem of discursive constitution of subjectivities needs to be understood in relation to broader dimensions of political and social practices.

It is not easy to define the subjectivity of social entrepreneur identity because, by definition, it combines two contradictory aspects of social public oriented goals and market

strategies. In terms of semiology, the signifier *social entrepreneur* floats as *an empty signifier*, i.e. *a signifier without the signified*, in the symbolic order of signs in that it is not firmly connected with a certain type of the signified. It does not mean that the term of *social entrepreneur* as an empty signifier is nothing but a meaningless and vain representation. Rather, as Laclau and Mouffe (2001) point out, the political function of an empty signifier in discursive struggles for hegemony is practical and determinant, because it functions as a nodal point to fix chains of meanings in a field of discourse and endows a consistency to the discursive field.<sup>53</sup> A political force's discursive hegemony relies on its ability to occupy the space of the empty signifier discursively, and to articulate other forces and the majority of the people around the empty signifier as a whole, by representing its special interest as a universal one that is compatible with them (xi; 113; 136).<sup>54</sup> In the same line of thought, the diverse discursive practices to endow a certain meaning to the term of social entrepreneur as an empty signifier should be understood in terms of political struggles for hegemony. In this sense, the term social entrepreneur is a site where discursive struggles among diverse forces converged.

In this context, I focus on the discursive strategies and the modes of discursive struggles among the main political forces that operate in the processes of discursive construction of social entrepreneurs. I also pay attention to the political implications of the discursive construction of the new subjectivities of social entrepreneurs in the South Korean conditions. I applied the general methodological rules of critical discourse analysis that I outline in chapter two.

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<sup>53</sup> For a more detailed explanation of the function and the logic of the empty signifier, see Derrida (1978: 351-370) and Deleuze (2004).

<sup>54</sup> For this purpose, the empty signifier should be universal rather than specific and special. The language of universality such as nation and people have functioned as the most common empty signifiers around which hegemonic struggles between diverse political forces have taken place.

Specifically, concerning data, I analyzed the newspaper articles that were published in both the progressive newspapers and the conservative ones by May 2014: *Hankyoreh* and *Kyunghyang* for the former and *Chosun* and *Joongang* for the latter. In order to investigate discursive struggles between progressive forces and conservative ones, I classified data sources into progressive and conservative newspapers. The newspaper articles that contain the terms *social entrepreneur* or *social entrepreneurship* more than four times were analyzed. Finally, 82 articles were collected: 52 articles from the progressive newspapers (21 articles from *Hankyoreh* and 31 articles from *Kyunghyang*) and 30 articles from the conservative ones (20 articles from *Chosun* and 10 articles from *Joongang*). I conducted critical discourse analyses according to the procedures as follows:

(1) I identified the main vocabularies that constitute the discursive formation of social entrepreneurs. Using NVivo 10 program, I collected one hundred vocabulary lists based on the words which were most frequently occurring in the texts studied. I included the lists and each vocabulary's appearance counts in Appendix 1.

(2) Then, I categorized these vocabularies into five groups according to their similarities in meanings, in order to identify sub-discourses that constitute the discursive formation of social entrepreneurs. These main vocabularies and the categories are attached in Appendix 2.

(3) In order to develop an outline concerning how these categories of vocabularies are connected with each other in the discursive formation of social entrepreneurs, I conducted semantic network analyses. For this purpose, first, I conducted co-appearance analysis between the main vocabularies with NVivo 10 program. Then, inputting the results into NetDraw program, I conducted the main component analyses of the semantic networks.



(4) I conducted in-depth discursive analyses on the basis of the results obtained in the previous step. I paid special attention to the following aspects: the typology of the subject forms through which social entrepreneurs are represented; which type of the subject form is dominant in these discourses; and the discursive strategies through which individual statements concerning these subject forms are articulated with each other. Concisely, I focused on the way in which a certain type of subject form functions as a hegemonic subject form over others, which makes fix the meaning of the representation of social entrepreneurs, and endows an identity to social entrepreneurs.

(5) The discursive project concerning the construction of social entrepreneurs does not merely aim at the target of special kinds of people who actually run social enterprises or want to run social enterprises in near future. It rather aims to transform all South Korean citizens into social entrepreneurs, as the Park's statement quoted previously implies. In this sense, social enterprise discourses operate as a political project of the production of universal subjects. Thus, I explored discursive logic and strategies through which the political project of the production of universal subjects is exercised.

(6) Finally, I situated the results of these analyses within broader non-discursive social and political contexts—particularly, the contexts of neoliberal governmentality and political struggles for hegemony—and interpreted the political implications of the discursive construction of social entrepreneurs. All these analyses from (1) to (6) were conducted in the distinction between the progressive newspapers and the conservative ones.

## 7.2 Semantic Networks between the Main Vocabularies

According to the analytic procedures discussed in the previous section, I abstracted one hundred vocabularies which most frequently appeared in the texts studied, except the vocabularies of *social enterprise*, *social entrepreneur*, and *social entrepreneurship*. When these vocabulary lists are categorized according to the similarities in their conventional meanings, four remarkable semantic groups are found: the orientation to social transformation, the orientation to social problem solving, the orientation to communal values, and the orientation to market. The format of categorization is shown in Appendix 2. I conducted the main component analyses on the semantic networks between the seventy three vocabularies of the four categories including the vocabulary *social entrepreneur*. Figure 13, Figure 14, and Figure 15 illustrate the results of the analyses for all of the texts, those of the progressive and conservative newspapers separately.

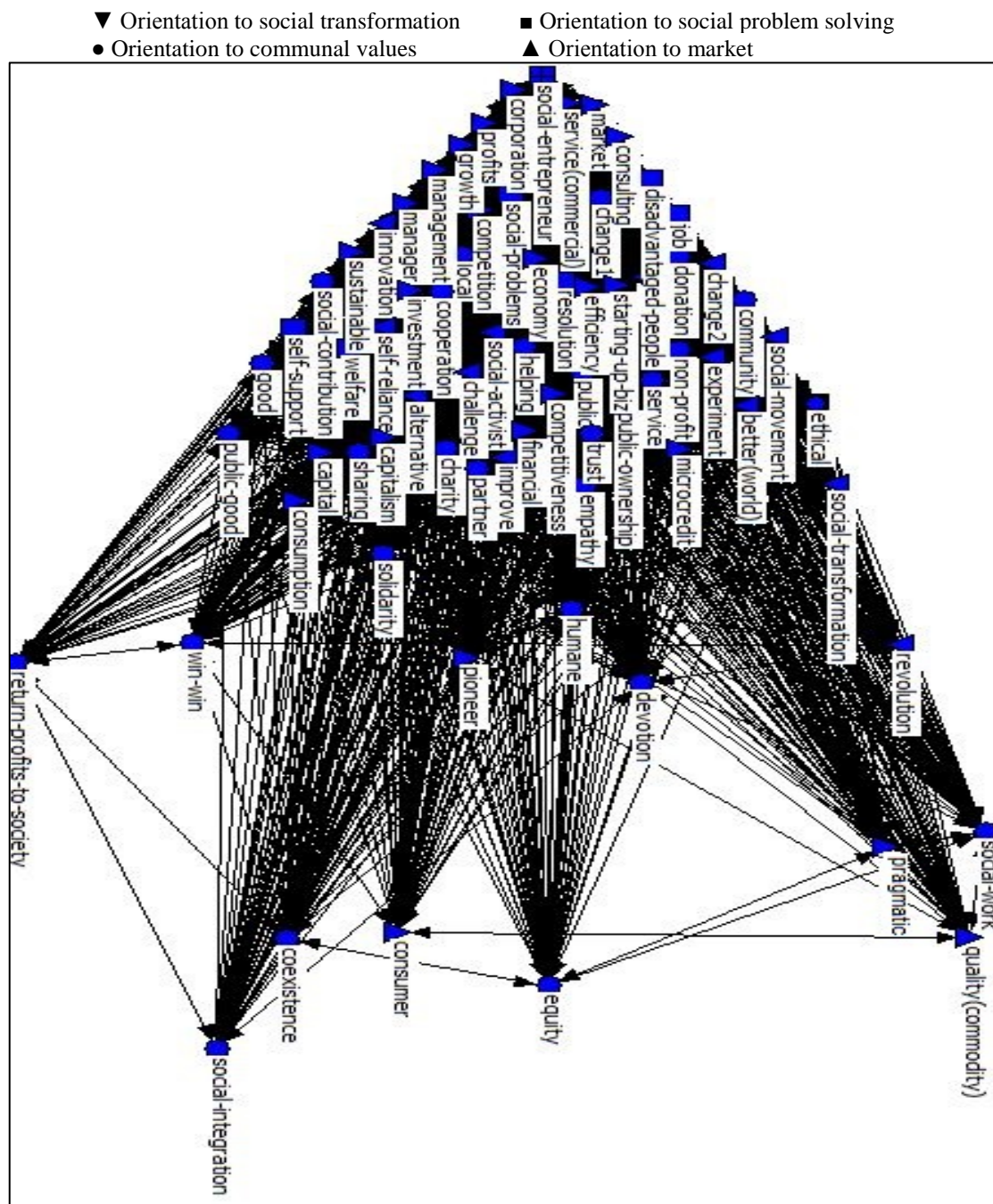


Figure 13: Semantic Network for All of the Texts

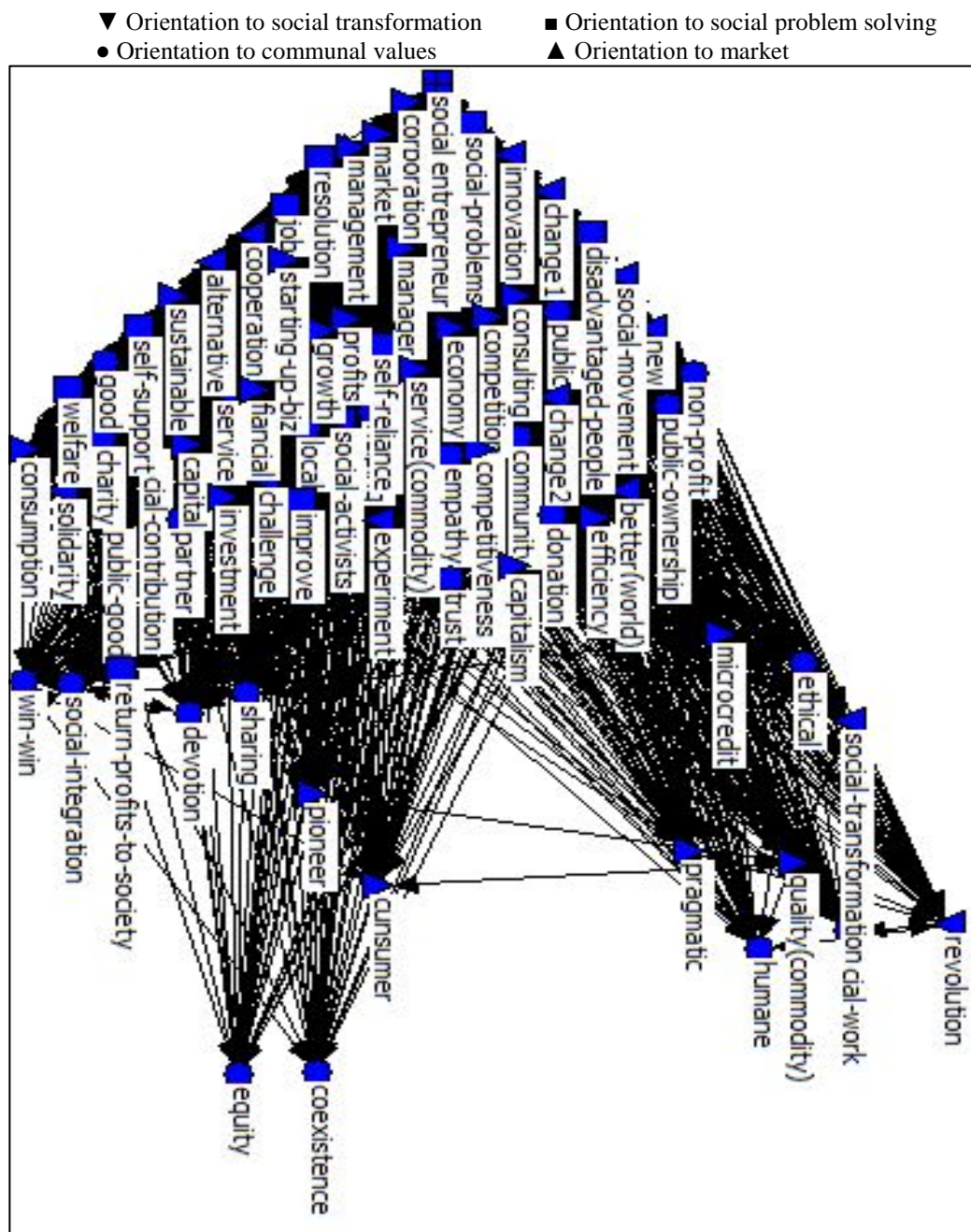


Figure 14: Semantic Network in Progressive Newspapers' Texts

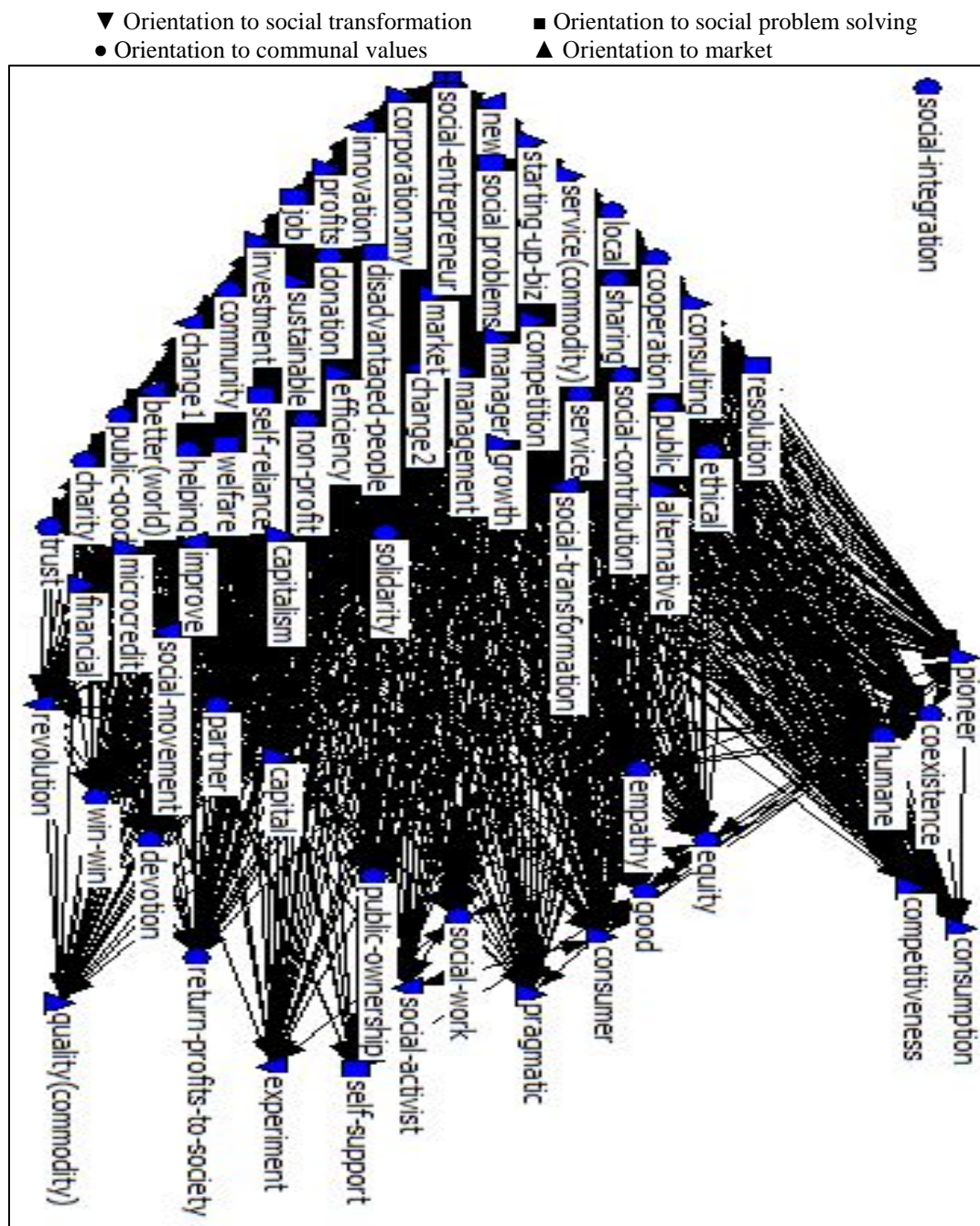


Figure 15: Semantic Network in Conservative Newspapers' Texts

The semantic networks illustrated on these three figures show the characteristics of the networking patterns. First, most vocabularies of the four categories—orientations to social transformation, social problem solving, communal values, and market—are densely gathered around the vocabulary *social entrepreneur* in all the three figures. This pattern suggests that the identity of the social entrepreneur would be represented as having a complex existence in the mixture of these four categories of vocabularies, rather than as a singular form of existence. For instance, a social entrepreneur would be represented as inhabiting an uncertain existence with complex identities: such as those who are ethical and professional business men and women trying to transform society and solve social problems. Second, a relatively marginalized corpus that is composed of exclusively communal value vocabularies—*sharing, devotion, reinvestment of profits into society, social integration, win-win*, and so on—is found at the right bottom in Figure 14, the progressive newspapers' semantic network. This pattern suggests that there would be some texts or sub-discourses that exclusively emphasize the importance of communal values as the virtues of social entrepreneurs in progressive newspapers' discourses of social entrepreneurs, but these types of texts or sub-discourses would likely be marginal. In the subsequent sections, I more closely explore the discursive structures of social entrepreneurs under the guidance of these characteristic semantic networking patterns found in this section.

### **7.3 Four Types of Subjective Forms**

#### **7.3.1 Subjective Form I: Social Entrepreneurs as Agents of Social Transformation**

As the results of the analyses of the word appearance frequencies demonstrate in Appendix 1, one of the vocabulary categories that most frequently appear in the texts studied is that concerning having an orientation around social transformation. It suggests that social entrepreneurs may be represented as agents of social transformation. Actually, social entrepreneurs are described using the rhetoric of social transformation, with terms such as “change makers,” “social innovators,” and “persons who change society,” in a number of the texts. The discursive construction of social entrepreneurs as agents of social transformation has three characteristics as follows: the dichotomy of “the new and better state” versus “the old and bad state”, the peaceful and utopian version of social transformation, and the Schumpeterian framework of creative destruction.

First, the dichotomy of new and better state versus old and bad state penetrates the discourses of social entrepreneurs. This dichotomous framework operates in this way, for instance, by contrasting the future world that social entrepreneurs try to realize with the present world, or contrasting social entrepreneurs as agents of social transformation with the more traditional “activist group,” “social movement activists,” and “civic activists.” The agenda of social transformation that has been the main matter of interest for progressive forces is thereby connected with discourses that devalue the traditional roles of progressive social movement activists. Almost without exception social entrepreneur discourses describe the present state as the world filled with diverse social problems such as unemployment, economic polarization,

environmental and disability issues; these discourses argue for the necessity of trying to change and address these problematic world. This discursive framework is repeated even in the conservative forces' discourses, which have tended to defend the *status quo* against any changes.

What should be given attention is the discursive arrangement in which the agenda of social transformation is articulated with other discourses. For instance, contrasting social entrepreneurs with the traditional social movement activists, a text of *Chosun* defines the latter as “the malcontents who always grumble,” while describing the former as “those who seek pragmatic solutions instead of grumbling” (January 18, 2010). This form of discursive practice is not exceptional in progressive newspapers' texts. They also contrast social entrepreneurs with social movement activists, by juxtaposing “the social innovators who can interact with others” with “bloody activists” or describing the latter as “those who are stuck in a rut” (*Kyunghyang* August 21, 2007). The following is an example of these discourses practices.

Therefore, social entrepreneurs can be understood as the moderate pragmatists who seek answers “within the market.” This moderate pragmatism would be more powerful and efficient in overcoming the evils of globalization than any other radical ideologies and assertions (*Kyunghyang* January 5, 2008).

Social entrepreneurs' “moderate pragmatism” is contrasted with social movement activists' “radical ideologies and arguments” in this text; the former's ability and the latter's inability are emphasized. The former's ability is drawn from their seeking solutions “within the market” unlike the latter. In this way, in the discourses of social entrepreneurs as agents of social



transformation, social transformation, the central agenda of progressive forces, is combined with the market, while describing other social movement activists as out of date and less immediately relevant to the current context.

Secondly, the process of social transformation is described in peaceful and utopian manner in this discourse. Social entrepreneurs are portrayed as agents of social transform, language associated with social transformation, such as the words “transform” and “change,” is pervasive in these texts. The specific targets of transformation and the reactionary forces which undergird it, however, are hardly stated in these discourses. Social transformation discourses have traditionally tended to specify targets for struggles such as state power and capitalism, in so far as those discourses resist the *status quo* controlled by the dominant powers. In contrast, regardless of political orientation, the discourses of social entrepreneurs simply repeat an airy rhetoric targeting abstract objects such as “the society” or “the world,” while hardly describing specific objects of struggle or structural opposition. In this way, the concept of “social transformation” in these discourses hardly has any substantive content involving actual life-and-death struggle against the dominant power. It is for this reason that social transformation is described as a peaceful and utopian process. This is partially a reason why discourses of social transformation have been broadly accepted by not only progressive forces but others as well.

Finally, the meaning of social transformation is reconstructed within the framework of *creative destruction*, the concept of Joseph Schumpeter (2008), who was an Austrian-born American economic theorist of entrepreneurship and innovation. In the discourses of social entrepreneurs, social transformation is not discussed as a process of resistance to dominant power by a revolutionaries or social movement activists who are armed with radical ideologies.

Rather, it is described as a task for entrepreneurs who have an entrepreneurial spirit characterized by creativity and innovation. In this sense, though a number of statements of social transformation appear in the texts studied, substantively the term *social transformation* tends to be used along the lines of the meaning of the Schumpeterian notion of *creative destruction*. For this reason, practices around social transformation are described in terms of positive efforts to innovate the present capitalist system creatively, not as dangerous and deviant struggles. The following text is a typical example that reframes the meaning of social transformation in this way.

Social entrepreneurs are the very people who change the world. [...] They are the people who break through the areas where both market failure and state failure happen, with entrepreneurs' creative ideas. [...] Even the traditional NGOs like voluntary organizations can increase the efficiency of their services, when they are armed with a social entrepreneurial mind. [...] Lofty ideals or devotion alone is not enough to open the door to a better world. Entrepreneurial spirit characterized by value-creation is required in order to resolve social problems such as poverty, inequality and the environmental crisis (*Joongang* October 17, 2008).

Social entrepreneurs are defined as “the people who change the world” into “a better world.” The substance of practices involved in changing the world, however, is discussed in terms of the “value-creation” activities of entrepreneurs who are fully armed with “creative ideas,” “entrepreneurial mind,” and an “entrepreneurial spirit.” In this reframed meaning of social transformation, the social movement activists' practices of social transformation are represented as old fashioned and inefficient; the innovative activities of entrepreneurs with the

entrepreneurial spirit replace the resistance oriented practices of social movement activists armed with revolutionary radical ideologies.

As discussed thus far, these statements of social transformation are used simply as abstract rhetoric lacking substantive content; social transformation is portrayed as peaceful and utopian process. In this sense, this discourse is limited in its content and tends to romanticize social entrepreneurs. This does not mean, however, that these discourses do not produce any performative effects. These discourses represent the traditional progressive social activists' practices for social transformation as outdated, impractical and abnormal. Particularly, these discourses articulate the progressive forces' representative agenda of social transformation within the conservative forces' market language of creative destruction, and reframe the former within the latter. Through these discursive articulation strategies, progressive forces come to be subordinated to the hegemony of neoliberalism. Consequently, these discourses of social entrepreneurs as agents of social transformation can then mobilize the progressive forces, which have resisted market-based capitalist system, for the innovation of the capitalist system, not for the subversion of the system.

### **7.3.2 Subjective Form II: Social Entrepreneurs as Saviors**

Another group of vocabularies that quite frequently appear in social entrepreneur discourses are those of social problem-solving, such as “social problems,” “solution,” and “disadvantaged groups”. This means that social entrepreneurs are represented as problem solvers. As shall be discussed later, however, considering how the relationship between social entrepreneurs and the disadvantaged is represented, social entrepreneurs are closer to the

subjectivities of the saviors of the disadvantaged, rather than simply the subjectivity of problem solvers. The discourses of social entrepreneurs as the saviors of the disadvantaged have three broad characteristics: pathologization of the lives of the disadvantaged; problematization of individual personal attributes; and unilateral vertical relationship between social entrepreneurs and the disadvantaged.

First, social entrepreneur discourses pathologize the lives of the disadvantaged, while describing social entrepreneurs as physicians. Efforts to solve various social problems, particularly poverty and unemployment in South Korea, are important missions for social entrepreneurs. In order to justify their activities, the discourses problematize the lives of the disadvantaged, employing a number of negative representations such as those around crime, violence, slum housing, unhygienic condition, and public disorder.<sup>55</sup> The text below shows this discursive practice in typical way.

When he visited Kotobuki seven years ago, it was a crime-ridden district where even police abandoned the maintenance of the public order due to the numbers of sprawling homeless people.

It was a dirty street filled with stench of urine, and crimes committed by the drunken homeless.

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<sup>55</sup> It is a common perception that the lives of the poor and excluded are portrayed as incorrigible ones, through deploying a range of negative characterizations. In these discourses, their existence culture, and communities are represented as what should be corrected, and thus, the intervention of diverse power technologies into their lives is justified. Ethnographic research into this, however, demonstrates that the poor and marginalized organize their lives and form autonomous social orders in constructive ways based on mutual cooperation and solidarity. For instance, Venkatesh (2008), who carried out an ethnographic study in a poor public housing community in Chicago, reported that the community members organize relatively harmonious order under the leadership of a gang organization in this community. The gang organization protects the residents against the policemen's discriminatory and unjust violence; it resolves problems of security in the community for itself that the police have abandoned; it organizes after-school programs for the children in the community for itself; and it assists in the treatment of drug-addicted residents.

Okabe says “the women who got off work used to go home around the long way instead of this street out of fear for this district, but now the whole district has become so clean that many women walk here” (*Chosun* May 22, 2010).

In this text, the district of Kotobuki is described as pathological and run down with statements referencing pathology or hygiene such as “the drunken homeless” and “dirty street filled with stench of urine,” and others making reference to security such as “crimes,” “even police abandoned the maintenance of the public order,” “crime-ridden district,” and “fear.” On the one hand, using the word “clean,” as a metaphor for hygiene, this text positively describes the result of the activities of the social entrepreneur Okabe. On the other hand, the lives of the disadvantaged are described as filled with pollution and pathology in need of medical intervention. The activities of social entrepreneurs are justified through their representation as physicians who are able to cure society.

Secondly, social entrepreneur discourses problematize individuals’ personal abilities and attitudes as the causes of various social problems, rather than problematizing social structures that generate these problems. Accordingly, the resolution of these social problems is explained as a process through which social entrepreneurs transform disadvantaged people’s attitudes, develop their abilities, and thereby re-integrate them into society as “normal” people. Lack of work ethic, low internal self-esteem, dependency, and the irresponsibility of the disadvantaged people are commonly referenced as things which need to be worked through.

He confessed that a question came to mind “whether or not I am resolving the problem fundamentally.” He thought that the fundamental reason why “children are forced out on the

streets is because they have no sense of financial budgeting.” He established an educational institute “Finance International for Children and Youths.” [...] It is the very social entrepreneurship that Ashoka emphasizes (*Chosun* January 11, 2011).

Andes helps the disadvantaged French people to have new dreams. [...] He devised the Andes project and opened the grocery mall for the poor in Nièvre in 1995. He thought the food provision system for the poor that directly provides foods or meal tickets for them had a critical problem. “That food provision system could not guarantee the freedom for the poor to choose the foods that they want. This method of food provision hurts their human dignity, because they have no choice but to receive the foods given by the providers. They gradually lose self-esteem and independence, and ultimately they become accustomed to dependency and getting something for free” (*Chosun* July 13, 2010).

The first text quoted above problematizes the situation that “children are forced out on the streets,” and it suggests these children need a financial education as the fundamental solution. This solution seeks the fundamental reason for the problem of homeless children from their inability to budget properly rather than from social structural dimensions. Ultimately, this text produces a discourse which asserts that the resolution of the problems of homeless children depends not on the transformation of the society but the transformation of the children into self-reliant persons, who can support themselves. It does this by internalizing within them “the sense of budgeting,” avoiding dependency on others’ monetary support. The second text quoted above clearly shows those who social entrepreneur discourses aim to transform. In this text, the established “food provision system for the poor” is criticized as a way to prevent them from being independent and self-reliant, and thus, to maintain their poverty. What needs to be paid

attention to here is that this discourse is organized through language of the market-based liberal model of human being such as “freedom of choice,” “self-esteem,” “independence,” and “human dignity”. This implies that what the social entrepreneur discourses aim to transform the poor into “normal” *homoeconomicus*, who take responsibility for the results of their lives chosen by their free will without relying on others’ financial support. Though the texts above are quoted from a conservative newspaper, this type of discursive practices also frequently appears in the texts of progressive newspapers. The aphorism “teach a man how to fish instead of giving him a fish”<sup>56</sup> appears quite often in the texts studied regardless of the text sources’ political orientations. This saying highlights individuals’ abilities and attitudes as the fundamental causes of their poverty, rather than social structures. In this context, both progressive and conservative newspapers’ texts suggest the development of the disadvantaged people’s abilities as their central mission.

Finally, social entrepreneur discourses contrast social entrepreneurs with the disadvantaged and situate both groups within a unilateral and hierarchical relationship, not within the horizontal relationship of a mutual solidarity. In diverse progressive social transformation movements, social movement activists have pursued to overcoming the gaps in class and status between themselves and the masses. For example, in Marxist revolutionary social movements, activists have pursued integrating themselves into the working class as the principal agent of transformation. Particularly, in the revolutionary social transformation movements in South Korea in 1980s, a number of the student activists entered factories by concealing their previous high academic career in order to organize labor movements. They endeavored to arm themselves with revolutionary working class consciousness to become

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<sup>56</sup> This phrase that appears in Talmud appears nine times in 4 texts out of the total 82 texts studied in this chapter.

genuine revolutionaries, and for them to become manual workers was the first step (Koo 2001). What is interesting in the social entrepreneur discourses is that social entrepreneurs, not the masses or the disadvantaged, are represented as the principal agent of the social transformation. Thus, contrary to the traditional social transformation discourses, social entrepreneurs and the disadvantaged groups are not discussed as the groups to be integrated into a singular subjectivity. In these discourses, the former are described as saviors of the latter, while the latter are described as those to be saved by the former. The driving engine for the social transformation or the salvation of the disadvantaged is suggested as *the entrepreneurial spirit* of individual social entrepreneurs instead of a *class consciousness* of collective subjects like working class.

The spirit of innovation can be applied for diverse purposes. To apply the spirit of innovation to the resolution of social problems is the very social entrepreneurial spirit. [...] Good entrepreneurs do not pursue only money. They generate innovation even at the areas where success in business is not anticipated. It is the very entrepreneurial spirit. Actually, the innovations in the social sector and market sector are not different so much in the methods. A difference is in the purposes of the innovations that are pursued in these two sectors. The purpose of social entrepreneurs is to change the world, while that of commercial entrepreneurs is to take advantage of opportunities in market (*Hankyoreh* November 13, 2009).

In the text above, social entrepreneurs with “entrepreneurial spirit” are described as the principal agents of “the resolution of social problems,” “innovation in thie social sector,” and “change [of] the world.” The disadvantaged groups are excluded from the category of the principal agents in that, as discussed previously, they are characterized by the absence of entrepreneurial spirit, independence, and labor ethics. Numerous religious narratives describe human salvation as



possible only by a numinous powerful existence transcending ordinary human abilities. Similarly, social entrepreneur discourses also demonstrate that the salvation of the disadvantaged groups is possible only by social entrepreneurs who are armed with entrepreneurial spirit. In this sense, the relationship between social entrepreneurs and the disadvantaged is unilateral and hierarchical, like the relationship between God and humanity. Of course, a number of languages concerning the horizontal and cooperative interactions between social entrepreneurs and the disadvantaged—for example, solidarity, community, communication, coexistence, and empathy—appear in social entrepreneur discourses. However, what these horizontal and cooperation-oriented languages refer to is an idealized future state that would be achieved as a result of social entrepreneurs' saving of the disadvantaged, not a process of solving a shared problem through these two groups' solidarity and their collective efforts.

### **7.3.3 Subjective Form III: Social Entrepreneurs as Ethical and Moral Human Beings**

The discourse around social entrepreneurs as both agents of social transformation and saviors relates to their main roles and social orientations. In the present and the following section, I focus on how the qualities and abilities of social entrepreneurs as agents of social transformation and saviors of the disadvantaged are described. The most frequently stated qualities and abilities associated with social entrepreneurs are ethical and moral ones—empathy with others, altruism, devotion to community, and attitudes of coexistence and solidarity—and professional abilities of business administration.

One of the most frequently employed languages in the text studied is the vocabulary group concerning the orientation to communal values. This implies that the subjectivities of

social entrepreneurs would be discussed in a close relation to the communal value orientation. A number of the texts suggest empathy with others' difficulties, altruistic and devoted attitudes to a community and so forth, as the integral conditions for being a good social entrepreneur.

Q: What do you think of the core qualities required for social entrepreneurs?

A: In recruiting employees, social enterprises focus on the ability to show empathy, flexible attitudes and ethical values that applicants have. Educational attainment and certificates are not important. A number of successful social enterprises were able to expand their business because they did not hire experts. For instance, the Bangladeshi Grameen bank, the microcredit bank for the poor, prefers those who have not worked for banks. My friend Unus, who is the founder of Grameen bank and a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, does not hire MBA degree holders. What is more important than professionalism are humane qualities (*Kyunghyang* October 18, 2010).

This text demonstrates that “humane qualities” such as “ability to show empathy, flexible attitudes and ethical values” are more important than “educational attainment and certificates.”

These “humane qualities” do not simply refer to positive personal traits. They are stated as active powers useful in running social enterprises and changing the world.

Q: Social entrepreneurs should be excellent organizers. What do you think of the source of the power to motivate people?

A: It is a highly ethical quality. Social entrepreneurs sometimes encourage people do seemingly unreasonable work. Nevertheless, people are likely to accept their requests. It is because people trust social entrepreneurs (*Kyunghyang* June 4, 2010).

People's "trust" in social entrepreneurs, which was gained by the latter's "highly ethical quality," is depicted as social entrepreneurs' "source of power to motivate people," and thus, to enable the achievement of even "seemingly unreasonable" social endeavors. Thus, it is demonstrated that, more than anything else, social entrepreneurs must be ethical and moral in order to perform their social missions. As discussed previously, unlike in the conservative forces' semantic networks, there is a corpus that is exclusively composed of the vocabularies of communal value orientation in the progressive force's semantic networks. This networking pattern implies that the discursive practices which represent social entrepreneurs exclusively as ethical and moral human beings would be more distinctive in progressive forces' texts than in conservative ones. Actually, compared to the discourses of conservative forces, those of progressive forces tend to emphasize the orientation toward communal values and ethical or moral personalities as integral qualities for social entrepreneurs. However, this difference is only a relative difference in degree, not a fundamental one. That is, ethical and moral values are designated as important characteristics that define the identities of social entrepreneurs in social entrepreneur discourses, regardless of political orientations.

#### **7.3.4 Subjective Form IV: Social Entrepreneurs as Professional Managers**

As the results of the analyses of the word appearance frequencies demonstrate in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, vocabularies regarding market and management, such as "professionalism in business" and "entrepreneurial spirit," are the most distinctive vocabulary group that composes social entrepreneur discourses. A number of texts studied demonstrate that social entrepreneurs cannot achieve their overall social missions, or more generally pursue public

good, without being equipped with entrepreneurial attitudes and abilities. The following text is an example of how social entrepreneurs are situated firmly within the subjectivities of commercial entrepreneurs.

Who are social entrepreneurs? They are not philanthropists who as ethical beings simply donate money to the poor. [...] They are the people who break through areas where both market and state failure happen, with entrepreneurs' creative ideas. Even the traditional NGOs like volunteer organizations can increase the efficiency of their services, when they are armed with a social entrepreneurial consciousness. [...] Pierre Omidyar, the eBay co-founder and philanthropist, says "if social entrepreneurs want to impact on the world, they must not overlook the business aspect." Swiss billionaire Stephan Schmidheiny uses the word investment instead of donation. [...] As a type of investment, donations also require a return. Lofty ideals or devotion alone is not enough to open the door to a better world. Entrepreneurial spirit characterized by value-creation is required in order to resolve social problems [...] (*Joongang* October 17, 2008).

This text distinguishes social entrepreneurs from "philanthropists [...] as ethical beings." In the same vein, distinguishing "investment" from "donation," this text excludes the latter from the social entrepreneurs' activities in that it is not based on "entrepreneurial spirit": the activities of social entrepreneurs are described as a form of investments. It also argues that even traditional civic organizations or social activists should be equipped with "entrepreneurial consciousness." Activities in pursuit of public good are reframed within a series of market-based terms "business," "investment," "value-creation," "entrepreneurial spirit," and so on. Briefly, social enterprises are social *enterprises* and social entrepreneurs are social *entrepreneurs*. Accordingly, in South Korea,

the educational programs for the promotion of social entrepreneurs tend to focus highly on conveying professional knowledge of business administration and associated disciplines. The text below provides an introduction to the core themes of the curriculum of the Social Entrepreneur School, which was co-founded by representative progressive institutes and civic organizations such as the Research Center for Social Enterprise in Sungkoonhoe University and the Hankyoreh Economic Research Institute.

The Social Entrepreneur School established last year [...] is an institute for promoting entrepreneurs who give attention to their marginalized neighbors' painful realities. [...] The Social Entrepreneur School has various curricula designed to facilitate social entrepreneurs' gaining professional knowledge and know how needed in these fields. So these curricula range from are theories of social enterprise to basic and professional courses regarding business administration and start-ups. Six courses were offered last year: the basic course, an organizational design course, a course for the establishment of a medical consumer cooperative, a social entrepreneurs MBA course, youth social innovators courses, and non-profit marketing course. This institute achieved excellent results with around two hundred students registering for these courses (*Hankyoreh* April 14, 2010).

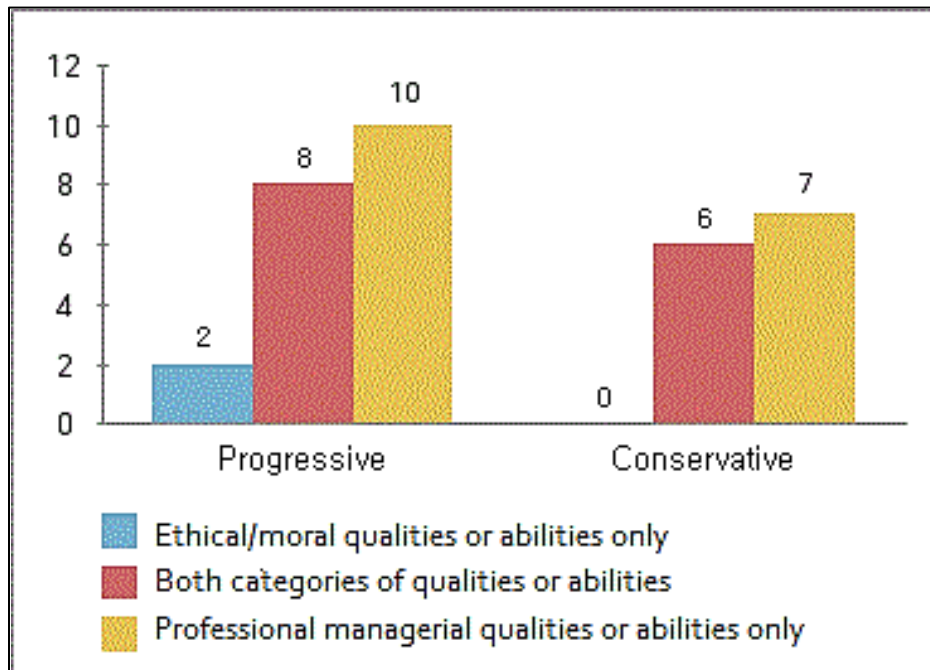
As the text above demonstrates, substantially there is no significant difference in curricula between the institutes for the promotion of social entrepreneurs and those for the promotion of professional managers. Consequently, social entrepreneurs are represented as professional managers in these social entrepreneur discourses.

#### **7.4 Hierarchical Articulation among the Four Subjective Forms**

As these analyses so far demonstrate, social entrepreneurs are depicted as agents of social transformation, saviors of the disadvantaged, ethical and moral human beings, and professional managers. Social entrepreneurs, however, are represented in a contradictory and heterogenic totality in which these four subjective forms are articulated together, rather than being represented separately. The problem is which of these four subjective forms plays the dominant role in integrating the others hierarchically. I explore these mechanisms in this section. The subjective forms of both change agents and saviors of the disadvantaged are defined in relation to the purposes of social entrepreneurs' activities. The majority of texts under review here emphasized that social entrepreneurs must cultivate their ethical and professional managerial qualities prior to becoming agents of social transformation and saviors of the disadvantaged. Thus, in the discourses of social entrepreneurs, the dominant role in articulating various subjective forms in a hierarchical totality can only be played by either the subjective forms of ethical and moral human beings or those of professional managers.

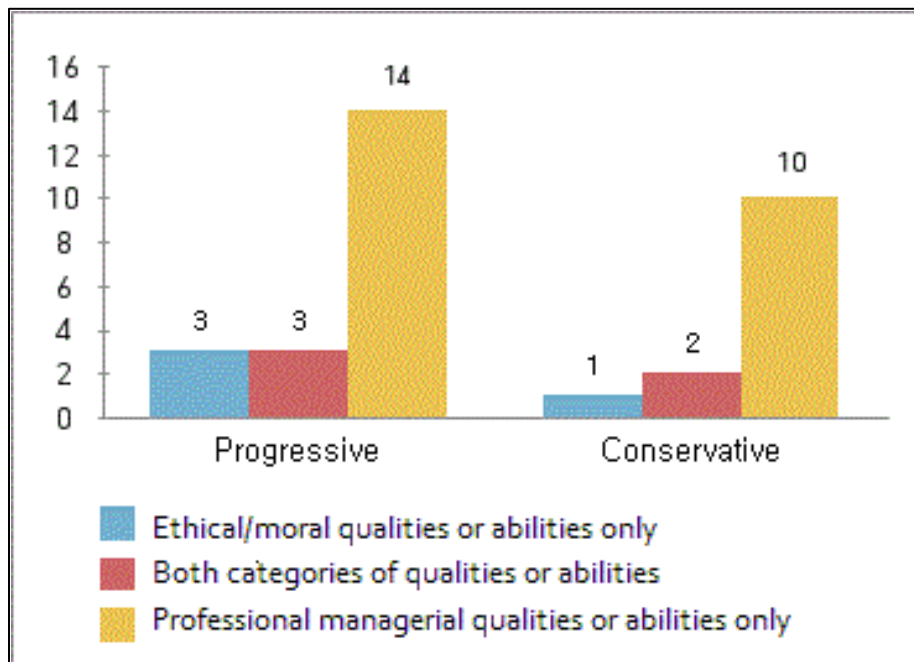
In order to investigate which of these two subjective forms plays the dominant role in the discursive construction of social entrepreneurs, I explored which category of qualities and abilities is described as more important than the other among those required for being these two forms of subjectivities. For this purpose, I analyzed how many texts include these two categories of qualities or abilities as important to being a social entrepreneur. I counted only the texts that state these qualities or abilities comparatively clearly and specifically. The number of texts that state one or both of the two categories of qualities or abilities is 33 (20 in the progressive

newspapers and 13 in the conservative ones). I analyzed these 33 texts.<sup>57</sup> Figure 16 and Figure 17 illustrate the results.



**Figure 16: Total Number of Texts that State the Importance of Ethical/moral Qualities and Professional Managerial Qualities**

<sup>57</sup> “The spirit of innovation” is stated as an integral quality for social entrepreneur in the texts studied in this chapter. Though Schumpeter (2008) suggests the spirit of innovation as the core essence of the entrepreneurship, I excluded it from the category of the ability and quality required for professional managers, insofar as it is clearly and specifically expressed in terms such as “innovation in management techniques” or “innovation in technologies,” because the connotation of the term is so comprehensive, ambiguous and abstract to be understood as the typical and specific quality or ability of entrepreneurs.



**Figure 17: Total Number of Texts that Put More Importance on Either Ethical/moral Qualities or Professional Managerial Qualities**

Figure 16 illustrates the total number of texts in which ethical and moral qualities or abilities and those required for being professional managers are stated. The majority of texts state the importance of both categories of qualities and abilities. In general, however, those required for professional managers are emphasized more than ethical and moral ones. There is no significant difference in this tendency between progressive newspapers and conservative ones. Figure 17 illustrates the results, when one of these two categories is emphasized comparatively over the other. Figure 17 more clearly demonstrates that social entrepreneur discourses overwhelmingly put more emphasis on the qualities and abilities required for professional managers, than ethical or moral capability. Overall, the number of the texts that emphasize the former is three times larger than that of the latter. There is no significant difference in this pattern



between the progressive newspapers and the conservative ones. These results demonstrate that the subjective form of the professional manager, rather than the subjective form of the ethical and moral human being, plays the dominant role in articulating the other subjective forms hierarchically within the discourses of social entrepreneurs. That is, the typical discursive way of describing social entrepreneurs contains the following logic: social entrepreneurs can change the world and resolve various problems of the disadvantaged more effectively, when they pursue their social missions as if they were professional managers armed with an entrepreneurial spirit, rather than simply operating from the standpoint of ethics and morality. The text below epitomizes the typical way in which diverse subjective forms are integrated around the subjective form of professional manager at the core.

Social entrepreneurship is different from social business. The latter refers to making money while achieving a social mission, whereas the former means the spirit of innovation beyond the latter. [...] It is caring about the resolution of social problems by changing the whole world. That is, it is the spirit of innovators. [...] Social entrepreneurs are creative destructionists, introducers of a new model, and role models. [...] The spirit of innovators can be applied to diverse purposes. Social entrepreneurship is to apply it to the resolution of social problems. [...] Good entrepreneurs [...] generate innovation. It is the very essence of entrepreneurship. Actually, innovation in the social sector is not different from that in the market sector in their methods. The area in which social entrepreneurship is most urgently required for is the public sector. [...] The government must also be changed. The same criticisms given today to the government for its inefficiency and lack of creativity were also given to social sector thirty years ago. Innovations in the social sector through social entrepreneurship took away these criticisms. The public sector can do this as well  
(*Hankyoreh* November 11, 2009).

In this text, social entrepreneurs are defined as those who “care about the resolution of social problems by changing the whole world.” In this sense, social entrepreneurs are represented as the saviors of the disadvantaged and the agents of social transformation. That is, social entrepreneurs are represented as agents of social transformation who resist the *status quo* for the benefit of the people. What is to be understood is that the key attitude required for social entrepreneurs is “the spirit of innovation [or innovators],” and they are defined as “creative destructionists.” As these terms “innovation,” “innovator,” and “creative destruction” imply, the meaning of social entrepreneurs is constituted within the framework of “entrepreneurship” suggested by Schumpeter (2008). Schumpeter thought that the driving impetus of economic and social development resided in the mechanism of the market. Particularly, he argued that individual entrepreneurs’ entrepreneurial spirit composed of their initiative, creativity, the spirit of innovation, leadership, and so forth, is at the heart of this impetus. Accordingly, he regarded government, more specifically its regulation of the economy, as the main obstacle to the dynamics of economic growth and entrepreneurs’ spirit of innovation. From this Schumpeterian perspective, the text quoted above emphasizes that there is no difference between “entrepreneurship” and “social entrepreneurship.” Furthermore, “the government” as the most “inefficient and uncreative” sector is criticized as the most problematic sector which must be reorganized within the market paradigm. Substantively social entrepreneur is simply another type of entrepreneur who applies entrepreneurship to the social sector. In this sense, the underlying model which determines the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs is the model of the innovative entrepreneur, i.e. the model of professional manager. That is, what functions as the ideal model

for the subjectivity of the social entrepreneur is not Lenin (as a revolutionary agent of social transformation), Jesus (as a savior), or Mother Theresa (as an ethical and moral person filled with love and devotion to the disadvantage), but Steve Jobs (as an innovative entrepreneur). In this way, the dominant social entrepreneur discourses are organized on the basis of the market paradigm.

The professional manager is the dominant subjective form that defines the identity of social entrepreneurs. Numerous social entrepreneur discourses employ rhetoric that denies the continuities between social enterprise and commercial enterprise and between social entrepreneur and business manager (Dey and Steyaert 2008). The analysis in this section, however, suggests that social entrepreneurs are not *new* people but simply *another* types of commercial entrepreneurs. In this sense, the rhetoric of *newness* of the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs can be understood as the discursive strategy employed to hide neoliberal contexts of social entrepreneur discourses. It also can be understood as the discursive strategy that aims to articulate progressive forces with conservative forces under the latter's hegemony. Particularly, I argue that South Korean progressive forces' discourses of social entrepreneurs do not function as counter discourses to the conservative forces' hegemonic discourses in that even the progressive forces' discourses are organized within the framework of the neoliberal market paradigm.

## **7.5 Social Entrepreneurs as Universal Subjects and Neoliberal Government**

The discourses of social entrepreneurs are not simply targeted at a special group of people who run social enterprises. The target of these discursive practices is rather the public as a

whole. As I quoted in the beginning of this chapter, the present Mayor of Seoul and the representative South Korean social entrepreneur Won-sun Park (2009) assert that the public must arm itself with this entrepreneurial spirit and that the first article of the South Korean constitution should be amended into “all South Korean citizens can be small business owners.” This statement cannot be understood simply as a hyperbole or light humor. Park has made similar statements publicly in the media.<sup>58</sup> The leaders of Ashoka and Skoll Center, which are two of the most influential and the largest social entrepreneurship-supporting organizations globally, also have made similar statements. Bill Drayton, the founder of Ashoka and the first pioneer in the field of social entrepreneurship, says “the vision of Ashoka is to create the world in which everyone has the spirit of an innovator” (*Hankyoreh* November 13, 2009). Alex Nicholls, one of the founding members of Skoll Center and the first tenured social entrepreneurship professor of Oxford University, says “everyone is already a social entrepreneur from the start” (*Chosun* July 10, 2012). These statements of famous and influential figures in the field of social entrepreneurship demonstrate that social entrepreneur discourses are constructed within the framework of the production of universal subjects, which encompass all people beyond a special group of people who run social enterprises. That is, social entrepreneur discourses aim to arm everyone with an entrepreneurial spirit for the purpose of social innovation and resolution of social problems.

If this is the case, is it possible that even ordinary men and women who are not special elites can exercise the high level of ethics and professionalism in management required to become social entrepreneurs? Furthermore, is it possible that both the public good and market-

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<sup>58</sup> See *Hankyoreh* (July 23, 2008); *Sisa-IN* (January 12, 2009); *Pressian* (July 26, 2007).

based strategies, which have been understood as opposite and incompatible with each other, can be integrated into one harmoniously? These questions implicitly raise a fundamental anthropological question about human nature. Social entrepreneur discourses mobilize the knowledge of evolutionary biology in order to answer these questions. The following text below is an example of this discursive strategy.

The bonobo is an ape. [...] The bonobo, the closest ape to humankind genetically, is optimistic, likes equality, and enjoys sex, unlike the violent chimpanzee. If the chimpanzee has “the face of the devil” that is at the root of the violent side of human nature, the bonobo has “the face of angel” that symbolizes empathy and peace. The author advocates a “bonobo peace revolution” against greed and selfishness, i.e. against chimpanzee’s nature which has led globalization for the last thirty years. The bonobo peace revolution will neutralize the money-poison of chimpanzee economics, and extend a helping hand to those vulnerable and in despair. Briefly, this proposal is to pursue making and spending money not for self-interest but for changing the world and fostering innovation within society. It is this “bonobo revolution” that replaces the present system with compassionate capitalism having a human face. [...] This bonobo revolution within capitalism enables the birth of the “social enterprise” characterized by a combination of Steve Jobs’ entrepreneurial innovation and Mother Teresa’s charity (*Kyunghyang* January 7, 2008).

This text mobilizes knowledge of evolutionary biology concerning the chimpanzee and bonobo, whose genomes are recognized as being ninety eight percent the same as humans’. According to this text, humans genetically have both chimpanzee’s selfish nature and bonobo’s altruistic nature. This discourse reinforces the idea that the ability to harmonize pursuing the public good and monetary profit already resides in human DNA. From this perspective, the ability to develop

a high level of ethics and professionalism also already resides in human DNA. For that reason, as Alex Nicholls stated previously, “Everyone is already a social entrepreneur from the start.”

Insofar as everyone is already a social entrepreneur, the argument of Won-sun Park to change the first article of the South Korean constitution to “all South Korean citizens can be small business owners” is justified.

In this sense, the social entrepreneur discourse can be understood as a discursive project to replace *citizens* as political universal subjects defined in terms of rights and organizations with *entrepreneurs* as economic universal subjects defined in terms of entrepreneurship and professional management abilities. If this is the case, why would social entrepreneur discourses attempt to replace the present universal subjects *citizens* with the new universal ones *entrepreneurs*? In order to answer this question, the way in which the state and private sector are described in discourses of social entrepreneurs needs to be understood. Regardless of political orientation, social entrepreneur discourses depict the state as an incompetent and inefficient system that suppress individuals’ initiative, while describing individuals and the private sector as competent, efficient, creative, and spontaneous. The following is from *Hankyoreh*, a progressive newspaper which has traditionally emphasized an active role of the state in protecting the disadvantaged.

The power within the economy is transitioning from the state and capital to civil society. [...] Co-founder of MYC4 Mads Kjaer says the key to the surprising success of MYC4 was the fact that he chose individuals as partners to change the world instead of the state or capital. He also remarked that the power of the public and the private sectors have reached their limitations in eliciting individuals’ spontaneity. Thus, both NGOs representing citizens instead of the government

attempting to control those citizens and social enterprises pursuing returning their profits to citizens instead of multinational corporations pursuing to making profits from those citizens begin to gain the initiative within the economy (*Hankyoreh* March 29, 2009).

In this text the state is described as a negative power that represses individuals' initiative, whereas individuals are described as positive partners for the change of the world. A number of statements that correlate the government with the representations of incompetence and inefficiency, and take the failure of the government for granted are commonly found in the texts studied. These discursive strategies show that social entrepreneur discourses are constructed under the framework of neoliberal governmentality, which pursues reorganizing the entire society around the initiatives of the market and the minimization of the role of the state. Insofar as neoliberal governmentality pursues the minimalist state, the universal political subject "citizens" defined as the subjects of rights and obligations in the contract relation to the state should be replaced with a new form of subjects. This neoliberal governmentality regards all social domains including even the state as market domains (Foucault 2008). Accordingly, neoliberalism requires those who are characterized, not by rights and obligations in relation to the state, but by professional abilities of management, entrepreneurial spirit, and ethics to assume social responsibility concerning others' difficulties instead of the state. These new subjects are the social entrepreneurs, and neoliberalism intends to transform all citizens into these new universal subjects. In this sense, social entrepreneur discourses are deeply embedded in neoliberal governmentality.

Foucault and a number of his successors demonstrate that neoliberal government transforms individuals into the self-help *homoeconomicus*, who internalize entrepreneurship and the ethos of personal responsibility (Foucault 2008: 226; Rimke 2000; Dean 2006, 2010; Rose 1999a, 2007; Rose and Miller 1992; Cruikshak 1996). The subjectivity of the social entrepreneur cannot be reducible into simply the self-help *homoeconomicus*. Social entrepreneurs are what Lessenich (2011) calls “socialized *homoeconomicus*,” who assume responsibility for not only their own lives but also the difficulties of others. Foucault points out that the modern government operates with individualizing the people that it aims to govern and simultaneously totalizing them (2000a: 325; 1982: 213). Particularly, he suggests the importance of analyses of government technologies concerning how individuals are integrated into an entity, e.g., a nation, a society, a community, and so forth. He calls this totalizing technology of power “technology of individuals” (2000b). That is, the technology of individuals refers to the ways in which individuals are led to understand themselves as members of a social entity. Investigations into these technologies of individuals can be understood as a Foucauldian version of efforts to answer sociology’s classical question “how society is possible,” i.e. the question of social integration. Particularly the security that Foucault demonstrates as the core mechanism of the modern government—diverse forms of the modern state-driven social security or welfare programs—have functioned as the representative technologies of individuals (2007). As neoliberalism both pursues the minimalist state and leads individuals to be socially responsible subjects who take care of disadvantaged neighbors, these individuals, such as social entrepreneurs, play the role of facilitating social integration instead of the state (Kim 2012). Criticizing the state for its incompetence, inefficiency, and so on, social entrepreneur discourses justify the minimization of



the state's role, and simultaneously construct individuals into socially responsible subjects who are willing to take care of others' painful lives. In this sense, the social entrepreneur discourses should be understood as the neoliberal discursive practices that shift the role of social integration from the state to individuals, and thus, reorganize the relationships between state, market and individuals on the basis of neoliberal political rationality.

## **7.6 Conclusion: Discursive Construction of Social Entrepreneurs and Neoliberal Government**

The analyses in this chapter demonstrate that social entrepreneurs are described as four types of subjective forms: agents of social transformation, saviors of the disadvantaged, ethical and moral human beings, and professional managers. The discourses of social entrepreneurs as agents of social transformation take the following discursive strategies. First, these discourses problematize the present state and traditional social activists, while idealizing social entrepreneurs. Second, social transformations are described as peaceful and idealized processes without struggles against reactionary forces that resist social transformations. Finally, the language of social transformation operates simply as abstract rhetoric without clear content concerning what is to be transformed. The discourse of social entrepreneurs as saviors of the disadvantaged has the following characteristics: First, these discourses depict the lives of the disadvantaged as dysfunctional and pathological. Second, these discourses seek the causes of the diverse social problems regarding the disadvantaged in their individual character traits such as lack of certain abilities, dependency and lack of sufficient work ethic, rather than in the overall

social structure. Finally, the disadvantaged are described as passive actors who do not have the potential to emancipate themselves from various difficulties and social problems with their own efforts, and thus, should be saved by social entrepreneurs. Social entrepreneur discourses demonstrate that they should equip themselves with ethical moral qualities and professional managerial techniques in order to be effective. In this sense, social entrepreneurs are depicted as ethical professional managers.

A social entrepreneur is described as a complex of diverse subjective forms. The core subjective form that dominates the others, and thus, gives a relatively consistent character to this complex amalgam is the subjective form of professional manager. That is, social entrepreneur discourses have a discursive structure in which the diverse subjective forms are articulated with each other around the subjective form of the professional manager at the center. The most dominant discursive logic that frames the subjectivity of social entrepreneurs is that social entrepreneurs can change the world and resolve the problems of the disadvantaged more effectively, when they pursue their social missions as professional managers armed with an entrepreneurial spirit, rather than ethics and morality. In this sense, social entrepreneur is ultimately another type of professional manager.

Social entrepreneur discourses do not take aim at simply a special group of people who run or will run social enterprises. Social entrepreneurs take the form of universal subjects in these discourses. Social entrepreneur discourses as a universal subject discourses deploy knowledge of evolutionary biology in order to justify and support the view that all people can be social entrepreneurs and that social public values and market-based principles are not contradictory. Mobilizing a discourse of evolutionary biology conveying the truth that

genetically both selfish genome and altruistic genome are inherent in human DNA, a social entrepreneur discourse fosters the conception that all human beings have the potential to become social entrepreneurs in terms of the human genetic nature, and that the pursuit of social public values and the application of market-based strategies are not contradictory to each other. The social entrepreneur discourses as part of a discursive project to form a universal subject can be understood as discursive practice of replacing citizens as the universal political subjects with social entrepreneurs as the new type of economic universal subjects.

A notable point here is that social entrepreneur discourses are organized within the discursive framework of neoliberalism which represents the state as inefficient and incompetent, while casting individuals as actors filled with initiative, efficiency, creativeness and competence. In this sense, social entrepreneur discourses are typical neoliberal discourses that are mobilized to reorganize the relationship between the state, market, and individuals under the dominance of market logic. Thus, social entrepreneur discourses play a role in reinforcing neoliberalism, rather than functioning as counter-discourses to neoliberalism. Concerning these discursive characteristics, there is no significant difference between the social entrepreneur discourses of progressive newspapers and those of conservative newspapers. In this sense, South Korean progressive forces failed to produce their own counter-hegemonic discourses; their discursive practices are captured in the hegemony of the conservative forces' neoliberalism. Consequently, South Korean progressive forces unintentionally allied themselves with neoliberalism, and their social entrepreneur discourses result in the reinforcement of neoliberalism.

## 8. THE PRODUCTION OF SUBJECTIVITIES OF SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS: KNOWLEDGE, POWER AND THE SELF

Government cannot operate without producing certain types of subjects which it aims to govern (Burchell 1996). The Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (2010), an apparatus of governmental research, also points out that “social investment in human and material resources is required for the sustainable growth of social enterprises; the top priority among these should be placed on developing human resources that are prepared and trained to be the agents of social entrepreneurs” (160). A unique aspect of the subjectivity of social entrepreneurs is that it combines that of both social movement activists and entrepreneurs. Social entrepreneurs are kinds of entrepreneurs, but they are also social movement activists who pursue the greater public good, social justice, and social transformation. That is to say, contrary to the traditional social movement activists, they pursue the public good, social justice, and social transformation through the strategies of entrepreneurs. A group of scholars influenced by Foucault’s discussions on governmentality have demonstrated that neoliberalism transforms individuals into *homoeconomicus* who regard themselves as corporations and manage their whole lives like entrepreneurs (Rose and Miller 1992; Cruikshank 1996; Rose 1999a; 2007; Rimke 2000; Dean 2006; 2010; Seo 2009). The subjectivities of social entrepreneurs, however, differ from those of *homoeconomicus*. Though they are kinds of *homoeconomicus*, they are also ethically devoted people who are willing to take responsibility for others’ difficulties beyond narrowly focusing on their own lives (Kim 2012). Lessenich (2011) calls this type of subjectivity “socialized *homoeconomicus*.” This new type of subjectivity is characterized by social responsibility beyond

the personal responsibility of *homoeconomicu*. In this chapter, I explore the mechanisms through which these unique subjectivities of social entrepreneurs are forged.

The transformation of individuals into certain forms of subjects is accompanied by the production and mobilization of diverse knowledge and technologies of power which are organized with individuals as objects of knowledge and power. This transformation cannot be a unilateral process through which these individuals are passively determined by a nexus of power and knowledge. Rather, a set of active practices conducted by those individuals self reflexively as to develop themselves into certain types of subjects also accompanies this process. Foucault (1990) calls these practices “technologies of the self.” These technologies refer to “forms and modalities of the relation to self by which the individual constitutes and recognizes himself qua subject” (6); describing them as “arts of existence,” he further characterizes them as comprising those “intentional and voluntary actions by which men not only set themselves rules of conduct, but also seek to transform themselves, to change themselves in their singular being, and to make their life into an oeuvre that carries certain aesthetic values and meets certain stylistic criteria” (10-11). Foucault (1997a) defines governmentality as “the encounter between the technologies of domination of others and the technologies of the self” (225). This definition implies that governmentality is an effect of the combination of the power/knowledge nexus and the technologies of the self. In this context, in this section, I explore how diverse knowledge, technologies of power and those of the self are mobilized and intertwine with each other in producing social entrepreneurs.

I analyzed governmental policy reports, peer-reviewed journal articles relevant to the promotion of social entrepreneurs, and guidebooks written by so-called social entrepreneurship

gurus. The governmental policy reports condense the ways in which power and knowledge are combined and reinforce each other. In this sense, these texts are one of the best sources of data which one might use in investigating knowledge and technologies of power that have been deployed with the emergence and development of governmental policies concerning the promotion of social enterprises. The South Korean government has carried out detailed research concerning the preparation of institutional instruments required for transforming individuals into social entrepreneurs. However, it has hardly done similar work directly related to the production of the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs, because state power tends to place more emphasis on the preparation and development of institutions which can produce tangible outcomes. As an alternative, I analyzed academic papers published in the peer-review journals accredited by the National Research Foundation of Korea in order to explore knowledge systems intervening in the production of social entrepreneurs. In order to investigate these technologies of the self, I analyzed “texts written for the purpose of offering rules, opinions, and advice on how to behave as one should” as a good social entrepreneur (Foucault 1990: 12). That is, I used “how to” instructional style guidebooks for present and future social entrepreneurs written by social entrepreneurship gurus. Specifically, I analyzed the following texts: *Nine Requirements for Successful Social Enterprises* by In-hoe Woo (2010); *Social Enterprise Start-up Reference Book* by Yamamoto Shigeru (2011); and *True to Yourself: Leading a Values-based Business* by Mark Albion (2007)<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> The original text of Albion, *True to Yourself: Leading a Values-based Business* was written in English. The text that I analyze and quote in this study is from the Korean translation edition. The citations from this text are based on the Korean translation, because the text read by Koreans is the Korean translation edition, not the original English one.

Taken together, in this chapter I explore the assemblage of truth, technologies of power and technologies of the self that intervene in the production of subjectivities of social entrepreneurs in South Korea. More specifically, in this chapter I first analyze the truth regimes produced by experts of social entrepreneurial spirit and leadership. Next, I investigate connection between truth and technologies of power that operate in both the social entrepreneur training programs and the strategies for mobilizing youth group. Finally, I explore concrete technologies of the self that experts of social entrepreneurship recommend, and the connection between truth and power inscribed in these technologies.

### **8.1 Truth Regimes of the Entrepreneurial Spirit and Leadership**

As the Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training (2011) demonstrates, the existence of a good social entrepreneur is the biggest factor that determines the success or failure of a social enterprise (72). Thus, social enterprises as governmental apparatuses cannot operate properly, if social entrepreneurs do not have abilities and qualities required for managing their social enterprises. For that reason, a body of knowledge concerning which abilities, qualities, and propensities have the most positive or negative impacts on the performance of social enterprises has been accumulated. In South Korean context, these studies which are concerned with the impact of social entrepreneurs' personal qualities on the performance of social enterprises can be classified into two groups. One focuses on the abilities, qualities, and attitudes of individual entrepreneurs (Ko et al. 2014; Kim 2013; Ban et al. 2011; Jang 2012; 2014; Jang and Ma 2011; Jang and Ban. 2010; Lee 2011; Jeong and Kim 2013; Lee

and Kwon 2009). This trend in scholarship is called social entrepreneurial spirit study. The other trend of scholarship focuses on the impact of organizational culture on the performance of social enterprises (Kim and Park. 2013; Lee and Kwon 2009; Cho, S. et al. 2012; Park and Shin 2014; Kim and Kim 2013; Park, M. et al. 2012; Jeong and Kim. 2013; Ban et al. 2011). Elements of the leadership of social entrepreneurs, who are responsible for forming desirable organization cultures within their respective social enterprises, are important research subjects in these studies.

Social entrepreneurial spirit tends to be studied as a sub-theme of entrepreneurial spirit study in business administration. These studies see it mainly as a type of entrepreneurial spirit. Thus, social entrepreneurial spirit tends to be seen in terms of its innovativeness, proactiveness and risk-taking which are also commonly discussed as the main three elements of entrepreneurial spirit. One aspect that distinguishes them from each other is that the former is an application of the latter in order to complete its social mission (Austin et al. 2006; Drayton 2002; Dacin et al. 2010; Zahra et al. 2008; 2009). In this sense, Austin et al. (2006) define social entrepreneurial spirit as “innovative social value creating activity that can occur within or across the nonprofit, business, or government sectors” (2). Similarly, Zahra et al (2009: 2) defines it as “activities and processes undertaken to discover, define and exploit opportunities in order to enhance social wealth by creating new ventures or managing existing organizations in an innovative manner” (2). As these definitions of social entrepreneurial spirit show, there is no significant difference between social entrepreneurial spirit and entrepreneurial spirit more generally.

The majority of the authors of nine papers which focused on the relationship between social entrepreneurial spirit and the performance of social enterprises came from business administration backgrounds. This shows that social entrepreneurial spirit study is carried out as



an extension of entrepreneurial spirit study in business administration in South Korea. These studies tend to identify the main components of entrepreneurial spirit—innovativeness, proactiveness and risk-taking—with those of social entrepreneurial spirit (Ban et al. 2011; Lee 2011; Jang et al. 2010); some studies simply add opportunity-taking ability or social value-orientation to these three components. Despite some minor differences across these studies, social entrepreneurial spirit studies are common in that they empirically prove positive impacts of individual social entrepreneurs' abilities or attitudes, such as innovativeness, proactiveness, and risk-taking, on social enterprises' social and economic performance. On the basis of these results, these studies encourage social entrepreneurs to be equipped with the entrepreneurial spirit. In this way, these studies of social entrepreneurial spirit help to generate a truth, i.e. a perception that social entrepreneurs cannot achieve their social mission without having an entrepreneurial mind, attitude, and set of abilities. While social movement activists in 1980s had to thoroughly arm themselves with working class consciousness for the revolutionary transformation of South Korean society, the present day social entrepreneurs as social movement activists must thoroughly arm themselves with the entrepreneurial spirit.

The studies of the relationship between the performance of social enterprises and their organizational cultures also constitute the other scholarly trend. These types of studies are influenced by organization management study, a sub-discipline of business administration. Particularly, four types of organizational cultural models suggested by Quinn and Kimberly (1984) and Quinn and McGrath (1985) serve as the guiding framework for these studies. Crossing the axis of flexible process versus control-oriented process and the axis of external positioning versus internal positioning, Quinn and Kimberly (1984) and Quinn and McGrath

(1985) classified organizational cultures into four types: rational (task-oriented) culture, hierarchical (bureaucratic) culture, development (risk-taking culture) culture, and group (participatory) culture. Rational culture is a task-oriented culture that emphasizes competitiveness among members, their achievements, and achievement-based rewards. For that reason, communal relationships in an organization, such as those involving teamwork and cohesiveness, tends to be overlooked when an organization has a strong rational organizational culture. Hierarchical culture emphasizes maintaining order and the stability of an organization through bureaucratic rules and regulations like a bureaucratic organization. For that reason, this organizational culture has limitations in terms of its ability to motivate creativity and initiative. Development culture emphasizes the growth of an organization through promoting risk-taking and innovation. Thus, this organization culture is characterized by members' spontaneity and proactiveness. Finally, group culture emphasizes integration among members. Thus, this organization culture is characterized by members' spontaneous participation and teamwork based on communal or family-like relationships.

While acknowledging that complex conditions within each social enterprise should be taken into account, studies of organizational culture prove that social enterprises' performance are likely to grow, when they have rational, group, and developmental organizational cultures. These studies demonstrate that these three organization cultures play a considerable role in raising the performance levels of social enterprises, by increasing members' occupational satisfaction, creativity, initiative, devotion, and integration. Rational and developmental cultures especially are explained as effective ways for social enterprises to strengthen their financial

sustainability and to complete their missions innovatively (Ban 2011; Park and Shin 2014; Kim and Kim 2013; Cho 2012).

The unit of analysis of organizational culture studies is not individuals but organizations. The role of a leader, however, is crucial in forming a culture within an organization. Thus, these studies of the relationship between organizational cultures and performance of social enterprise pay special attention to leadership of social entrepreneurs—leaders' abilities, qualities, attitudes, and so on—as the leaders of social enterprises (Kim and Kim 2013). In this sense, these studies produce knowledge concerning what abilities social entrepreneurs must cultivate, through which strategies and attitudes they must form what types of organizational cultures, and how they must manage their employees, in order to improve the performance of their social enterprises.

What is noteworthy in both studies of social entrepreneurial spirit and organizational cultures is that micro dimensions of individual social entrepreneurs—their abilities, qualities, characteristics, attitudes, and so forth—become the objects of knowledge; these micro factors' effects on the performance of social enterprises are measured through the means of statistical methods; and thus, this knowledge functions as a regime of truth. For instance, studies of social entrepreneurial spirit gather a set of information as follows and transform the information into measurable knowledge: How much a social entrepreneur behaves innovatively; how much the ideas of a social entrepreneur are innovative; how boldly a social entrepreneur takes risks; how much a social entrepreneur intends to challenge; how much a social entrepreneur encourages the formation of a proactive culture within the organization; and how promptly a social entrepreneur collects market information. These studies are suggestive of what the government has to focus more on in promoting social enterprises or what might complement this process. Concerning the

roles of social entrepreneurs in forming an organizational culture, different forms of following information are gathered and transformed into measurable knowledge: Whether or not a social entrepreneur treats the members with humanity and as if they were a family; whether or not a social entrepreneur exhibits humanitarian attitudes; how many efforts a social entrepreneur might make in order to communicate with the employees; whether or not a social entrepreneur has proper behavioral skills needed for persuading members; what kinds of efforts a social entrepreneur makes in order to motivate the members; whether or not a social entrepreneur evaluates the members' levels of achievement on the basis of their performance; and what kinds of efforts a social entrepreneur makes in order to motivate the members' proactiveness, spirit of challenge, and innovativeness.

The knowledge of these individual social entrepreneurs' micro dimensions clarifies the sites and methods which power can intervene in and employ; it functions as a vehicle and operational framework through which diverse governing technologies are able to act on individual social entrepreneurs and to be infiltrated into the process of promoting social entrepreneurs. For instance, a truth is produced around a narrative where proactive, innovative, risk-taking attitudes and capabilities exercise a positive impacts on the performance of social enterprises. The governing system is then able to adopt strategies for forging subjectivities of social entrepreneurs that are necessary for running the governmental apparatuses of social enterprises, e.g. the investment in human capital of social entrepreneurs such as the expansion of educational programs of knowledge and techniques of business administration and accounting. One result of these studies of organizational cultures is the perception that a social entrepreneur's abilities, attitudes, and behavioral skills will have positive effects on the performance of the

social enterprises function as truths. Accordingly, a governing system might employ technologies for producing proper subjects of social entrepreneurs. For instance, the governing system may adopt a strategy that reorganizes educational programs so that future social entrepreneurs might internalize a spirit of sharing, solidarity with others, empathetic ability, and so on.

## **8.2 Knowledge and Technologies of Power Operating in the Production of Social Entrepreneurs**

Once a regime of truth is formed through the knowledge systems of social entrepreneurial spirit and leadership of social entrepreneurs, it then guides technologies of power producing subjectivities of social entrepreneurs. The following three main governmental policies serve as main institutional strategies for the production of social entrepreneurs in the South Korean social enterprise mechanisms: The Social Entrepreneur Academy as educational program for current and the future social entrepreneurs, the Social Entrepreneur Incubation Program for the future social entrepreneurs, and the Social Venture Contest for the discovery of talented future social entrepreneurs.

The Social Entrepreneur Academy was initially a four-week short-term educational program for social entrepreneurs, which was run by the Work Together Foundation, a civic organization, in 2003. As social enterprises became more institutionally promoted by the government, it has been adopted as an official governmental policy since 2008. The Social Entrepreneur Academy is the educational program for the present and future social entrepreneurs

whose purposes are “to nurture social entrepreneurs who have visions, qualities, innovative ideas and professionalism, [...] to maximize social enterprises’ business performance, and ultimately, to render social enterprises sustainable [...] for the financial independence and sustainable growth of social enterprises” (The Ministry of Employment and Labor and the Work Together Foundation 2010: 1). As these purposes of the Social Entrepreneur Academy suggest, this program places higher emphasis on the cultivation of management ability of social entrepreneurs.

Through focusing mainly on youth, the Social Entrepreneur Incubation Program aims to support “those who have talents for being social entrepreneurs and intend to establish social enterprises” on multiple levels (Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency 2012a: 1). Specifically, this program provides a selected group of future social entrepreneurs with education, space, money, mentoring and so forth needed for establishing or running social enterprises.

The Social Venture Contest is a program which is dedicated to improving the image of social enterprises, as well as discovering innovative models for them (The Korea Social Promotion Agency 2013d: 12). It also seeks to build a social consensus around social enterprises. It is composed of local preliminary contests held in each province and a nationwide final contest. The former culminate with the latter. The participant teams develop their business ideas into feasible forms through local preliminary contests; winner teams advance to the nationwide final contest. The government supports the winner teams in the final contest so that they can actualize their business ideas. The number of the participant teams increased sharply from 448 in 2009, the first year of the program, to 1294 in 2014 for six years (The Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency 2015). As this sharp increase in the number of participant teams shows, the Social

Venture Contest is winning fervent responses especially among youths because it takes the form of contest characterized by competition and reward.

In this section, I explore the mechanisms through which diverse knowledge and technologies of power are connected each other in producing social entrepreneurs, focusing on the curricula of the Social Entrepreneur Academy and the mobilization of youths who are the target group of the Social Entrepreneur Incubation program and Social Venture Contest program.

### **8.2.1 The Social Entrepreneur Academy and Its Standard Curriculum**

The Ministry of Employment and Labor has created a standard curriculum for its Social Entrepreneur Academy program. The government-designated institutes which participate in this program must sixty percent of this standard curriculum. Table 6 provides a basic overview of the curriculum. It shows that the main content is comprised of the typical courses of a Masters of Business Administration program. This prominently focuses on topics such as business strategy, marketing, quality control, organizational management, accounting, financing, and so forth. The continuity between these two types of curricula indicates that the government is aiming at the production of subjectivities of social *entrepreneurs*, i.e. professional managers. Experts in business administration and accounting intervene in the process of producing subjectivities of social entrepreneurs in the name of the truth. The government's performance evaluation and policy reports concerning the Social Entrepreneur Academy have indicated that it is failing to satisfy demands of the students. Two aspects are often pointed to broadly as causes of this failure: insufficient content geared toward addressing the different contexts in which individual social entrepreneurs work; and the lack of applicable content to practical education (The Ministry of

Employment and Labor 2011b; 2012c; 2014; Korea Social Enterprise Agency 2010b; 2011; Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training 2011). As a solution to these problems, the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2014) established a plan to develop a Social Enterprise Competency Standard. This plan would standardize practical abilities required for social entrepreneurs on the basis of the National Competency Standard. It would also be integrated into the curriculum of the Social Entrepreneur Academy. The Social Entrepreneur Academy is organized or will be compensated by these standardizing technologies invented by the government, such as the Standard Curricula and Social Enterprise Competency Standard. The state's leading role in developing these standardizing technologies shows that it has deeply intervened in producing the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs in order to forge individuals into certain types of subjects who the state power wants to govern.



**Table 6: Standard Curricula of Social Entrepreneur Academy**

Subjects	Specific Contents
Understanding of Social Enterprise (14 hours)	The Concept and the History of Social Enterprises The Visions and Missions of Social Enterprise Understanding of Social Enterprises in Other Countries The History and the Development of Social Enterprises in South Korea Understanding of the Social Enterprise Promotion Act and the Related National Policies in South Korea Locality Strategies of Social Enterprises (Advanced) Stakeholders of Social Enterprises
Strategic Management (6 hours)	Strategic Management Process of Social Enterprises The roles and Functions of Social Entrepreneurs as Business Managers Business Continuation Strategies of Social Enterprises
Marketing (10 hours)	Customer Orientation of Social Enterprises The STP Strategy of Social Enterprises The 4P Strategy of Social Enterprises I (Strategies for Commodity and Price) The 4P Strategy of Social Enterprises II (Marketing and Circulation) The 4P Strategy of Social Enterprises III (Promotion)
Production and Quality Control (10 hours)	The Production Management of Social Enterprises I The Production Management of Social Enterprises II The Service Management of Social Enterprises I The Service Management of Social Enterprises II
Personnel Management and Organizational Management (20 hours)	The Organizational Form and Legal Status of Social Enterprises The Decision Making Issues of Social Enterprises The Management of Human Capital of Social Enterprises The Analysis of the Level of Competence and Development of Human Resources of Social Enterprises The Personnel Evaluation and Rewards of Social Enterprises The Organizational Diagnosis and the Innovation Process of Social Enterprises The Communication of Social Enterprises The Management and Organizational Culture of Social Enterprises The Labor Management of Social Enterprises I The Labor Management of Social Enterprises II
Finance of Social Enterprise (10 hours)	Social Enterprises and the Social Capital Market Social Enterprises and the Development of the Resources of the Private Sector Accounting and Finance I Accounting and Finance II Internal Control and Tax
Performance Evaluation (4 hours)	Performance Evaluation of Social Enterprises I Performance Evaluation of Social Enterprises II
Practical Exercise of the Performance Management (10 hours)	Visiting Current Institutes, Visiting Social Enterprises and Ordinary Commercial Enterprises: Practical Exercise Subject Discussions, Group Activities, Special Lectures (e.g., CEOs' lectures)

\*Source: The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2014: 5

The Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training (2011), a state agency, offered the following explanation around why it established the Standard Curriculum: A degree of educational professionalism and efficiency necessary to properly nurturing social entrepreneurs is required so that instructors' professionalism and careers are not managed carelessly. At this time, however, the professionalism and careers that the government refers to are those related to areas of "business administration." In this sense, the Standard Curriculum serves as a technology for controlling private educational institutes designated by the state so that their education cannot get out of the purpose of the production of professional managers. Especially universities among these state-designated private educational institutes are not the main concern of the government in that these universities have run similar programs through MBA courses. Private educational institutes that have developed from civil social movement organizations are at the core of what the government intends to control through the technology of the Standard Curriculum. The state characteristically must concern itself with the subversive potential of these civil social movement organizations that have kept critical and antagonistic relationship to the state and ruling class forces.

### **8.2.2 The Mobilization of Youth and the Political Economy of Government**

The Social Entrepreneur Incubation Program was first referred to the Youth and Social Entrepreneur Incubation Program. Consistent with this name, its main target group is youths. The report of the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2010c) suggests the importance of mobilizing youths for energizing social enterprises. In this report it is argued that the need to address the pressing issue of unemployment has impeded the discovery of creative and innovative solutions

to address broader social problems. In this context, the report suggests that youth need to be encouraged to establish social enterprises in order to utilize their creativity and initiative. Thus, various strategies and tactics of power are used with youth in order to transform them into social entrepreneurs. Of course, state agencies carried out broad based research around issues relating to youth prior to initiating this work (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2010c; 2012a; Korea Institute for Industrial Economics and Trade 2011; Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training 2010). This research delved into minute detail concerning various aspects pertaining to the social situation of youth—their psychological traits, the major areas of study which they chose during their undergraduate years, the types of the colleges which they attended, their experiences, their values and the determining factors on their values, the intentions or different motivations they displayed in engaging in business start-ups, the aspects of business which they tended to be most attracted to, challenges that they faced in getting their business start-ups off the ground, professional skills or knowledge that they had, their level of educational attainment, and so forth—were all thoroughly researched and studied. The state determined the primary areas it would efficiently intervene and implement its governing strategies through review and assessment of this information.

A range of research into youth indicates that they are particularly characterized by following the three traits: First, they are the demographic group that places the highest priority on internal values, such as psychological satisfaction and the pursuit of social meaning, relative to all other age groups. In reference to research results of the Statistics Korea presented in Table 7, the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2010c) argues the necessity to mobilize them (2). According to the research results of the Statistics Korea (Table 7), youth group put more

emphases on internal rewards than other age groups. On the basis of the knowledge, the Ministry of Employment and Labor (2010c) characterizes youth as having compatible subjectivities with those of social entrepreneurs who pursue social values and public good in spite of lower monetary rewards.

**Table 7: Determinant Factors in Choice of Occupation across Age Groups**

		( % )				
		Age groups				
		20s	30s	40s	50s	60s
Material Rewards	Honor	3.8	2.8	2.8	3.2	3.6
	Stability	27.9	31.8	32.8	33.0	30.9
	Income	29.0	36.2	39.8	41.4	39.4
	Total	60.7	70.8	75.4	77.6	73.9
Internal Rewards	Aptitude & Interest	17.8	11.7	8.3	6.1	4.7
	Meaning & Self-realization	9.3	7.9	7.3	6.9	4.5
	Possibility of future development	11.1	8.7	7.7	6.0	4.9
	Total	38.2	28.3	23.3	19.0	14.1
Source: The Statistics Korea database (research in 2009); quoted in the Ministry of Employment and Labor 2010c: 2.						

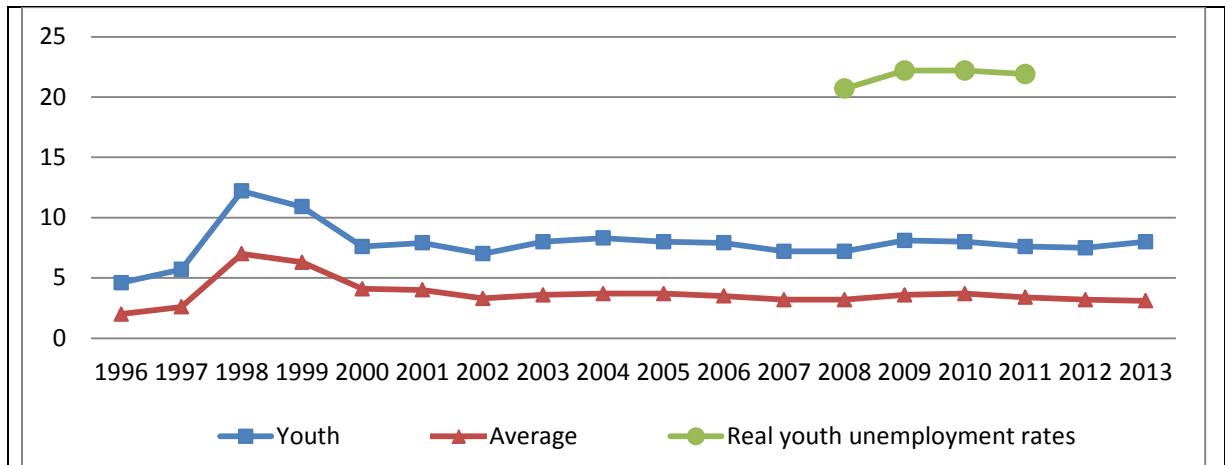
The second characteristic of youth is that their social experiences are insufficient to run a business or to work for the disadvantaged with a high degree of commitment. Therefore, the state sees the following strategies as more effective and efficient than simply providing financial support for young social entrepreneurs: Supporting business start-up activities of college clubs and student organization; providing youth with opportunities to experience working in their own fields of interests; providing ongoing support for their start-ups and business administration more generally (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2010c; 2012a).

The final characteristic is concerned with determining factors with regard to the experience of youth around business start-ups. Research highlights the following elements as being particularly crucial in the experiences of youth engaging in business start-ups: Having a desire for self-realization and willingness to challenge; Having previous experience with activities or education relating to business start-ups, they actively considering engaging in a business start-up with a high degree of interest and motivation; Being exposed to other successful entrepreneur role-models around them positively affect their determination to start business (The Korea Institute for Industrial Economics and Trade 2011; The Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training 2010). On the basis of the knowledge, the government has undertaken a public relations strategy of associating social enterprises with values of innovation, pro-activeness, and spirit of challenge in order to mobilize youth. It also emphasizes that youth can realize their aspiration by participating in running social enterprises. The Social Venture Contest is the main representative technology which is used to mobilize youth. In addition to all of this, the government encourages colleges to establish courses relevant to social enterprises and to support related student activities. The projection of successful social entrepreneurs through the mass media in such a way that they are put forward as role models is another effective mobilizing strategy in this regard.

These types of strategies are also intended to produce additional power effects (The Ministry of Employment and Labor 2010c: 3; 2012c: 61-67). Part of this involves channeling the energy and ideas of a new generation as an engine for economic growth. Another aspect is reframing a negative image of social enterprises derived from their association with the

disadvantaged. Finally and most importantly, it represents an effective means of addressing growing youth unemployment in South Korea.

South Korean youth are undergoing serious unemployment more than any other previous generations in South Korea. As the unemployment rates in Figure 18 and the youth employment rate in Figure 19 illustrate, the unemployment rate of the youth has been about twice to three times as high as the average unemployment rate during the last ten years when the economic structure characterized by “jobless growth” has become a consistent trend in South Korea. Furthermore, as shown with the statistics in Figure 18, the real youth unemployment rates between 2008 and 2011 were about three times larger than the official rate; around twenty percent of all youth were unemployed. According to the statistics shown in Figure 19, the youth employment rate has declined since the mid-2000s; it has been lower than the average employment rates since 2007. The recent youth employment rate in 2013 has been more exacerbated than in the situation which followed the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. In this situation, job creation for the youth is an urgent social problem which the state must a response to. It has a limitation to create jobs for the youth, however, under the South Korean economic structure characterized by chronic jobless growth. One of the strategies promoted by the government in this respect involves stimulating the creation of social enterprises by youth. That is, the state seeks to empower youth to employ themselves by starting their own social enterprise business.



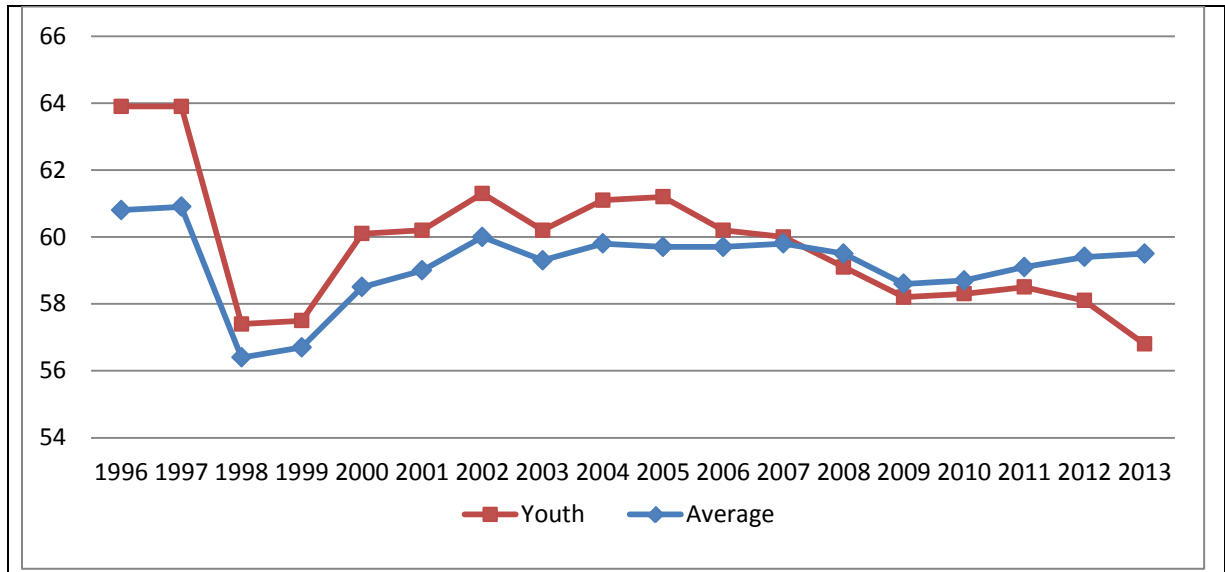
\*Source: The Statistics Korea (Database of Employment Situation Research) and Hyundai Research Institute (2012)

\*Youth: age 15-29.

\*Unemployment rate (official) =  $\frac{\text{no. of the unemployed}}{\text{no. of the employed} + \text{no. of the unemployed}}$

\*Real unemployment rate =  $\frac{\text{no. of the unemployed} + \text{no. of discouraged workers}}{\text{no. of the unemployed} + \text{no. of discouraged workers} + \text{no. of those preparing employment} + \text{no. of NEET}}$

**Figure 18: Unemployment Rates in South Korea**



\*Source: The Statistics Korea (Database of Employment Situation Research)

\*Youth: age 15-29.

\*Employment rate =  $\frac{\text{no. of the employed}}{\text{no. of working age population}}$

**Figure 19: Employment in South Korea**

From the perspective of neoliberal governmentality, this youth-mobilization can be an efficient strategy in simultaneously mitigating unemployment among both the disadvantaged and youth because in this process youth create jobs not only for the disadvantaged but also for themselves through starting social enterprises. Thus, the government instigates youth to become social entrepreneurs. It is paradoxical that youth are mobilized as a crucial target group in promoting social entrepreneurial spirit. The state can reinvigorate social enterprises as well as it can alleviate unemployment of the disadvantaged and youth, by transforming some of youth into social entrepreneurs. Furthermore, by mobilizing youth within social enterprise mechanisms, the state may address a broad range of social problems innovatively; improve a negative image attached to social enterprises; and channel their energies into a new engine for economic growth. This mobilization of youth enables the state to achieve its goals stated above, while minimizing its direct interventions. That is, ultimately, this strategy embodies the maximization of the efficiency of power in terms of the political economy of power.

From the perspective of youth, this strategy presents dual pressures. Even though they comprise the social group which suffers most from unemployment, it is themselves, not the state or corporations, that are undertaking this responsibility to create employment not only for themselves but also for the disadvantaged. It is very challenging for youth to start businesses, precisely because of their lack of experience and limited ability to mobilize various resources. The fact that social services, which are the main target market for social enterprises, are characterized by lower rates of profitability is another difficulty. Thus, the youth, instead of the state, take high risks concerning the management of social enterprises. Of course, their risk-taking is glorified in discourses of entrepreneurial spirit which are filled with references to



creativity, initiative, spirit of challenge, and passion. It is also glorified in discourses of communal solidarity which are filled with references to solidarity with the disadvantaged, the pursuit of public good, and social responsibility. Introducing and glorifying a few successful young social entrepreneurs, the government implicitly contrasts them with their peers who are unemployed and seeking stable non-enterprising jobs. In these governmental strategies, the problem of youth unemployment is framed not as a social structural problem but as personal problem. This is framed as being caused by individuals' inabilities and attitudes. Accordingly, the problem of youth unemployment is regarded as something to be resolved fundamentally by youth themselves on an individual basis, not by the state.

Youth tend to approach efforts at starting social enterprises as meaningful experiences to realize their creativity, desire for innovation, passion, and the values of social solidarity. In contrast, the government approaches social enterprises in terms of the cold rational calculation of power effects. In this power game between strategies of the state and those of youth, the latter seem to have no rational strategies to wrestle with the former. This power game plays itself out in terms of the exploitation of the passion and idealism of youth for the purpose of the state to reinforce the governing system.

### **8.3 Technologies of the Self**

Contrary to technologies of production defined in the relationship to things and the those of communication and domination defined in the relationship to others, the technologies of the self, which are defined in the relationship to the self, refers to the concrete practices deployed for

an individual to construct himself/herself into a certain type of subject (Foucault 1997a: 225). Thus, technology of the self takes the form of “the care of the self.” Foucault (2005) demonstrates that the care of the self includes three dimensions. The first dimension is “an attitude towards the self, others, and the world,” such as “a certain way of considering things, of behaving in the world, undertaking actions, and having relations with other people.” The second dimension is to place the self in the object of knowledge by “convert[ing] our looking from the outside [...] towards oneself” (emphasis in original). The final dimension is “a series of practices” “by which one takes responsibility for oneself, [...] changes, purifies, transforms, and transfigures oneself” (10-11). That is, technologies of the self are a set of attitudes, knowledge on the self, and practices to improve the self into better existence. In this context, Foucault (1997) defines the notion of technology of the self as “techniques that permit individuals to effect, by their own means, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, their own souls, their own thoughts, their own conduct, and this in a manner so as to transform themselves, modify themselves” (177). In this sense, a technology of the self is a type of power that one exercises on oneself; it is also a strategy that one employs to transform oneself. Concerning the production of the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs, it refers to a set of specific and minute strategies and techniques that individuals employ in order to transform themselves into better social entrepreneurs.

### **8.3.1 From Social Movement Activists to Social Entrepreneurs**

A majority of current social entrepreneurs in South Korea were radical and progressive social movement activists. Both social entrepreneurs and social movement activists share the

same orientation of pursuing social justice and the public good. As discussed in chapter three, South Korean progressive forces tended to understand their participation in promoting social enterprises as social movement work. In this context, what is noteworthy is how social entrepreneurs reestablish the relationship to their past subjectivities of social movement activists in transforming themselves from social movement activists into social entrepreneurs.

The texts written by so-called the gurus in the field of social entrepreneurship problematize subjectivities of social movement activists as obstacles on the path to their becoming competent social entrepreneurs; these texts recommend social movement activists throw away their past subjectivities, and be born again as social entrepreneurs. These texts repeatedly emphasize that social entrepreneurs are not social movement activists but entrepreneurs. Shigeru (2011) argues that “the hardest persons to be successful” as social entrepreneurs are “those who do not intend to change themselves.” Quoting Charles Darwin’s statement “the only existence that can survive is the changeable one,” he argues that one “must flexibly change oneself, discarding obstinacy” in order to become a competent social entrepreneur. He is especially concerned with those social entrepreneurs who were previously social movement activists. According to him, this is because social movement activists are likely to run social enterprises “as they did in social movement organizations” without intending to “get out of a rut formed by past experiences” (39-41). Consequently, Shigeru (2011) demonstrates that, if a social entrepreneur stays within the subjectivity of social movement activist without trying to change oneself and adapt to new conditions, the social enterprise will be weeded out by the natural law of the survival of the fittest.

In South Korea during the 1980s, a number of college students became or tried to become part of a revolutionary vanguard, by entering into the working class and abandoning their guaranteed stable and privileged lives within the future middle class. These students made many efforts to become part of a working class vanguard. They did this partly by escaping from their petit bourgeois consciousness and by internalizing working class' types of behavior, speech, emotional expression, and other different cultural styles. The relevant guidebooks and underground documents for those who had plans to enter workplaces to become revolutionary activists at that time suggested three broad guidelines required for the transformation into revolutionary social movement activists: thorough remodeling of thought, thorough integration within the working class, and training through struggle (Cho 1989). The social movement activists at that time intended to arm themselves with Marx-Leninist scientific socialism and working class consciousness. They intended to develop themselves into better revolutionaries by organizing and participating in struggles against the state and capitalism. About twenty to thirty years later, what is required for social entrepreneurs today as social movement activists is knowledge of business administration or accounting, not Marx-Leninist scientific socialism; entrepreneurial spirit, not working class consciousness; practical experience relating to business administration or marketing, not the experience of organizing struggles against the state and capitalism. If someone wants to change the world, he or she is encouraged to become an innovative social entrepreneur, not a revolutionary social movement activist.

It is professionalism in business administration that many gurus of social entrepreneurship identify as being most crucial. They emphasize that one cannot be a competent social entrepreneur only with "a warm heart," intense passion for the realization of social values

and social justice: “A cool head” is also required for becoming a social entrepreneur (Woo, 2010: 71). Social entrepreneurs should be familiar with central and local governments’ policies, and must have sufficient knowledge concerning related industrial areas. Social entrepreneurs also must have ability to manage their organizations and to mobilize diverse resources for a given purposes. Thus, “ceaseless self-study” is required and they must have the ability to manage themselves continuously. In this sense, Woo (2010) notes that “negligence in managing the self, i.e. that in stimulating oneself ceaselessly means stagnation; the stagnation means a relative retrogression, not a stop” (75).

Gurus of social entrepreneurship demonstrate that social entrepreneurs must acquire “living knowledge inscribed in the body” of field experiences and practical business knowledge. They cannot restrict themselves to theoretical knowledge, if they want to improve themselves into competent social entrepreneurs (Woo 2010: 73). As the expression “living knowledge inscribed in the body” implies, what social entrepreneurs as professional managers should cultivate is experienced knowledge in terms of concrete practice. Shigeru (2011) encourages present and future social entrepreneurs “to enter fields directly” instead of sitting behind a desk at an office. He recommends them try to obtain “vivid feelings and senses of the problems” and improve “sensitivity and confidence” through, for instance, talking with various stakeholders and joining in their meetings (63-64). Various types of everyday practices that gurus of social entrepreneurship recommend, such as experiencing fields, talking with various stakeholders, joining in meetings with the stakeholders, serve as technologies of the self that social entrepreneurs can employ in order to improve themselves.

### 8.3.2 The Self as the Object of Knowledge

An individual's exercise of technologies of the self is guided by knowledge of oneself (Foucault 2005: 2-3; 2011: 4). Individuals determine which strategies they will adopt in order to develop themselves by producing a set of knowledge about their present conditions—their abilities, limitations, strong points, and so forth—and assessing their objective conditions on the basis of that knowledge. Without exception, the texts of the social entrepreneurship gurus studied in this chapter emphasize that social entrepreneurs should know themselves before they become concerned with how to resolve certain social problems. These gurus continuously give social entrepreneurs advice along the following line: “Know yourself” or “ask yourself and answer.” That is, these gurus recommend social entrepreneurs produce objective knowledge about themselves, and then diagnose their present conditions as the first step to becoming social entrepreneurs. A broad range of technologies for producing knowledge of the self fundamentally take the form of self-confession or self-reflection. Self-confession or self-reflection is the technology to obtain objective knowledge about oneself reflectively by asking oneself something and answering.

Shigeru (2011) advises social entrepreneurs “to ask yourself which values you place special emphasis on” and “to ask yourself which industrial areas you are interested in.” He also suggests that they look back at their own experiences and past lives, by introspectively reflecting on why they thought as such to these questions (47). According to him, these practices of self-asking and self-answering are not only methods to get to know oneself better but also a process through which one can find concrete methods to identify true values and purpose in life. The next step that Shigeru (2011) recommends is to figure out which social phenomena are real

social problems. This step is also a process through which an individual becomes aware of a certain social problem. As a specific technology, Shigeru (2011) recommends applying the mathematic resolution method “factorization” to understanding social problems. The technology of factorization is a way to seek fundamental factors that generate a certain social problem by decomposing the problem continuously.

Factorization refers to the method of decomposing a number into its prime factors. For instance, the number 15 is the value of  $3 \times 5$ ; thus, the number 15 is divided into the prime factors 3 and 5. It is useful to apply this logical framework of factorization to the analysis of social problem. Suppose the problem of NEET (not in employment, education or training). There are broadly three processes through which a youth becomes a NEET: to become a NEET after graduation; to become a NEET after school drop-out; and to become a NEET after stopping working. [...] That is, the mechanism of becoming NEETs is divided into three prime factors. [...] Suppose the problem of school drop-out. One out of nine college students leave school halfway. What causes this phenomenon? Applying the factorization method, the causes can be thought of as follows: economic reasons, pregnancy or marriage, diseases or disability, maladjustment to new environments, maladjustment in studying, and so on. Next, let’s find the causes that generate the maladjustment in studying. In this manner, factorize each prime factor again. If you factorize a certain social problem in this way one by one, you can figure out what fundamental problems are and devise necessary solutions more easily. [...] The method of factorization helps you to find out what you didn’t know (Shigeru 2011: 58).

As Shigeru (2011) points out, one may be overwhelmed by the complexities of both causes of a social problem and determining a solution to it, when one analyzes the realities

concerning the social problem with the method of factorization. In this situation, one may fall into temptation to avoid this situation in a mood of despair or to interpret this situation arbitrarily (66). Shigeru (2011) recommend raising the question “why?” toward oneself repeatedly, resisting that temptation (67). That is, he recommends overcoming oneself and repeatedly generating oneself by applying this self-confession technology.

Shigeru(2011) recommends social entrepreneurs annually read *The Five Most Important Questions: You Will Ever Ask about Your Organization* written by Peter Drucker, who is one of the most famous management experts in the world. It is also recommended that they frankly answer the five questions which put forward by him in this book as tools for managing non-profit organizations (273-275). These five questions are as follows: (1) what is your mission?; (2) who is your customer?; (3) what does your customer value?; (4) what are your results?; and (5) what is your plan? By raising these questions of oneself and answering them, a social entrepreneur can regularly check how well he or she manages their organization. By doing this, they can improve their ability to be self-reflective. According to Shigeru (2011), the reason why social entrepreneurs must exercise these technologies of confession and self-reflection every year is because circumstances of the social enterprises are changing every minute. Thus, social entrepreneurs must raise these questions with themselves and answer them continuously in order to respond these changes flexibly and to lead ceaseless innovations. Shigeru (2011) also recommends reading Drucker’s other books: *The Essential Drucker on Individuals*; *The Essential Drucker on Management*; and *Peter, F. Drucker on Innovation* (274).

Likewise, these gurus of social entrepreneurship recommend raising questions about oneself and trying to answer them. They see this as being applicable in a range of situations:



from analyzing one's own values, throughout looking at the fundamental causes of certain social problems, to grasping how to manage members of an organization and how to develop their commodities. In this sense, a kind of the technology of confession by which one produces objective and reflexive knowledge about oneself penetrates the entire process of the self-production of social entrepreneurs. The knowledge of oneself that is produced in these processes serves as a guideline for individuals to determine strategies and technologies for improving themselves so that they become better social entrepreneurs.

### **8.3.3 Technologies of the Quantification of Social Values**

Gurus of social entrepreneurship recommend social entrepreneurs quantify social values that they aim to pursue into measurable ones. Quantification of social values aims at transforming a realization process of social values into a controllable and manageable process. The technologies of the quantification of social values penetrate entire processes: from actualizing social values into business ideas to evaluating the performance of social enterprises. This can be understood as a request to transform oneself into a "calculating self" in Rose's (1996b) term. That is, it is a request to organize the entire process of one's activities on the basis of the calculation of efficiency. It is also an effort to transform one's values, faiths, and passions into measurable criteria for achieving social missions, by quantifying these elements which are essentially unquantifiable. In brief, it is an effort to transform oneself into a corporation. Albion (2007) introduces the technology of the Four-step Checking Method so that social entrepreneurs can transform social values which they pursue into market values and examine their performance regularly (212).

Step 1. Decide what your top six personal values are. Get out a piece of paper, and think about your values for as long as you need. Make a list down the left side of the paper. [...]

Step 2. Determine how these values are of value to your company. Once you've determined what your values are, your second step is to create a value inventory for them. To the right of your list of values, create a second column for the value of your values. Your paper should now have two columns – one for your list of values and one for how each of those values can add value for your company. In making your two-column list, you may want to think back to times when you weren't happy. What values did your job or your company not allow you to develop? Which were the values most important to your happiness and integral to your effectiveness? When you complete your two-column list, review it and make any necessary changes. [...]

Step 3. Using the same process you used for values, expand your list to include your passions and skills and well. If you like, you can do this on the same piece of paper, but most people like to use separate pieces of paper for their two-column analyses of their passions and their skills. You would then have three pieces of paper (each with two columns) – one for values, one for passions, and one for skills. [...]

Step 4. Combine these three separate lists of values, passions, and skills into values-to-value strategies.

The Four-step Checking Method introduced by Albion in the text above is a technology to transform a social entrepreneur's personal values into measurable and feasible goals, and to discover practical business ideas. Albion (2007) recommends social entrepreneurs repeat this process regularly so that they can reflect on their past failed strategies.

Gurus of social entrepreneurship demonstrate that it is conducive to the organic operation of social enterprises for achieving their social missions to transform their values or social

missions into measurable figures. Woo (2010) and Shigeru (2011) advise recognizing purposes that social enterprises aim to realize in the form of a figure, because the recognition of these purposes in the form of figure not only clarifies direction of activities of a social enterprise but also enable a social entrepreneur to evaluate their level of competence and performance objectively. Woo (2010) says “a goal should be clearly expressed: who will raise how much percent of the sales until when” (76). Shigeru (2011) also advises social entrepreneurs always to make plans for the realization of their social missions in association with “measurable performance goals” because the results appear in the form of measurable performance (88-89). According to Shigeru (2011), if the performance of a business action is unmeasurable, it is “impossible to manage and to control”; insofar as the performance of the business action is measurable, the tempo of the action can be controlled. He also demonstrates that the direction to which an organization intends to progress can be specified and clarified, when the organization pursues measurable goals, because these measurable goals clarify what the organization wants to achieve. The technologies of the quantification of social values and the technologies of performance management based on the former technologies guide the sites on which social entrepreneurs must concentrate their abilities and efforts. Furthermore, these technologies also serve as self-reflection tools that enable social entrepreneurs to examine their abilities, efforts, and performance objectively.

#### **8.3.4 Technologies of Normative Leadership**

Leadership that can motivate members and produce maximum synergic effects by forming specific organizational cultures is one of the most important abilities that a social

entrepreneur should have. Gurus of social entrepreneurship introduce a range of techniques for cultivating these abilities. Specific examples of these techniques are as follows: ascetic devotion, care for others, utilitarian management of members, delegation of authority, and Four-Ps method. These technologies take the forms of ethical norms. These normative forms of technologies, however, are not ends in themselves but types of pragmatic and instrumental means for managing an organization and its members. In this sense, these ethical norms are the technologies employed on the basis of the principle of instrumental rationality, not the principle of value rationality.

#### **8.3.4.1 *Ascetic Self-sacrifice***

The guidebooks for social entrepreneurs advise that social entrepreneurs should be able to overcome a broad spectrum of temptations such as those to compromise and pursue pleasure. Shigeru (2011) suggests purity as one of the most important virtues for the leadership of social entrepreneurs. He defines purity as “the attitude of intensely devoting oneself to the truth” without compromise (126). Suggesting devotion as the most important virtue for social entrepreneurs, Albion (2007) asserts that it is an intense attachment to assuming “social responsibility,” not to “making more money” (86-87). Woo (2010) suggests “the strong will,” i.e. “the spirit of taking on social aims tenaciously with a passionate heart, though nobody is interested in achieving these social aims because no profits are expected” (68-69). Taken together, practicing these virtues that can be understood in terms of ascetic self-sacrifice, these gurus recommend social entrepreneurs improve themselves. That is, they encourage social entrepreneurs to passionately take on the challenge of the realization of social aims which are not

necessarily profitable. These technologies of this ascetic self-sacrifice, however, differ from the Christian ethos of self-renunciation in which one renounces oneself in obedience to an outer transcendental existence for being saved (Foucault 1997a: 228). This ascetic self-sacrifice is a manner to ascend oneself to a more ethical existence which takes social responsibility for other's pain, not an ethos of self-renunciation. According to gurus of social entrepreneurship, this ascetic self-sacrifice is a core virtue of leadership required for good social entrepreneurs. Ascetic self-sacrifice is a way to discipline oneself to be an ethical leader of an organization. According to them, it also serves as the source of a good social entrepreneur's moral power that encourages others to join in the pursuit of social mission, by touching and persuading not only the members of an organization but also the outer stakeholders.

#### **8.3.4.2 *Listening to Employees***

Woo (2010) recommends the technique "seeking first to understand, then to be understood" which Stephen Covey suggested as "a core technique to lead successful interpersonal relationship" in his book *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*. That is, he demonstrates that a social entrepreneur as the leader of an organization should have "the attitude to understand others, to see a problem in terms of them, and to resolve the problem together with them, through empathetic listening" in advance, in order to be understood and to persuade them (82). Similarly, Shigeru (2011) recommends "considering others first." He demonstrates that a leader must treat members like a family, if a leader wants to inspire dedication and a high level of competence from them. This is because a leader's consideration of members is returned in their

consideration for their leader. As Shigeru (2011) explains, the point is that these technologies—seeking first to understand and considering others first—are “the matters of bodies and behaviors, not the matters of logic” (265). Thus, these technologies aim at changes in terms of the aspect of the bodies and behaviors of social entrepreneurs so that these norms can be inscribed into their behaviors. When a social entrepreneur is not familiar with these behaviors or does not know how to make employees feel valued, what Shigeru (2011) recommends is a kind of the technology of mimicry. He advises social entrepreneurs to find some persons who usually hold others appreciatively and “to begin from observing and mimicking them”. He adds that social entrepreneurs must continue practicing these instructions—seeking first to understand, grant consideration to others first, and mimick exemplary persons—for a prolonged period of time, because these technologies cannot produce certain changes or effects in shorter periods (265).

Woo (2010: 82) and Albion (2007: 175-179) demonstrate that one of the most important abilities that are required for being an excellent social entrepreneur as a leader of an organization is the technology involved in listening to employees. Social entrepreneurs should have the ability to motivate the members’ spontaneity, and thus, to maximize synergy effects. Woo (2010) argues that social entrepreneurs must embody “the attitude of understanding and tolerance” toward the members of an organization; “empathetic listening” is “the alpha and omega of the understanding and the tolerance” (82). The first step to the leadership is to listen to employees and to understand them. For this purpose, Albion (2007) advises social entrepreneurs to exercise the technologies of self-perseverance and self-regulation so that “they can listen to the members in an undisturbed way even in situations where one may be upset” due to differences in opinion (176). This empathetic listening does not mean simply a passive and obligatory ethical claim to

listen to others or to think from their perspective. The empathetic listening is “one of the core techniques that can lead to a successful interpersonal relationship” (82). That is, it is a technology of interpersonal relationship that a leader strategically chooses and arranges for the purposes of persuading the members and developing synergy within an organization. Albion (2007) suggests specific strategies for practicing empathetic listening. For instance, when there is a considerable difference in opinion, he recommends changing the topic of conversation and returning to the original topic, rather than “getting hung up on who’s right and who’s wrong”: “putting your hands out of sight and squeezing them together until the other person finishes speaking” (177).

#### **8.3.4.3 *Communicative Ability***

Another virtue required for social entrepreneurs that gurus of social entrepreneurship suggest is a communicative ability. What Shigeru (2011) and Albion (2007) suggest for enhancement of this ability is to cultivate speaking skills. Shigeru (2011) states the following:

We instruct employees and communicate with them through words. Therefore, the work of a leader is **to transfer words to others**. Accordingly, a social entrepreneur should sharpen his speaking ability. The words which are easy to hear, the words that can transfer the message in mind to listeners as precisely as possible, touchable words, impressive and unforgettable words, and enlightening words [...] The listeners feel differently according to how one speaks. Feelings also differ according to ways of speaking and voice tone. Thus, excellent speaking skills are integral for the leader who has to invigorate an organization or group and to draw each member’s highest potential. For instance, reading newspapers or books everyday [...] and communicating

with others continuously are needed for cultivating these speaking skills. Don't forget! Speaking skills are the most powerful weapons for leaders (Shigeru 2011: 104-105; emphasis is in original).

Speaking skills are the technique through which a leader can not only transfer his or her ideas effectively and precisely to others but also motivate the members to exercise the highest level of their own abilities. That is, speaking skill refers to not only a precise message-transferring technique but also a pragmatic technique for making changes in listeners' mind and behaviors. Shigeru (2011) argues that social entrepreneurs must be able to use an adequate tone of voice, styles of speaking and other minute elements according to diverse situations. As a way to cultivate this ability, he suggests learning how to speak through paying attention to various media such as newspapers, books, and TV. Albion (2007) recommends social entrepreneurs improve members' disposition using their speaking skills, by choosing hopeful and exciting topics for conversation, rather than terror and crisis-generating topics. This is because the hopeful and exciting stories are conducive to motivating the employees—the listeners—to change themselves, unlike the terror and crisis-generating stories.

#### **8.3.4.4 *Utilitarian Management of Members***

As discussed above, gurus of social entrepreneurship demonstrate that the leadership involved in caring for and understanding others is integral for being excellent social entrepreneurs. If there is a member who is not composed and hinders organizational integration, however, how should the leader cope with this situation? These gurus argue that social entrepreneurs as leaders of social enterprises should be cold sometimes depending on situations



(Woo 2010: 84; Albion 2007: 78). Woo (2010) argues “social entrepreneurs should have the courage to coolly fire the member who hampers the integration of an organization and the creation of synergy” (84). What justifies this determination is the principle of utilitarianism that is characterized by the proposition of “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.” That is, though social entrepreneurs are those who pursue social values and social solidarity, if some members threaten their organizations, it is correct and the best to sacrifice them for the entire organizations. The technology of this utilitarian management of the members serves as the method to justify a social entrepreneur’s decision to fire some problematic members and to alleviate the psychological burden derived from that decision.

#### **8.3.4.5 *Delegation of Authorities***

Woo (2010) recommends that social entrepreneurs should place more emphasis on innovation than commercial entrepreneurs because social enterprises operate in relatively lower-profits industrial areas employing unskilled and uneducated workers. Thus, “social entrepreneurs should be tireless innovators” (Woo 2010: 86). Gurus of social entrepreneurship argue that social entrepreneurs should be able to utilize their members’ creativity and initiative; they also must motivate them in order to utilize these qualities for the innovation of organizations (Woo 2010: 85-86; Albion 2007: 68-69).

What Woo (2010) suggests for this purpose is the technology of authority delegation. According to him, social entrepreneurs should not aim to be all-round leaders who determine and direct everything alone. They should have an ability to manage their organization flexibly. That is, social entrepreneurs need to distribute some parts of their authority to the members to

facilitate their participating in the process of organizational innovation spontaneously. Thus, social entrepreneurs must have a democratic leadership. This is not because the value of democracy is right in itself. According to Woo (2010), it is a strategic recognition that democratic leadership will be more effective in achieving their social missions in terms of rational calculation of end-means efficiency.

#### **8.3.4.6 *The Method of Four-Ps***

Albion (2007) advises social entrepreneurs to put aside a desire to dominate employees in order to form an organizational culture that motivates their spontaneous participations. Instead, he recommends social entrepreneurs ask following five questions and answer them.

First, how do you translate your values into the company culture? Second, how have you let go of control as the company has grown? Third, do you provide a fulfilling environment that motivates the employees to work for the organization spontaneously? Four, are you aware of the impact you have on your employees? Finally, how do you ensure that your company culture stays on track and keeps your values? (Albion 2007: 152-153).

Elaborating this technology of the five questions-and-answering, Albion (2007) suggests so-called Four-Ps technology. The technology of the Three-Steps Four-Ps suggested by Albion (2007) is a method for enhancing leadership that is based on people, processes, products, and profits. The technology of the Three-Steps Four-Ps is as follows:

Step 1. Make a general assessment of your company's current mission and culture. Create three columns on a sheet of paper. Use the first column to write down your mission, the second for your description of the current culture at your company, and the third for any gaps between the two.

Feel free to ask for help from staff. [...]

Step 2. Put the information from step 1 in a more detailed form that you can act on. Take a second sheet of paper and title it "Culture Carrying out the Mission." Make four rows down the left side, titled "People," "Processes," "Products," and "Profits." Then make two columns across the top.

Title the first column "Need to Do" and the second "My Role." Now fill in the first column. For example, what do you need to do better on the people side of your business to fulfill your mission? How can you better reflect the culture required? Don't feel you need to comment on both culture and mission equally? [...]

Step 3. Fill in the four boxes of the column "my role." After you fill in the four boxes, prioritize the four areas of your involvement and list three specific things you can do Monday morning to help move your company culture toward your company mission (Albion 2007: 154-157).

Albion (2007) demonstrates that the technology of the Three-Steps Four-Ps enables social entrepreneurs to know what problems were in their past words and behaviors, what measures they have to prepare for forming desirable organizational cultures, how they should lead the members, and so forth (158). These tools—the tool the five questions-and-answering and that of the Three-Steps Four-Ps based on the former—serve as kinds of technologies of the self in that these tools are employed by social entrepreneurs to regulate themselves so that they can nurture the ability to foster certain organizational cultures, and thus, to be more excellent social enterprises.

### 8.3.5 Technologies for Overcoming Temptations of Complacency

Gurus of social entrepreneurship point out that the virtue of humility of acknowledging one's lack of ability is required for a social entrepreneur to change himself or herself into better social entrepreneurs. Of course, the acknowledgement of the lack of ability should continue to the efforts to compensate the limitations. Woo (2010) argues that social entrepreneurs should acknowledge their lacks of abilities and try to learn or imitate advanced corporations' management techniques. They always must be tense, with thinking that they would be overtaken by other competitors, if they are proud of their abilities or satisfy with the present performance (80). Having mentors is especially recommended as an important technology for enhancing insufficient social entrepreneurs' abilities. Shigeru (2011) recommends receiving advice from mentors continuously (198-203). He states that it is better to develop a few mentors and to receive in depth advice from them than to simply have as many mentors as possible. Listening to the advice of these mentors is a useful technique to compensate for what a social entrepreneur does not know and think of in advance. It also compensates for their lack of skills. It can help to improve oneself into a better social entrepreneur. Furthermore, it serves as a way to overcome isolation and anxiety. Specifically, Shigeru (2011) recommends meeting a mentor one by one, rather than meeting in a large group. Though a social entrepreneur has to spend considerable time to meet each mentor, a social entrepreneur can take advantage of listening more in depth advice. By acknowledging their lack of knowledge and abilities, and being helped by mentors, social entrepreneurs are able to facilitate their own improvement without becoming overly satisfied with their present state.

Shigeru (2011) recommends social entrepreneurs utilize their rivals in order to escape from the temptation of being content with the present conditions and to continue pursuing challenge and innovation by ceaselessly motivating themselves. According to him, to identify a rival is to insert an imaginary rivalry between “I” and “the self”. It is to continue a kind of thought experiment in which one imagines a competition with the rival and the possibility of falling behind. Social entrepreneurs can stimulate their desire and will to survive through this type of thought experiment, and they can be motivated to pursue challenge and innovation continuously.

#### **8.4 Conclusion: Hegemonic Capturing of Resistance**

A series of knowledge and governmental techniques intervene in the process of the production of the new subjectivities of social entrepreneurs. Through carrying out empirical research, the academic world has constructed knowledge systems that prove and support the positive impacts of social entrepreneurial spirit and that of their leadership on the improvement of their performance. A practical claim that social entrepreneurs must equip themselves with entrepreneurial spirit and leadership was drawn on the basis of these knowledge systems. Accordingly, the government strategically adopts diverse power technologies and arranges these technologies in order to produce the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs who are equipped with this entrepreneurial spirit and leadership. The Social Entrepreneur Academy, the Social Entrepreneur Incubation Program, and the Social Venture Contest are these concrete power technologies. Particularly, youth is the core social group that the government takes aim at in

order to produce social entrepreneurs. The government has produced a tremendous amount of knowledge about them on the basis of detailed research. In this way, they were designated as the most effective social group to mobilize as future social entrepreneurs. The government intends to maximize the efficiency of power through mobilizing the youth in the governing mechanism of social enterprises. From the perspective of the youth, however, their mobilization involves dual burdens of responsibility for job creation for both the disadvantaged and themselves without the assistance of the state. Employing diverse forms of confession technologies to improve themselves as competent social entrepreneurs, individuals produce reflexive knowledge about themselves, and diagnose their present conditions. On the basis of this knowledge, they practice a series of technologies of the self on themselves. Likewise, the governing mechanisms of social enterprises constitute a constellation of different knowledge, strategies and tactics of power, and individuals' specific technologies of the self.

The uniqueness of the subjectivity of social entrepreneur is that it is a combination of the subjectivity of professional business manager and that of social movement activist. That is, on the one hand, social entrepreneurs are professional business managers who are armed with entrepreneurial spirit and the professionalism in management. On the other hand, they are also social movement activists who intend to transform the present unjust world while empathizing with the neighbors' difficulties. The problem is the arrangement of the governing mechanism in which the latter's critical resistance energies of social solidarity, the pursuit of ethical and public values, and social transformation are led to flow only through the narrow channels of job creation for the disadvantaged and the financial self-reliance of organizations. In this arrangement of governing mechanisms, social entrepreneurs unintentionally play a key role in

terms of its reproduction and reinforcement. This governing mechanism does not take on an authoritarian form of power. Rather it encourages citizens' creativity and their autonomous participation, rather than suppresses them; this new governing mechanism operates on the basis of their spontaneity and autonomous participation, rather than authoritarian top-down imperatives. A series of self-directed efforts of individuals to improve themselves plays a crucial role in producing social entrepreneurs who this system aims to govern.

In this sense, unlike the dynamics of authoritarian governmental mechanisms, citizens' creativity and initiative, their will to transform the society, and their pursuit of social solidarity and the public good are not oppositional to the purposes of power in this new neoliberal governing mechanism. Being arranged in the neoliberal government mechanism, the former constitute this governing mechanism. In this mechanism, radical or revolutionary social movement activists are transformed into innovative social entrepreneurs who spontaneously take responsibility for resolving problems of the disadvantaged on behalf of the state. The subjectivities of social movement activists who fought against the state and capital for social justice are transformed into the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs who take care of the lives of the disadvantaged instead of the state. Their potential energies of resistance for social transformation is turned and subsumed into the engine for the reinforcement of the neoliberal governing system. The strength of neoliberalism is derived from its flexible and hybrid nature. Neoliberalism subsumes even resistance to it inside itself, and arranges this subsumed resistance for its own reinforcement. Thus, what is noteworthy is how what is external to neoliberalism is captured into neoliberal government mechanisms.

## **9. CONCLUSION: THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISES IN SOUTH KOREA**

As various social problems have taken place due to the neoliberal system, discourses of social enterprises have spread widely and the state has established related policies in South Korea. From the perspective of the state or conservative forces, the promotion of social enterprises is expected as an effective solution to the reproduction of the dominant system, in that it is expected to contribute to the accumulation of social capital, the increase of the efficiency of national economy, and the consequent social control of social conflicts, and so forth. On the other hand, the South Korean progressive civil movement forces tend to understand social enterprises as models for rehabilitating participatory democracy through which they can regulate the market-based neoliberal regime and establish more humane economic system, on the basis of reciprocity and social solidarity (Jang 2007: 27). In the previous chapters, I explored how social enterprises as new discursive formations and governing mechanisms have emerged and developed, and how social entrepreneurs as new subjectivities have been forged. The results of this study, however, show that the widespread belief and expectation of South Korean progressive forces concerning social enterprises are unreasonable. In this concluding chapter, I summarize the main results of this study and discuss their theoretical and practical implications.

### **9.1 Summary of the Study**

In chapter one, I paid attention to certain trends which have developed during the last several decades in South Korea under the impact of neoliberalism along the following lines: First,



a set of discourses concerning social enterprises has grown rapidly, as a range of worsening effects of neoliberalism have become increasingly exacerbated. Second, under the impetus of a developing consensus between progressive and conservative forces, social enterprises have become institutionalized as public policy. Finally, their promotion has been applauded by these mutually opposite social forces as an alternative to the downside of the neoliberal market economy. Most advocates of the promotion of social enterprises regard it as a strategy to rehabilitate social values and social justice—solidarity, citizen’s democratic participation, communal relationships, and humanitarianism—which are seen as having been suppressed and eroded by neoliberal market logic. Contrary to the popular perception of social enterprises, I recommended the importance of understanding social enterprises in terms of neoliberal governmentality, which regards all domains as those of the market and seeks to reorganize these domains to operate on the basis of market principles. That is, I suggested understanding the emergence of social enterprises as the emergence of a new type of neoliberal governing mechanism. Taken together, I suggested the necessity of exploring the complex mechanisms operating in the emergence and the institutional development of social enterprises. In this respect they are composed of discursive practices, knowledge systems, specific strategies and techniques of power and struggles for hegemony between diverse social forces.

In chapter two, I discussed the way in which Foucauldian governmentality theory and Neo-Marxist social theory can serve as useful theoretical frameworks for this study. Foucauldian governmentality theory is useful in exploring diverse dimensions comprehensively which are engaged in the emergence and development of social enterprise mechanisms such as discursive practices, knowledge, power, and the self. Neo-Marxist social theory has a particular tendency to

be able to register the dynamics of power relations between diverse forces, such as struggles, competition, and compromise, which are inscribed in social enterprise mechanisms.

In chapter three, I situated the emergence and development of social enterprises within broader social, political and economic contexts, in order to reveal the historic conditions of their emergence and development in South Korea. First, social enterprises have emerged and been promoted in response to the problems of increasing unemployment and the massive increase in numbers of those in poverty. The problems of unemployment and poverty have been exacerbated in serious way owing to several of the following structural factors: a shift toward an advanced economy characterized by “jobless growth,” a growing population of senior citizens, increased work force participation on the part of women, and a general neoliberal social structuring which has taken place since the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. On these structural conditions, the state invented and promoted social enterprises as a neoliberal strategy to address problems relating to unemployment and poverty. Secondly, in addition to this purpose of the state, the developmental process of progressive civil and social movements in accordance with changed political conditions in South Korea also needs to be investigated in order to understand power dynamics about the promotion of social enterprises. Progressive social movements in South Korea had developed an oppositional relationship to the state and capital within the following context: a long-term military dictatorship, the economic hegemony of some conglomerates which had been allied with the dictatorship and conservative forces, and the separation of the nation between its north and south under the impact of the cold war system. Particularly, during the 1980s, progressive social movements became radicalized to such an extent as to publicly project socialist revolution as a culmination of the democratic struggle. These progressive civil social

movements, however, confronted the dilemmas of both “civil movements without citizens” as well as the criticism for being excessively political and radical. There was heightened criticism along these lines from the mid-1990s on in South Korea after formal democracy was achieved and the East-European socialist bloc was fallen. Out of these conditions, the stream of *new social movements*, which put more emphasis on citizens’ everyday life issues, such as those pertaining to environment, food, education, children, women, human rights of minorities, and so on. This was in contrast with those more traditional issues common among progressive social movements relating to politics and labor. Since that time, progressive social movements have been gradually co-opted into the dominant system, losing some of its earlier radicalism and antagonistic relationship to ruling class forces and becoming increasingly pragmatic and willing to compromise. Especially, since the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, these forces have begun in earnest to enter into partnership with the state, actively participating in a range of national programs concerned with problems of unemployment and poverty. The state also sought out their experience and skills developed through their long term involvement with the disadvantaged. As the interests of the neoliberal state and the progressive forces coincided, the governing mechanism of this partnership began to go into effect. The institutional promotion of social enterprises was a good example of this new type of governing mechanism. Finally, neoliberal principles have been integrated into guidelines for inventing, revising and replacing relevant social programs such as those dealing with public works, social employment, and social enterprises. The government has approached problems of unemployment and poverty in terms of risk management and efficiency of power. A range of institutions designed to address the needs of the disadvantaged have been invented, developed, and transformed on the basis of neoliberal

principles such as minimal state, workfare, reorganization of all non-market domains on the basis of market logic.

In chapter four, I investigated discursive structures about the success of social enterprises. This analysis can be summed up as follows: First, concerning the criteria of success, the success of a social enterprise tended to be defined in terms of the social enterprise's financial success, rather than in terms of its social and public achievements. Thus, this success is likely to be framed in similar terms to that of a corporation within the market; in many texts, even the social mission of these social enterprises were represented as obstacles to the success. There was no significant difference between progressive forces' discourse and that of conservatives. Second, concerning these strategies for success, progressive forces relatively put more emphasis on the active roles of the state than conservatives. Despite this, in most texts regardless of the political orientations of the newspapers, the state's intervention tended to be represented as an obstacle to success, while the creativity found within market, the private sector and individuals was represented as more crucial strategies for the success. In this sense, both progressive and conservative forces' discourses are framed within the neoliberal framework that justifies the shift of traditional state's roles to market, the private sector, and individuals. These results would tend to imply that progressive forces' social enterprise discourses do not effectively operate as counter-discourses to the hegemonic conservative neoliberal ones. Rather the former's discourses are dominated by those of the latter and reinforce neoliberalism. Third, one of the reasons why progressive forces' discourses are dominated by those of conservative ones' and thereby ironically reinforce neoliberalism was because those of the former were organized within the framework of problem resolution, not the framework of cause-analysis. Within this

framework, questions relating to normative critique and practice of resistance to structural factors of unemployment and poverty were replaced with the logic of instrumental rationality, which tends to focus on choosing efficient means for obtaining certain ends while disregarding the normative legitimacy of the choices.

One of the distinctive characteristics of social enterprise discourses is that feminine values or traits are considered as alternative principles around which an economy can be reorganized beyond the neoliberalism which is seen as operating on the basis of a masculine model. Actually, the proportion of female employees and managers in social enterprises is far larger than that in ordinary commercial enterprises. For this reason, social enterprises are likely to be understood as women-friendly corporations. In this context, in chapter five, I explored how the gender-based themes operate in social enterprise discourses in reality. With respect to gender dynamics, social enterprise discourses are characterized as follows: First, contrary to commercial enterprise discourses, traditional masculine traits and values were described as causes of a range of social problems, whereas feminine ones were praised as prefiguring the principles of alternative economic paradigm. Accordingly, to a certain extent, social enterprise discourses dismantled the hierarchical gender division based on the separation between the home and workplace. Second, discursive practices that reproduce and reinforce hierarchical gender divisions in different ways re-emerged. Specifically, these discourses represented the proper place for men as within commercial business areas, whereas they represented the proper place for women as within social service areas, which have been traditionally the areas of women's domestic labor. Third, feminine traits and values functioned to differentiate social enterprises from ordinary commercial enterprises by representing the relationship between social

entrepreneurs, employees, and consumers or service recipients as being communal; however, these discourses around feminine traits and values also functioned as ideologies which hid low wage, high labor intensity, and general poor working conditions inside social enterprises, and marginalize workers' grievances in the name of community. Fourth, social enterprise discourses glorify feminine traits and values, but these traits and values were represented as characteristics of an ideal state to be achieved in the future, not present. In contrast, masculine traits and values, which were less emphasized with the valorization of feminine ones, returned to play a primary role in running social enterprises in reality so that they can achieve this idealized future state. In this discursive structure, ironically the feminine functioned to support the permeation of the masculine model-based market principles into social enterprise mechanisms. Finally, concerning the above stated discursive characteristics, there was no significant difference between discourses of progressive forces and those of conservatives. Social enterprise tends to be considered as an alternative women-friendly economy model. Of course, on the one hand, these findings suggest that the social and economic status of women is raised to a certain degree within social enterprise economy because they are able to leave the unpaid domestic sphere of the home for paid employment within social enterprises. On the other hand, these findings demonstrate that in reality social enterprise discourses result in the reinforcement of the patriarchal market economy paradigm, regardless of political orientation of the discourse producers. That is, within the mechanism of social enterprise as a neoliberal government strategy, feminism and the patriarchy reinforce each other under the latter's hegemony, rather than oppose each other. As it suggested here, neoliberal government is not simply the unilateral imperative system of the masculine market paradigm in which the feminine is excluded or suppressed. Rather, it operates

by mobilizing the feminine, invigorating it, and articulating it within the patriarchal market paradigm. It operates while traversing between the masculine and the feminine.

On the basis of the results of the analyses in the previous two chapters, in chapter six I explored how the social was reframed into the language of the market and thereby absorbed into the territory of the neoliberal government; and how the reframed the social was mobilized and utilized as a means of neoliberal government. I paid special attention to the connection between knowledge and power. Neoliberal governmentality problematizes unemployment and poverty as risks to the reproduction of its regime. It pursues integration of the unemployed and the poor into society. The market and the private sector take on this integrating role instead of the state. The promotion of social enterprises was put forward as a concrete institutional solution. In this process, state power has supported the production of relevant knowledge, and social enterprise experts have produced this knowledge and provided it to the state. Particularly, a set of knowledge concerning social capital, the quantification of social performance of social enterprises, and professional business administration has been accumulated under the state's support. On the basis of these accumulated knowledge systems, state power could judge what it should concentrate on, which policy instruments are effective, and which policies should be supplemented; it could also establish relevant strategies and execute concrete institutional techniques. Specifically, regular evaluation of social enterprises' performance, the state's monopoly of symbolic violence concerning the certification of social enterprises, the partnership program *one social enterprise for one corporation*, the invigoration of the *Pro Bono* campaign, and so forth have been representative institutional techniques that the state power has used in promoting social enterprises. Through these processes, the domains of the social have been

rendered measurable and manipulable, and restructured into a new territory of government. The substantive and ultimate result of this new governmental mechanism, i.e. restructuring the social into a new territory of government, is to capture the energy of progressive social movements that might endanger the governmental system into neoliberal market economy mechanisms. Of course, this governmental process is different from top-down authoritarian rule. Concerning social enterprise mechanisms, neoliberal government assigns some extent of authority to the progressive civil social movement forces, invigorates their creativity, and encourages their participation in governmental mechanisms.

In chapter seven, I explored discursive construction of the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs. The results of the analysis are as follows: First, social entrepreneurs were represented as four types of subjectivities: agents of social transformation, saviors of the disadvantaged, people having high ethics and morals, and professional business managers. The discourses of social entrepreneurs as agents of social transformation replaced the classical radical social movement activists with social entrepreneurs, while problematizing the former as being part of an out dated and incompetent model of social change. Social entrepreneurial spirit instead of class consciousness was suggested as the fundamental requisite for social change. In Marxist theory, workers are understood as the central subjects of history and revolution. In contrast, the discourses of social entrepreneurs as saviors of the disadvantaged did not represent the disadvantaged as active actors who were able to emancipate themselves. Rather, they were depicted as passive victims who would be saved by social entrepreneurs. In contrast, social entrepreneurs were represented as active people who would save the disadvantaged. Social entrepreneur discourses stressed that social entrepreneurs should be ethical and moral and



professional in business administration in advance of becoming agents of social transformation and saviors of the disadvantaged. Second, the central form of subjectivity among those four subjectivity forms was that of the professional business manager. The remaining three subjectivity forms were articulated within and under the dominant subjective form of the professional business manager. Thus, the dominant form of discourse which defined social entrepreneurs was as follows: “Social entrepreneurs can change the world and solve many social problems of the disadvantaged effectively, when they pursue public good as professional business managers who are armed with a social entrepreneurial spirit.” Third, social entrepreneur discourses took the new form of universal subject discourses that aimed to transform all citizens into social entrepreneurs. That is, in social entrepreneur discourses, the universal subjects of citizens, who were fundamentally defined with respect to their political rights and obligations in relations to state power, were replaced with the new universal subjects of social entrepreneurs, who were defined with respect to social responsibility toward others and their social entrepreneurial spirit. Fourth, social entrepreneur discourses were organized within the framework of neoliberal ideology which substituted the roles of the state with the market and individuals, while representing the former as inefficient and incompetent and the latter as efficient, competent and creative. Finally, there was no significant difference in these discursive structures between progressive and conservative forces’ discourses. It demonstrates that progressive forces’ social entrepreneur discourses had been captured under the hegemony of conservative forces’ neoliberal discourses, rather than operating as counter-discourses to the hegemonic discourses.

On the basis of the analyses in chapter seven, in chapter eight I investigated how new subjectivities of social entrepreneurs are produced. I focused on which types of knowledge, techniques and strategies of power, and technologies of the self intervened in this process, and how these discrete elements intertwined with each other. The academic world established a truth regime through accumulating massive empirical studies that proved and supported the positive impact of social entrepreneurial spirit and leadership on performance of social enterprises. From these knowledge systems, a practical request that social entrepreneurs should have entrepreneurial spirit and leadership was drawn. In accordance with these knowledge systems, neoliberal government invented and arranged diverse technologies of power which sought to cultivate and strengthen their entrepreneurial spirit and leadership. The Social Entrepreneur Academy, Social Entrepreneur Promotion Program, and Social Venture Contest are the concrete central technologies of power. Individuals are encouraged to apply diverse forms of self-reflection technologies to themselves in order to change themselves into better social entrepreneurs. Through these diverse self-reflection technologies, individuals produce a set of knowledge about themselves, and examine their current status concerning their abilities, merits, weakness, and so on. On the basis of this reflexive knowledge, they execute a set of technologies of the self on themselves. One of the unique aspect of the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs is that they are complex characters which have various identities: the professional business manager, the individual of ethics and morality, the agent of social transformation, and the savior of the disadvantaged. The problem is that the state organizes their energies in pursuing social values, social justice, and radical social transformation to flow into only the narrow waterways of job creation or provision of social service for the disadvantaged. In this arrangement, this is done

by applying commercial strategies to achieve social purposes. Though social entrepreneurs intend to construct an alternative economic paradigm to the neoliberal market one, their efforts unintentionally contribute to the reproduction and reinforcement of neoliberalism in reality. The neoliberal government mechanism through which this arrangement has been formed and social entrepreneurs have been produced does not take on the forms of the authoritarian government. Rather neoliberal government invigorates individuals' creativity and participation, and then it synthesizes them inside neoliberal government mechanisms.

## **9.2 Implications of the Study**

### **9.2.1 Theoretical Implications**

Above all, this study is the first critical analysis of the institution of social enterprise promotion in South Korea. Outside of South Korea, some critical studies of social enterprises mechanisms have been conducted from the perspective of governmentality analysis. However, those studies tend to concentrate on theoretical discussions, rather than empirical analyses. Furthermore, they tend to concentrate on discourse analysis concerning social enterprises. In contrast, by carrying out empirical analyses of the politics of social enterprises in South Korea, this study comprehensively explored how diverse dimensions, such as discursive practices, knowledge, technologies and strategies of power, and technologies of the self, have been intertwined with each other in the emergence and development of the governing mechanisms of social enterprise. In this sense, this study not only provides a new perspective on social

enterprise mechanisms in South Korea, but also contributes to a comprehensive understanding of social enterprises mechanisms.

Second, revealing the social integration mechanisms of neoliberal government that Foucauldian analyses of neoliberal governmentality have paid less attention to, this study upgrades the scholarship of Foucauldian governmentality studies. Foucauldian analyses of neoliberal government have paid special attention to the aspects of neoliberalism which regard individuals as corporations and transform them into *homoeconomicus*. That is, these analyses have demonstrated that neoliberalism constructs individuals into the subjects who are characterized by a self-help attitude, personal responsibility, and being rationally calculating in terms of risks within their lives; neoliberal government operates through these subjects of *homoeconomicus*. Concentrating alone on the individualization mechanisms of the neoliberal regime, these analyses could not provide full and proper explanation of the socially integrative mechanisms of neoliberal government through which each individual considers themselves as a member of a society. Unless a governing system is able to establish adequate social integration mechanisms, that system cannot continue. Furthermore, Foucault (2000b) also emphasizes the importance of the analysis of social integration mechanisms with his use of the term “technologies of individuals” (404). In this context, Foucault (1982) defines the government of the modern state as “an individualizing and a totalizing form of power” (213). Thus, analysis of neoliberal governmentality needs to pay attention to this dual mechanisms through which neoliberalism individualizes people and simultaneously integrates them into society. This study demonstrates that, on the one hand, neoliberalism operates on the basis of market principles such as competition between individuals, pursuit of private interest, and personal responsibility; on the

other hand, it also operates on the basis of principles of social integration such as solidarity, empathy, and social responsibility. Social enterprises are actually the places where these two principles encounter each other.

Third, this study provides a new understanding of neoliberalism and social enterprises. Neoliberalism tends to be understood as the expansion of market and the reduction of the state and society through privatizing public sector, pursuing minimal government, reducing welfare budgets, and so forth (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Martinez and Garcia 2000). For that reason, neoliberalism used to be the object of normative criticism for its erosion of social and public domains. These criticisms of neoliberalism and the relevant practices have pursued the rehabilitation of the social and public values which have been suppressed by neoliberal market logic. The promotion of social enterprises has been conceived as a critical practice for this goal beyond the neoliberal market logic. Against the popular understanding of the relationship between market, state and society in a neoliberal regime characterized by the expansion of the market and the reduction of the state and society, this study revealed that neoliberal governing mechanisms operate by reorganizing non-market domains within the framework of market, rather than by repressing or reducing these non-market domains. For instance, neoliberalism leads the social, such as solidarity, community, and pursuit of social values, to operate only within the framework of market, rather than represses or reduces it. In social enterprise mechanisms, the traditional role of the state of caring for the disadvantaged through welfare programs shifts to social enterprises and different private sectors. Thus, this study shows that neoliberalism operates by reorganizing the relationship between market, state and society, not by

repressing, reducing and removing the state and society. Social enterprises function as a concrete institutional mechanism of the neoliberal government, rather than an alternative to neoliberalism.

### **9.2.2 Practical Implication**

There is a strong tendency for South Korean progressive forces to understand social enterprise as an alternative to neoliberal regime. Those who first suggested social enterprise as a solution to the problems of increasing unemployment and poverty were some of these progressive activists; they have deeply participated in the institutionalization and promotion of social enterprises as important partners of the state. They have been the most active advocates for the promotion of social enterprises. South Korean progressive forces have understood their participation in the institutionalization and promotion of social enterprises as a practice of a social movement rehabilitating social values and social justice that were repressed by market logic. For that reason, radical criticisms of social enterprises have hardly been raised by progressive forces in South Korea.

However, the results of this study demonstrate that, despite the many statements consistent with social values and social justice in the discursive formation of social enterprises, these statements are dominated and marginalized by those of market logic. In the discursive formation of social enterprises, traditional practices of social movements and social transformations are represented as anachronistic and ineffective. The patriarchal market economy model is reinforced and reproduced in social enterprise discourses. The central identity that constitutes the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs is that of professional business managers. Social enterprise discourses spread the belief that individuals, who want to change the world and

help the disadvantaged, can achieve these goals, when they arm themselves with entrepreneurial spirit. Additionally, these discourses aim to replace the universal subjects of citizens with new types of universal subjects of social entrepreneurs. These discursive practices and strategies operate within the framework of neoliberal ideologies, such as minimal government, market efficiency, market competition, state incompetence, initiative and creativity of individuals and the private sector, personal responsibility, and workfare. Taken as a whole, in contrast with the understanding among South Korean progressive forces, what actually guides social enterprise movements in South Korea are ironically the very neoliberal principles that they resist. Social enterprise mechanisms transform the meaning and method of operation of the social so that it can be reorganized within the framework of neoliberal market economy, i.e. so that any efforts to pursue social and public values can be practiced only through market. In this sense, South Korean progressive civil social movement forces' active support for the institutionalization of social enterprises and their participations in promoting social enterprises ironically result in the reinforcement and reproduction of the neoliberal regime that they have resisted.

The main reason why South Korean progressive forces unintentionally fell into this political fallacy is because they understood neoliberalism as a system in which the market represses and reduces non-market domains, particularly the domain of the social. Exploring neoliberal governing mechanisms operating in the promotion of social enterprise in South Korea, however, this study has shown that neoliberalism is a governmentality that reorganizes non-market domains, particularly the domain of the social, to operate on the basis of market principles, rather than represses, reduces and remove these non-market domains. It also encourages the spontaneity and democratic participation of individuals, social activists, and

corporations. Social enterprises are types of neoliberal government apparatuses that arrange a set of knowledge, strategies and technologies of power and the self so that even the pursuits of social values and social justice can be practiced only on the basis of market. Insofar as South Korean progressive forces continue to see neoliberal regime as a system that reduce and repress social domains through market logic, they will fail to understand the true dynamics of neoliberal government. They also cannot understand operation of neoliberal regime, if they continue to understand it as a kind of authoritarian rule that suppress individuals' freedom and democratic participation. Neoliberal governing mechanism operates across market and non-market domains, reorganizing social domains and encouraging the participation and autonomy of individuals and progressive forces. Thus, it is required that South Korean progressive forces face the complex and flexible nature of neoliberal government that operates while internalizing even its oppositional forces, beyond the binary oppositions between market and social domains and between progressive forces and conservative ones.



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## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Appearance Counts of the Main Vocabularies

Order	Main Vocabularies ( ): Korean in original	Appearance Counts	Order	Main Vocabularies ( ): Korean in original	Appearance Counts
1	Corporation (기업) -social enterprise is not included	474	51	Experts (전문가)	32
2	Support (지원)	326	52	Good (좋은)	32
3	The disadvantaged (취약계층들)	242	53	Help (도움)	31
4	Promotion (육성)	212	54	Efficiency (효율)	31
5	The state (국가)	201	55	The public (공공)	29
6	Innovation (혁신)	196	56	Passion (열정)	27
7	Social problems (사회문제들)	178	57	Charity (자선)	27
8	Education (교육)	161	58	Better (더 나은)	25
9	Starting-up of business (창업)	161	59	Adolescent (청소년)	25
10	The youth (청년)	145	60	College students (대학생)	24
11	Profits (수익)	141	61	Social movement activists (사회운동가)	23
12	Job (일자리)	139	62	Solidarity (연대)	23
13	Economy (경제) -social economy is not included	135	63	Public ownership (공유)	22
14	Local (지역)	121	64	Local government (지자체)	22
15	Community (공동체)	117	65	Happiness (행복)	22
16	Management (경영)	109	66	Challenge (도전)	21
17	Market (시장)	100	67	Sharing (나눔)	20
18	Manager (경영자) -social entrepreneur is not included	98	68	Social Experiment (실험)	19
19	Solution (해결)	94	69	Ethical (윤리적인)	19
20	Change1 (변화시키다)	91	70	Public good (공익)	17
21	Financing (금융)	89	71	The private (민간)	17
22	New (새로운)	83	72	Budget (예산)	17
23	Citizens (시민)	78	73	Good personality (착한)	17
24	Change2 (바꾸다)	76	74	Empathy (공감)	16
25	Investment (투자)	76	75	Self-reliance (자활)	16
26	Participation (참여)	70	76	Partner (파트너)	16
27	Growth (성장)	67	77	Competitiveness (경쟁력)	15
28	Hope (희망)	66	78	Improvement (개선)	14
29	Sustainable (지속가능한)	63	79	Social economy (사회적경제)	14

30	Civic organizations (시민단체)	62	80	Coexistence (공생/공존)	13
31	Service (서비스)	56	81	Transformation (변혁)	13
32	Donation (기부)	54	82	Social purpose (사회적목적)	13
33	Creativity (창의성)	49	83	Trust (신뢰)	12
34	Social movements (사회운동)	48	84	Professionalism (전문성)	12
35	Leader (리더)	47	85	Spontaneous (자발적인)	11
36	Social contribution (사회공헌)	45	86	Consumption (소비)	10
37	Future (미래)	44	87	Consumer (소비자)	10
38	Independence (자립)	44	88	Practical (실용적)	10
39	Alternative (대안)	43	89	Meaningful (의미있는)	10
40	Welfare (복지)	43	90	Pioneer (개척)	9
41	Dream (꿈)	41	91	Win-win (상생)	9
42	Non-profit (비영리)	41	92	Freedom (자유)	9
43	Capitalism (자본주의)	41	93	Social integration (사회통합)	8
44	Micro-finance (소액대출)	40	94	Return profits to society (사회환원)	7
45	Responsibility (책임)	37	95	Revolution (혁명)	7
46	Consulting (컨설팅)	37	96	Equity (공정)	6
47	Competition (경쟁)	35	97	Social business (사회사업)	6
48	Serve (봉사하다)	35	98	Humane (인간적인)	6
49	Capital (자본)	35	99	Quality of commodity (품질)	6
50	Cooperation (협력)	35	100	Devotion (헌신)	6

## Appendix 2: Categorization of the Main Vocabularies

Categories	Main Vocabularies ( ) : original Korean	Frequency (Ratio*)
Orientation to Social Transformation	Improvement (개선), alternative (대안), the better [world/society] (더 나은 세상/사회), challenge (도전), change (바꾸다, 변화), transformation (변혁), social movement activist (사회운동가/사회활동가/시민운동가), new (새로운), social movement (사회운동/시민운동), social experiment (실험), revolution (혁명), innovation (혁신)	565 (0.15)
Orientation to Social Problem Solving	Welfare (복지), social problem (사회문제), job (일자리), self-reliance (자활), independence (자립), the disadvantaged (취약계층), resolution (해결)	535 (0.14)
Orientation to Communal Values	Empathy (공감), the public (공공), community (공동체), coexistence (공생/공존), public ownership (공유), public good (공익), equity (공정), donation (기부), sharing (나눔), help (도움), serve (봉사), non-profit (비영리), social contribution (사회공헌), social work (사회사업), social integration (사회통합), return profits to society (사회환원), win-win (상생), trust (신뢰), solidarity (연대), ethical (윤리적인), humane (인간적인), charity (자선), local community (지역/지방), good [human personality] (착한), partner (파트너), devotion (헌신), cooperation (협력)	638 (0.17)
Orientation to Market	pioneer (개척), management (경영), manager (경영자), competition (경쟁), competitiveness (경쟁력), economy (경제), financial (금융), corporation (기업), service (서비스), growth (성장), consumption (소비), consumer (소비자), micro-finance (소액대출), profit (이윤), market (시장), pragmatic (실용적), capital (자본), capitalism (자본주의), sustainable [financially] (지속가능경영), starting-up of business (창업), consulting (컨설팅), investment (투자), quality of a commodity (품질), efficiency (효율성)	1369 (0.36)
The Others	education (교육), the state (국가), dream (꿈), college students (대학생), leaders (지도자), future (미래), the private (민간), social economy (사회적경제), social purpose (사회적목적), citizen (시민), civic organization (시민단체), passion (열정), budget (예산), promotion (육성), meaningful (의미있는), freedom (자유), spontaneity (자발성), expert (전문가), professionalism (전문성), good [in general] (좋은), support (지원), local government (지자체), participation (참여), creativity (창의성), responsibility (책임), youths (청년), adolescent (청소년), happiness (행복), hope (희망)	1269 (0.33)

\*Ratio: =  $\frac{\text{The total appearance frequency of the vocabularies in the category}}{\text{The total appearance frequency of all the vocabularies}}$