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THE RACIALIZED AND GENDERED REPRESENTATIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM FROM AN ELITE FIRM APPROACH

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**THE RACIALIZED AND GENDERED REPRESENTATIONS OF
MULTICULTURALISM FROM AN ELITE FIRM APPROACH**

By

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B.A., Global Studies, University of Minnesota, 2012

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how Korean business firms reproduce racial division and hierarchies in the face of changing immigration under new post-colonial dynamics. In my exploration, I ask the following questions: How is the idea of multiculturalism represented, framed, and carried out in their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs? Who is included as ‘multicultural’ in these programs? What racial meanings do these programs convey in the Korean context? Using qualitative content analysis of reports and websites, I analyze how the top 30 Korean firms negotiate the meanings of multiculturalism and shape notions of it through their CSR programs. Findings show that the firms represent multiculturalism by focusing exclusively upon ‘multicultural families’ composed of Korean men, foreign brides predominantly from Southeast Asia, and their children. These findings relate to racializing and gendering only certain migrant groups as ‘multicultural,’ while other racial and ethnic groups are visibly absent from multicultural discourses. Although all 30 firms actively promote multiculturalism, their discourses may contribute to creating meanings of multicultural families as inherently deficient and in need of resources, and “othering” in the Korean national imaginary. The

firms also associate multiculturalism with globalization by representing themselves as global leaders. Compared to their idealized visions, some programs are superficial and can be seen as corporate public relations window-dressing. The paternalistic benign approach may further marginalize the multicultural families because the programs do not bring about fundamental changes that empower these families. Global pressure and the national interests over female marriage migrants may have caused the sudden explosion of similar CSR programs regarding multiculturalism among the elite firms.

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Introduction

Multiculturalism became a core element of modern democracies within the emergence of liberal democratic politics and human rights movements in the postwar era in Western Europe. Elite groups in West, including large business firms and universities, have widely implemented multicultural programs since the 1960s (Dobbin and Kalev 2013). The corporate elite's approach to multiculturalism in the U.S. focuses heavily on launching initiatives to hire and promote individuals of diverse ethnic, racial, and gender backgrounds through their diversity management, diversity policies, affirmative action, or equal employment opportunity (Kossek and Zonia 1993). Taking cues from global actors such as international organizations and elite Western firms, multicultural programming has become a core element of the corporate culture in South Korea (hereafter Korea). Since the late 2000s, elite Korean firms have explicitly illustrated that they value multiculturalism by dedicating prominent presence to them on their websites. However, multicultural efforts by the Korean firms follow a unique path for promoting diversity. Unlike hiring diverse employees as in the U.S., Korean firms operationalize multiculturalism as philanthropic activities for racial and ethnic minorities through their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)¹ programs. Given the rising popularity of multiculturalism in the corporate field, this paper examines how elite Korean firms respond to global migration flows by reproducing gendered and racialized hierarchies in their representations of multiculturalism through their CSR programs. Corporate use of the term 'multiculturalism' in the corporate setting reveals a nation-specific

¹ CSR is defined as "actions that appear to further some social good, beyond the interests of the firm and that which is required by law" (McWilliams and Siegel 2011). The word CSR is interchangeably used with social contribution, sustainability management, corporate governance citizenship, or sustainability programs among Korean firms.

understanding of what it means. Against the backdrop of globalization, it is imperative that we pause and ask: What are the social meanings attached to multiculturalism in Korea? The term ‘multiculturalism’ signifies discussion on racial and ethnic diversity. Specifically, the recent construction of multiculturalism as well as ‘multicultural family’ and ‘multicultural children’ are closely linked to inflows of female marriage migrants² as a salient example of the feminization of migration that women play great role in global migration. The Korean state defines the multicultural family as “a family consisting of a marriage immigrant or a person with naturalization permission from the Republic of Korea (ROK) and a person of ROK nationality from birth” (The Ministry of Government Legislation 2016). However, its societal notion is automatically associated with a family composed of a female marriage migrant from Southeast Asia considered mostly from less developed countries, not those of White Europeans or Americans. The term ‘multicultural children’ also indicates children born of Korean fathers and Southeast Asian mothers.

As Korea emerged as a newly industrialized country alongside the Four Asian Tigers³, its rapid economic development has attracted migration from other parts of Asia, particularly from lesser-developed countries since the early 1990s (Castles 2003). In addition, social and demographic issues within the nation (e.g., sex imbalance⁴, a low fertility rate⁵, labor shortages, a rapidly aging population), accelerated government sponsored migrant programs to bring migrant workers and marriage migrants to Korea

² Terms like “marriage migrants” or “immigrant by marriage” mean any foreigner in Korea who had or has a marital relationship with a Korean national (Ministry of Government Legislation 2016).

³ This refers to the highly-developed economies and free-market of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan between the early 1960s and 1990s due to exceptionally rapid industrialization.

⁴ Intense urbanization resulted in a mass exodus of women from rural areas as women sought a higher socio-economic status in urban areas. In contrast, men did not have the same flexible mobility since they were tied to the land, because of their traditional family farms and obligation to take care of elderly parents within Confucianism culture.

⁵ Korea’s birth rate is 1.25 children born/woman (2016 est.), ranking 220th among 224 countries (www.cia.gov).

(Lee 2011). As demographic crisis is closely linked to economic growth, dominant institutional actors, including media and elite firms, have actively promoted the construction of the multicultural families (AE. Kim 2009; Lai et al. 2013). More specifically, such institutions encouraged migration for family formation through international marriages between Korean men and foreign brides, which are similar to ‘mail-order bride’ systems.

Using qualitative content analysis of texts and images in CSR reports and websites, I analyze explicit and implicit definitions, interpretations, and representations of multiculturalism by the top 30 largest Korean firms. The questions guiding this study are as follows:

- How is the idea of ‘multiculturalism’ represented, framed, and carried out in CSR programs?
 - Who is included as ‘multicultural’ in these programs?
 - What racial meanings, definitions, interpretations and representations of racial dynamics do these programs convey in the Korean context?

A sample of the top 30 firms was chosen from *Forbes* Magazine ranking of the world’s 2,000 largest firms (Forbes 2016). I incorporate the sociological insights of racial formation theory (Omi and Winant 2015), specifically the concept of meso-level racial projects by focusing on definitions, representations, and interpretations of racial dynamics, and how these are linked to the allocation of resources. The way firms conceptualize and operationalize their ideas of multiculturalism can be described as a racist, benign, or anti-racist racial projects.

I found that a common thread was a narrow and shallow definition of multiculturalism: the de facto representations of multiculturalism as only pertaining to certain groups (e.g., Southeast Asian women and their children) contribute to their racialization as “others” in the Korean national imaginary. This is noteworthy because there are other groups such as Chinese with similar migration flow that are not overtly targeted as racial others. The main targets of CSR programs were the multicultural families composed of Southeast Asian women while other racial and ethnic groups were visibly absent from the representations of multiculturalism. These findings relate to unintended consequences of racialized, ethnicized, nationalized, and gendered construction of multiculturalism. An analysis of multicultural discourse reveals the importance of the simultaneity of intersecting systems of power, privilege and stratification. Gender and race projects are part and parcel of the ways in which multiculturalism is defined (Glenn 1999).

Another significant finding is that firms’ sympathetic projection of the multicultural families as in need of resources may be contributing to racial projects that simultaneously provide some level of support and at the same time “other” them. Firms engage in what can be described as paternalistic public relations multiculturalism or “cosmetic” diversity (Kossek and Zonia 1993). The content of CSR programs is superficial level and can be seen as corporate public relations window-dressing. The disparity between their idealized visions and shallow practices in promoting multiculturalism may further marginalize the multicultural families and reproduce racial hierarchies as a clear example of a benign racial project approach. This hierarchy is premised on the foreignness of Southeast Asian multicultural families, but not other

families such as Chinese and Japanese multicultural families, who have lighter skin and similar phenotypes to native Koreans. International pressures and the Korean state's interests over female marriage migrants may have led to the dramatic increase of similar multicultural programs.

This study makes several contributions. First, although a few sociologists have researched Korean multicultural discourses of government (Lie 2014; Lim 2010; Mee 2007), media (Kim 2012; Park 2014; Yi and Jung 2015), and educational institutions (Chang 2012; Grant and Ham 2013; Hong 2010; Kang 2010; Moon 2013; Olneck 2011), no scholars have examined corporate narratives of multiculturalism from a sociological perspective. Corporate portrayals are important to look at because the government and elite firms are closely linked to each other in Korea. The state protected large businesses, specifically family-managed conglomerates of affiliated companies during the modernizing project in the 1960s to rebuild the nation so that their tight ties played a key role in economic growth (EM. Kim 1988). Since business elites as meso-level organizations wield immense political and economic power over Korean society, they have a great impact on shaping racialized and gendered hierarchies in the public sector.

Second, the Korean case enhances our understanding of how the social meanings of multiculturalism vary across geopolitical regions within different political, historical, and demographic contexts (Hartmann 2015; Kymlicka 1998, 2007). Korean firms' rather narrow understanding of multiculturalism stands in contrast to broader and more inclusive Western notions on diversity, which often indicate people of color. Additionally, operationalization and enactment of CSR programs by the elite firms demonstrate a unique approach to multiculturalism. Lastly, qualitative content analysis of

corporate reports and websites brings about methodological contributions to the field of sociology as no scholars have examined multicultural discourse through CSR documents. CSR reports and websites are a major window for Korean firms to present themselves to the world so that these data present a valuable opportunity to compare how framing of multiculturalism varies across nations.

This paper is organized into five sections. First, I describe the multicultural discourses and the complex construction of multiculturalism at the organizational level within the Korean context. Second, I review how institutional use of multiculturalism has been previously studied, and suggest the utility of the racial project framework to unpack how multiculturalism is related to racialization. Third, I detail my research design, including sampling, data, and analysis. Fourth, I provide my empirical findings that elaborate the gamut of corporate discourses on multiculturalism. Next, I note how world-society culture and national interests over female marriage migrants trigger the corporate trend of multiculturalism practices. And finally, I conclude with the implications and suggestions for future research.

Conceptual Framework

The Strategic Use of Multiculturalism and Racialization in Institutions

Various disciplines have researched multiculturalism, including political philosophy (Kymlicka 2013; Taylor 1994), education (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995), anthropology (Prato 2016; Turner 1993), social psychology (Verkuyten 2014), and history (Schlesinger 1998). Within sociology, discourses of multiculturalism and diversity have been examined mainly by scholars looking at organizations (Edelman 2001; Gordon 1995; Kalev et al. 2006), race and ethnicity (Jackson et al. 2013), and

education (Gurin et al. 2002; Olneck 1990,1993; Solorzano and Yosso 2001; Warikoo and Novais 2015). In particular, corporate engagement of diversity has been explored through the institutionalization of diversity management.

Organizational sociologists have studied why Corporate America embraces diversity management (Berrey 2015; Dobbin et al. 2011; Herring 2009), how American private foundations (e.g., *Ford*) perceive diversity (Shiao 2004), and what their diversity policies look like in practice (Dobbin et al. 2007; Kalev et al. 2006). Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (2006) investigated what specific interests of the American power elite including corporate elites, were associated with racial, ethnic, and gender diversification on corporate boards. They argued that the increased diversity by elite firms is ironic because it still excludes African-Americans and reproduces class inequalities in the name of liberal individualism, which neglect underlying social structures.

A current framework that has been employed by most institutions, including elite firms in the U.S., is a colorblind ideology. The colorblind framework is anchored in abstract liberalism, allowing the institutions to claim that race no longer matters (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Omi and Winant 1994:158). Based on the racial project of coded language, institutions tend to focus on the benefits of racial and cultural harmony on the surface level, rather than empowering minority employees working in those institutions. Instead, multiculturalism is often celebrated through festivals of different ethno-cultural groups emphasizing unique food, music, and customs (Kymlicka 2010). Symbolic multiculturalism paradoxically contributes to a strategy of what I call “benign neglect” toward deeper structural inequalities, which reproduces social fragmentation in all levels

of society (Alexander 2012; Bell and Hartmann 2007; Embrick 2011; Michaels 2006; Schmidt 1997; Warikoo and Novais 2015).

Multiculturalism, Racialization, and Racial Projects

The multicultural programs by business elites in Korea can contribute to the racialization, which is defined as “the social process by which certain groups of people are singled out for unique treatment based on real or imagined physical characteristics (Omi and Winant 2015:247). To allocate political and economic resources, mainstream institutions typically draw upon dominant social forms of racial classifications based on visible corporeal features (e.g., skin color, phenotypical features, hair texture). Omi and Winant (2015:125) define a racial project as “simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial identities and meanings, and an effort to organize and distribute resources (economic, political, cultural) along particular racial lines.” Based on how a particular society classifies race, institutions ascribe certain social characteristics to certain racial groups through laws and policies to enforce and maintain racial identities (Goldberg 2002).

Omi and Winant (1994:71) explains racialization with three types of racial projects. A racist racial project is intended to produce structures of domination through essentialist representations—that is, the notion that race is defined in terms of biological or genetic traits. As a result, certain groups are always seen as outsiders. In contrast, an anti-racist racial project challenges racialized discourse created from misrepresentations, as well as the larger structures of domination that generate racial discriminations. A benign racial project does not take essentialist views nor challenge structural inequalities. Instead, it superficially embraces some elements of an anti-racial agenda, while implicitly

maintaining racial order within the social structure through benign representations.

Said (1978) introduced the concepts of Orientalism to explain how discursive practices (e.g., Western representations of non-Western as ‘Oriental’) are used to produce and reproduce hegemonic dichotomies between “us” and “them.” Racial projects can involve “othering” processes that requires binary thinking (Collins 2009). Many societies have shown that domination involves objectification of “the Other” by constructing perceptions of “them” through social beliefs about racial and ethnic minorities (Ringer and Lawless 1989). Through the lens of symbolic classification, Korean firms may exercise multicultural programs to maintain racial division and racial order.

Contextual Background

Although Korea does not have explicit racist practices in the past such as Jim Crow, Apartheid, or ethnic cleansing, the Korean state has legitimized a racist ideology as a nation-building strategy. Belief in ethnic homogeneity was a necessary foundation for Korean nationalism in the post-Japanese colonization era and post-Korean War to enhance nationhood and solidarity within the country (Shin 2006). The racialized ways of understanding “Koreanness” were a potentially powerful source in constructing its national identity and today Korea remains one of the least racially tolerant and least race-unconscious countries in the world (World Values Survey 2012). However, since the 1990s, the prevalent national pride of the ethnic homogeneity based on “pure-blood theory” was challenged by the large influx of foreigners, mainly migrant workers and female marriage migrants from other Asian countries.

Global Migration and the Construction of Multiculturalism in Korea

Although Korea used to be a migrant-sending country in the 1960s and 1970s, it has recently become a migrant-receiving country within the context of rapid globalization (AE. Kim 2009). The number of foreign residents has tripled in the past 10 years, accounting for 3.7% (1,999,195) of the total population (50,613,873) (Ministry of the Interior 2015). Tables below demonstrate demographic information of foreign residents in Korea. As seen in table 1, the number of male migrant workers⁶ (442,616) make up the largest group of foreign residents⁷ constituting nearly half of the total, which are two times larger than the female marriage migrants (212,826), which includes both naturalized and non-naturalized. The table 2 presents the number of foreign residents by nationality, illustrating that most foreign residents are from other parts of Asia except for the United States. Chinese including Korean-Chinese⁸ constitute the largest foreign residents, which accounting for over 50%. Table 3 presents the number of marriage migrants by gender and nationality. A vast majority of female marriage migrants from other parts of Asia, particularly from less developed countries. In addition to nationality disparities, there is a large gender gap: women account for over 90% of all marriage migrants in almost all countries except for the United States.

⁶ Since the beginning of the 1990s, the government created guest worker programs to fill labor shortages in 3-D (difficult, dirty, and dangerous) jobs as the Koreans were reluctant to take lower-paying manual jobs.

⁷ The term ‘foreign resident’ is officially defined as: 1) persons who do not obtain Korean nationality: foreign residents staying in Korea over 90 days, 2) persons who obtain Korean nationality: Naturalized Residents who used to have foreign nationality, and 3) children: minor children of marriage immigrants and naturalized residents (Ministry of the Interior 2015)

⁸ Korean-Chinese refers to ethnic Koreans who were forced to migrate to China during the Japanese colonization.

Table 1. The number of foreign residents by types (2015.1.1)

Total of foreign residents population (%)		Non-naturalized Residents											
		Total of foreign residents (not naturalized)		Migrant workers		Marriage migrants		Foreign students		Overseas Koreans		Other	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
904,938	836,981	442,616	165,500	22,309	125,073	38,115	46,213	141,559	144,855	124,915	125,006		
1741919 (3.4%)		1,376,162		608,116		147,382		84,329		286,414		249,921	
		Naturalized Residents						Children with immigrant background					
		Total of naturalized residents		Naturalized residents based on marriage		Other							
				M	F	M	F	M	F				
				4,563	87,753	24,783	40,965	106,077	101,616				
		158,064		92,316		65,748		207,693					

Source: Ministry of the Interior Statistical Yearbook 2016 (2015.12.31)

Note: Total population Korea is 51,069,375

Table 2: Number of Foreign Resident by Nationality

Country	Number (%)	
China	1,004,312	50.2%
Vietnam	147,295	7.4%
America	140,337	7.0%
Thailand	95,154	4.8%
Philippines	55,485	2.8%
Uzbekistan	55,392	2.8%
Cambodia	45,700	2.3%
Indonesia	43,534	2.2%
Japan	38,689	1.9%
Nepal	34,219	1.7%
Total:	1,999,195	

Source: Ministry of Justice (2016.11)

Note: China includes Korean-Chinese

Table 3. Number of Marriage Migrant by Nationality and Gender

Country	Total	Men	Women
China	58,788 (38.8%)	11,879 (20.2%)	46,909 (79.8%)
Vietnam	40,847 (26.9%)	894 (2.2%)	39,953 (97.8%)
Japan	12,861 (8.5%)	1,220 (9.5%)	11,641 (90.5%)
Philippines	11,367 (7.5%)	328 (2.9%)	11,039 (97.1%)
Cambodia	4,555 (3%)	45 (1%)	4,510 (99%)
USA	3,192 (2.1%)	2,440 (76.4%)	752 (23.6%)
Thailand	2,821 (1.9%)	75 (2.7%)	2,746 (97.3%)
Mongolia	2,384 (1.6%)	104 (4.4%)	2,280 (95.6%)
Uzbekistan	2,244 (1.5%)	81 (3.6%)	2,163 (96.4%)
Russia	1,305 (0.9%)	90 (6.9%)	1,215 (93.1%)

Source: Ministry of Justice (2015)

Note: China includes Korean-Chinese

These patterns of marriage migration in Korea represent an example of the feminization of migration. In particular, female migrant workers take service-related jobs such as housework, nannies, and domestic care as native women in host countries move away from traditional roles of motherhood and aspire to professional careers (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003). In developed countries such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore, demographic issues promoted the new trend of intra-Asian migration, specifically in the form of marriage migration (OECD 2012). Similar to migrant workers, female marriage migrants also inherit traditional domestic service roles while simultaneously being expected to form a Korean family and support lagging fertility rates. For example, ‘Wife or Worker?: Asian women and migration’ (Piper and Roces 2004) illustrates how marriage migrants perceived their roles to be ambiguous. Women from

less developed countries in Asia tend to marry men from relatively wealthier countries to escape poverty (HK. Lee 2008). The Korean case illustrates the “global hypergamy” concept that refers to the practice of women from lower social economic backgrounds “marrying up” to men from higher “castes” or social status as an economic survival strategy (Constable 2005, 2010).

Multicultural Programs and Policies in Korea

The Korean state officially recognized the importance of multiculturalism and enacted numerous laws and policies targeting marriage migration. By promoting the terms ‘multicultural family’ and ‘multicultural children’, female marriage migrants have become central to state-led multicultural policies. The Support for Multicultural Family Act (2008) defines the multicultural family as the following:

- (a) A family comprised of a married immigrant under subparagraph 3 of Article 2⁹ of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea and a person who acquired the nationality of the Republic of Korea by birth pursuant to Article 2 of the Nationality Act¹⁰;
- (b) A family comprised of a person who obtained permission for naturalization under Article 4 of the Nationality Act¹¹ and a person who acquired the

⁹ The term ‘immigrant by marriage’ means any foreigner in Korea who had or has a marital relationship with a Korean national.

¹⁰ Article 2 (Attainment of Nationality by Birth) (1) A person falling under any of the following subparagraphs shall be a national of the Republic of Korea at birth: 1. A person whose father or mother is a national of the Republic of Korea at the time of the person’s birth; 2. A person whose father was a national of the Republic of Korea at the time of the father’s death, if the person’s father died before the person’s birth; 3. A person who was born in the Republic of Korea, if both of the person’s parents are unknown or have no nationality. (2) An abandoned child found in the Republic of Korea shall be recognized as born in the Republic of Korea. [This Article Wholly Amended by Act No. 8892, Mar. 14, 2008]

¹¹ Article 4 (Attainment of Nationality through Naturalization) (1) A foreigner who has never attained the nationality of the Republic of Korea may attain the nationality of the Republic of Korea by obtaining permission for naturalization from the Minister of Justice. (2) In receipt of an application for naturalization, the Minister of Justice shall determine whether a foreigner meets the requirements for naturalization under Articles 5 through 7 and then allow naturalization only to a person who meets such requirements. (3) A foreigner who obtains permission for naturalization under paragraph (1) shall attain the nationality of the Republic of Korea at the time the Minister of Justice grants such permission. (4) Necessary matters for

nationality of the Republic of Korea by birth pursuant to Article 2 of the aforesaid Act¹² (The Ministry of Government Legislation)

At the macro-level, citizenship acquisition requirements for female marriage migrants were eased through the Nationality Law (2003) with legal advantages that facilitate their naturalization (Lai et al. 2013). While only marriage migrants are eligible for naturalization, requirements for other types of foreign residents remained the same (Choo 2013). In 2006, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and other ministries¹³ established policies specifically designed to integrate “a social integration of foreign wives and an attainment of multicultural society.” The major policies include: the Social Integration Policy for Marriage Immigrants and their Children, the Social Integration of Mixed-Race Koreans and Immigrants, and the Marriage Migrant Integration Act (NHJ Kim 2015). In 2007, the Support for the Female Immigrant Victims of Violence and the Marriage Brokers Business Management Act were enacted to prevent marriage migrants from domestic violence and to regulate unequal treatments from marriage brokers. International Marriage Guidance Program is now required for Korean men to marry foreign brides, specifically from China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Cambodia, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, and Thailand. Besides, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family offers pre-departure orientation for newly arrived foreign brides from Vietnam, Cambodia, Mongolia, and the Philippines as well as training programs for matchmaking agencies (OECD 2012).

application procedures, the screening thereof, etc. under paragraphs (1) and (2) shall be determined by Presidential Decree. [This Article Wholly Amended by Act No. 8892, Mar. 14, 2008]

¹² See footnote 10.

¹³ Ministry of Gender Equity and Family, Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Education Science and Technology, Ministry of Employment and Labor, Ministry of Public Administration Security

In 2008, the government enacted Support for Multicultural Family Act to “contribute the improvement of the quality of life of multicultural family members and the unity of society by helping multicultural family members enjoy stable family living” (the Article 1) and established Multicultural Family Support Centers across the nation. Policies are only inclusive toward the cultural, linguistic, and social integration and assimilation of female marriage migrants while marginalizing the rest types of immigrant groups, especially migrant workers and their families, who are the largest group of foreign residents (Olneck 2011).

Governmental efforts on promoting multiculturalism had profound impacts on shaping the notion of multiculturalism at all levels of institutions and society (Migration Research and Training Center). The national curriculum also has promoted multiculturalism by including multicultural concepts in textbooks beginning in the mid-2000s. Textbooks removed elements of ethnic nationalism (e.g., defining Korea as a single ethnicity nation) and contents implying racial discrimination, such as using the term “mixed-blood” (Chang 2012). In its place, new textbooks increasingly discussed the importance of embracing multicultural families and understanding the cultural differences. Media representations also contribute to the paternalistic and “othering” racial project by generating controlling images of certain racial and national groups as deficient (Hartmann and Husband 1974; Collins 2009). Although the Korean media has widely covered the advantages of multiculturalism covering multicultural families, its stereotypical representations simultaneously victimize and objectify female marriage migrants and their children, reproducing the hegemonic racial orders (SK. Kim 2012). Based on numerous forces of other sections of the society adopting multiculturalism, elite

Korean firms parallel the mainstream system by employing similar practices. Overall, female marriage migrants have been the core element of the multicultural programs across mainstream institutions.

Data and Methods

Sample

To select a sample of large Korean firms, I use the *Forbes* magazine's annual ranking of the world's 2,000 biggest public companies, which was published on April 22, 2016 (www.forbes.com/global2000/list). Ranking is measured by a total combination of four metrics: sales, profits, assets, and market value of the latest 12 months' financial data. There were 67 Korean companies out of 2,000 world's largest public companies. With the list, I chose the top 30 firms. I focus on the top 30 firms because large firms play a crucial role in shaping organizational norms and behaviors within the rest corporate field (Perrini 2006) and they have a greater impact on society (Young and Marasis 2011). The top 30 firms can motivate the rest small-to medium-sized businesses to establish multicultural programs in similar manner. Table 4 shows the list of the top 30 firms with their industries, years of establishment of multicultural programs, and number of documents.

Data and Analysis Method

My primary data are CSR reports and CSR websites, which reveal firms' official stances on multiculturalism. I use additional data: groups' white book reports¹⁴ and foundation websites when there is lack and absence of information covering

¹⁴ A "white paper" document, which is often used as summary of social contribution by a group of entire affiliated firms.

multiculturalism. CSR webpage is used to promote firm's positive self-presentations to stakeholders (Perrini 2005; Verboven 2011), public (Snider et al. 2003), and the world (Campbell 2007). Korean firms have increasingly developed web-based reports and CSR websites as their major channels of corporate communications to represent their public face in the national and global stage.

Regarding CSR reports that publish annually, the data period varies as each firm initiated multiculturalism programs in different time. CSR reports were published from 2006 to 2016. All website was originally viewed in 2016 December. The levels of information and types of documents featuring multiculturalism in corporations varies as well. For example, some multicultural programs do not appear on individual affiliated firms' CSR reports nor websites. Instead, conglomerate groups have social contribution teams or corporate foundations are part of corporations that represent the entire affiliated firms as a single group. Some firms publish white book reports in a way that is similar to CSR reports. In sum, the data include CSR reports, CSR websites¹⁵/*About Us* page, white book reports, annual reports, and corporate foundation websites. All data are publicly available in online both in English and Korean language. I primarily analyzed English-language publications to examine how firms represent themselves to the global community.

I searched for mainly three terms: multicultural, migrant, and foreign, from each corporate document and website. By finding the three words from texts using a finding key, I collected all the pages that has multicultural-linked topic with following words: multicultural, multicultural family/families, multicultural child/children,

¹⁵ Some firms have independent CSR websites while others have CSR webpages in a section of firm's websites entitled "About Us" or "Company Information."

multiculturalism, migrant- woman/women, migrant/s, immigrant/s, foreigner/s, foreign worker/s, and guest worker/s.

In total, 141 online documents made references to multiculturalism (see table 5 for details in appendix). Out of those documents, 128 documents were mainly focusing on multiculturalism, while 13 with only briefly mentioned their activities relating to multiculturalism. Please see figure 1 for details. The limitation of the data is that some firms describe programs on multiculturalism in detail while other firms simply have one or two sentences describing their activities.

Figure 1. Number of documents referring to multiculturalism over time

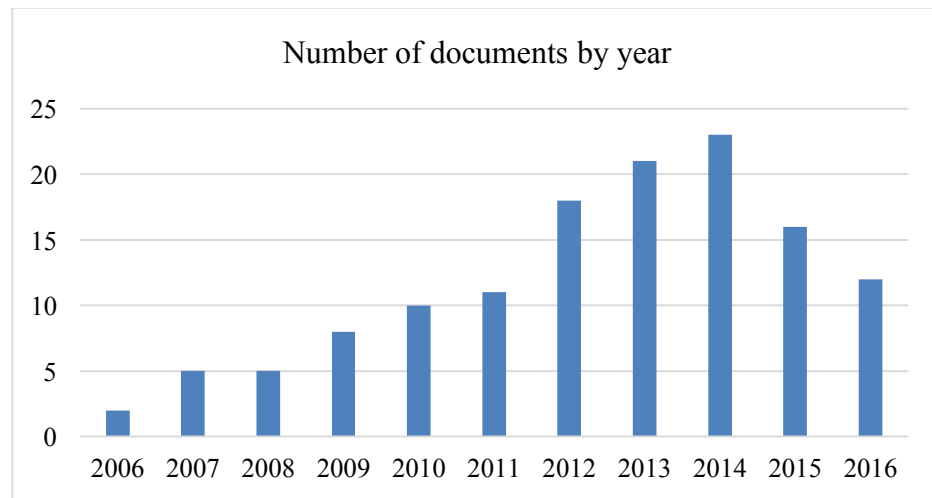


Table 4. List of 30 Korean firms from the World's Largest 2000 Companies 2016 and Reference Numbers

	Forbes Rank	Company Name	Industry/Sector	Established years	N of doc with main focus	N of doc with marginal focus	Total N of doc
1	18	Samsung Electronics	Semiconductors	2014	3	0	3
2	97	KEPCO	Electric Utilities	2012	5	0	5
3	108	Hyundai Motor Company	Auto & Truck Manufacturers	2010	3	1	4
4	247	SK Holdings	Oil & Gas Operations	2014	3	0	3
5	271	Shinhan Financial Group	Investment Services	2009	5	1	6
6	285	Samsung Life Insurance	Life & Health Insurance	2010	6	0	6
7	290	KIA Motors Corporation	Auto & Truck Manufacturers	2012	3	2	5
8	297	Hyundai Mobis	Auto & Truck Parts	2007	11	1	12
9	351	KB Financial Group	Regional Banks	2006	7	0	7
10	363	Cheil Industries	Apparel/Accessories	2013	3	0	3
11	377	SK Hynix	Semiconductors	2010	1	5	6
12	490	Samsung Fire & Marine	Property & Casualty Insurance	2013	3	0	3
13	500	SK Innovation	Oil & Gas Operations	2014	2	0	2
14	506	SK Telecom	Telecommunications services	2007	8	1	9
15	564	LG Chem	Specialized Chemicals	2011	3	1	4
16	576	Posco	Iron & Steel	2006	10	0	10
17	580	Woori Bank	Regional Banks	2009	6	0	6
18	597	Hana Financial Group	Regional Banks	2008	10	0	10
19	647	Industrial Bank of Korea	Regional Banks	2012	3	0	3
20	660	LG Display	Electronics	2010	2	1	3
21	746	Hyundai Steel	Iron & Steel	2010	4	0	4
22	814	LG Electronics	Consumer Electronics	2010	7	0	7
23	819	Hyundai Heavy Industries	Heavy Equipment	2010	1	0	1
24	822	KT Corp	Telecommunications services	2009	7	0	7
25	825	LG Corp	Household Appliances	2009	1	0	1
26	897	Hanwha Corp	Trading Companies	2010	4	0	4
27	912	Lotte Shopping	Department Stores & Retailers	2015	2	0	2
28	913	S-Oil	Oil & Gas Operations	2013	1	0	1
29	950	Lotte Chemical	Specialized Chemicals	2013	2	0	2
30	1019	Korea Gas	Natural Gas Utilities	2010	2	0	2
Total					128	13	141

Source: The World's Largest Companies 2016 (Forbes)

Using qualitative content analysis of texts and images of CSR reports and webpages available on each firm's website, I examined explicit and implicit definitions, representations, and interpretations of multiculturalism. Morning (2008) explains that it is not enough to rely on explicit written texts. Instead, it is also important to explore, for example, how race is defined in high school biology textbooks through implicit messages. I draw upon this methodology to investigate the prevalence of cultural definitions of multiculturalism as well as what is not said by implied vis-à-vis, visual images, and other associations. Analysis of implicit messages is important to understand how the firms perceive multiculturalism.

Coding

Through an inductive analytic method (Charmaz 2011), I unpacked CSR reports and websites by reviewing texts and images from by each firm. At a basic level, I developed the coding framework as main targeted groups, visions, and contents of multicultural programs of the programs. Within these research areas, I adopted an open-ended coding scheme, which developed over themes. I created a detailed coding scheme and collapsed codes into larger themes in the later stage of coding. For example, to explore who is considered as multicultural, "multicultural family" was an overarching code. Subsets of the "multicultural family" code are "female marriage migrants" and "multicultural children." To examine how firm practice multiculturalism, I coded contents of programs for: education, job-training, social integrations, and superficial

multiculturalism as sub-codes¹⁶. Coding was conducted using Nvivo qualitative data analysis software program. Table 5 in Appendix includes the coding categories, descriptions, and examples of official statements from corporate texts.

Findings

My findings show the rapid diffusion of similar multicultural programs across various elite Korean firms. The word ‘multicultural’ began to appear from the mid 2000s. For example, one of the earliest multicultural programs was by POSCO in 2006. POSCO is also the only firm that provides explicit definitions of multicultural families in written texts as “families which consist of people with different nationalities, for example, marriage immigrants, labor migrants, etc.” (POSCO 2013:120). This definition puts emphasis on including not only all nationalities but also migrant workers. Although its definition stated that it includes people with different nationalities, the programs focused predominantly on Southeast Asians, not those of the Middle East or other countries. The intention of the programs also has shifted from covering migrant workers to multicultural families since 2007. All 30 firms had at least one CSR program helping the multicultural family through philanthropic initiatives, which was the most common approach to multiculturalism. Since the rest of the 29 firms lack explicit definitions of multiculturalism, I look at the targets of their programs to understand their common interpretations of multiculturalism.

I paid particular attention to gendered and racialized construction of

¹⁶ General topics combined to the heading codes that overarch the sub-codes. For example, under the heading code: “superficial multiculturalism”, specific topics such as “multicultural festival”, “sponsoring joint wedding” are coded as subsets.

multiculturalism because Southeast Asian women were significantly visible as main targets of multicultural programs. I also focused on “othering” multicultural families, which were firms’ common portrayals. The content of programs also reveal a shallow approach to multiculturalism while the firms often present themselves as global leaders to the world. Overall, corporate statements and visual images reveal multicultural discourse mainly in four themes: 1) hypervisibility of Southeast Asian women, 2) objectifying and “othering,” 3) a cosmetic approach, and 4) globalization.

Gendered and Racialized Multiculturalism: Hypervisibility of Southeast Asian Women

Findings reveal that multicultural families remain disproportionately represented as the targeted subjects of CSR programs. More specifically, multicultural programs aim at female marriage migrants from specific regions and nationalities: Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, Cambodia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Laos. This group is overrepresented as a symbol of multiculturalism while other immigrants who are not from Southeast Asia such as Japan, United States, Europe, Africa, and Middle East were noticeably absent from visual representations of multiculturalism. Nationality and ethnicity are particularly salient when describing multicultural families.

There is no mention of any Western countries or high status Asian immigrants such as Japanese. As noted in the contextual chapter, there is an absence of Chinese female marriage migrants despite the fact that they constitute nearly 40% of all marriage migrants. One of the reasons why marriage migrants and their children from China and Japan do not get attention in multicultural programs might be because they have lighter skin and similar phenotypes to native Koreans. Thus, they can visually blend or “pass”

for Koreans. Another reason might be because their countries are considered as more “developed” compared to other Southeast Asian countries within the context of the global economy, leading firms to feel that they do not need to help people from those countries.

In addition, other types of immigrants were left out of corporate narratives of multiculturalism. There was no presence of men, including male marriage migrants in the texts nor images from the 30 firms. Regarding programs for migrant workers and their families include sponsoring medical fees for workers and providing daycare services for their children. However, they were mostly classified separately from the multicultural family category.

Objectifying Female Marriage Migrants and “Othering” Multicultural Children

Findings illustrate that Korea’s social expectations toward womanhood are embedded in the texts and images. Many programs such as Korean cooking, cultural classes, and job training designed for female marriage migrants implicitly reflect deep-seated patriarchal values from Confucianism legacy on ‘a Good Wife, Wise Mother.’ Such a patriarchal belief in maternal roles as wives and mothers in family settings is constructed as the prevailing gendered norm in modern Korea. As presented in figure 2 and 3, female marriage migrants as traditional housewives are dominant in the visual images.

Figure 2. Cooking class for female marriage migrants



(Hanwha Group Whitebook Report 2013, p. 85)

(Samsung Life Insurance Report 2011, p. 53)



(POSCO social contribution webpage)

Figure 3. Job training programs for female marriage migrants



“Course completion ceremony for the foreign wife job training program” (POSCO CSR report 2012, p.121)

“Startup Support for Women from Multicultural Families” (POSCO CSR report 2014, p. 127)



POSCO helping migrant women get drivers' license by offering free driving classes
(POSCO social contribution website)

These gender-specific programs tried to teach “proper” mothering to marriage migrants. In photos of job training and cooking class in the reports, all female marriage migrants appeared to be having fun and feeling fulfilled with these multicultural programs. Portraying female marriage migrants as being happy with cooking and mothering implies that they hold idealistic roles of wives within conventional gendered norms, enforcing gendered care responsibilities. A similar theme is echoed within other social integration programs targeting female marriage migrants. POSCO provides information on Korea to Vietnamese marriage migrants before departing their country to help them better adjustment when they arrive in Korea, which enforce assimilation foreign brides to their husbands' culture. Firms preemptively attempt to create certain

type of citizens by providing pre-arrival orientations on basic information about Korea to marriage migrants.

In addition, four firms (i.e., Samsung group, KEPCO, POSCO, Lotte Chemical) offer a barista training and hiring program which only applies to female marriage migrants from Southeast Asia. The multicultural café programs perpetuate the image of female marriage migrants lacking professional skills through a paternalistic projection of female marriage migrants.

KEPCO Café with Hope, supporting *the underprivileged* with jobs to dream a better future “*I don’t have any professional skills, money to learn skills, or available jobs.*” That’s silent shout of the *youth from vulnerable class* such as single-parents or *multicultural households*. (KEPCO CSR report 2014, p. 78)

We see such example occurring of firms targeting female marriage migrants from specific countries by using a paternalistic approach in a POSCO as well.

Café Oasia is the first social franchise designed to hire *migrant women* as barista for fair treatment and decent working conditions. As of now, *women from countries such as Vietnam, Thailand, and Cambodia* are working for the Café Oasia, and with branches and affiliates springing up it is creating more new jobs. *For migrant wives getting a decent job allows them to balance between work and family and improve their own lives and makes them stay optimistic and confident to their families and neighbors...* POSCO is at the forefront of creating new jobs as it learned the importance of *how quality jobs can empower these migrant women to stand on their own feet and opens door for them to fit in to the society* (POSCO CSR report 2013, p. 121)

As shown in the quote, the message to female marriage migrants is clear: POSCO explicitly illustrates that their programs can empower migrant women by hiring them as a barista, which is framed and described as “quality job.” However, these firms do not hire female marriage migrants within their own firms, and instead provide low-paying jobs outside of their firms, which are unrelated to their industry. Regardless of their good intentions, low-paid service work such as a barista are less likely to empower them

genuinely since such jobs have lower level of authority at work. Construction of disadvantages such as lacking human capital and professional skills would be linked to status of the country of origin (Lan 2008). In a similar manner, images from these firms provide visual messages about how multiculturalism is represented and deployed by focusing on “empowering” female marriage migrants.

Figure 4. Hiring Female Marriage Migrants in “Multicultural Café”



(Samsung Corporate Citizenship White Book 2013, p. 58-59)
(KEPCO CSR Report 2014, p. 78)



(POSCO CSR Report 2013, p. 121) (POSCO CSR Report 2014, p. 127)

As depicted in these photos of a “multicultural café” by the three different firms, women are working as baristas and smiling. Although an underlying assumption may be that firms are helping these women to be gainfully employed, their working opportunities in reality are limited. If we look beyond the framework of this picture, we can see the content that representations of female marriage migrants employ gendered imagery that objectify them in the broader context. The implication is that female marriage migrants are treated as the objected “Other” and they are being employed to be “saved” from a

traditional patriarchy based norm. Firms may feel a certain level of moral responsibility to aid female marriage migrants; however, their main approaches on providing certain types of work or classes through the programs are problematic because they represent women as highly feminized and vulnerable.

Findings also reveal that corporate discourse that creates meanings of multicultural families as inherently subordinate and in need of resources may be can contribute to a benign paternalistic racial project regardless of firms' good intention. This may only further marginalize these families in the Korean national imaginary. Fanon (2008) illustrates construction of inferiority and superiority based on racial traits, specifically how White men have constructed a narrative of the inferiority of Blacks. In particular, negative representations of Blacks by powerful institutions legitimate the racialized economic and cultural hierarchy. As a result of a racist discourse being embedded throughout the cultural practices, Black bodies are associated with being poor and vice versa. Aligned with Fanon's argument, the elite Korean firms have constructed a narrative of the deficiency of the multicultural category. 16 firms out of 30 described and framed the multicultural families using deficit-oriented language such as: "socially disadvantaged", "socially vulnerable", "marginalized", "unprivileged", "less-privileged", or "neglected neighbors." The following is demonstrative of the marginalizing assumptions of the multicultural family:

KB Financial Group has a major foreign presence, and to help *multicultural families* in Korea and *their children* establish themselves *as qualified members of our society*.
(KB Financial Group website)

This portrayal assumes that multicultural families and their children are not legitimate members of society and not yet-citizens who need to be domesticated via proper training

and socialization in the Korean context. It emphasizes that the KB Financial Group helps them to become “qualified Koreans” through their CSR programs. By constructing multicultural families as “unqualified,” the firms implicitly perpetuate an essentialist conception of Koreans.

Similarly, negative representations of the multicultural children were indirectly woven into their objectives of the programs. When firms introduce their programs targeting multicultural children, they also use verbal depictions with negative characteristics, such as “unfortunate children,” “socially weak,” “the marginalized,” “low-income families,” or “underprivileged members of society.” For instance, the Hana Financial Group assumed that multicultural children face difficulties and issues, such as “underachievement development and learning in language, identity confusion and maladaptation” (Hana Financial Group report 2012). The result is a corporate projection of certain multicultural family as “deficient” and “inferior” to the default Korean family. Although these programs are intended to help settlement of multicultural children, these reinforce the image of multicultural children as sympathetic victims, which further disempower them. Such a portrayal imposes stereotypes and controlling images that frame them as typically disempowered, which is linked to the paternalistic benign racial project. This would be different from a racist racial project, such as portrayals of multicultural families as inherently criminal, potential threats, or dangerous others.

Furthermore, firms portray female marriage migrants as those who came from “poor countries” or “underdeveloped Asian countries.” Collins (2009:7) introduces how the negative controlling images of African-American women are permeated throughout the social structure and keep them “in an assigned and subordinate place” to provide

ideological justifications for oppression. Similar to the patterns of oppressing Black women, the Korean firms create controlling images of Southeast Asian women as “vulnerable” and “backward.” Telecommunication services firms (e.g., KT Corp, SK telecom) offer IT training courses, such as how to use computers and software programs as well as cellphones/smartphones. KT Corp states that they help “multicultural families who may have difficulties accessing service in Korea, helping not only deal with issues regarding wired- and wireless services but also with their daily lives in Korea.” (KT Corp CSR report 2013:68). These services imply that firms conceive of female marriage migrants as “uncivilized” and not knowing how to use technology.

In addition, the banks (i.e., Hana Financial Group, KB Bank) also provide financial training and “basic education about the market economy and financial transactions” for female marriage migrants, on the premise that they lack financial knowledge (KB Bank report 2011:57). Such delineation denotes the “inferior” social status of female marriage migrants and contributes to shaping certain societal notions towards them as a socially stigmatized group. The Korean firms strategically created and maintained female marriage migrants’ social positions or “the space of symbolic position-takings” based on symbolic associations of them as “subordinate foreign wives.” Based on these cultural practices and expressions, multicultural programs legitimize racialization by creating social positions and symbolic spaces for racial groups.

Findings also reveal that labeling female marriage migrants and their children with the multicultural category may contribute to the dynamics of “othering.” Firms sometimes portray the multicultural children as a distinct ethnic “Other” to the majority Koreans, even when they are born and raised in Korea. Similar to the Western

construction of “Otherness,” portrayal of the multicultural families by elite firms in Korea contributes to shaping negative images of “them” as passive victims of patriarchy to maintain status quo. Due to a strong sense of ethnic homogeneity, multicultural children, who have Southeast Asian phenotype features, are identifiable by their visible phenotypical and physical traits such as darker skin, which marks them as “Other.” Multicultural children are categorized with foreigners or immigrants when firms introduce their programs. This implies that firms perceive multicultural children as not truly Koreans. By using the multicultural category, firms not only draw a clear line between who is Korean and who is not, but also reify the racial hierarchy between native Koreans and children who have Southeast Asian heritages, as well as immigrants from less developed countries. Through the benign paternalistic racist project, the multicultural category signifies foreignness that multicultural children are never as truly Korean. Overall, Multicultural programs legitimize the racial division between “Korean” and “non-Korean” groups.

A Cosmetic Approach to Multiculturalism

Although multiculturalism became increasingly popular type of CSR programs among Korean firms, their shallow approaches by way of corporate public relations further marginalize multicultural families without bringing fundamental changes. Firms expressed positive attitudes towards multiculturalism by presenting their objectives of multicultural programs as to create “a harmonious society” or “space for diverse neighbors to exist in harmony.” In contrast to their idealized visions, the way firms practice the programs is superficial and can be seen as window-dressing in the sake of

public appearances. Firms have four major types of programs—one-time event, education, job-training, and social integration. The most prominent type is one-time events and activities that best illustrate the surface-level cultural expressions to multiculturalism. This is shown mainly in two ways: 1) hosting events such as multicultural festivals, multicultural cooking contests and 2) material and financial donations and employee's volunteer activities.

First, firms engage in multiculturalism practices by hosting and sponsoring multicultural festivals exclusively for Southeast Asian countries such as “Korea-Vietnam Family Day” for multicultural families. The content of multicultural festival in the following quote shows that multiculturalism is perceived as “tasting” out other cultures.

KB Card sponsored “Filipino Day “and “Thailand Day” at a multicultural festival held in May 2011. The event consisted of a variety of programs including traditional dances of each country, a flower-decorated parade and a flea market that directly engaged the immigrants in planning to preparation stages. KB Card also set up a section at the festival site for children of multicultural families and migrant workers to enjoy balloon arts, face painting and photo-taking as well as share information among themselves.

(KB Financial Group CSR report 2011, p. 62)

This example illuminates that the firm supports multiculturalism by celebrating unique traditional customs, cultural dance, music, and food of different cultures to the Korean public. The cosmetic approach to multiculturalism not only objectifies cultural practices, but also oversimplifies other issues that multicultural families face.

Another event-type approach to multiculturalism was sponsoring female marriage migrants' visits to their home countries to give them a chance to reunite with their families. For example, Samsung Life Insurance has a program called ‘Support for Vietnamese Women Visiting their Country’ that sponsors round-trip airfares for

Vietnamese marriage migrants to visit their home country. The goal and outcome of this program is stated as, “[generating] positive results such as improving family relations of multicultural families and helping these families quickly adjust to Korean society” (Samsung Life CSR report 2015). Figure 5 shows an emotional reuniting moment of a Vietnamese female marriage and her mother in Vietnam. Although its intent is good, such a one-time trip is not adequate to bring about better adjustment to Korea permanently. Another unique one-time event that firms sponsor is a joint wedding ceremony for Korean men and foreign brides who cannot afford to host a wedding. Four firms (i.e., Hyundai Mobis, POSCO, Samsung Electronics, Woori Bank,) sponsor the joint wedding ceremonies, which are also similar to what the government and media sponsor. Other programs include hosting an orchestra, a sports team, and a two day-camp targeting multicultural children. These single-time events are repeatedly enacted throughout corporate multicultural programs.

Figure 5. One-time event focused programs



Support for Vietnamese Women Visiting their Country (Samsung Life Insurance CSR report 2011, p. 53)
 Joint Wedding for Multicultural Families (Woori Bank website)

Similar to one-time events, material donations and employees’ volunteering activities were predominant annual representations of supporting multiculturalism. Employees from the firms carry out volunteer activities such as “checkup and repair of old electricity facilities, meal service, wallpapering, bathing, cleaning, conversation and

mentoring” for multicultural families (KEPCO CSR report 2013:56). KB Bank also has a “Hope Box Delivery” program where employees deliver “hope boxes” containing daily necessities and food to multicultural family households (KB Bank CSR Report 2014). Other firms (i.e., Lotte Chemical, KT Corp, Woori Bank) also employ such a program, in particular, donating Korean food (e.g., Kimchi), briquettes, and books to multicultural families around the end of year and Christmas holiday seasons. In addition to material donations, other companies (i.e., KB Bank, LG Electronics, SK Holdings) provide an annual photo-shooting event for the multicultural family households in the local community. For instance, SK Holdings’ photo shooting event is described as:

We want to send smiles to our *neglected neighbors*- Photographs: *Taking family photographs with multicultural families* and North Korean settlers (38 people).
(SK Holdings CSR Report 2015, p. 43)

Such programs reflect that corporate multicultural programs are centered on one-time events. These symbolic practices seem to provide visual materials that showcase their engagement to multiculturalism.

Corporate approaches to multiculturalism through event-centered CSR programs illustrate the disparity between idealized visions and actual practices. Compared to their ambitious goals on achieving a harmonious society, content of programs reveals shallowness of corporate engagement of multiculturalism. Similarly, the Hana Financial Group’s their objectives imply that the multicultural program will systemically bring about long-term implications, what they practice on the ground through one-day multicultural festival seem shallow approach to multiculturalism. The following quote illuminates such gap:

They had precious experiences to *help them grow into excellent global human resources* by way of a five-day experience program that included *making*

traditional Korean masks... We have supported multicultural families by holding traditional food making events in which participants can make traditional food of various nations, providing support for the basic education of children of multicultural families, and donating sneakers.

(Hana Financial Group CSR Report 2014, p. 34)

Although their visions are educating multicultural children as “excellent global human resources”, what they practice through CSR programs is making traditional Korean masks or food. In a similar vein, Woori Bank explicitly states that they host “various events for foreigners to raise Bank’s image as a global leading bank” by hosting multicultural festivals for foreigners (Woori Bank Report 2011). My analysis suggests that corporate approach is more likely to showcase firms’ support for multiculturalism on the surface rather than genuine commitments to multiculturalism.

Seeing Multiculturalism with Globalization

By stressing firms’ presence of the multicultural family, many firms reveal that embracing multiculturalism is necessary in the globalized world. When firms illustrate visions of multicultural programs, they describe themselves with terms such as “globally respected company”, “global leading bank”, or “global corporate citizen.” Multicultural programs were often classified under the global social contribution section. The following quote illustrates compelling examples that demonstrate how firm link multiculturalism to global element.

In era of multiculturalist, the world needs global leaders who understand and respect the diversity with strong sense of global citizenship. With Korea Student Aid Foundation and the Center for Multi-cultural Education, Hana Financial Group holds various education programs that nurture the global talent to lead a multicultural society of the future and respect for the diversity.

(Hana Financial Group Website)

The statements above explain that these firms stress their roles as a global leader who respects diversity and multiculturalism by providing multicultural education programs to maintain global citizenship. KT Corp also reveals similar purpose as illustrated in the following quotes:

Key activities of UCC include promoting the reunion of about 400 *Vietnamese in multi-cultural families* using KT's IT technology and providing medical service free of cost; we execute activities in both Korea and *Vietnam* assisting the prompt *assimilation of immigrant females into the Korean society while advancing the status of Korean companies in the world.* (KT Corp CSR Report 2016, p. 77)

The statement emphasizes that the firm portray itself as a world-class corporation arguing that such programs can enhance the status of Korean companies and their brand values in the international community. Additionally, firms rationalize that they need to help the multicultural families to comply with principles with International Organizations (IOs).

The following is also illustrative on globalization theme, revealing how the KT Corp has come to under pressure from the world system.

Approach to Sustainability KT was selected as a *Global Super sector Leader* in 2012 for two years in a row...The company will focus on ensuring that children in low-income families, people with disabilities, and *multicultural families* do not feel alienated, and also focus on alleviating social tensions. *KT will act as a global CSR leader by planning activities to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and by complying with the ten principles of the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC).* (KT Corp CSR Report 2013, p. 29)

This compelling quote reveals that the firm reflects the value of multiculturalism suggested by IOs such as UNGC. In its visions of multiculturalism, the KT Corp emphasizes that they have implemented multicultural programs to comply with IOs.

These findings indicate that most firms linked multiculturalism with a global trend.

In addition to stressing firms' presence of multiculturalism to the world, other positive descriptions of multiculturalism are linked to global capitalism. Firms argue that embracing multiculturalism is necessary in the globalized world to benefit Korean economy. The multicultural children are discussed as potential assets in the global market and trade, who can benefit the Korean market and enhance international competitiveness. On the one hand, multicultural children were portrayed as "other" and "marginalized." On the other hand, firms implicitly reveal that multicultural children as neoliberal objects that contribute to Korea's global market needs.

Firms emphasize that these children can benefit Korean society if their bilingual capability is developed through bilingual education offered by their CSR programs. This neoliberal dynamic was particularly evident in the CSR discussion of the importance of the instrumental value of programs on bilingual education.

if Korean is well taught and native language of immigrant women is well used, this could open an opportunity to raise multicultural children with global competitiveness and sensitivity. As POSCO saw this potential in them, it runs multi-lingual language education programs in partnership with Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Center...It also trains migrant wives as bilingual instructors which add even more new jobs to the society. Through these bilingual education courses and training programs multicultural children grows up to become a global talent and immigrant wives establishes themselves as teachers who could teach both culture and language. (POSCO CSR Report 2013, p. 121)

In the statements above, we see that firms emphasize the importance of multilingual capabilities both in Koreans and native languages of their mothers within multicultural children. From an instrumental perspective, firms attempt to develop certain types of citizens.

Hana Kids of Asia evolved as HFG's leading teenager support program to assist *children from multicultural families* in establishing a healthy identity and *developing as globally-competent talent...*this program provided language

education and summer camp curriculum to *help these children understand their mother's home country* and Korean culture. In so doing, we ensure that *these children turn their multi-cultural background into their own strengths and grow into global talent with a balanced and [holistic] character...* We cooperate with the Korea Student Aid Foundation to provide scholarships to *100 students from multi-cultural and North Korean defector families to nurture them into talented contributors to the global multicultural community.*

(Hana Financial Group CSR Report 2015, p. 54)

The aforementioned quotes highlight how multicultural children are framed as commodities that can be cultivated to embody “globally competent citizens.” Against the backdrop of global capitalism, many firms emphasize the importance of bilingual education of multicultural children in the service of market imperatives.

Another way to frame multicultural children is their role as a mediator. By introducing ambitious visions of bilingual programs such as “With the goal of cultivating children from multicultural families” “multilingual capacity-building programs” and “Supporting Multilingual Capacity of the Children from Multicultural Families”, firms stress the role of multicultural children as a mediator that bridges Korea and their mother’s country (KEPCO CSR Report 2016). The firm implicitly illustrates corporate interest over multicultural children in the global market. Once again, firms see developing multilingual capabilities among multicultural children as globally competent talent.

Discussion

Factors Affecting Legitimacy of Multiculturalism: Global Pressure

In the late 2000s, all 30 firms have voluntarily adopted CSR programs featuring multiculturalism with strikingly similar targets, visions, and contents. Why have Korean firms increasingly adopted multicultural programs around the same time? What were the

conditions that led to this enactment across these firms? International trends and national interests over multiculturalism may have come together and led to the legitimatization of certain construction of the multiculturalism in Korea.

Ideas of world-society and institutional isomorphism theory (Meyer et al. 1997; Meyer 2010; Elliot 2014) suggest that international pressure may have caused the sudden emergence of multicultural programs among Korean firms. Organizations rhetorically and symbolically adopt certain types of norms and practices based on their beliefs about what constitutes a "good" organization to maintain legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan 1977; DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991; Schultz and Wehmeier 2010). Within the rise of democratization, international criteria emerged on how to become a "modern" and "developed" nation-state to promote multiculturalism as a nation-building project (Telles 2014). International bodies such as UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UDCD) and Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) provide globalized instruction on human rights and diversity as well as globalized models on sustainability development for modern organization. International human rights norms established standardized purposes and practices of multiculturalism (Kymlicka 2013).

Given the fact that Korea has a strong sense of ethnocentric nationalism within globalization, Korea confronted international criticism over discrimination against migrants as well as ethnic and racial minorities. The sudden emergence of immigration within the long-standing myths about "Korean ethnicity" caused tensions and visible issues relating to human rights among newcomers within society, including discriminatory social practices, domestic violence, and sexual abuse of female marriage migrants. For example, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial

Discrimination (UNCERD) Special Rapporteur on racism, Mutuma Ruteere, criticized Korea for having serious problems, including verbal abuse concerning ethnic homogeneity and a racist discriminatory exploitation (Ruteere 2015). He urged Korea to stop using racist terms that indicate blood-based identity such as “mixed-blood” and “pure-blood.” He also encouraged Korea to increase awareness of racial inequalities by implementing multicultural policies. With respect to the process of globalization, Korea’s rhetoric of national identity has recently changed from a “one-ethnicity” myths to a “multicultural Korea” mainly by the powerful institutions (Shin 2006).

Leading actors in Korea have increasingly come out in favor of multiculturalism and actively adopted multicultural programs (NHJ. Kim 2009). Under the global culture to be morally and politically correct regarding human rights norms, it is telling that this only occurred after international pressure on Korea to abandon essentialist discourses. Aligned with the world-culture, governmental policies and programs on multiculturalism potentially shape the way firms engage in multiculturalism. Most firms implemented CSR programs after the Korean government enacted the Support for Multicultural Family Act in 2008. The content of CSR programs relating to multiculturalism were strikingly similar to the governmental programs. CSR programs have joint programs and partnership with governmental agencies (e.g., Ministry of Gender Equality and Families, Seoul Metropolitan, Support for Multicultural Family Center).

Factors Affecting Legitimacy of Multiculturalism: National Interests

In addition to global pressure, the Korean state’s interests over female marriage migrants can also help explain the sudden increase of multicultural programs. It is

important to ask why multicultural families have become central of the governmental framing of multicultural discourse in Korea. Concerning Korea's demographic crisis such as a low-birthrate and an ageing population, the state attempts to create certain types of citizens by constructing marriage migrant citizenship that is ethnicized and gendered (SK. Kim 2015).

Using an intersectionality perspective, Glenn (2002) argues how American citizenship and labor is simultaneously constructed based on race and gender, illustrating the inseparableness of race and gender categories. This means the construction of citizenship implies how racial groups are gendered and gender groups are racialized . The Korean construction of multiculturalism and citizenship of marriage migrants is highly related to the intersectionality of gender and specific ethnicities. As an example of how the state sees women as biological and cultural reproducers to meet population demand, childbirth, and childrearing (Skocpol 1995, Yuval-Davis 1989, 2012), in Korea, the state-based marriage migration programs reveal the state's pro-natalist efforts to balance an aging population structure (Freeman 2011). By constructing "ethnicized maternal citizenship" (MJ. Kim 2013), the Korean state particularly emphasizes reproductive roles of female marriage migrants and their mothering responsibilities (Cheng and Choo 2015).

As Korean women seek higher education and employment in urban areas, their social status increased alongside trends in urbanization (Lee H 2012). In contrast, newly arrived female marriage migrants living in rural areas are increasingly filling these vacancies left by Korean women. They are taking traditional roles as mothers and wives to maintain a patriarchal system and fit in with Korean notions of womanhood such as providing care. Southeast Asian women are particularly ideal candidates to assimilate to

the Korean patriarchy because of their similar cultural background and gender norms. Overall, global pressure created by international bodies encouraged the Korean state and leading actors to diffuse international norms on multiculturalism through a particular model of multicultural CSR programs. In addition, Korea's national interests promoted a definition of multiculturalism that specifically refer to female marriage migrants in an effort to solve low-fertility rate within the nation. This combination of international pressure and domestic interests resulted in a burgeoning of highly similar multicultural programs across these firms.

Conclusions

This study has analyzed how Korean business firms represent multiculturalism in their CSR programs. In the face of new immigration dynamics, significant national actors such as elite firms, state, and media attempted to rebuild a new image of national identity using a multicultural rhetoric. In particular, CSR programs featuring multiculturalism have become taken-for-granted practices within the Korean corporate field since the late 2000s. However, their narratives raise questions about what it means to be multicultural. To explore corporate discourse of multiculturalism, I asked the following questions: How is the idea of multiculturalism represented, framed, and carried out in their CSR programs? Who is included as 'multicultural' in these programs? What racial meanings do these programs convey in the Korean context?

Findings suggest that the multicultural discourse employed by these firms imposes particular racialized and gendered meanings that rationalize and reify status hierarchies. By only referring to one group, elite firms' definitions of multiculturalism

were focused narrowly on female marriage migrants. Through objectification of female marriage migrants as “Other,” the multicultural programs embody traditional paternalism that reflects deep-seated gendered norms of what ideal Korean women should be.

Viewed through the lens of a racial project, shared representations of multicultural families by these firms converge on the assumption of foreignness. Corporate portrayals reinforce the binary racial division between "Koreans" and "Non-Koreans", which can enhance the belief that multicultural groups are fundamentally different than Koreans. Regardless of positive portrayals of multiculturalism, multicultural programs reflect a deeper prejudice that may be contributing to the process of “othering” and racializing in the national imaginary. The racial ideologies that were implicitly encoded and rearticulated in texts and images of the multicultural programs marginalize multicultural families. Firms often project images of multicultural families as somewhat deficient and inferior, while Korean families indicate superiority. Firms imposed stereotypical images of multicultural families as “helpless victims” and implicitly located them in the bottom of social hierarchies, which legitimates the paternalistic benign racial project. Corporate representations continue to shape images of the multicultural family as a symbolic subordination and a social stigma in Korean society regardless of their good intentions. Thus, the simultaneous embrace of multicultural families and the definitions of them as “different” and “less-civilized” could paradoxically contribute to the sharp boundaries of citizenship and membership in the Korean nation state and global landscape. Implementing multicultural practices through CSR programs may largely be seen as a effective public relations window-dressing function that conforms to the rest elite firms and the national and international trends of multiculturalism.

International pressure as well as the Korean state's interests over female marriage migrants may have come together and led to the sudden institutionalization of multicultural programs among the elite firms. As "pure Korean race" ideology became controversial in the eyes of world-society, the international community also urged the Korean state to implement multicultural policies. Analysis of firms' shallow approaches to multiculturalism suggests that their strategic choice to implement one-time event centered and short-term initiatives was a relatively easy way to display "good corporate governance" to the world. Sudden implementation of multicultural practices might be deemed to be more "politically correct" than making fundamental structural changes that would change the status hierarchy. Overall, elite corporate leaders in Korea have used the multicultural rhetoric in a strategic way to shape social structures and daily lives based on racial meanings. Regardless of good intent, corporate representations of multiculturalism in CSR programs appear to naturalize and legitimize racial dynamics in Korea. Firms' explicit commitments to multiculturalism may support inclusiveness only on the surface-level, and in fact can ironically and simultaneously create and obscure racial hierarchies in Korea.

Implications and Future Studies

This study has several implications for scholars researching multiculturalism, racial projects, and globalization. CSR programs by the elite firms in Korea demonstrate a unique definition and approach to multiculturalism. The recent construction of multiculturalism is fundamentally shaped by external factors such as global pressure imposed by the international bodies as well as national interests over female marriage

migrants to solve demographic crisis. Corporate portrayals are important to look at as elite firms have a great impact on shaping racialized and gendered hierarchies in the public sector. However, this study did not explore impacts of CSR programs on multiculturalism in reality. Future studies should explore efficacy of multicultural programs to examine how CSR programs stated in the corporate documents are performed on the ground by interviewing participants of the programs (i.e., multicultural families) Additionally, beyond qualitative content analysis of corporate reports, conducting interviews with CSR representatives from each firm will further examine corporate understanding of multiculturalism. Future studies can also conduct comparative studies with other East Asian countries (e.g., Japan, Taiwan, Singapore) where they have experienced similar phenomenon of influx of female marriage migrants. It will be important to see how firms from these countries engage in multiculturalism, and how their definitions and interpretation are similar or different from one another.

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Appendix A: Table 5. Codebook Coding Categories

CODES	DESCRIPTIONS	EXAMPLES	FREQUENCY
TARGETS			
Multicultural Families	targets multicultural family/families, which female marriage migrants & their children	"SFG also conducts financial education for other various stakeholders, including multi-cultural families, North Korean defectors and lower classes households, as well as immigrant women from multi-cultural families"	220
Female marriage migrants	targets female marriage migrants/ foreign brides/ migrant women of multicultural families	"On top of helping married immigrant women adjust to life in Korea, the program addresses the unique needs of children growing up in multicultural families." "mentoring of migrant women in multicultural families and activities of its own development"	54
Multicultural children	targets children of multicultural family	"program for the development of bilingualism of children of Vietnamese multicultural families and the establishment of sound identities"	114
Migrant workers & their families	targets migrant workers/guest workers/foreign workers	"provide insurance against injuries, home travel and visa expenses to foreign workers who are in need of further protection"	52

Immigrants/foreigners	targets immigrants and foreigners (two words always come together)	"guide immigrants on how to use a smartphone"	3
Racialized/ Ethnicized	targets individuals' specific national origins by mentioning nationality		
Asia	only targets multicultural families from Asian countries	"the children of multicultural families to become bridges between Korea and their parents' countries, as well as growing into leaders in Asia."	35
Southeast Asia	only targets multicultural family from Southeast Asian countries	"women from countries such as Vietnam, Thailand, and Cambodia are working for the Café Oasis,"	28
VISIONS			
Benign paternalistic racial project "Othering" & marginalizing	portrays multicultural family as "others" and implies perceived differences that the multicultural category is "non-Korean" portrays with negative framing and sympathetic views (e.g., socially vulnerable, disadvantaged, unprivileged, marginalized)	"Multicultural Community Support" programs that create bases on which multicultural families and migrant workers can build self-supporting lives ...and to help multicultural families in Korea and their children establish themselves as qualified members of our society"	53
Globalization	represents multiculturalism as an essential element of globalization emphasizing firm's role as a global leader	"We took part in and supported various events for foreigners to raise the Bank's image as a global leading bank"	52
Potential assets	describes the 'multicultural category' as a source of economic development as potential assets in the neoliberal world	"Supporting Multilingual Capacity of the Children from Multicultural Families With the goal of cultivating children	13

		from multicultural families as the bridge that connect Korea with their mother country "	
PROGRAMS			
Cosmetic multiculturalism	a cosmetic approach to multiculturalism, including one-time events and donations		228
One-time events	one-time event focused activities such as multicultural festivals, sponsoring joint weddings, sponsoring female marriage migrants' trip to homelands, hosting orchestra composed of multicultural children, kimchi-making class	"KB Card sponsored "Filipino Day "and "Thailand Day" at a multicultural festival "	170
Material/ financial donations	daily necessities, food, books, and other materials through employees' volunteer activities	"providing support for the basic education of children of multicultural families, and donating sneakers."	58
Social integration			57
Education/ mentoring	offering Korean language and cultural classes for multicultural children or female marriage migrants scholarship	"Multi-Cultural Housewife Scholarships' to foster the talent of women from multi-cultural families."	41
Job training/ hiring	offering job training or hiring	"Increase awareness through holding forums on multicultural families as well as job fairs for multicultural women Support projects which create jobs for women marriage immigrants"	16