

IMAGES OF LIFE AND LEARNING—A POSTMODERN QUALITATIVE STUDY OF
FIVE KOREAN PEOPLE’S PUBLISHED ORAL HISTORY

by

DAE JOONG KANG

(Under the Direction of Sharan B. Merriam)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand the influence of the socio-cultural-historical context on learning as it contributes to the construction of people’s lives. In particular, this study examined how the 20th century Korean socio-cultural-historical context and the lifelong learning of Korean people co-construct one another. The following research questions guided the study:

(1) What are the patterns of learning activities among the people? (2) What was the socio-cultural-historical context that influenced their life and learning? (3) How did the patterns of learning activities emerge in conjunction with the socio-cultural-historical context?

This study analyzed five narratives from the Korean People’s Oral History Series published by the Deep-Rooted Publishing House in Korea. The Series contains life narratives of twenty Korean people who were born between 1898 and 1926. I selected five for this study—Ki-nam (book three, Jangu drummer), Na-sop (book seven, onggi potter), So-shim (book nine, Kanggangsullae performer), Myong-hwan (book eleven, pansori drummer), and Tong-jong-wol (book fifteen, Kayageum player). I used postmodern content analysis that I developed through a critique of various content analysis methods. Postmodern content analysis is concerned with two different kinds of data—source data and assembling data. By using reading and writing as a

method of inquiry, I took assembling data notes and analysis notes while I was reading the source data. Repeated readings and writings evolved into findings.

Findings were presented in the form of essay. The first four essays presented four different figurations of lifelong learning—escaping, creating, controlling, and formalizing. They are the patterns of learning activities. The influences of the Korean socio-cultural-historical context were described in each figuration essay. The figuration essays had different styles and are composed as interrogative text. The fifth essay described the sameness and differences of the four figurations among the five people to show multiple emergences of learning activities.

The findings of this study were discussed in terms of how they contribute to producing different images of the learner. Images of the learner out of figurations were compared with images of the learner out of adult learning theories—escaping (community of practice), creating (informal learning), controlling (transformational learning, experiential learning), and formalizing (informal learning).

INDEX WORDS: Adult Learning, Lifelong Learning, Postmodernism, Qualitative Research Method, Content Analysis, South Korea, Oral History, Art and Craft, Art Learning.

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DAE JOONG KANG

B.A., Seoul National University, Korea, 1997

M.A., Seoul National University, Korea, 2002

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by

DAE JOONG KANG

Major Professor: Sharan B. Merriam

Committee: Bradley C. Courtenay
Robert J. Hill
Elizabeth A. St. Pierre

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2006

DEDICATION

To my mother, Hee Sook Eom,

To my wife, Dong Jin Kim, and

To my daughter, Eunhye Kang.

Three generations of women who enabled me to mark the end of this study.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the North American adult education tradition from Lindeman (1926) and Knowles (1980), learning is considered as a lifelong quest embedded in everyday experience. Lindeman (1926) declared, “the whole of life is learning” (p. 6) and “experience is the adult learner’s living textbook” (p. 10). Knowles’s andragogy, which is defined as the art and science of helping adults learn, also emphasized the role of experience and life situations. The growing reservoir of experience, which adults accumulate in their lives, is a rich resource for learning. Adult learning is closely related to the developmental tasks and application of knowledge to problem situations (Knowles, 1970, 1980). Theory building on learning in adult education, therefore, has been spinning around the questions of how and where adult learners process their experience. These two questions have enabled adult educators to explore the adult learning process and contexts.

Exploration of the questions of how adult learners process their experience leads the adult learning research to the inner process of learning. Kolb’s (1984) experiential learning theory and Mezirow’s (1990, 1991, 2000) transformative learning theory are the dominant explanations of adult learning process in the field. Kolb (1984) defines learning as “a process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience” (p. 38). Mezirow (1990) similarly defines learning as “the process of making a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of an experience, which guides subsequent understanding, appreciation, and action” (p. 1). Both definitions emphasize the importance of experience and knowledge as outcomes of learning. Learning is understood as a process of making meaning and producing knowledge from

life experience. Reflection is considered to be at its core. Therefore, in adult learning research, much attention has been given to identifying the nature of reflection as well as promoting it in the learning process (Boud, Cohen, & Walker, 1993; Boud, Keogh, & Walker, 1985; Boud & Miller, 1996; Cranton, 1997; Jarvis, 1987, 1992; Schön, 1983, 1987, 1991). Understanding learning as an inner process also has been expanded in that overdependence on rationality has been criticized and the role of extra-rationality, such as bodily feeling, emotion, and spirituality, has become more visible (Dirkx, 1997; Merriam, 2001; Michelson, 1998; Taylor, 1997).

An exploration of the question of where adult learners process their experience has shaped a diverse research agenda. One direction is the conceptual mapping of adult learning situations – formal, nonformal, and informal learning situations (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974; Jarvis, 1987; La Belle, 1982; Marsick & Watkins, 1990; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999; Mocker & Spear, 1982). Though this categorization is widely acknowledged, it is very hard to draw clear lines among the three types in real learning situations. For example, Marsick and Watkins (1990) do not consider nonformal learning situations. In contrast, La Belle (1982) elaborated the three types into nine different situations based upon the idea that both educational mode and characteristics can be formal, nonformal, and informal; for example, the formal education mode has formal, nonformal, and informal characteristics.

Another direction is an interest in the analysis of context in which learners reside. The emphasis on the situated nature of learning, has led to a criticism of Knowles's andragogy which describes the learner separated from the social, political, economic, cultural, and historical context (Davenport, 1987; Grace, 1996; Pratt, 1993; Savicevic, 1999; Sheard, 1996). Situated learning theory assumes that experience as a source of learning is always embedded in situations and learning is a legitimate peripheral participation process to the communities of practice (Lave,

1988; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). This perspective, which primarily views learning as social practice, contrasts with the traditional adult learning theories based on psychological reasoning. Furthermore, critical adult educators noted that learning is a contextual activity and ideologically or culturally dominant groups oppress the poor, powerless, and minorities by imposing implicit and explicit norms in learning. Therefore, transforming the unjust social relations by empowering learners is one of the core values in the field (Freire, 1970; M. U. Hart, 1990; Holst, 2002; Horton, Bell, Gaventa, & Peters, 1990; Tisdell, 1998).

From the above brief overview, two paradigms of inquiry can be discerned with regard to understanding and theory building on learning and experience: learning from experience and learning in/with experience. The former mainly views learning from the psychological perspective, while the latter approach is from a sociological perspective. In other words, the former is based on humanistic psychology, while the latter is grounded in critical social theory (Tennant, 1998). The former is more interested in an individual learner and learning process while the latter concerns the context of the learner and learning. The former has dominated the field with the latter perspective emerging in the 1980s in North American adult education research (Rubenson, 1989).

In spite of some differences, both paradigms share the common assumption that the learner and experience are in separate domains and reflection mediates both. The paradigm of learning from experience assumes that an autonomous learner can reflect on experience. The learner can make meaning, produce knowledge, solve problems, and fulfill self-realization. The paradigm of learning in/with experience assumes a socially constructed learner who internalizes socio-culturally structured knowledge and meaning. When the learner internalizes socio-culturally biased consciousness, adult educators can help or empower the learner to critically

reflect and act on it. Both of the paradigms take it for granted that experience situated in the context can exist independently from the learner. Without reflection, experience has nothing to do with learning; learning does not happen at all.

This assumption has been challenged. Michelson (1996a, 1996b, 1998, 1999) argued that a distinction between experience and reflection is based on Enlightenment philosophy. She pointed out that valorizing reflection privileged a certain way of learning, which is a middle-class, White, male style learning, while other forms of learning, for example women's embodied learning (Dalmiya & Alcoff, 1993), were treated as unreliable.

The writers who are infused with postmodernism extensively criticize the assumption that the learner and experience are in separate domains (Edwards, 1994; Edwards & Usher, 1998; Johnston & Usher, 1997; Tennant, 1998; Usher, 1989; Usher, Bryant, & Johnston, 1997; West, 1998). They argue that the distinction between the learner, experience, and reflection is ambiguous, unclear, and unsettled. Their way of critiquing is to deconstruct and reconstruct the language because experience is made intelligible through language to the learner. Usher (1989) argued:

Language is neither a mirror of reality nor merely a tool for understanding it but constitutes the experience of reality. Reality does not stand outside language and guarantee it with prior meanings, that is to say, it does not contain intrinsic meanings which language merely reflects. Language and within language discourses contain the meaning which allow us to interpret reality and thus our experience. (p. 29)

Postmodern critique on language reveals that the sign of language (the signifier) cannot hold the object of language (the signified). The meaning, therefore, is always local and time specific. It is temporarily fixed and always reinscribed. There is no universal or eternal meaning;

rather, it is always already deferred (Derrida, 1967/1997). The postmodern adult education writers question the concept of experience, reflection, and the learner. Like Michelson, they point out that traditional adult learning theory treats the concepts to privilege a particular way of thought that is based on the Enlightenment philosophy of the Western culture.

The Enlightenment philosophy is associated with the notion that views the learner as a unitary self. Kramnick (1995) summarized the Enlightenment viewpoint on a self as based on the belief on unassisted human reason, true perfection of humankind, and a radical individualism. This stable and fixed self can develop rational scientific laws through the scientific method of experiment and empirical observation. However, this notion of unitary self is also disputed (Clark, 1999; Clark & Dirkx, 2000; Tennant, 1998). As Clark and Dirkx (2000) argued, “the self is understood as never fixed but always in process” and “[the] personal identity is not singular but plural” (p. 109). The learner is a non-unitary self and has a multiplicity of self positioning in various situations.

Tennant (1998) identified the problem as being rooted in the binary opposition or dualism between the “individual” and “society.” Postmodernists try to overthrow the binary oppositions because “one of the two terms controls the other... [and] holds the superior position” (Spivak, 1997, p. lxxvii). Tennant (1998) similarly argued that simply viewing learning as an interaction between “individual” and “society” cannot escape the dualism and “*invariably privilege[s] one term over the other* [italics included]” (p. 368). He suggested the solution from the postmodern perspective:

A unique aspect of postmodernism has been its development of a way of theorizing subjectivity which is not reliant on this individual-society dualism. It does so by reconceptualizing and renaming the terms of the dualism, so that ‘individual’ and

‘society’ are replaced by the concepts of ‘the subject’ and ‘the social,’ which are understood as *produced* [italics included] rather than as pre-given and then interacting. (p. 368)

The notion of the learner (the self, the individual, the subject) and experience (the context, the society, the social) as producing each other and co-emerging is also suggested by Fenwick (2000, 2001, 2003). Informed by an ecological theory of learning (Maturana & Varela, 1992; Varela, Thompson, & Rosch, 1993), Fenwick argues that the learner and the context are inseparable; they are located in the complex adaptive system. The learner changes as he or she learns to cope with new disturbing situations; as a result of learning, as the learner’s action changes, so does the learner’s situations and his or her sense of the situations. The learner and the context are emerging together. It is not a one-way phenomenon.

These critiques suggest that we need to change a set of questions from “how and where does the learner process experience?” to “what lifelong learning activities in the socio-cultural-historical context function in what ways in constructing the learner’s life?” The lifelong learning activities occur and can be observed on the surface where the learner and the socio-cultural-historical context engage. By changing the question, we can explore the way to bridge the dichotomy between the learner and the context. The new question enables us to describe the multiplicity of learning, the learner, and experience in socio-cultural-historical context.

Problem Statement

Human beings have left traces of themselves behind. Whether they are materials, ideas, relations, or whatever, we follow and share the traces that are given to us by the former generations. We label the traces with various names, such as culture, heritage, history, contexts, institutions, discourses, or communities. From birth to death, human beings continuously

participate in those traces in everyday life. Also, we create new traces which we leave behind us. Human beings are creators of the world in that the world handed down to us is not the same world that we will pass over to the next generation. We were born in, live with, and will die into these societal traces.

These activities of participation and creation can be defined as learning that we are destined to do as human beings. It is a lifelong journey. In everyday life, human beings continuously struggle to gain the means for sustaining their lives, make meaning out of experience, create a difference in the world, and become an authentic being in the world. We are produced in the socio-cultural-historical context in that learning is conditioned, mediated, and shaped by the socio-cultural-historical context within which our activities of learning are situated. At the same time, we proactively embrace, modify, resist, block, distort, or transform the socio-cultural-historical context in our lifelong learning activities. We are social, cultural, historical, and personal at the same time. It is a multiple and complex phenomena.

To describe and understand the phenomena in our daily life is not easy as Clark and Dirks (2000) acknowledged: “We have not been able to find a clearer way to describe how multiplicity is experienced in practice” (p. 114). Traditional learning theories, as were reviewed previously, prioritize either the individual or the context. This study aims to deny this dichotomy and explore another way of understanding learning in people’s life. This is similar with Caffarella and Merriam’s (2000) argument that we need to consider two perspectives, the individual and the context, at the same time in understanding learning. For this purpose, this study will use a published oral history document. Using the document allows the researcher to observe the phenomena more comprehensively in that the researcher can historicize the document. It means the researcher can dialogue with the document itself as well as the

background of it by using other historical resources. Also, using the oral history document can provide means with which to examine lifelong learning.

This study will use the *Korean People's Oral History Series* published by the *Deep-Rooted Publishing House* in South Korea. The data contains life narratives of twenty Korean people who were born between 1898 and 1926. They were interviewed primarily in the late 1980s or early 1990s mainly by the publishing company's reporters. Each person's narrative of life, love, and work is presented in about 120-160 pages of transcripts. Most of the interviewees were from the lower class and had little formal education. Many of their vocations or roles were vanishing ones in the modernized Korean society: a traditional carpenter, a traveling peddler, a traditional weaver, a traditional pottery maker, a female shaman, and a slash-and-burn farmer's wife. Some of them were designated as National Intangible Cultural Assets for their traditional Korean art skills.

The purpose of this study is to understand the influence of the socio-cultural-historical context on learning as it contributes to the construction of people's lives. In particular, this study will examine how 20th century Korean socio-cultural-historical context and the lifelong learning of Korean people co-construct one another. The research questions are: (1) What are the patterns of learning activities among the people? (2) What was the socio-cultural-historical context that influenced their life and learning? (3) How did the patterns of learning activities emerge in conjunction with the socio-cultural-historical context?

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the theoretical understanding of adult learning, especially in terms of informal learning, situated learning, lifelong learning, and experiential learning. These areas of research have shown the different aspects of adult learning. This study's examination of

what lifelong learning activities in the socio-cultural-historical context function in what ways in constructing the learner's life will help us understand adult learning more inclusively. Analyzing life history data from the learning perspective will enhance the understanding of how learners and their life context shape each other in the lifelong learning process. It may improve adult educators' practice by providing another way of understanding the learner.

Analyzing the data source, the *Korean People's Oral History Series* from the learning perspective will enhance the understanding of the data source. Many linguists and sociologists have been interested in the data source which contains vanishing Korean dialect and vivid description of lower class people's life. This study can shed a new light on the data source by acknowledging the lifelong learning activities of interviewees of the data source. In doing so, this study will help Korean people to read the data source from a different viewpoint. It also will provide insight to non-Koreans into Korean people, culture, and their ways of learning.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this study is to understand the influence of the socio-cultural-historical context on learning as it contributes to the construction of people's lives. In particular, this study will examine how 20th century Korean socio-cultural-historical context and the lifelong learning of Korean people co-construct one another. The research questions are: (1) What are the patterns of learning activities among the people? (2) What was the socio-cultural-historical context that influenced their life and learning? (3) How did the patterns of learning activities emerge in conjunction with the socio-cultural-historical context?

Since the works of Dewey (1938/1998) and Knowles (1970, 1980), adult educators have considered experience as a legitimate source of learning. Learning can hardly be described without experience. Informal learning, learning from experience, extra-rationality in learning, and learning in cultural context are the phrases that describe the articulation of the close relationship between learning and experience. In this chapter, I will review the above four descriptions that are closely related to the purpose and questions of this study. The interviewees of the source data, the *Korean People's Oral History Series* published by the *Deep-Rooted Tree Publishing House*, rarely had formal education experience; the interviewees reflected on their life experiences; the narrative representation of reflection involves emotion and spirituality; and the interviewees and their experiences were situated in and framed by the socio-cultural-historical context. The discussion of these four descriptions involves various learning theories such as experiential learning, transformative learning, situated learning, somatic learning,

informal learning, and so on. At the end of this chapter, I will include a brief Korean history section in order to help the reader to understand the context of the source data more easily.

Informal Learning

The typology of formal, nonformal, and informal learning is frequently used to describe learning situations in adult education (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974; Jarvis, 1987; La Belle, 1982; Marsick & Watkins, 1990; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999; Mocker & Spear, 1982). Coombs and Ahmed (1974) define formal situations as school classroom environments, and nonformal situations as organized, systematic, educational activities outside of formal situations. They consider informal situations as individualistic learning situations such as learning from the media. Similarly, Jarvis (1987) views this typology in terms of how individual learners interact with different types of social groups. He explains that “formal situations are bureaucratic, nonformal [ones] are organized but not necessarily in a bureaucratic environment and informal situations are ones where there are no pre-specified although there are always covert, procedures of interaction” (p. 70).

The above categorization is widely acknowledged and elaborated. La Belle (1982) proposed nine different learning situations based upon the idea that both educational mode and characteristics can be formal, nonformal, and informal. For example, formal education mode has three different characteristics—formal, nonformal, and informal. All three modes have three characteristics. However, it is very hard to draw clear lines between them in real learning situations. From a workplace learning context, Marsick and Watkins (1990) raise a question about the category of nonformal situations. They argue that nonformal situations reflect the limited accessibility to formal educational systems in developing countries. They point out, “nonformal education often connotes an informal, highly participatory learning design” (p. 32).

Their argument is well aligned with the assumption of Malcolm Knowles's 1950 book, *Informal Adult Education*. In this book, Knowles did not take nonformal situations into account and seems to define an informal learning situation as every possible learning opportunity after formal education ends. There are only formal and informal modes of adult learning. Knowles (1950) argued:

It would not be an informal course if the purpose was to grant credits toward a diploma or degree; it would then be an academic course. At the other extreme, it would not be an informal course, if it had no educational objective at all; it would then be a recreation activity. (p. 84)

Knowles's concept of informal situations is close to Coombs and Ahmed's (1974) or Jarvis's (1987) conceptions of nonformal situations. Knowles differentiates informal situations from forums, lecture series, clubs, and other forms of adult education. He defines informal situations based on a definite enrollment, the same leader or facilitator, and an educational objective.

Marsick and Watkins (1990), like Knowles (1950), discuss nonformal situations as informal learning situations. Marsick and Watkins (1990) consider formal learning as institutionally sponsored, classroom-based, and highly structured learning situations which may or may not be related to a degree or diploma. They define informal learning very broadly. It differs from formal learning by the degree of control exercised by a learner, a location which is outside of classroom settings, and the predictability of outcome. They introduce the concept of incidental learning as a subset of informal learning. Incidental learning is unintentional and a byproduct of other activities such as task accomplishment, interpersonal relationships, and mistakes. In contrast, informal learning can be planned and intentionally pursued. Self-directed

learning is considered an example of informal learning along with mentoring, coaching, and networking.

Unlike Marsick and Watkins (1990), Mocker and Spear (1982) add self-directed situations as an independent category to the typology of formal, nonformal, and informal situations. They assume that lifelong learning should be based on the locus of control for making decisions about the goals and means of learning. They operationally develop a two-by-two matrix of learner and institution to identify four situations of learning: formal situations where learners have little control over the objectives or means of learning; nonformal situation where learners control the objectives but not the means of learning; informal situations where learners control the means but not the objectives of learning; and self-directed situation where learners control both the objectives and means of learning. Their distinction is problematic since it is not easy to determine when the decision about the goals and means of learning is made. The autonomous learner can decide to control the goals and means at any time in their learning process. Therefore, self-directed situations can be found to a certain extent within the other three situations.

Merriam and Caffarella (1999) elaborate on the typology and include formal institutional settings, nonformal settings, and informal or self-directed contexts. Merriam and Caffarella consider self-directed situations like Mocker and Spear (1982), but they do not clearly separate them from informal situations. According to Merriam and Caffarella, formal institutional settings refer to the learning situations in establishments or organizations. Nonformal settings include community-based learning opportunities or indigenous learning. Finally, they view informal or self-directed contexts as situations where learning occurs in the learner's natural setting and is initiated and carried out by the learner. This form of learning is "very common in adult life....

[but] is not recognized by many adults, or even some educators of adults, as ‘real learning’” (p. 33). This is very similar to the argument of Knowles (1950): “Informal adult education is a movement so vast and so formless that large numbers of people engaged in it do not realize that is what they are doing” (p. vii). Merriam and Caffarella also point out that an informal or self-directed way of learning is used as a method of instruction in formal and nonformal settings.

From the discussions about the typology of learning situations, it is clear that adult learning research embraced a relatively unstructured or unmodified nature of learning experience and the self-direction of learners by mapping it as informal learning. The notion of informal learning expanded the scope of learning from school-based settings toward everyday life experience. As Jarvis (1992) suggests, “Learning is wider than education [in formal situations]” (p. 10). Marsick and Watkins also argue that “the approximate percentage of time and money spent on informal and incidental learning [is] (83%), as opposed to formal learning (17%)” (p. 6). Though many adults go back to formal learning settings (Jang, 2002) and participate in nonformal learning situations (Tough, 1971), most of the time adults learn from everyday life experience. Therefore, the mapping of informal learning involves a judgment of which everyday life experiences can result in learning.

This judgment of which everyday life experiences can serve for learning is a subjective one. Jarvis (1987) acknowledges “experience of a social situation is subjective rather than objective, and it is the subjective definition of the situation which creates the experience and potentially leads to learning” (p. 70). This judgment can be incidental to some degree as Marsick and Watkins (1990) suggested. However, a subjective judgment of the learning experience is more related to the concept of self-direction in adulthood. The concept of self-directed learning currently consists of three distinctive ideas: (a) a self-initiated process of learning that stresses

the ability of individuals to plan and manage their own learning, (b) an attribute or characteristic of learners with personal autonomy as its hallmark, and (c) a way of organizing instruction in formal settings that allows for greater learner control (Caffarella, 1993). These ideas are based on the learner's subjective judgment of experience. This means the learner should decide either reactively to transform a certain experience into a learning experience or proactively to construct his or her own learning experience. There is a possibility that the learner refuses to transform or construct learning experiences. The question of whether the experience becomes a learning experience is related to the learner's judgment or decision-making. Claxton (1996) argues that learning is "a tacit, or at least intuitive, decision-making process that includes social, emotional and material, as well as cognitive, considerations, the resultant of which is a *stance* towards the learning opportunity" (p. 3). In the next section, I will discuss this topic more.

Learning from Experience

Studying the relationship of learning and experiences is a difficult challenge to researchers. Merriam and Clark (1991) succinctly address the challenges of studying the phenomena of learning from experience: "First, the tremendous variety of life-experience learning makes generalizations difficult. Further, each example of such learning is embedded in a particular context, and the role these multiple contexts play in the learning process is difficult to assess" (p. 195). Life, experiences, and learning are too complex and dynamic to be described neatly. We experience something moment by moment, but it is difficult to evaluate and figure out its relation to learning. However, what remains true is that learning is initiated by everyday life experience. As Dewey (1938/1998, p. 31) states, "every experience is a moving force" even though we come to know its value and direction afterward.

Dewey (1938/1998) suggests that we can understand experience by the principles of continuity and interaction: “The principle of continuity means that every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after” (p. 27). The principle of interaction means, “an experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his environment” (p. 41). Dewey considers the two principles as inseparable and always intercepting each other in the learning process. More importantly, the two united principles “provide the measure of the educative significance and value of an experience” (p. 43). Dewey also stresses the role of reflection which means “to look back over what has been done so as to extract the net meanings which are the capital stock for intelligent dealing with further experiences” (p. 110). He considers reflection as the heart of the disciplined mind in dealing with experience. At another time, Dewey (1933) defines reflection as “assessing the grounds of one’s belief” (p. 9). For Dewey, reflection is the process of rational examination of one’s assumptions.

Kolb’s (1984) experiential learning theory is another way to describe the relationships between experience and learning. He hypothesizes four elements of experiential learning – concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation. According to Kolb, experience can be grasped in two ways – apprehension and comprehension – and transformed into knowledge through the processes of intension and extension. As a result, there are four types of knowledge and knowledge creation styles:

Experience grasped through apprehension and transformed through intention results in what will be called *divergent knowledge*. Experience grasped through comprehension and transformed through intention results in *assimilative knowledge*. When experience is grasped through comprehension and transformed through extension, the result is

convergent knowledge. And finally, when experience is grasped by apprehension and transformed by extension, *accommodative knowledge* is the result. [italics added] (p. 43)

While comprehension is a way of grasping abstract concepts, apprehension grasps concrete experiences. Apprehension “exists only in a continuously unfolding present movement of apparently limitless depth wherein events are related via synchronicity—that is, a patterned interrelationship in the moment” (Kolb, 1984, p. 102). It is a subjective process and the way that we relate ourselves to everyday experience. Apprehended experience is transformed intentionally and extensionally by appreciation whereas a comprehended concept is transformed intentionally and extensionally by criticism. An internal transformation is a reflective observation, while an external one is an active experiment. Learning is, according to Kolb, “the creation of knowledge and meaning [occurring] through the active extension and grounding of ideas and experiences in the external world and through internal reflection about the attributes of these experiences and ideas” (p. 52).

The process of appreciation is attending to and being interested in aspects of one’s experience. This process involves a judgment of both value and fact, which is powered by the learner’s affection. Appreciation is a process of affirmation; unlike criticism, which is based on skepticism and doubt, appreciation is based on belief, trust, and conviction. It is clear that Kolb (1984) considers criticism as a logical, rational process and appreciation as something governed by extra-rationalities such as affection and intuition. He also acknowledges the dialectic relationship between criticism and appreciation in the production of knowledge and meaning. Kolb, however, suggests that “the highest level of learning” (p. 66) begins with concrete experience and is then followed by reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experiment. It is a logical linear process and places rationality over extra-rationalities.

What makes Kolb's (1984) appreciation possible, in Mezirow's transformational learning theory, is meaning schemes. Mezirow (2000) defines meaning schemes as "sets of immediate specific expectations, beliefs, feelings, attitudes, and judgments" (p. 18). They usually operate implicitly, and arbitrarily determine what we see and how we see it. Meaning schemes suggest a line of action that we tend to follow automatically. Meaning schemes constitute points of view which are expressed dimensions of a meaning perspective or a frame of reference. They ultimately enable us make meaning out of experience:

A frame of reference is a "meaning perspective," the structure of assumptions and expectations through which we filter sense impressions. It involves cognitive, affective, and conative dimensions. It selectively shapes and delimits perception, cognition, feelings, and disposition by predisposing our intentions, expectations, and purposes. It provides *the context for making meaning within which we choose what and how a sensory experience is to be construed and/or appropriated.* [italics added] (Mezirow, 2000, p. 16)

Mezirow (1991, 2000) considers learning as making sense of, or interpreting one's experience, to guide future action. Therefore, it is closely related to his concept of meaning perspective, which is shaped in childhood through the socialization process and is often affected by emotionally charged relationships with parents and other mentors. A meaning perspective is strengthened, extended, and refined by life experiences. Transformative learning theory explores how this meaning perspective can be changed. Mezirow argues that only critical reflection on our meaning perspective makes transformative learning happen. While he acknowledges that the formation of meaning schemes is dependent on emotionally charged relationships, he emphasizes rational thinking as the only way to produce critical reflection. It is not easy, therefore, to foster

perspective transformation because our meaning perspective anchors our values and sense of self. A meaning perspective provides a sense of stability, coherence, community, and identity. Furthermore, it is often grounded in strong emotion. So what challenges one's meaning perspective is usually dismissed strongly by the learner. Mezirow (2000) suggests that the learner often tries to defend his or her point of view by ignoring challenges as "distorting, deceptive, ill-intentioned, or crazy" (p. 18).

Kolb's (1984) experiential learning theory affected Jarvis's (1987, 1992) discussion of the relationship between learning and experience. Jarvis's (1992) definition of learning is similar to Kolb's: "[Learning] is the process of transforming...experience into knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and beliefs....therefore, a process of giving meaning to, or seeking to understand, life experience" (p. 11). He expanded Kolb's learning cycle and identified nine routes from experience to learning. The nine routes are divided into three categories according to the learner's response to experience, and then each category has three subcategories. The first category is reflective learning: (a) Contemplation is the process of intellectual thinking about experience and reaching a conclusion. (b) Reflective skill learning refers to reflective practice. The best known example of this is Schön's (1983) challenge of reflection-in-action, which means to think about what one is doing while one is doing it. (c) Experimental learning is learning from trying out theory in practice and results in a new knowledge. A second category is non-reflective learning: (a) Preconscious learning is learning without the learner's conscious awareness. (b) Skills learning is usually the acquisition of skills through imitation and modeling. (c) Memorization is the most common form of learning.

The last category is non-learning. Jarvis (1987, 1992) acknowledges that people do not always learn from experience. Non-learning also has three routes: (a) Presumption implies that

the learner already thinks he or she has an understanding of experience and therefore does not consider it as a learning situation. (b) Non-consideration means that the learner does not relate himself/herself to an experience because of being too busy, or feeling too nervous about the outcome, or facing too big a gap between his/her biography and experience. And the final type of nonlearning, (c) rejection, implies that the learner does not want to engage in a learning situation within a particular context. From the psychological perspective, Illeris (2002) similarly suggests that intended learning does not occur because of a learner's resistance, psychological defense, rejection, blocking, and distortion. It is the learner's emotion or affection that plays strongly in this process. Illeris, however, points out that a non-learning response such as resistance often contains a great potential for learning.

In discussing the relationships between learning and experience, Merriam and Clark (1991) propose the concept of a 'learning zone' in terms of the capacity of personal meaning making. In the learning zone, "the experience is different enough from prior experience to get the learner's attention, but not so different as to threaten his or her established identity and worldview" (p. 202). In other words, the learning zone is somewhere in between two extremes: at one extreme, we do not attend to an experience because it is congruent with previous experience and goes unnoticed. At the other extreme, the experience could be too antithetical to our beliefs and values. However, learning does not automatically happen in the learning zone. The learner should reflect on the experience in order to make learning occur. Merriam and Clark define learning "to involve *attending to* and *reflecting on* an experience that results in some present or future change in a person's behavior, attitudes, knowledge, beliefs, or skills" (p. 202).

Boud and colleagues (Boud, Cohen, & Walker, 1993; Boud, Keogh, & Walker, 1985; Boud & Miller, 1996) also argue that reflection makes experience result in learning. The

reflective process consists of three elements: returning to experience, attending to feeling, and re-evaluating the experience (Boud & Walker, 1990, 1993). It is noted that Boud and colleagues focus on feeling in the reflective process. In discussing the barriers to this reflective process, they examine the learner's internal barriers: previous negative experiences, a lack of awareness of one's assumptions, the emotional state of the learner, and established patterns of behavior. These examples are similar to Mezirow's clusters of meaning schemes which result in a frame of reference.

The key words in describing learning from experience can be reduced to reflection and meaning-making. Even though Jarvis (1987, 1992) addresses non-reflective routes from experience to learning, making meaning of experience by reflection is a core practice of learning. Merriam and Heuer (1996) explain the relationship between experience and meaning-making:

First, an experience in and of itself does not have meaning. The person must assign meaning to experience. Second, individuals bring to their experiences an accumulation of past experience and knowledge; therefore, individuals' meanings of the same event can be dramatically different. Third, meanings are socially constructed and context-dependent. Finally, the need to make meaning of our experiences is fundamentally human. (p. 247)

Regarding the definition of reflection, there are different approaches and assumptions. Boud, Keogh, and Walker (1985) refer to reflection as "a generic term for those intellectual and affective activities in which individuals engage to explore their experiences in order to lead to new understandings and appreciation" (p. 3). Mezirow criticizes this broad definition because he thinks reflection needs to be differentiated from thinking or learning. To Mezirow, Boud, Keogh, and Walker's definition would include "making inference, generalizations, analogies, discriminations, and evaluations, as well as feeling, remembering, and solving problems. It also

seems to refer to using beliefs to make an interpretation, to analyze, perform, discuss, or judge” (Mezirow, 1990, p. 5). Mezirow, like Dewey and Jarvis, argues that reflection is a rational process. Like Mezirow, Kolb (1984) considers reflective observation as a rational process in the highest level of the learning cycle. However, Kolb’s concept of appreciation, which deals with apprehended experiences, includes emotion, preference, trust, and belief.

One interesting observation from the discussion is that the learner’s emotional aspects are often described as barriers in an experience’s travel to learning via reflection. Mezirow argues that emotionally charged meaning schemes keep the learner from critical reflection. This is the pitfall of the traditional understanding of learning from experience in adulthood. Although the learner is more than a rational being, the traditional learning theory is excessively dependent on rationality. Thus, the role of extra-rationality in learning has received more and more attention recently.

Extra-Rationality in Learning

Since Descartes, Western intellectual tradition has been governed by the primacy of rational reason. Cartesian dualism of mind and body treats extra-rationality such as bodily feeling, emotion, and spirituality as subordinate to rational thinking. The body has been treated as a subordinate of the mind. I am because I (rationally) think is a well known disposition. Cartesian epistemology dominates the adult learning research. Simon (1998) points out that “the body is overlooked or denied and, subsequently, not identified as a learner characteristic in the theory and practice of adult education” (p. 87). Goldberger (1996) acknowledges that “one aspect of knowing that we did not explore in any depth in *WWK [Women’s Ways of Knowing]* pertains to a kind of knowledge that is grounded in bodily cues and experiences” (p. 352).

Cartesian dualism, however, has been criticized as the role of extra-rationality in human knowing is uncovered. Neuroscientist Antonio Damasio (1994, 1999) argues that our consciousness making is dependent on body and emotion as well as on rational reasoning. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) ask for departure from Cartesian dualism by suggesting that most thought is unconscious, abstract concepts are mostly metaphorical, and mind is embodied. In adult learning research, the terms, embodied learning, somatic learning, mind-body connection in learning, emotional learning, and spiritual learning are gaining more attention these days (Beckett, 1998; Chapman, 1998; Coulter, 2001; Dirkx, 1997; Gustafson, 1999; M. Hart & Holton, 1993; Kerka, 2002; Michelson, 1996a, 1998).

Transformative learning theory is the most active area of extra-rationality investigation. For example, in the study of twenty graduate students who experienced perspective transformation, Barlas (2001) found that emotions and feelings are precursors to or stimuli for critical reflection. Emotions and feelings are important catalysts for triggering critical reflection and transformation. Courtenay, Merriam and Reeves (1998) described the holistic nature of the transformational learning process in the study of HIV-positive adults' meaning making process. They speak of the importance of an initial reaction period characterized by cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses in the process of transformation. While Mezirow's original theory is based upon rational reflection, recent reviews note the roles of emotion, feeling, intuition, and spirituality in fostering perspective transformation (Baumgartner, 2001; Dirkx, 1997, 2001; Taylor, 1997, 2000; Wiessner & Mezirow, 2000). Reviewing over ten years of research directly related to transformative learning theory, Taylor (1997) pointed out "the significance of intuition, affective learning, extrarational influences, and the guiding force of feelings" (p. 48). He suggested that transformative learning research "needs to be explored at a more in-depth

level...the minimization of the role of critical reflection and increased role of other ways of knowing” (p. 55).

The critique on Kolb’s (1984) experiential learning theory is another way of recovering extra-rationality in learning. The salient theme of the critique is that Kolb’s theory is based upon the Cartesian epistemology (Coulter, 2001; Fenwick, 2003; Michelson, 1996a, 1998). Michelson (1998) noted that experiential learning theory assumes the dualism of reflection and experience, a representation of “the mind-body split and the privileging of mind over body” (p. 218).

Fenwick (2003) argues this split body becomes the object of discipline or management, and is consequently excluded from the learning process. Coulter (2001) similarly pointed out that “embodied experience must be converted into disembodied knowledge before it can be considered legitimate” (Concluding section, para 2). Michelson (1998) considers knowledge as “a product of corporeally and emotionally grounded human life” (p. 218) and argues for the remembering of the body within learning theory. The idea of the body as a site of learning is repeated in the literature of embodied knowing or somatic learning (Beaudoin, 1999; Beckett, 1998; Beckett & Morris, 2001; Dalmaiya & Alcott, 1993; Heshusius & Ballard, 1996; Nuernberger, 1994; Stinson, 1995).

Heshusius and Ballard (1996) address the mind-body unity in learning from their own transformative experience from positivism to interpretivism: “The conscious shift in paradigmatic assumptions was initially not brought about by a systematically carried out intellectual pursuit. Rather, the impetus for this transformation was events and incidents that involved modes of awareness that were distinctly somatic and affective” (p. 2). They acknowledge that the body knows and acts before the mind. Dalmaiya and Alcott (1993) argue that the way of knowing for women, what they call “gender-specific experiential knowing (G-

experiential)” (p. 221), is literally oral, practical, and experiential because women have been illiterate so that they could not develop written manuals. These kinds of knowing among women are often ignored and considered uneducated by official institutions. Therefore, G-experiential is handed down in an embodied method. It is a kind of knowing that is achieved through observing another person, participating in an activity with others, or trying it out. A woman’s body is a site of knowing and knowledge in itself.

Addressing extra-rationality challenges us to redefine adult learning discourse. It demands an epistemological turn towards a more holistic understanding of learning. Human beings are cognitive, physical, emotional, and spiritual (Schauffele & Baptiste, 2000). These four faculties are inseparable bases of human existence and knowing. When discussing the five philosophical streams of adult education, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) did not consider physical and spiritual dimensions at all. Their discussion is limited to cognitive and some emotional dimensions. Considering extra-rationality introduces a new horizon to this limited discourse. When discussing intuitive learning, English, Fenwick, and Parsons (2003) stated “intuition is about being connected to your body, honoring your subjective experiences, and acknowledging knowing that transcends rational, logical thought” (pp. 96-97). Hart and Holton (1993) argued “many spiritual practices are oriented towards an integration of body and mind, and of a strengthening of the ‘biological core’ of human existence” (p. 255). Jensen and Kolb (2002) also highlighted the body’s role in the feminist perspective and the condition of our life in the biological network.

Learning, Experience, and Socio-Cultural Context

Experience as a source of learning is always mediated by culture. Every experience presented to the learner has cultural form. There is no pure experience free from culture.

However, culture is a difficult word to define. It is so, as Raymond Williams (1985) pointed out, “partly because [of] its intrinsic historical development...but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought” (p. 87). Culture has different meanings in different disciplines and contexts. Jacobson (1996) suggests that in adult education literature culture is used as a shared meaning system, a context for education, or something that can be learned. Trice and Beyer (1993, pp. 5-8) address six common characteristics of culture: (a) Collective: Cultures are the repositories of what their members agree about; (b) Emotionally charged: People’s allegiances to their ideologies and cultural forms spring more from their emotional needs than from rational consideration; (c) Historically based: A particular culture will be based in the unique history of a group of people coping with a unique set of physical, social, political, and economic circumstances; (d) Inherently symbolic: Symbolism plays a very important role in cultural communication and expression; (e) Dynamic: While cultures create continuity and persist across generations of members, they are not static, but dynamic. Cultures continually change. And, (f) inherently fuzzy: Cultures are not monolithic single sets of ideas, but rather they incorporate contradictions, ambiguities, paradoxes, and just plain confusion.

Based on Trice and Beyer’s (1993) plural notion of culture, Alfred (2002b) argues that an individual represents multiple cultures and is the product of the multiple realities of these cultures. An individual can be seen as a cultural production (Levinson & Holland, 1996). An individual, according to Alfred, floats in and out of many cultures in his or her life environment. Socio-cultural contexts, therefore, can be defined as “the total life space in which individual development takes place” (Alfred, 2002b, p. 7). Socio-cultural contexts are where an individual interacts with his or her environment including family, neighboring community, institutions,

schools, workplaces, and national and global societies. Socio-cultural contexts have, therefore, multiple facets and layers.

Learning and Socio-Cultural Contexts

Learning as a socio-cultural practice can be articulated in two ways assuming that we mostly learn from our experience. On the one hand, experience as a source of learning is embedded in socio-cultural contexts; no experience exists beyond socio-cultural contexts (Jarvis, 1987, 1992; Wenger, 1998). We learn from observing and practicing the experiences of people, events, and occurrences around us (Bandura, 1977). Therefore, our interaction with experience throughout the learning process is a contextual activity. In other words, we interpret and negotiate with the socio-cultural environments in which we are situated. Knowledge, meaning, and, consequently self are constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed through this process. For example, Merriam and Mohamed (2000) investigated how cultural values shape learning in older adults in Malaysia. They found that learning of Malaysian older adults is (a) nonformal and experiential, (b) communal, and (c) spiritually and/or philosophically driven. These three findings reflect “the Malaysian cultural values of collectivism, hierarchy, relationships, face, and religion (Abdullah, 1996)” (p. 58). Learning is also socio-culturally situated. Terms such as situated cognition (Lave, 1988), contextual learning (Imel, 2000), situated learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and participating in discourse community (Gee, 1996, 1997, 2001) are all conveying the notion that learning is socio-cultural practice.

On the other hand, the inner processes that interact with experience are bound by socio-cultural norms that we have constructed throughout our learning and developmental history (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1991; Goldberger, 1996; Wlodkowski & Ginsberg, 1995). The values and beliefs we have as learners and teachers are socio-culturally constructed and

transmitted. As Wlodikowsk and Ginsberg (1995) addressed, “no learning situation is culturally neutral” (p. 8). It is always mediated by social, economic, and political systems as well as history, mythology, and religion. Our ways of decision-making concerning a learning activity are, consciously or unconsciously, under the influence of these socio-culturally provided criteria. Every human society has explicit or implicit norms on learning activities such as when to learn, where to learn, what to learn, how to learn, and so on (Alfred, 2002a; Jarvis, Holford, & Griffin, 2003). Many times these agreements are provided unconsciously as a cultural value in a negative way; do not learn a certain subject in a certain time and place with a certain method from a certain person. For example, in discussing adult literacy practice, Sparks (2002) points out that dominant social and political interests define “content, direction, and prevailing values in the literacy curriculum” (p. 60). Diouf, Sheckley, and Kehrhahn (2000) report a community’s social-cultural norms and values exert a powerful influence on the learning of Senegalese farmers. These norms and values influence “what adults learn (in this case topics of value to the community), when they learn (in this case vocational skills are learned only in childhood), who provides the instruction (in this case the elders)” (p. 42). Mexican Americans in the Southwest who left adult education programs without completion thought the programs marginalized their “ethnic values of relatedness, sharing, cooperation, and community” (Sparks, 1998, p. 257). Learning, therefore, is an ideological and cultural practice since the oppressed struggles against a dominant or oppressive ideological group that imposes norms about learning activities explicitly or implicitly. Learning is at the center of social transformation movements throughout human history. Learning always exists where new norms and order for a more equal and just society are created. Terms such as popular education (Hurst, 1995), social transformation (Freire, 1970;

Holst, 2002; Horton, Bell, Gaventa, & Peters, 1990), and critical pedagogy (M. U. Hart, 1990; hooks, 1989; Tisdell, 1998) convey the notion of this collective learning practice.

The two understandings examined above challenge the initial assumption of learning from experience by reflecting on it. Instead, they suggest, we actually learn in and with experience by acting on it. Wilson (1993) argues, “In the situated view, experience becomes activity and takes on a much more dynamic relation to learning. Adults no longer learn from experience, they learn in it, as they act in situations and are acted upon by situations” (p. 75).

Learning in and with experience creates a dilemma for adult educators. We are to participate in and adapt to given socio-cultural contexts, and we are to break and transform them in a way. How can we do both of these at the same time? Adult learning theories are somehow polarized on this issue. Jarvis, Holford and Griffin (2003) review various adult learning theories from the sociological perspective and categorize them into (a) what reinforces the status quo and (b) what allows change. The former category involves single-loop learning (Argyris and Schön), banking education (Freire), pedagogy (Knowles), and instrumental and formative learning (Mezirow). The latter category includes double-loop learning (Argyris and Schön), critical learning (Brookfield), problem-posing education (Freire), andragogy (Knowles), and transformative learning (Mezirow). This theoretical dichotomy is also found in social and cultural contexts:

Learning in itself is an individual process, or set of processes. But no person is an island, and change always has social consequences. The fewer the consequences of learning for the social group, for example if the status quo is retained, the easier it may be for social harmony and cohesion. But without change, the potential of the individual learners is inhibited. When there is freedom to learn, learners have more freedom to develop their

own potential—but since learning is potentially a change process, this can sometimes be problematic for social groups that might wish to retain the status quo either socially or culturally. (Jarvis, Holford, & Griffin, 2003, p. 75)

In the following section, I will discuss this dichotomy by reviewing situated learning as proposed by Lave and Wenger (Lave, 1988; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998; Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). The reason I chose this is that situated learning explicitly assumes learning is a socio-cultural practice beyond the individual mind. In other words, the primary focus is given to “learning as social participation” (Wenger, 1998, p. 4).

Situated Learning

Situated learning can be understood as “the nature of the interaction among learners, the tools they use within these interactions, the activity itself, and the social context in which the activity takes place” (Hansman, 2001, p. 45). Two concepts are important in understanding situated learning—legitimate peripheral participation and communities of practice. The concept of legitimate peripheral participation is developed by integrating theories of situated activity and theories about the production and reproduction of the social order, while communities of practice is based on the interpretation of the meaning of practice.

There are at least three different interpretations of the meaning of situated activity, or more specifically situated learning, according to Lave and Wenger (1991, pp. 32-33). First, the situated activity means merely that thoughts and actions were located in space and time. Second, it means some thoughts and actions involve other people or that they are immediately dependent for meaning on the social setting. Third, it means knowledge and meaning are always negotiated among agent, activity, and the world. In situated learning, Lave and Wenger claim that agent, activity, and the world mutually constitute meaning and knowledge from each other. From a

sociolinguistic perspective, Gee explains situated meaning and knowledge more succinctly. Meanings of words and concepts are situated in socio-cultural contexts within which they are used. To know the meaning of a word is not just picking up and saying a certain word; rather, it is recognizing “a pattern in a variety of settings and variations—this is what makes situated meanings both contextualized and somewhat general” (Gee, 1997, p. 243). Learning these “situated meanings” is guided by “cultural models that explicate and evaluate these situated meanings, and are, in turn, ultimately formed by and out of them” (Gee, 1997, p. 243). Therefore, not only the learners, but also “situation can be said to co-produce knowledge through activity” (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1991, p. 246).

Lave and Wenger (1991) rely on the interpretation of Vygotsky’s concept of the zone of proximal development to integrate theories about the production and reproduction of the social order. They take on Engeström’s (1987) collectivist or societal perspective which interprets the zone of proximal development as the distance between the everyday actions of individuals and a collectively generated new form of societal activity. Lave and Wenger emphasize “issues of socio-cultural transformation with the changing relations between newcomers and old-timers in the context of a changing shared practice” (p. 49). The learner enters into communities of practice as a newcomer. The newcomer is gradually becoming an old-timer with respect to those who enter later. Finally, at a certain point the learner becomes an old-timer. The concept of legitimate peripheral participation describes this process of a newcomer becoming a full participant of communities of practice as a legitimate member.

Practice is a core of the concept of communities of practice. When considering practice, proponents of situated learning dismiss the dichotomy in the psychological understanding of learning. It is assumed in psychological learning theory that there is a division between knower

and known, knowing and doing, what is learned and how it is learned, and concrete and abstract. The process of engaging in practice within communities of practice always involves both sides of these dichotomies at the same time (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1991; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Wenger (1998) argues:

In practice, so-called manual activity is not thoughtless, and mental activity is not disembodied. And neither is the concrete solidly self-evident, nor the abstract transcendentally general; rather, both gain their meanings within the perspectives of specific practices and can thus obtain a multiplicity of interpretations. The term practice is sometimes used as an antonym for theory, ideas, ideals, or talk. However, my use of the term does not reflect a dichotomy between the practical, ideals and reality, or talking and doing. Communities of practice include all of these...theory is neither useless nor ideal. Practice is not immune to the influence of theory, but neither is it a mere realization of theory or an incomplete approximation of it. (p. 48)

Therefore, meaning emerges from practice. Practice is a source of coherence for a community, is understood as a learning process, and gives the community structure. The community of practice can be defined as “groups of people informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise” (Wenger & Snyder, 2000, pp. 139). Wenger (1998) describes the three dimensions of the community of practice: *mutual engagement of participants* provides membership and allows them to do whatever they do; *the negotiation of a joint enterprise* “reflects the full complexity of mutual engagement” and keeps a community of practice together; and *the development of a shared repertoire* is a product of the joint pursuit of an enterprise which includes “routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures,

symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence, and which have become part of its practice” (p. 83).

The community of practice, therefore, implies “participation in an activity system about which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their communities” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98). Learning is what sustains the community of practice because learning produces meaning that is “our ability to experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful” (Wenger, 1998, p. 4). However, meaning is fundamentally temporal in that it is a product of ongoing negotiation within communities of practice. Therefore, without sharing some significant learning experiences, enough mutual engagement of pursuing a joint enterprise cannot be sustained. From this perspective, the community of practice is based on “shared histories of learning” (Wenger, 1998, p. 86).

Situated learning theory contributes to the understanding of the learner-centered tradition in adult education (Knowles, 1970, 1980; Lindeman, 1926; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999) in that it endorses learners as authentic producers of knowledge. Knowledge is not transmitted from teachers or experts to learners; rather, it is constituted in the process of learning that is situated in socio-cultural contexts. The concept of mastery in situated learning theory critically brings out this difference:

Mastery resides not in the master but in the organization of the community of practice of which the master is part: The master as the locus of authority (in several senses) is, after all, as much a product of the conventional, centered theory of learning as is the individual learner. Similarly, a decentered view of the master as pedagogue moves the focus of analysis away from teaching and onto the intricate structuring of a community’s learning resources. (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 94)

Therefore, the notion of a teaching curriculum developed by experts is rejected. Instead, a learning curriculum emerges from the learner's participation in a given community. A learning curriculum can be defined as "a field of learning resources in everyday practice viewed from the perspective of learners" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 97). A learning curriculum is embedded in the community of practice and provides opportunities for new practice. Lave's (1988) study of how "just plain folks" learn math and Lave and Wenger's (1991) description of the learning of midwives, tailors, quartermasters, and butchers in everyday life situations emphasize the learners' independence. This emphasis contributes to the expansion of the theoretical horizon of adult learning. Hansman and Wilson (2002) wrote:

Learners, through their relationships with others and the context in which they are situated, 'own' their knowledge and have power over their learning. Social practices, like education, both produce effects as they reproduce the practices themselves. Ignoring setting and activity, and the underlying issues concerning power and knowledge causes us to have a limited view of adult learning. Paying attention to context, activity, and tools allows us to understand how adult learners discover, shape, and make explicit their own knowledge, thus furthering intriguing discussions as to what counts for knowledge and learning in adulthood. (p. 6)

Though situated learning theory uncovers the learner's power by acknowledging the learner's authenticity in producing knowledge and meaning, it views power relations in the community of practice in terms of control rather than resistance. Wenger (1998) discusses the politics of participation as a relational attribute, such as "influence, personal authority, nepotism, rampant discrimination, charisma, trust, friendship, ambition" (p. 91) between newcomers and old-timers. The newcomer's peripheral situation at the beginning stage of participation is caused

by the asymmetric power distribution. These politics, according to Wenger, can be both a source of stability when power differentials favor specific perspectives and a destabilizing factor when the power shifts. Therefore, Wenger argues, “No form of control over the future can be complete and secured. In order to sustain the social coherence of participation...control must constantly be reproduced, reasserted, renegotiated in practice” (Wenger, 1998, p. 93).

The concept of communities of practice provides a tool to describe learning in various socio-cultural groups. However, the concept is critiqued since it supports the status quo of the given community. Let’s consider an example to clarify this point. A major shoe manufacturer, Nike, has a factory in Indonesia and employs a large number of teenage girls at a low wage. If a newly employed Indonesian teenage girl participates in Nike’s community of practice, it seems there is no possibility that she can criticize the company’s low wage policy from Wenger’s notion of participation. Gee (1996, 1999, 2000) argues that the notion of community of practice ideologically serves the company by taming workers in a contemporary knowledge-based capitalist economy. Workers are tacitly immersed in taken-for-granted values, norms, cultural models, and narratives of the company throughout the participation process, and the knowledge they produce is “*in* the community of practice, which ‘belongs’ to the company, not in the individual” (Gee, 1999, p. 65). Gee (2000) goes on to argue that the community of practice is a new form of indoctrination:

The community of practice, which the business owns, outlasts any worker and passes down its tacit knowledge when it immerses new members in its practice. Some have argued that communities of practice are new and ideal forms of tacit indoctrination, replacing the brute force of direct orders and coercion (Gee et al., 1996). In them, people

may form value-laden identities through immersion in practice without much overt reflection and critique. (p. 519)

Gee (2000) proposes a concept of “reflective communities of practice” (p. 522) within which participants learn “the core knowledge for which the community exists, as well as ways of thinking about knowledge, language, discourses, and their relationships and distribution in society.” Gee calls for an understanding that learners not only become members of communities of practice but also are critical to the communities of practice in which they are participating. In order to uncover these dual aspects of participation, it is necessary to focus on the individual side of the participation process. The situated learning theory focuses on social side and overlooks individual differences in the participation process. It assumes that “our whole person, including our bodies, minds, emotions, and social relations” (Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002, p. 56) participates in the community of practice. But it is ambiguous “who plans, participates, and shapes learning” (Hansman & Wilson, 2002, p. 1) in terms of power relations within the community of practice. Answering these questions involves more than the psychological and social aspects of the learning process since a whole person includes not only bodies, minds, emotions, and social relations but also ethics and spiritualities.

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Experience, learning situations, and socio-cultural context are important concepts to look at the construction of people’s lives to understand the influence of the socio-cultural-historical context on learning. So far I have reviewed various adult learning theories in each section of informal learning, learning from experience, extra-rationality in learning, and learning in socio-cultural context. Each theory has its unique approach to adult learning and tries to answer the questions of how and where adult learners process their experience that I described in the

introduction chapter. The theories reviewed here are not enough to explore a new question of this study—what lifelong learning activities in the socio-cultural-historical context function in what ways in constructing the learner’s life? But they are still useful and necessary to further the inquiry.

In the following I will briefly overview the Korean historical context. The reader will encounter the Korean socio-cultural context later, especially in “The Korean Context and My Subjectivity” section in chapter three. The more comprehensive scene of 20th century Korean socio-cultural-historical context in which the data of this study reside should be addressed more to guide the reader to the specific context of this study. However, I chose not to include this in chapter two because I think formulating and presenting the context of the participants of the data are dangerous. The context can be differently perceived and constructed before, during, and after as the researcher reads and analyzes the data. The context was explored as a kind of additional data (please see chapter three for discussion of this concept) of the study. The outcome of this exploration is presented in chapter four later.

A Brief Overview of Korean Historical Context

Korea is a peninsula country located in the far north-east side of the Asian continent. Korean people are racially homogenous and use a single language. Korea’s neighbors are China, Russia, and Japan. It has been divided into North and South Korea since 1945 after being liberated from Japanese occupation. However, Korea had maintained a long history as an independent unified country. The history of Korea can be traced back to half a million years ago when people lived on the peninsula. Chinese ancient literature referred to the people propagated in the Korean peninsula and Manchuria as Dong-i, which literally means “eastern bowmen” but derogatorily means “eastern barbarians.” In 2333 B.C. Gojoseon (old Joseon), the oldest

kingdom of Korea, was founded by Dan-gun who was born of a father of heavenly descent and a woman who was transformed from a bear after one hundred days of prayer in a cave. This legendary myth, in the distinctive Shamanism tradition, is still very popular in Korea. Dan-gun and his descendants reigned in Joseon, the “land of morning calm,” for more than a millennium. Gojoseon was defeated by the Chinese kingdom of Han in 108 B.C., and Han established four administrations in Manchuria and the northern part of the peninsula. Many people of Gojoseon moved into the southern part of the peninsula. The people left in the north founded Goguryu later and defeated the four Chinese administrations. And those in the south established Baekje and Shilla. Three kingdom periods lasted until 676 when Shilla defeated the others and unified the country. But many remnants of Goguryu established Balhae afterward in the Manchuria and northern peninsula. During the three kingdoms era, Buddhism and Confucianism were introduced. When Balhae was conquered by the Khitan in 926, Manchuria was out of Korean ruling. Shilla was replaced by Goryu which was founded by Wang Gun in 918. Wang Gun took Buddhism as an official religion of the nation. In 1392, Joseon, founded by Seong-gye Yi, replaced Goryu and lasted until 1910 when Korea became a Japanese colony. Joseon, unlike Goryu, suppressed Buddhism and governed the country according to Neo-Confucianism. The fourth king of Joseon, Sejong, invented Hangeul, the Korean alphabet. Before the invention of Hangeul, Korea used Chinese characters as a writing system.

Shamanism since Gojoseon, Buddhism since the three kingdoms era and Goryu, and Neo-Confucianism since Joseon have been internalized and assimilated by the Korean people and culture. These three traditions “enriched and diversified Korean culture” (Ahn, 2003, p. 8), and many contemporary Korean societal and cultural characteristics originate from these three systems of thought (Callahan, 1999; J. R. T. Kim, Elliott, & Hyde, 2004). Though Christianity

was introduced during the late Joseon dynasty and is very powerful these days (A. E. Kim, 2000), the profound influences of the other three systems of thought among Korean people are beyond that of Christianity (C. S. Chang & Chang, 1994).

During the Japanese occupation, we could not teach the Korean language in schools and at the final stage of Japanese rule, we could not even use the Korean language in our daily lives. Japan exploited Korean industries for her war efforts. Japan provided secondary and higher education for few Korean people. Liberated from Japan in 1945, there was an American military government in South Korea in 1945-1948. In the Southern part of the Peninsula the first Republic government was established in 1948 while a Communist government took the northern part of the nation. The Korean War in 1950-1953 left the peninsula a heap of ashes. The Korean War was a basically ideological war and many South Korean people still hate Communism and its followers. General Park Jung Hee, who took over the government after a military coup of 1961, controlled freedom of speech and many anti-government activists and students were prosecuted after being branded as Communists.

Under President Park's leadership, the economy grew at an annual rate of 9.2 percent. Per capita GNP increased from a mere US \$87 in 1962 to US \$1,503 in 1980. Foreigners called the economic development as "Han-river's miracle." President Park normalized the diplomatic relations with Japan in 1965. President Park also introduced the Saemaul Undong (New Community Movement) which aimed to develop rural areas. Even though Park demonstrated good leadership for economic development, people criticized his harsh repressive measures and injustices to the underprivileged. Trade union movements were severely restricted. President Park introduced new constitutional amendments, referred to as the Yushin Constitution in 1972, which made it possible for him to remain in office indefinitely through well-controlled electoral

procedures. On October 26, 1979, Park was assassinated by the chief of the Korean CIA, Kim Jae-kyu, and Prime Minister Choi Kyu-hah succeeded him in office. But during the social and political instability after Park's death, another military leader Chun Doo Hwan carried out a military coup. He harshly put down civilian uprisings to protest the new military autocracy by troops. What became known as the Kwangju incident of May 1980 caused a large number of casualties and provided an anti-government and anti-American movement issue. In 1987, a nation-wide democratic movement finally achieved the current Constitutional amendment which established a direct election of the president. The 1987 movement caused many changes in South Korean society. Labor unions became very powerful and non-government organizations made their voices heard in many social issues such as environment, education, social justice, women's rights, and so on.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to understand the influence of the socio-cultural-historical context on learning as it contributes to the construction of people's lives. In particular, this study will examine how 20th century Korean socio-cultural-historical context and the lifelong learning of Korean people co-construct one another. The research questions are: (1) What are the patterns of learning activities among the people? (2) What was the socio-cultural-historical context that influenced their life and learning? (3) How did the patterns of learning activities emerge in conjunction with the socio-cultural-historical context?

This study is situated in the qualitative research tradition. Conventional qualitative methodology has five characteristics (Merriam & Simpson, 2000). First, philosophically, the qualitative research is based on constructivism which views reality as constructed by individuals interacting with social contexts. Second, it aims to understand how people make sense out of their lives. Third, the researcher is a primary instrument for the data collection and analysis. Fourth, it usually involves extensive field work to collect the data. Fifth, qualitative research is inductive in that the findings are grounded in the data.

Historically, qualitative research has something to do with "opening oneself [the researcher] to the possibility of employing a different vocabulary and way of structuring the research process" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 4). The qualitative researcher rejects the vocabulary of quantitative methodology such as "pre-test," "post-test," "experiment," "variables," and "results." But the rupture in the development of qualitative research is more than

the rejection of quantitative vocabulary. Lincoln and Denzin (2003) identified a series of revolutions that “mark the point of no return” (p. 2) in qualitative research. For example, the outburst of diverse presentations of the research outcome changes the whole picture of qualitative research:

The veritable explosion of “messy” forms—plays, poems, performance pieces and ethnodramas; fictional representations; “skirted,” “pleated,” and “layered” texts; and autoethnographies—all meant to be read out loud, performed, or savored as literature and community stories, has reshaped entirely the debates around “appropriate” scientific discourse, the technical and rhetorical conventions of scientific writing, and the meaning of research itself. (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003, p. 7)

The postmodern critique makes another turning point in qualitative research in that it asks for a different methodology after the failure of the Enlightenment philosophy (Scott & Usher, 1996; St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000b; Usher & Edwards, 1994). Postmodernism questions the Enlightenment philosophy’s pursuit of the true knowledge with a logical research process. Postmodernism doubts a value-neutral observation of given experience, transparent language, and universal criteria of knowledge claim. Postmodernism does not simply acknowledge interpretive research tradition as an alternative since it is “still implicitly operating within...the positivist/empiricist tradition—in other words, the emphasis on the ‘subject’ instead of the ‘objective’ is merely a reversal which still works within a framework of ‘objective-subjective’ as polar opposites” (Usher, 1996, p. 26). Postmodern critique asks us to “produce different knowledge and produce knowledge differently” (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000a, p. 1).

This study embraces the postmodern critique on the conventional qualitative research methodology and explores a different way. In particular, this study will do this work situated in

content analysis. Content analysis is different from the other qualitative research methods since it does not involve extensive field work to collect the data. Typically, the data of content analysis are publicly accessible ones like archives, newspapers, novels, films, and so on. Therefore, the analysis strategy relies not only on the research question but also the researcher's assumption on the nature of the data. In this chapter, I will first review the historical development and issues of content analysis in general. Second, I will discuss postmodern content analysis. Third, I will introduce the source data of this study, the *Korean People's Oral History Series* published by the *Deep-Rooted Publishing House*. Fourth, I will briefly discuss the source data selection, analysis strategy, and how to write up findings. And finally, I will present my subjectivity along with the Korean socio-cultural context.

Content Analysis

The object of study in content analysis is the document. Documents can include all sorts of texts; for example, newspaper articles, transcripts of interviews, descriptions of pictures, or written recollections. Documents also include various forms of artifacts such as pottery fragments, children's drawings, art, cartoons, music, TV shows, and so on. Not every type of document can be data for content analysis though it has a potential to be such. The document becomes data at the moment when the researcher is interested in and asks relevant questions of it. Also, the document must be retrievable to be data. Sometimes the researcher cannot obtain certain documents for various reasons even though he or she comes to know the existence of it and to realize its importance. Irretrievable documents may block up the research progress. Glaser and Strauss (1967) point out the similarities between the document search in the library and the data gathering at field work stations. Tactics used in selecting locations and participants are similar to those used in choosing library shelves and materials. More importantly, both library

research outcomes and field work data represent social reality. Bos and Tarnai (1999) note, “the basic assumption of all content analysis is that cultural forms of expression in the broadest sense can be expressed in text [the document]” (p. 660). Altheide (1996) argues that content analysis even affects the way of producing the same kind of the document under investigation:

Documents...enable us to (a) place symbolic meaning in context, (b) track the process of its creation and influence on social definitions, (c) let our understanding emerge through detailed investigation, and (d) if we desire, use our understanding from the study of documents to change some social activities, including the production of the document! (p. 12)

Content analysis is generally used for describing trends and patterns, and monitoring shifts in opinion across various kinds of documents (Stemler, 2001). For example, the articles of a major journal, such as *Adult Education Quarterly*, are analyzed to identify certain patterns and topics. Hayes and Smith (1994) analyzed 112 articles in adult education journals in order to identify dominant perspectives on women. Taylor (2001) analyzed all the submitted articles to *Adult Education Quarterly* between 1989 and 1999 to find the trends of authorship and topics. Sandlin (2000) analyzed five consumer education workbooks used in adult literacy classes to examine depictions of the market and literacy learners as consumers.

Content analysis became a popular method in the field of social science in the 1920s when communication researchers analyzed the World War I propaganda and newspapers (Berelson, 1952; Bos & Tarnai, 1999; Breecher et al., 1993; Carney, 1972; Krippendorff, 1980). The dominant method at that time was a frequency analysis of words and phrases in the texts. Quantitative content analysis was developed into an integrated method in the 1940s (Breecher et al., 1993; Krippendorff, 1980). Berelson’s (1952) definition of content analysis reflects this early

development: “Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 18). The underlying assumption about the document in this quantitative content analysis is positivistic. Berelson (1952) assumes that inferences about the relationship between the intent of the author and the content of the document, or between the content and effects of the document can validly be made or established in content analysis. Therefore, the truth of social reality is preserved in the document and an objective, systematic quantification process can validly describe it.

The root of content analysis, however, can be traced back to the beginnings of academia. Scholars had often considered their job to be analyzing and interpreting the words of old texts. Bos and Tarnai (1999) call this kind of content analysis “hermeneutic content analysis.” Hermeneutic content analysis attempts to identify the original idea that an author tried to deliver in a text and to make it understandable for the contemporary reader. It is, in other words, a “modernization process” (Bos & Tarnai, 1999, p. 661) of the text. This could be employed in the analysis of any contemporary text. In this sense, content analysis is historically qualitative. Berelson (1952) knew this qualitative way of content analysis but he denounced it because it is not objective and systematic. He thought qualitative content analysts “exercise their imagination in the invention and development of richer categories of analysis....with an impressionistic or an ambiguous formulation” (p. 133).

Berelson’s strict quantification requirement in content analysis is critiqued because it is too positivistic. Holsti (1969) notes that the quantification requirement not only restricts researchers in choosing the research problem, but also limits content analysis to manifest attributes of data. Krippendorff (1980) argues that content analysis is a method of inquiry into the symbolic meaning of messages in the document and symbolic meaning can be successfully

extracted by qualitative consideration. Both Holsti and Krippendorff acknowledged that what constitutes a document is the symbolic meaning expressed in it. They argued the use of a researcher's imagination and intuition for interpretation of symbolic meaning can expand the scope of content analysis beyond the semantics of the text, especially in the applied social sciences. They understood that both quantitative and qualitative methods are supplemental to each other. Pool (1959) summarized this point: "It should not be assumed that qualitative methods are insightful, and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods for checking hypotheses. The relationship is a circular one; each provides new insights on which the other can feed" (as cited in Holsti, 1969, p. 11).

Though Holsti (1969) and Krippendorff (1980) embraced a qualitative method of content analysis, both of them still emphasize objective inquiry. The qualitative method is useful as far as it serves for the objective and replicable inquiry process. Holsti defines content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (p. 14). Krippendorff's definition is similar to Holsti's: "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (p. 21). The qualitative method is meaningful only when it suffices a positivist worldview. Their understanding of qualitative content analysis clearly emphasizes explicit rules of evidence and inference over a researcher's subjectivity. Holsti (1969) wrote:

Intuition, insight, or a brilliant flash, borne of experience, thorough knowledge of one's data, imagination, or luck are perhaps always present in creative research. The "folk wisdom" that "the facts speak for themselves" is decidedly not true. Hence there is always a place in research for such intangible qualities of intuition which render it important in some stages of research, especially in originally formulating the problem

and in drawing inferences from the data, makes it less useful in others. Intuition is not a substitute for objectivity, for making one's assumptions and operations with data explicit where they are open to critical purview. Nor is it a substitute for evidence. This becomes acutely apparent when two persons, both of whom rely on subjective evaluation, draw contradictory inferences from the same documents. In the absence of explicit rules of evidence and inference which can themselves be subjected to critical scrutiny, the issue is all too likely to be settled by claims of "expertise" or stridency rather than evidence. (p. 19)

Holsti's position, therefore, can be called "objective content analysis" in that he requires objectively stated rules for collecting and analyzing data as a core element of content analysis.

Altheide (1996) developed a method that he called "ethnographic content analysis" to fill the gap between objective content analysis and various qualitative methods such as participant observation and focused interviewing which are influenced by subjectivity. Altheide defines the document as "any symbolic representation that can be recorded or retrieved for analysis" (p. 2). This definition is very similar to the understanding of the document in objective content analysis. A major difference between ethnographic and objective content analysis is the reflexive and highly interactive nature of the investigator, concepts, data collection, and analysis. Ethnographic content analysis puts the researcher at the center of the whole research process. The researcher moves circularly or recursively in the dynamic processes of concept development, data collection, coding, analysis, and interpretation. Patterns and meanings of the document are seldom uncovered all at once. Rather, they emerge over the period of analysis and are gradually shaped through understanding and interpretation. Categories are identified in the course of "constant

discovery and constant comparison of relevant situations, settings, styles, images, meanings, and nuances” (p. 16).

Ethnographic content analysis is very similar to grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in that both methods stress the emergence of categories during the process of inquiry and recursive practice of the researcher. However, there are distinct differences between ethnographic content analysis and grounded theory. Grounded theory focuses on generating hypotheses for theory development, whereas ethnographic content analysis is more about clear descriptions and definitions compatible with the document without aiming at theory development. Therefore, grounded theory is concerned with the systematic coding of field notes while ethnographic content analysis emphasizes concept development and emergent data analysis (Altheide, 1996).

The emerging nature of meanings and categories during constant comparison and contrast in the process of ethnographic content analysis is also found in hermeneutic content analysis. The circular structure of understanding, which was coined by Heidegger, is very similar to constant comparison and contrast in nature:

The circular structure of the process of understanding in text analysis is based on the assumption that a person approaches the text to be understood with an initial individual understanding, which is a result of personal knowledge and experience. In the process of understanding, this initial understanding is confirmed, revised, or extended. A new initial understanding is formed if necessary, leading to a new textual understanding—a new level of theoretical cognition. (Bos & Tarnai, 1999, p. 661)

Postmodern Content Analysis

The historical development of content analysis, as reviewed above, shows distinctive perspectives or assumptions about the data, purpose of the study, and analysis strategy.

Hermeneutic content analysis assumes that the author's message is traceable in the document.

The researcher tries to find and modernize the message for the contemporary context through the circular structure of understanding. Quantitative and objective content analysis are positivistic.

Quantitative content analysis assumes there is a valid association among the author's intention, the meaning of the document, and the reader's interpretation. Therefore, quantification of the

data can present the valid meaning of the data. Objective content analysis assumes that the

document has a symbolic and authentic meaning that is to be interpreted by adopting qualitative

research techniques. Despite the different assumptions about the document, both quantitative and object content analysis, like natural science, require systematic, replicable, and objective inquiry.

Ethnographic content analysis, on the other hand, also assumes that the document has symbolic and authentic meaning that the researcher interprets and constructs through the constant

comparison strategy.

Postmodern content analysis troubles the foundation of the above reviewed content analyses. Postmodernism overturns the relations among the author, the text, the reality, and the reader. Postmodernism reveals that the text cannot hold the author's intention or meaning since the language is not transparent. The author cannot place authentic meaning nor imitate the reality in the text, because they are always deferred as the language cannot hold them. This skepticism on the clarity of the text questions the assumptions of positivistic as well as interpretive inquiry in content analysis, especially ethnographic content analysis. Conventional interpretive inquiry, of which ethnographic content analysis is a part, begins with the personal experience from which

the data are generated. The researcher tries to get a participant's perspective in the process of collecting, interpreting, and representing the data. However, the personal experience, participant's account of the experience, and researcher's reading and re-telling of the experience are already situated and framed by multiple discourses. The participant's account of the past is dependent on his or her multiple contexts when it is told. It is already an interpretation or re-interpretation of the past. As Usher (1996) suggested, "all readings are subject to contingency and the historical moment in which they are read" (pp. 29-30). The researcher cannot reach the researched since it is hard to claim the authenticity of any text. Therefore, the interpretive researcher cannot but become "a colonizer of the subjects through re-telling *their* stories" (Garrick, 1999, p. 152).

Postmodern insight assumes that the meaning or intention of the author cannot be traceable. The meaning "originates not in the production of a text (with the author), but in its reception (by the reader [researcher])" (Rosenau, 1992, p. 37). Meaning is always already disputed, contested, and deferred since the reader is framed by different discourses at all times. Postmodern content analysis, therefore, aims for a different interpretation as Derrida (1966/1978) suggested:

There are thus two interpretations of interpretation, of structure, of sign, of play. The one seeks to decipher, dreams of deciphering a truth or an origin which escapes play and the order of the sign, and which lives the necessity of interpretation as an exile. The other, which is no longer turned toward the origin, affirms play and tries to pass beyond man and humanism, the name of man being the name of that being who, throughout the history of metaphysics or of ontotheology—in other words, throughout his entire history—has dreamed of full presence, the reassuring foundation, the origin and the end

of play. The second interpretation of interpretation, to which Nietzsche pointed the way, does not seek in ethnography. (p. 292)

Interpretation in postmodern content analysis is “less a matter of individual authenticity and more a matter for deconstruction of the text of the story-teller” (Garrick, 1999, p. 148). This interpretation concerns different questions. The question looks like, for example, “how does discourse function? Where is it to be found? How does it get produced and regulated? What are its social effects? How does it exist?” (Bové, 1995, p. 54). The term discourse can be replaced with the topic of the particular study such as learning activity, sexuality, marriage, and so forth. To answer Bové’s questions is to inscribe the researcher’s connections with the text in the course of the study. The text is not pure and innocent waiting to be analyzed. Rather, the text always pursues heterogeneity as soon as it is connected to the researcher. Therefore, elaborating this heterogeneous nature of the text is at the heart of the postmodern content analysis.

Postmodern content analysis concerns two categories of data: the source data and assembling data. These are deduced from Deleuze and Guattari’s (1980/1987) image of “assemblage.” They view the book as a kind of assemblage that has two sides:

One side of a machinic assemblage faces the strata, which doubtless make it a kind of organism, or signifying totality, or determination attributable to a subject; it also has a side facing a *body without organs*, which is continually dismantling the organism, causing asignifying particles or pure intensities to pass or circulate, and attributing to itself subjects that it leaves with nothing more than a name as the trace of an intensity. (p. 4)

The source data imply a kind of organism side of the book. The source data is the text under investigation. It is a source of inspiration and imagination applied to an exploration of the

research question. The assembling data is understood as the side of the book that is facing a *body without organs*. The assembling data are generated when the text is related to anything other than itself and begins to be dismantled. The given text has meaningful existence only at the moment of dismantling. The assembling data are open to endless unfolding as the researcher engages with the source data in terms of the research question. There are at least four different kinds of assembling data—surrounding, additional, transgressive, and response. Surrounding data are descriptions of context and appearance of the source data. Altheide (1996) argued the importance of surrounding data as follows: “Context, or the social situations *surrounding* [italics added] the document in question, must be understood to grasp the significance of the document itself, even independently of the content in the document” (p. 9). Additional data emerge when the researcher identifies related books, web materials, and any relevant information needed to explore the source data more thoroughly. Any single text is inevitably connected to other texts as Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987) argue, “a book exists only through the outside and on the outside.” The researcher’s capacity determines the depth and breadth of additional data. Transgressive data are unfolded when the researcher engages with the source data. Like a rhizome (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987), the source data has its own lines of flight while it makes multiple connections with the researcher. These connections are, more often than not, made at the junctures of the researcher’s physical, emotional, and spiritual faculty. Describing transgressive data is difficult; however, they affect the research process in multiple ways and can be treated as data for analysis. St. Pierre (1997), for example, illustrated how transgressive data—emotional, dream, and sensual data—were unfolded in her study of women’s subjectivity. There could be more or less kinds of transgressive data in different studies. Finally, there is response data. The researcher produces a new text throughout the research process. This text is

critiqued and commented by colleagues, dissertation committee members, those who are related to the production of the source data, and so on. These feedbacks become response data as the researcher incorporates them into the analysis process. As the postmodern content analysis seeks a different interpretation, these feedbacks are to ensure not validity but “crystallization” (Janesick, 2000; Richardson, 1994) of the research finding. These feedbacks are indirectly connected to the text, yet another assembling data since “crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know” (Richardson, 1994, p. 522).

In-depth and repeated readings of the source data and constant writing about the reading are two key analytic strategies of postmodern content analysis. Systematic coding and theme generation are not explicitly carried out since they do not allow a space for the researcher and the source data to unfold the assembling data. For example, systematic coding often limits the researcher’s emotional, intuitive, and spiritual reading of the source data. A linear procedure of coding does not fit naturally with the web-like deployment of the additional data. This never means that the researcher gives up the use of comparison and contrast in reading the source and assembling data. The comparison and contrast are always used as a tactic to read and write the source and assembling data.

Since reading and writing are activities of analysis and interpretation, postmodern content analysis acknowledges that the researcher’s subjective initial understanding or intention towards the source data is important. In this sense, it is similar to orientational qualitative inquiry that “begins with an explicit theoretical or ideological perspective that determines what variables and concepts are most important and how findings will be interpreted” (Patton, 1990, p. 86). Reading and writing are self-reflective activities at the same time since the unfolding assembling data,

Table 3.1 Content Analysis

	Data	Purpose of the study	Analysis strategy
Hermeneutic CA	The data contain the author's message.	Modernizing the message of the data.	Circular structure of understanding.
Quantitative CA	The data have a transparent meaning.	Quantifying the data to get valid message.	Quantitative research methods.
Objective CA	The data have an authentic and symbolic meaning.	Finding an objective, replicable, and valid message of the data.	Systematic, objective, and replicable methods.
Ethnographic CA	The data have a symbolic meaning.	Constructing a symbolic meaning of the data.	Constant comparison and contrast.
Postmodern CA	The meaning of the data cannot be fixed and is always deferred (the source data and assembling data).	Making multiple connections with the data.	In-depth reading, repeated reading, and constant writing.

* CA=Content Analysis

especially transgressive ones, affect the researcher's evolving subjectivity in the course of study. Reading the source data inevitably involves writing the researcher's evolving subjectivity. In turn, writing guides the repeated reading of the source and assembling data. Therefore, "writing is...a way of 'knowing'—a method of discovery and analysis" (Richardson, 2000, p. 923). Similarly, Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987) suggested that writing is "always the measure of something else" (p. 4) and "has to do with surveying, mapping, even realms that are yet to come." (p. 5). The postmodern content analysis is about surveying the source data, mapping the assembling data with the source data, and exploring the unfolding connections that are not seen, heard, felt, tasted, or smelled at the beginning of the research.

Postmodern content analysis opens a new possibility to read the text. It sees the text differently from the other forms of content analysis (See Table 3.1 for summary). It is a radical

rupture. Postmodern content analysis tries to produce different knowledge with a different strategy. The strategy presented here cannot be a technical prescription to another study. It is an open category that can be critiqued, modified, and detached to another strategy for exploring texts.

The Source Data

The source data of this study is the *Korean People's Oral History Series* published by the *Deep-Rooted Tree Publishing House*. The source data are composed of twenty books and are very famous among social scientists in Korea because they contain accounts of disappearing Korean cultural heritage. In the following, I will describe the context and appearance of the source data. This description constitutes a first set of surrounding data of this study.

The source data contain twenty older Korean people's narratives on their lives. The first book was published in March of 1981, but the rest were published from 1990 to 1992. Each book is composed of a chronological table, a life overview written by the interviewer, the expert's explanation on the characteristics of the interviewee's dialect (from book six to twenty), a few paragraphs introducing the life history, the edited interview transcripts, the expert's explanation of the interviewee's vocations, and various appendices. Each book has about 120-160 pages of edited transcripts on average. "Edited" means here removing verbatim and overlapping stories from the original narratives, adding a footnote to explain dialect words, and setting the order of the contents.

The source data contain various dialects; even the language of the two interviewees from Seoul was treated as a Seoul dialect. In Korea, standard Korean usually means the modern Seoul language. One purpose of the series was to preserve these vanishing Korean dialects in text format, even though they cannot contain the quality of sounds such as intonations. Korean

language does not have a pronunciation code; the writing system, Hangul, is the same with any pronunciation system. The fourteenth book provides a good example of the Korean language system. This book contains an interview with Sung-yun Kim, a farmer in Cheju Island. Cheju dialect has a medieval spoken language and it can be written only with the medieval writing system which is no longer used in other parts of Korea. So, this book has two sections on each page. The left section contains a translation into the standard modern Korean language while the right section has the original interviewee's narratives with a medieval writing system. All source data contains footnotes that explain these old dialects to the contemporary reader. The footnotes transform dialects into the modern Korean language. Also the sixth to twentieth books contain a dialect explanation section written by a Korean language expert and inserted before the life narratives to help readers understand the dialects.

The interviewees of the source data were born between 1898 and 1926 and they were interviewed in the late 1980s or early 1990s except for the first interviewee. Most of the interviewees were from the lower class, were poor throughout their lives, and had no formal education experience. Their vocations or roles were vanishing ones in modern Korean society: a traditional carpenter, a traveling peddler, an Andongpo (Hemp cloth produced in Andong) weaver, an onggi (pottery with a dark brown glaze) potter, a female shaman, a yangban (the aristocratic class of old Korea) housewife, and a slash- and-burn farmer's wife. Their stories on their vocational lives are very important documents in that they explain the process of their work and how they learned necessary skills. Actually, five of the interviewees were designated as National Intangible Cultural Assets for their skills in the traditional Korean arts: a Kayageum (a twelve-stringed Korean zither) virtuoso, a Hallyang (traditional male dancer), a Kanggangsullae

(a Korean circle dance) performer, a traditional carpenter, and a Pansori (traditional Korean narrative song) drummer.

The *Deep-Rooted Tree Publishing House* was founded by the Britannica Korea in 1976 and published a monthly magazine, *Deep-Rooted Tree*. The magazine was famous for unearthing the Korean traditional culture and writing from left to right with only Hangeul for the first time in Korean modern magazine history. At that time, writing vertical while mixing Chinese with Korean was the dominant style in Korea. But the magazine was discontinued in 1980 by the military government (The Britannica Korea, 2004a). The *Deep-Rooted Tree Publishing House* started publishing a similar magazine, *Deep-Spring Water* in 1984 (The Britannica Korea, 2004b). The copyright of the source data belongs to the Britannica Korea. As the publishing house stopped publishing *Deep-Spring Water* magazine in 2001, I have not found a way to contact the interviewees and editors of the source data.

It is apparent that the primary selection criterion of the interviewees was the cultural and historical heritages embodied in their lives. The selection is not strictly class-based though most of the interviewees were from lower class. The fourth book deals with the yangban housewife Kyu-suk Yi who was raised in and married to an upper class family. Yangban constituted the highest class sa in the Joseon dynasty. She is different from other interviewees in the source data in terms of her family background; most of the others were from lower class backgrounds. Moreover, unlike most of the Korean people, she had not suffered from the Japanese oppression because of her privileged family background. But the publishing company included her in that she could represent the Korean mother's life that survived the harsh years as a nameless woman. Her life contains the Korean historical heritage.

From the sixth book on, the source data were published with financial support from the Miwon Corporation. Since then the editor explains the value of the narratives with a few sentences right before the narrative section. Most of them focus not on the linguistic value, but on the disappearing modes of life that the interviewee had narrated. The preservation of the dialects that the interviewees used was not the primary concern in the selection process. This is evident in that there are regional overlaps among the interviewees: three from Seoul, two from Jindo, two from Gangjin, and two from Seosan. If dialect is the primary criterion of selection, there would not be such overlap in twenty books. In addition, Kwang-yong Lee, the sixteenth book interviewee, used mixed dialects since she lived in various places of Kangwon-do throughout her life. This does not deny that the preservation of dialects is one of the main purposes of the source data. From the sixth book, the source data contains an independent section explaining the interviewee's dialect by a Korean language expert. Therefore, it can be assumed that *Miwon Corporation* and the *Deep-Rooted Publishing House* considered the preservation of dialects as one of the purposes of the publication.

The interviews were carried out mainly by the *Deep-Rooted Publishing House* reporters. Fourteen participants were interviewed by either former or current reporters of the Publishing House at the time of interviews. Two interviews were conducted by freelance writers. Three interviews were carried out by local residents: a local historian, novelist, and the president of Local Culture Promotion Center. The eleventh book is different from the other books since it was edited from the existing interviews. This book dealt with one of the National Intangible Cultural Assets, Myong-hwan Kim, who is a pansori (the traditional Korean narrative song) drummer. The *Deep-Rooted Publishing House* had made a promise with him to publish his life history as a book, but he died before the interview began. Fortunately, one of his pupils, Dae-ung Baek

periodically visited him from 1979 to 1982 and recorded dialogues on traditional music theory and critique. A poet, Jong-gwon Park, also recorded dialogues with Myong-hwan Kim from 1985 to 1987 on his life history.

It is not indicated in the source data what made up the actual interview process. But there are a few clues in several books. Some books introduce the interviewer with phrases such as “met her almost everyday for about a half year” (fourth book) or “met the interviewee several times in more than six months” (sixth and seventh books) or “traveled there many times for interviews” (fifth, ninth, tenth, twelfth, thirteen, sixth, seventeenth, and nineteenth book). There is a familiar connection between one interviewee and interviewer; Su-hyeon Mok interviewed the wife of her maternal uncle, Sang-suk Han. From these facts, I can assume that the interviewers met their participants many times over a long period of time to collect data. The interviewers also studied their participants’ vocation in detail. Several interviewers wrote a section on their interviewees’ work process. For example, Sang-ryong Lee, who interviewed a traditional carpenter, Hi-han Pae, compiled a glossary of traditional construction terms at the end of the book. Si-ju Yoo interviewed Chom-ho Kim, who is an expert of weaving Andongpo hemp cloth, and described the fourteen steps of manufacturing Andongpo as an appendix. Table 3.2 presents a summary of the source data.

Selection, Analysis and Write-up

I analyzed five out of twenty books in the source data. The reason for selecting only five is that it is not a viable option to analyze all the books as each book has 120-160 pages of transcript. To select the five, firstly, I looked at vocations of twenty people. I was interested in the traditional arts and crafts. When I was in Korea, I read a newspaper article that many traditional artists and craftsmen had a difficult time in finding their students. The source data

Table 3.2 The Basic Information of the Source Data

No	Interviewee	Gender	Vocation	Dialectics	Birth/ Death (if known)	Publication year	National Intangible Cultural Assets No. (year designated)	Interviewer
1	Chon, Tong-nye	F	Housewife (A Witness to the 1919 Cheamni Massacre)	Hwaseong	1898	1981		Kim, Won-seok (Former reporter*, Novelist)
2	Pae, Hi-han	M	Traditional carpenter	Seoul	1907	1991	No. 74 (1982)	Lee, Sang-ryong (Former reporter*, Buddhist channel reporter)
3	Sin, Ki-nam	M	Drummer	Jeolla	1914 /1985	1992		Kim, Myung-gon (Former reporter*, A theater manager)
4	Yi, Kyu-suk	F	Yangban Housewife	Seoul	1905	1992		Kim, Yeon-ok (Reporter**)
5	Yu, Chin-nyong	M	The Last Traveling Peddler	Seosan	1916 /1989	1992		Kim, Taek-chun (Former reporter*)
6	Kim, Chom-ho	F	Andongpo (Hemp cloth produced in Andong) Weaver	Andong	1926	1990		Yoo, Si-ju (Free Lancer)
7	Pak, Na-sop	M	Onggi (pottery with a dark brown glaze) Potter	Jeong-eub	1917 /1990s	1990		Oh, Hyeon-ju (Free Lancer)
8	Song, Chun-shik	F	Yangban (the aristocratic class of old Korea) Housewife	Bonghwa	1917	1990		Shin, Gyeong-ran (Reporter**)
9	Choe, So-shim	F	Jindo Kanggangsullae (a Korean circle dance) Performer	Jindo	1907 /1991	1990	No. 8 (1976)	Kang, Yun-ju (Reporter**)

10	So, Yong-ok	M	Chollipo Fishman	Seosan	1915	1990		Park, Mi-a (Reporter**)
11	Kim, Myong-hwan	M	Pansori (traditional Korean narrative song) Drummer	Gokseong	1913 /1989	1991	No. 59 (1978)	Kim, Hae-suk (Kayageum player, college lecturer) Park, Jong-gwon (poet) Baek Dae-ung (Musical composer, college professor) Lee, Eun-ja (Highschool music teacher)
12	Yi, Pong-won	M	Polgyo Farmer	Polgyo	1906	1991		Park, Gi-ung (Reporter**)
13	Song, Mun-ok	M	Auraji Rafts man	Kangwon-do	1906	1991		Shin, Gyeong-ran (Reporter**)
14	Kim, Sung-yun	M	Cheju Farmer	Cheju	1911	1991		Oh, Seong-chan (Novelist, Cheju resident)
15	Ham, Tong-jong-wol	F	Kayanum (a twelve-stringed Korean zither) Virtuoso	Gangjin	1917 /1994	1991	No. 23 (1980)	Kim, Myung-gon (Former reporter*, A theater manager) Kim, Hae-sook (Kayanum player, college lecturer, learning from the interviewee)
16	Lee, Kwang-yong	F	The Slash-and-burn Farmer's wife	Mixed	1915	1991		Kang, Yun-ju (Reporter**)
17	Mun, Chang-won	M	Tongnae Hallyang (traditional indigenous dancer)	Dongnae	1917	1991	No. 18 (1967)	Shin, Gyeong-ran (Reporter**)
18	Han, Sang-suk	F	Seoul Housewife	Seoul	1918	1991		Mok-Su-hyeon (Reporter**)
19	Kim, U-shik	M	Chillyang Onggi (pottery with a dark brown glaze) Boatman	Gangjin	1924	1991		Kim, Jeong-ho (President of the Local culture promotion center)
20	Chae, Chong-nye	F	Jindo Female Shaman	Jindo	1925	1991		Park, Ju-eon (Local historian, local journalist)

* Former reporter means someone who worked for The Deep-Rooted Tree.

** Reporter means someone who worked for The Deep-Spring Water.

contains eight artists or craftsmen. Secondly, I also considered regional backgrounds. Out of twenty, the majority—eight people—are from Jolla province, Southwest of Korean Peninsula, which is famous for its large rice fields and artistic heritage. And five people satisfy both criteria—Ki-nam (book three, Janggu drummer), Na-sop (book seven, onggi potter), So-shim (book nine, Kanggangsullae performer), Myong-hwan (book eleven, pansori drummer), and Tong-jong-wol (book fifteen, Kayageum player). The half of the twenty people is female. Among the five I selected, So-shim and Tong-jong-wol are female. Three of them (So-shim, Myong-hwan, and Tong-jong-wol) were holders of National Intangible Cultural Assets. Three of them (Ki-nam, Na-sop, and So-shim) had not received any schooling—they did not know how to read and write. Tong-jong-wol only attended elementary school. Unlike the others, Myong-hwan was born into a wealthy family and had received his secondary education in Japan.

A conventional research timeline is applied in this study as it began with a research proposal and ended with a finding report before the dissertation committee. In between two dissertation committee meetings, there were efforts of data analysis and writing-up. However, the real process is more complex and messy, because the study used a published document and different method of inquiry. As the source data are already accessible, the data collection field work in terms of conventional qualitative research is unnecessary. The nature and content of the source data were presented at the research proposal meeting in the form of the first assembling data, the surrounding data. The other types of assembling data have been produced as I read the source data. The primary way of using reading and writing as a method of inquiry is adapted from Kraft's (2004) qualitative content analysis of emotional memory of Holocaust survivors. In analyzing video archives of the survivors' testimonies, Kraft viewed each testimony in its entirety twice. At first, he paid attention to the general content and organization of the memories.

Then, he reviewed the testimony while annotating passages and describing the remembered episodes. He selectively viewed the testimony up to ten times while focusing on the annotated passages, transcribing the words, and detailing the contextual and extra-linguistic features. Similarly, I began by reading the selected source data twice in its entirety at the beginning. I followed each individual's lifelines and major events. In these initial readings of the source data, I handwrote ideas of analysis and assembling data on yellow post-it notes or letter size blank paper. The post-it notes and blank paper became a point of departure to write the assembling data and analysis notes.

I managed four different kinds of notes. First, I wrote an analysis note. I did not carry out a systematic coding. However, I tried to identify a plot or key aspects of learning activity out of their life history. As I continued to read the second and third life histories, the dimension of comparison and contrast emerged. Analysis notation is not systematic. Rather, it is temporal and spontaneous. However, it is incorporated into the process of writing preliminary findings. Second, I wrote a research journal to document my thought and experiences of the research process. It contains day-to-day activities, personal reflection, and response data from dissertation committee members and others who read my draft. Third, I wrote transgressive data notes. These notes documented the unfolding data incorporating the often emotional reactions I had to the source data. I usually wrote these transgressive data in Korean and felt it helped to interpret my personal assumptions concerning past experiences related to source data narratives. For example, when I read the story of a wedding from the source data, it reminded me of my own wedding and my parents' faded wedding picture at the same time. This prompt reaction often interrupted my reading. I believe it also implicitly affected the analysis process. Finally, I wrote an additional data note that contains keywords, referential quotations, and reflection memos that I read

throughout the dissertation process. The note was produced through readings about qualitative research, postmodernism, activity theory, and Korean studies. The other contents of additional data notes are my comments on the information that I gathered from newspapers, magazines, and webpages that are related to the analysis note.

The actual process of reading and writing as a method of inquiry was not easy. I want to share the first reading of and writing about the seventh book. It is a story of an onggi potter, Na-sop. For some reason, I could not pick up the book. As I defended the dissertation proposal in March of 2005, I planned to begin reading the source data later that month. It simply did not happen. I could not pick it up. I asked myself why I could not engage with the source data and the answer became my first transgressive data note. It was just two paragraphs long but serious questions came out: what do I want to accomplish by analyzing this poor person's learning and life from the perspective of poststructuralism? What is my hidden, unknown, but sincere desire? Am I honest with myself? I was reminded of Lather's (1991) belief, "our action is our knowing" (p. xv), Collins's (2000) charge on postmodernism, Britzman's (1995) "uneasy dialogue between humanism and poststructuralism, between what is taken as lived experience and the afterthought of interpretive efforts, between the real subjects and their textual identities" (pp. 232-233), and Pillow's (2000) "reflexivity of discomfort" (p. 188). After a week or so I finally picked up the book and read it. I tried to employ what Britzman (1995) describes as "contradictory point of no return, of having to abandon the impossible desire to portray the study's subjects as they would portray themselves" (p. 233) into my practice of reading. Once I read the source data, some personal connections were immediately made. Na-sop's 60th birthday party story stands out. It reminded me of my father's and elder uncle's 60th birthdays. Na-sop's schooling story brought an old memory of one of my father's cousins. Surprisingly, I began to have dreams of my past

that I had not had before reading the source data. I do not have a clear image of the dreams, but most of them are from when I was in high school. I wrote these connections in my transgressive data notes, believing this practice would “allow readers [me] to challenge and rearrange what it is that structures the reader’s [my] own identity imperatives, the reader’s [my] own theory of reading that produces boundaries of the credible and the incredible” (Britzman, 1995, p. 237).

Reading as a method of inquiry was not limited to the source data. There were many additional readings. Most of them were class assignments—courses I took after the dissertation proposal including Postmodern Qualitative Data Analysis, Advanced Qualitative Research Seminar, and Foucault and Education. I also read books and articles on adult learning theory, activity theory, writing, and poststructuralism. The additional readings affected the source data reading. The handwritten memos from the repeated source data readings were almost always linked to the additional readings. They were often turned into the different notes that I managed, although being modified, expanded, and, sometimes discarded. As the notes began to pile up I came to see what Spivak (1997) said: “Each act of reading the ‘text’ is a preface to the next” (p. xxi). I started to use my notes to re-read the source data differently. As Spivak argues, “The book is not repeatable in its ‘identity’: each reading of the book produces a simulacrum of an ‘original’ that is itself the mark of the shifting and unstable subject” (p. xxi). The process of this study can be illustrated as Figure 3.1 in comparison with the conventional research timeline.

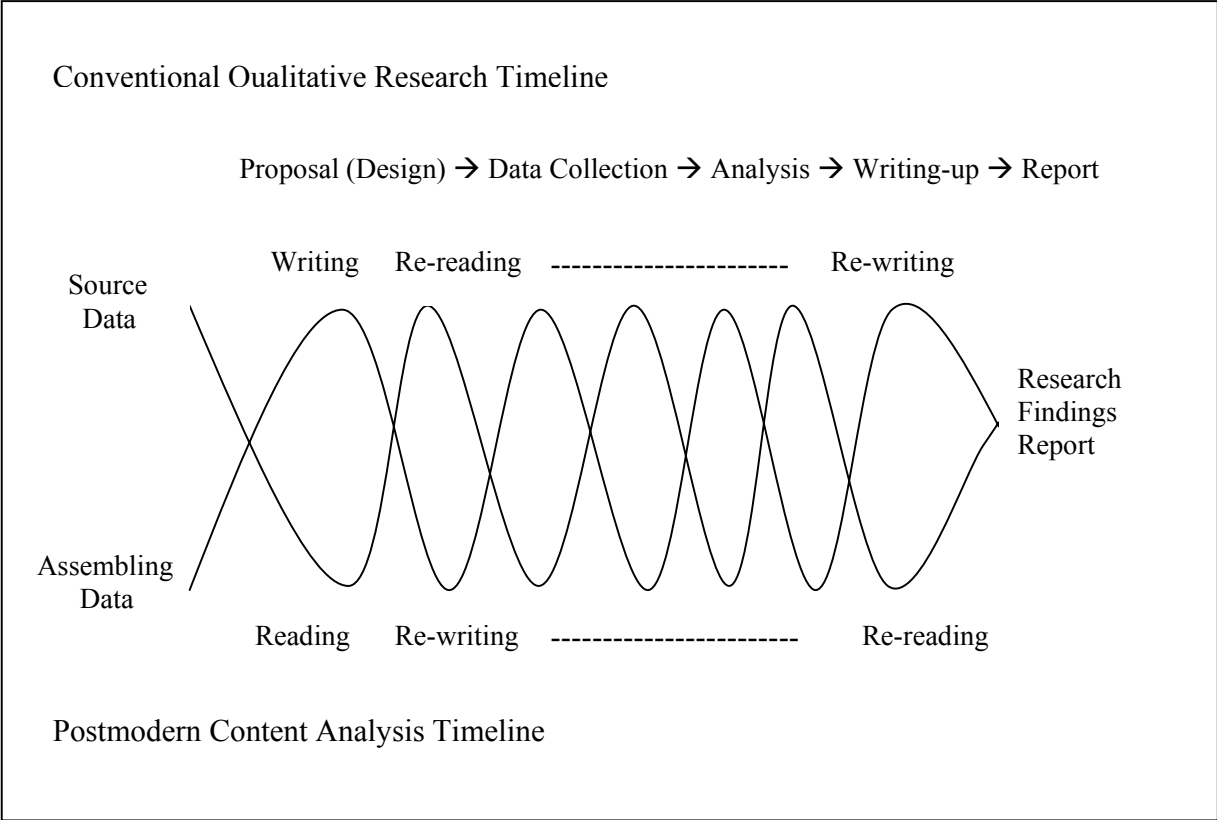


Figure 3.1 The Process of Postmodern Content Analysis

As the rounds of re-reading and re-writing went along, research findings developed. Though I kept focusing on the source data, to report the findings does not mean to represent the source data accurately to the reader. As the study involves assembling data extensively, the writing-up findings cannot not avoid the conventional style. In this study, I used essay. By essay, firstly, I want to create a text that is “a different kind of opportunity for *sustained* systematic analysis that does not attempt the totalizing narrative gestures” (Visweswaran, 1994, p. 11). Though I did not generate encompassing themes through the act of coding the source data, the process of re-reading and re-writing sustained the systematic approach. The finding essays do not intend to extract the totality of lifelong learning activities among the five selected people. Rather, they are only partial reports. Secondly, the essay allows me to use assembling data as well as the

source data. If I follow the conventional qualitative research format, there is no room for me to use assembling data in the finding section. In the form of an essay, I can weave assembling data, and particularly transgressive and additional data, into the story. This weaving only produces temporal report, in that, as Ricoeur (1991) argues, “the process of composition, of configuration, is not completed in the text but in the reader” (p. 26). My essay will be another source or assembling data to the reader who produces different meaning and knowledge. Thirdly, I want to use what is called spiritual dimension of writing by employing the essay. By avoiding systematic presentation of themes and subsequent quotations with plausible explanations, I want to create an unexpected stretching space as Schiller (1997) writes:

Writing is a natural site for spirituality. Every time we pick up a pen to express language, sometimes language that stretches our reach, we push inward to discover new realms of experience. The journey inward automatically imposes a quest for connections between the known and the unknown, between the cognitive and the intuitive, between the self and the other. (p. 36)

I composed the findings essays as a kind of interrogative text (Belsey, 2002). I tried to interrogate the intersections of subjectivity, learning activities, and the socio-cultural-historical contexts. The primary objective of the publisher and interviewers of the source data was not to provide stories of learning activities. However, if we accept the assumption, that life is not separable from learning, the source data can be seen as something filled with (un)told, yet detectable stories of learning. As I cannot interrogate the original narrators of the source data to get to the bottom of the fact, this interrogation differs from a judicial quest of what really happened. The original narrators of the selected five oral histories have all died and yet, even if I could interrogate them, I would remain unable to determine any sort of preexisting “truth.”

Though I pose questions and try to answer them, it will be incomplete and unfinished. My interrogation is not for producing a declarative text. Rather, it aims to invite the reader to my interrogation. As Belsey suggests:

The *interrogative* text...disrupts the unity of the reader by discouraging identification with a unified subject of enunciation. The position of the 'author' inscribed in the text, if it can be located at all, is seen as questioning or as contradictory. Thus, even if the interrogative text does not precisely...seek 'to obtain some information' from the reader, it does literally invite the reader to produce answers to the questions it implicitly or explicitly raises. (p. 84)

Therefore, the finding essays will show my interrogation of the five selected people's learning and life, which may cause uneasiness, discomfort to the reader. The reader may feel that I, as an author and finding reporter, do not exercise any authority over my own study. However, it is exactly what I tried to do.

In writing the finding essays, translating Korean into English was an issue. As the reader shall see, I did not always use direct-translated quotations in all essays. I put page numbers with the book number in brackets wherever I used direct-translated quotations from the source data. For example, [p. 7: 23] means the translation comes from the book seven, page 23. To help the reader understand the source data, I explain the Korean proper noun and place name by using brackets. I also use brackets to make translations clear whenever I think it is needed. Ensuring the accuracy of translation is very important, and I used a back translation method. At first, I translated all the necessary parts into English by myself in writing the findings essays. Then, I selected parts of translated paragraphs and asked multiple Korean researchers who are fluent in English to translate them back into Korean. Finally, I asked another Korean researcher to

compare these back translations with the original source data. The source data contain a lot of dialects and the original editors of the source data annotated them with modern expressions. Therefore, the comparison between the back translation and the source data considered these annotated modern expressions.

The Korean Socio-Cultural Context and My Subjectivity

I felt a sense of closeness to some of the interviewees in the source data. One of them was a carpenter like my father. There is a sincere Christian like my mother. A few of them were farmers like my father's eldest brother and grandfather. Most of them were poor and lived in rural areas like my family. I think this sense of closeness affected my reading of the source data. I acknowledge that I could not read and analyze the source data objectively in any sense. My representation of the data or knowledge that I produced out of the data cannot satisfy the reliability call since it cannot but reflect my personal biases.

Since being born in 1971 in South Korea, I have been produced in multiple ways. As Kramnick (1995) wrote, I, "as socially constructed, as never solitary but always involved in social relationships," thus have been "shaped by history, tradition, and aspects of identity that society and social classes construct" (p. xxiii). This perspective was very natural for me to read my past life as well as the source data. I assume that socio-cultural-historical contexts shape both the learner's beliefs on learning and learning behaviors. These beliefs and behaviors, at the same time, collectively consist of Korean socio-cultural-historical contexts of learning. The contexts, beliefs on learning, and learning behaviors are interrelated. These are not in simple cause and effect relationships, instead, they affect, enhance, and sometimes suppress one another in various ways. At the same time, I found myself somehow acknowledging Kramnick's (1995) following point:

With their [postmodernist, feminist, and certain strands of communitarian thought's] insistence on complex webs of relationships, and the inevitably constraining power of community, tradition, and social construction over individuals, these most recent critics of the Enlightenment, whether they intend to or not, ironically often end with depictions of a social world that in some respects Enlightenment liberals had set out to destroy. (p. xxiii)

Every human being, though he or she is constrained by the social world, becomes unique one in the world. There is no one else who can live the same life. Kramnick's point, as I understand, is about lack of focus on this uniqueness of the subject in describing the subjectivity.

I have produced and been produced by the context simultaneously. My subjectivity is at the crossroads of multiple discourses. The plural selves who are reflecting multiple cultural heritages are needed, but this is not always comfortable. I am disciplined and produced to be an individual who has a single coherent self. However, I become more comfortable with the chaotic image of the world and acknowledge that I do not have a stable subjectivity. I think this becomes a necessary part of ethics in this postmodern era. I certainly do not know how to describe this complex scene since the subject and the context are always floating and, in a sense, never allow themselves to be depicted in describing the subjectivity. However, both of them should be described and I think we are, as human beings, always longing to describe our subjectivity in some ways. As a doctoral student who is eager to study people's life and learning, I also want to know how to describe or, more accurately, live with this complexity from the perspective of learning. In this section, I will describe a few scenes of my past life along with some citation. The reference I used here is written in English mainly by Korean authors. I hope this help the reader understand me and my interpretation of the data.

I was born in my grandmother's house in 1971. It was a rural thatched house near Wonju, a small-sized city where I grew up. It was a year after President Park introduced the Yushin Constitution. Both of my parents were from rural areas. In 1970s Korea began to develop from agriculture-based to a commercial, manufacture-based economy and my parents were among those who left their rural hometowns for a new urban lifestyle. Both of my grandfathers were lifetime farmers. I have been well exposed to rural culture and lifestyles since I frequently visited my grandparents. My grandmother lived in the same place where the thatched house stood. The house has been reconstructed but she never left the place. I began to live in Seoul when I entered the university and spent most of my twenties there except for two years of military service. I served in an American military base in Chuncheon between 1993 and 1995. The American military base had been there since the Korean War. After graduating from the university in 1997, I worked as a journalist for about four and half years in Seoul. I visited China four times and America once when I was a journalist. I left South Korea to pursue my doctoral study in America in the fall of 2002. I think more than two years of living and studying in America, my former experiences as a journalist traveling outside of Korea, as well as my past experiences of both rural and urban Korean culture help me to describe my subjectivity from both insider and outsider viewpoints.

Scenes of my past life

I grew up in poor neighborhoods. My father was a carpenter. My mother also had to work since my father's tiny small furniture factory failed when I was seven or eight years old. Being a carpenter is neither financially desirable nor socially respectable in Korea. For more than five hundred years, Korean social systems have been based upon Confucius societal orderliness, Sam-gang-Oh-ryoun. Sam-gang is three foundations of social relations: the son should serve the

father (Boo-wi-ja-gang), the servants should serve the king (Gun-wi-shin-gang), and the wife should serve the husband (Boo-wi-boo-gang). At the same time, Sam-gang implies that the father, the king, and the husband must be a model for the son, the servants, and the wife. Oh-ryoun describes the ethics: respect between the king and servants (Gun-shin-you-euy), closeness between father and son (Boo-ja-you-chin), difference between husband and wife (Boo-boo-you-byul), order between the old and the young (Jang-you-you-suh), and trust between friends (Boong-woo-you-shin). Sam-gang-Oh-ryoun still governs Korean people's daily lives implicitly even though it is not enforced as it was before. Typically Confucius societal orderliness can be found in its hierarchical social class system based on vocations and gender role division.

The term, sa-nong-gong-sang, which literally means “the literate class-farmers-manufacturers-merchants,” represents the conventional Korean class hierarchy, though it was not as rigid and exclusive as in the caste system of India. There was a possibility of upward-mobility unless a man belonged to the underclass as a serf or was a man of very humble birth. However, it should be noted that the top class called “sa” had enjoyed almost all of the opportunities in Joseon dynasty. This class hierarchy still functions implicitly such that mental work is more respected than manual work. My father had never been respected as a carpenter because of its manual focus. When I was young I was not proud of my father though I loved him much.

Confucianism has a strict gender role division. Simply speaking, it treats women as subordinate to men. There are three men that a woman should follow in her life (Sam-jong-jee-do): as a maiden follow the father, as a married woman follow the husband, and after the husband dies follow the son. When Korean people introduce a husband and wife, they tend to call the wife as Jib-sa-ram (someone who is inside the house to take charge of the household and childcare) and the husband as Ba-gat-yang-ban (someone who is outside the house and a

breadwinner). Having been married for less than three years, I often found myself using Jib-saram to introduce my wife even though we, both doctoral students, try to share household tasks evenly. This gender role division provided enough reason for my mother to complain about my father's economic incompetence and my father certainly felt ashamed of it. In a broad sense, the gender role division in Korean society influences the way that parents educate their sons and daughters differently, for they usually educate daughters less than sons (Chung, 1994; Lee & Rinehart, 1995; Pae & Lakes, 2004). Though women's participation in the workforce has increased with industrialization, domestic chores and childcare often prohibit women from work (S.-K. Kim, 1996; Sung, 2003; Won & Pascall, 2004).

Since we were poor, my family had to live in a single room until I was eleven years old. I know how poverty easily makes people mean. I still remember one Chuseok (the Korean version of Thanksgiving Day, celebrated on the 15th day of eighth lunar month) morning when my father was bankrupt. My parents decided not to go to my grandmother's house; gathering at the grandmother's house on the Thanksgiving Day is a cultural tradition in Korean society. There were some verbal exchanges between my parents the night before; they had nothing for the holiday. Some of my father's aunts visited us a few days later. Now I can understand my parents' feeling at that time. Korea is a family-oriented society. Unlike the American family system, the Korean family system is strictly blood-based. Adoption has never been popular in Korea and single moms still face social discrimination. In the Korean family, filial piety and ancestor worship are very important. Even though many Korean families often do not live with their elderly parents and nuclear families are popular these days, Korean people still believe that the first son should provide for his parents and hold annual ancestor worship, which is held on the night of ancestor's death, New Year's Day, and Thanksgiving Day. My parents did not

participate in this important event on account of their economic incompetence. It certainly was a shame to my parents.

My grandmother had lived with her first son, my father's elder brother until she died in 2005. Her health condition was really poor for several years before she died and her daughter-in-law, who was more than sixty years old and had her grandchildren, took care of my grandmother. This is a conventional example of Korean filial piety. This filial piety causes delay in establishing a social welfare system for the older people. These familial traditions deeply affected the Korean modernization process. Chang (1997) points out that President Park Jung Hee "publicly propagated the ideology of chung-hyo-sa-sang (meaning codes of loyalty to the state and filial piety to parents) so that people might respect his political authority just as they revere their parents' moral authority" (Family and sociopolitical order section, para. 3). Also, Chang uses Korean business conglomerates as examples of a family-oriented modernization in that many of them are owned and managed by owner families.

When I was a middle school student, my father had been to Libya for two years. In the 1970s and 1980s South Korean companies had a number of major construction contracts in the Middle East and my father was temporarily hired by one of those companies. My brother and I studied really hard since it was the only way for us to overcome our underprivileged situations and to make our parents happy. They needed a reward for their hard work. I and my brother's future were the true rewards. Getting a good grade and being obedient to the teacher were fundamental rewards. We were "good" students in our entire school years and we were the first generation in our family to go to college. My father is still proud of this.

South Korea's public educational system is based on cramming knowledge into the student and filters students through the multiple choice college entrance examination. Though

some reformations have been introduced these days, the educational system still functions as a social reproduction institution. Military governments had used the curriculum to propagate their ruling ideology. The schooling was certainly a disciplinary power (Foucault, 1975/1995). When I was young I was tamed and unable to resist it. Rather, I wanted to make use of the system as much as possible. I thought if I could survive in the competitive college entrance exam and enter the top university, it would be the best chance that I could make for the rest of my life at that time. It also meant the best visible reward to my parents. This was the best resistance I could do not to be reproduced as a lower class, manual worker. However, my desire also relied on the other face of the Korean society. Korean society has what is called *yŏnjul*. *Yŏnjul* means “particularistic relations maintained by kin, school, or regional ties” (Yee, 2000, p. 326). Inside and outside of formal groups, Korean people tend to develop informal clan meetings, alumni groups, and regional groups. A strong *yŏnjul* “usually transcends institutionalized rules and formal prescriptions,” but “the strong bond working within the *yŏnjul* tie tends to become a barrier to those who do not share the link” (Yee, 2000, p. 326). To enter the top university guarantees making a good school *yŏnjul*.

When I was a freshman at the Seoul National University, the president of South Korea was a former Army general who successfully conducted a military coup. Political injustice and economic inequality were important social and cultural issues throughout my college life. Rapid economic development and urbanization caused a lot of problems. I remember the afternoon that I read the newspaper article about the tragedy of a family: The parents left their two kids with food in their rented room and locked the door outside when they went for work. They were afraid that the kids usually get out of the room and lose their way. They did not have money to send the kids to daycare. Unfortunately, the kids played with a match and candle, and there was a fire.

The kids could not escape the room and were killed. I felt that I had to do something about this ugly society. I was not a “good” student any more. I read books with my friends outside of the classroom. I did not trust professors. They seemed to be privileged and to talk about some “higher” knowledge which, I thought, was useless to change the world. I read Marx. Reading Marx was the unquestionable obligation to me and friends around me. We were indoctrinated and perfectly produced as Marxist kids. I wanted to know the “structure” of the society in order to change it and Marx seemed to provide it. But our reading Marx was superficial and I never found a deep understanding or successfully deconstructed his thoughts. I could not reconstruct Marx for the revolution or reformation of Korean society. And at that time the communist countries in Eastern Europe collapsed. I could not have a clear vision. Even though I did not have one, I participated in a number of violent street demonstrations—I was produced in the street. There was an enemy in the street—the police. Sometimes we “liberated” a part of the downtown throughout the whole night. These were romantic experiences. When I awoke the next morning, what were left was a hangover from the night’s drinks and an unchanged world.

My involvement with social justice activism was related to my religious faith. I started to attend Church when I was twelve years old. My mother brought me and my brother to Wonju First Methodist Church. The Church was founded in 1905. It is the mother Methodist Church of the province. We, I and my brother, learned of Jesus Christ in that Church. We were educated as faithful Wesleyan Christians. My brother was graduated from the Korean Methodist Seminary and ordained as a Methodist pastor. I also have been deeply affected by John Wesley’s life and service. I still remember an image that I drew in my mind at the age of sixteen that John Wesley traveled around the poor communities of England on horseback. This Wesleyan belief was reinforced throughout the college years. I read books on liberation theology, theology after the

death of God, and theology of hope. I do understand the postmodern critique on religion. I agree with Derrida's rejection of God as a transcendental signifier (Derrida, 1966/1978). But believing in God to me is a kind of "the care of the self" (Foucault, 1984/1997). What I believe is that I should work now because God works now; God cannot do anything without my working and vice versa. I believe this working is producing the context that enables a different constitution of the subject.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study is to understand the influence of the socio-cultural-historical context on learning as it contributes to the construction of people's lives. In particular, this study will examine how 20th century Korean socio-cultural-historical context and the lifelong learning of Korean people co-construct one another. The research questions are: (1) What are the patterns of learning activities among the people? (2) What was the socio-cultural-historical context that influenced their life and learning? (3) How did the patterns of learning activities emerge in conjunction with the socio-cultural-historical context?

The purpose and research questions of this study are situated in the question that is laid out in chapter one: "What lifelong learning activities in the socio-cultural-historical context function in what ways in constructing the learner's life?" This question assumes learning as an activity that can be observed on the surface where the learner and the socio-cultural-historical context engage with each other. This surface is a figurative space that has two closely related characteristics. First, the surface is leaking. There is a kind of perforated line between the learner and the socio-cultural-historical context. They are connected somehow but not fully. Leaking happens through the torn part on the surface. No contextual power can shape the learner seamlessly since it is leaking. In contrast, shaping of the context by the learner is not always predictable. Unexpected or unanticipated things always take place since it is leaking. Second, the surface is amorphous. The perforated line cannot be fixed at any time. A different surface emerges at different times. As the learner and the context are connected, they are always shaping

each other. Change in the learner is change of the context, and vice versa. On this leaking and amorphous surface, diverse and multiple forms of learning are ceaselessly unfolding since the learner and the context cannot but move. I assume this unfoldment constitutes the multiplicity of lifelong learning.

This chapter is composed of five essays. The first four essays present four different figurations of lifelong learning. The four figuration essays are escaping (Mr. Na-sop Park), creating (Mr. Myong-hwan Kim), controlling (Mr. Ki-nam Shin), and formalizing (Ms. So-shim Choi). I dropped Ms. Tong-jong-wol Ham in figuration essays since I could not locate a different figuration from her lifelong learning activities. Tong-jong-wol's life will be included in the fifth essay. The first four essays distinctively illustrate each individual's lifelong learning activities in terms of the given figurations. However, each person's learning activities are not limited to the chosen figuration. Though each essay is devoted to describing one figuration, the reader will find all figurations in all essays. I will revisit this crossing and overlapping in the fifth essay. However, it is not my intention to propose a unified structure of four figurations. The four figurations are partial, temporal aspects of lifelong learning activities.

The figuration essays begin with an essay on Na-sop's escaping. I will analyze how Na-sop's subjective positions on learning activities constructed his life and learning. The second essay on Myong-hwan's creating focuses on the creation of learning activities. The third essay on Ki-nam's controlling deals with body politics in learning activities. I explore the power relations in learning activities in terms of controlling the body. The fourth essay on So-shim's formalizing looks into how the informal learning activities affect the construction of individual subjectivity and socio-cultural context. Each essay will employ various learning theories—for

example, communities of practice, transformative learning, embodied learning, informal learning, woman's learning, and so on.

The figuration essays have different styles. The first essay uses a dramatized voice. It presents Na-sop's first-person voice directly in the form of Acts and Scenes to provide readers with themes and events of his life and learning. The second essay is composed of imaginary e-mail exchanges between me and Myong-hwan. Like the first essay, it provides first-person voice. Also, it contains my personal stories. The reader will encounter what I wrote in the transgressive and additional data notes. The third and fourth essays are rather straight forward. The third essay, though, uses transgressive data and additional data extensively. It is like a back and forth presentation of the source data and assembling data. The reader may feel disturbed when Ki-nam's story is abruptly followed by my personal story. This rupture intends to provide a pause for the reader to think of the deployment of socio-cultural-historical contexts. Unlike the third essay, the fourth essay does not contain my own story. It sticks to the source data as much as possible. First, second, and fourth essays have an introductory paragraphs that guide the contents and style of each essay. The third essay, however, begins Ki-nam's story without any introduction. It is another rupture of the style. I hope this provides a different reading experience to the reader.

Each essay is divided into several chunks of story. Some chunks only contain the translation of the source data, while other chunks are full of reflections and analyses. The longest chunk is more than several pages, while the shortest is just a short paragraph. I put an asterisk (*) between the chunks of story. The stories before and after the asterisk sometimes flow naturally. In many cases, however, the asterisk is a mark of rupture in the development of the essay. It shifts the story to unexpected directions, introduces different voices, and may cause uneasy

feelings to the reader as a result. The purpose of this rupture is to show that I did not intend to compose a seamlessly structured essay even though I present one person with one figuration in each essay. One's life is always connected to the others. It was complex and looks messy. My reading of it cannot be represented in a neat and tidy style. I want the reader to consider an asterisk as a signal to the rupture of the story and be prepared.

As I discussed in chapter three, all the four essays are composed as interrogative text. I pose questions implicitly or explicitly in each figuration essay. I may or may not suggest my own answers to the questions. I want the reader to his/her own answers or raise new questions while reading the rest of the chapter.

Escaping

Na-sop was born in Gok-sung, Southern Jolla Province, in 1917. Since his father was an onggi potter and none in his neighborhood was sent to school, he decided to learn how to make an onggi from his father at the age of sixteen. Since then he worked numerous onggi factories within a twenty-five-miles circle of his hometown. He had gone beyond this circle only two times in his entire life. He went to Seoul and a few other cities in Kyonggi Province in 1955 to get a job at the onggi factory. Later, he won the Prime Minister Award (Second Place Award) at the National Competition of the Traditional Industrial Art and Crafts in 1986 and traveled to Seoul. He married twice. First marriage was ended in a year without children. With his second wife, he had one son and two daughters. But as he spent most of his life away from home, he often got involved with other

women around onggi factories. He was seventy-four years old when the interview was published in 1990. Na-sop died in 1990s* .

We manage life with multiple subjectivities. One's entire life is hardly seen through the one subjectivity. Different lenses will shed light on different aspects of one's life and subjectivities. In this essay, I attempt to decode Na-sop Park's subjectivity as onggi potter in terms of his learning activity. This decoding involves not just the content of one's learning but also one's subject-position on learning activity. In other words, analyzing Na-sop's onggi potter subjectivity in terms of learning activities includes both his learning how to make an onggi and a series of escapes from what he learned. The constitution of subjectivity, or identity, is observed in the theory of community of practice (Wenger & Snyder, 2000). People achieve their subjectivity in the process of participating in the community. The process can be seen as socialization or enculturation in the given societal or cultural contexts.

The main subject of this essay, Na-sop, had never been to any kind of school throughout his life, but his life is full of learning activities. Knowing how to make an onggi and living as an onggi potter are inseparable from learning activities. In this essay, I argue that these learning activities reflect his contradictory subject-positions on learning within socio-cultural-historical contexts available to him. The subject-position on learning could be hidden in the source data since Na-sop somehow was unaware of it. My decoding of his subjectivity herein is not tracing the reason or origin of his subject-position on learning but mapping the "lines of flight" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987) that he drew in his life as an onggi potter. In other words, I do not want to locate psychological motivation or sociological justification of Na-sop's learning and life. I do

* I exchanged e-mails with a potter who claimed that he had learned from Na-sop. He said Na-sop died years ago. But I was unable to find out the exact year of Na-sop's death.

not aim to uncover or discover any stable reason for explaining his subject-position on learning. Rather, I will treat his subject-position on his learning activity at the surface level—by this, I mean I want to interrogate what he did say and did not say about his learning activities—to shed light on his troubled sense of self or unstable subjectivity.

This essay begins with Na-sop's mono-dramatized voice. The "I" in the translation is Na-sop. As Visweswaran (1994) argues, dramatized voice is suitable "not only to emphasize agency as performance, but also to underscore the constructedness and staging of identity [subjectivity]" (p. 41). In Act one, Na-sop describes how he began to learn onggi making skills. Act two has three scenes, which speak of Na-sop's failed escapes from onggi making. Act three deals with Na-sop's final, different escape; he revived the onggi that he learned from his father after decades of making a popular modernized style onggi with different glazes. And, Act four contains Na-sop's own account of learning. The four-digit number is the year when the content of the story happened. The acts and scenes are selective direct translations of sentences from different pages of the source data. I added the page numbers at the end of the scenes. After these acts and scenes, I will engage with Na-sop's voices.

*

Act one, 1932

I was probably about fifteen or sixteen years old when I began to make an onggi. I could not begin earlier since I was not strong enough. You should be strong at least to pick up tools, bring an onggi out to dry, and put glaze on. So I spent some time around the workplace and when I became seventeen I set to make it in earnest. After then I moved from making a smaller one, and step by step, I could make the largest onggi—Hang-ah-ri—in three years. At first, you need to learn to make a small one. Then, you learn one by one and you can be said to have learned

everything when you successfully make a hang-ah-ri. There are five or six more folks who were older than my father that made onggi for living in Gok-sung [a small town located in the far south of Korean peninsula]. So I went to their workplaces and learned by seeing what they were doing. Since I got an idea how to do it, I had a rough sense of it, seeing was learning. Follow what you see, then it becomes like that.....My father kept me from learning it. However, I insisted on learning. It seemed nice at that time to make something. Well, actually there was nothing to do, so I could not but learn it. Otherwise, I could not learn it because my father forced me not to learn it. I do not know from whom my father learned.....I learned forcibly. As I had nothing to do, I did it without knowing being interested in it or not. They did not allow me to look into where they were working. I learned forcibly. I was stubborn.....Mother also opposed my learning it. Anyway I had an intention to learn it. [p. 7: 18, 19, 20]

Act two, Scene one, 1936

I had learned pansori [traditional Korean narrative song] for sometime when I was young. Well, if I had gone into that way and played well enough like Dong-jin Park [a famous Korean pansori singer], don't you think I might be well off now? I just learned it for a short time when I was about twenty years old. There was no teacher. A shaman in the town taught pansori. I learned for about a month with others but I could not pay attention to it and thought it was unfit to me. So I quit. [p. 7: 68]

Act two, Scene two, 1961

(In his mid-forties Na-sop tried to quit his job and leave his hometown Gok-sung. At that time many old people who worked with him passed away and there was only a few people who could work with him.)

When I left the onggi factory and was at home, I was restless as to whether I should quit this loathsome work [onggi making] or not. I sent my wife to Sok-cho [a seaside city located at the northeast of Korean peninsula]. A brother of my wife was living there. I sent her to see if we could live there. I was intended to go far away. For about ten days she did not come back. So I thought she settled down and I prepared to go up there as soon as I got a message from her. But she came down home after about a month. “Why do you come down?” I asked. “Well, I couldn’t manage there. People over there are not that discreet so that I can’t open my heart entirely.” She came back to prevent me from catching up with her [at Sok-cho] against her will. So I asked her to move to Yeo-soo [a seaside city located at the south of Korean peninsula]. So we moved from my hometown Gok-sung to Yeo-soo. [p. 7: 45]

Act two, Scene three, 1961

In Yeo-soo, my wife started to sell spices and seasonings....I, at least, wanted to do a business, but it just did not go well with me. I went to the pier and looked around to find out something for my business item but, gee, I was so dull-witted that I couldn’t find anything. At that time we had three-bedroom house and rented one room. The renter did sell apples for a living. He recommended me to sell apples. The renter told me that there was an auction broker from whom he got apples with paying a margin. So, I went to the broker and got apples. I sold out good looking ones. The problem was that the rest of the apples hold a profit. If they were sold I could make a profit, or at least come out even. People just sorted good ones out to buy and I ended up with bad looking ones. I took them to home and ate some and gave the others to the kids around. It is just a losing business. So I gave up. I just did it once. It seemed that I wouldn’t cover the cost. Why should I stick to it? The renter carried a large handcart-full of apples with

his wife and managed a business. I just got two or three boxes of apples to sell and lost money.

[p. 7: 45, 46]

Act three, 1983

When I worked at a factory in Yeon-san, Mr. Soon-chaeh Han visited me and said, “I want to make an onggi at my factory in Jing-kwang just as it was made in the past. I want you to come with me and work together.” Without his motion, I had been thinking of making an old style onggi...So I went [to his factory].....At that time it could not be made in that style [that he makes at the time of interviewing (1989)]. Because I had made modern style, straight tall shape, before I came here [Jing-kwang], I could not but make it straight even though I tried to add a belly. So it was not a good shape. These times [at the time of interviewing] onggi from Seoul is the same with that from the countryside [Jolla province]. In the past it wasn't. Kyounggi-style [Seoul is at the center of Kyounggi province] onggi did not have a big belly but was straight tall. When they started glazing with red lead, they made an onggi more straight imitating Kyounggi-style onggi. Since it [glazed with red lead] results in less throw-away after baking and more profit, countryside onggi seemed to change its shape following the Seoul style. [p. 7: 123, 125]

Act four, 1989

You cannot even imitate [a fine onggi] in just two or three-months learning. The old folks told me that it is still harder at the beginning to learn to make an onggi than to study classic readings. This cannot be learned fast. You should persevere in making this. Discard it if it is not good. Smash it away if it is not good again. So you should be as determined as saying “I must learn it in any way.” If you are not that determined, you cannot learn. Therefore, though the other people take a rest, you should sit in front of it and make it. Does it work if you just try to make? Practice it. You just keep practicing it. Otherwise, you cannot learn it. Then mud and clay

become used to your hand by practicing everyday as the proverb says, “the sparrow near a school sings the primer.” [p. 7: 136]

*

Na-sop’s father was running an onggi factory. An onggi potter is not at all a respected job in Korea. It is a hard work. It requires digging, carrying, and sorting good mud and clay from remote places by hands and feet. Kneading, making, drying, glazing, and baking onggi take a long time—it takes two to three months to fill up the kiln. After setting a fire, potters watch the fire day and night for a week. Many of the final products are thrown away since they were deformed under the hot fire.

Na-sop’s parents did not send him to the public school that was established by the Japanese colonial government. Like the other parents at that time, they believed school children would be eventually drafted by the Japanese government. Na-sop’s elder brother, who was eleven years older than Na-sop, learned Chinese classics a lot. His brother might have had private tutoring. He remembered that his brother read a lot of scholarly books. It is not said in the source data that Na-sop had the chance that his brother had. One thing is clear that he did not have anything to do when he was fifteen or sixteen years old. He asked his father to teach him how to make an onggi.

His father refused to teach him because he did not want his son to succeed in his hard and disrespected work. Those who worked with his father also did not voluntarily teach him. His mother did not like him to learn it. No one around him encouraged him when he intended to learn it. Na-sop did not remember whether he was interested in or excited with onggi as a young boy. He just said that onggi-making looked nice and there was nothing for him to do. Being an onggi potter was the only visible career. Therefore, he learned the skills forcibly. He was

stubborn enough to overcome his parents' refusal. Though his father changed his mind later and taught him, the learning process was hard enough. His father scolded him a lot. Na-sop said, "Father told me, 'do you think you can learn this?' or 'You had better give up'" [p. 7: 135-136]. Sometimes his father used corporal punishment. The other potters in his hometown did not show their work process to Na-sop. He also had to overcome this rejection. Sometimes he examined the final product carefully and tried to imitate the shape by himself without any instruction.

From the socio-cultural perspective, learning is often described as a participation process. Lave and Wenger (1991) illustrate learning as legitimate peripheral participation in the community of practice. Na-sop's brief description of how he learned onggi-making skills reveals that his participation was not smooth and friendly. His community of practice did not welcome him at first. The old-timers did not want to share their knowledge voluntarily. It is because of the negative social perception of the onggi potter. Na-sop knew this very well: "At that time people do not learn it [onggi-making skill] since it was hard work. They say it is lower class work....People look down on potters" [p. 7: 20]. An onggi potter belongs to gong-class in Joseon dynasty which collapsed about two decades before Na-sop began to learn. The term, sa-nong-gong-sang, which literally means "literate-farmers-manufacturers-merchants," represents the class hierarchy in Joseon dynasty. The top class called "sa" had enjoyed almost all of the opportunities in Joseon dynasty. Agriculture was its most important business. Gok-sung is located in Jolla province where the largest rice field in the Korean peninsula lies. It was not a large town in early 20th century and probably had a small number of merchants. Therefore, it is not hard to imagine that an onggi potter was easily discriminated in Gok-sung given the fact that class hierarchy still functions implicitly in contemporary Korean society such that manual work is more respected than manual work. Na-sop's father and neighborhood potters must have been

through this class discrimination. Therefore, their refusal to teach Na-sop and treating him harshly might be an understandable, justifiable, and proper reaction. Unfortunately, they did not succeed in persuading or ejecting Na-sop out of onggi factories.

When Na-sop was twenty years old, he learned enough to make a hang-ah-ri [a huge onggi that is usually 70-80 centimeter tall]. He got to the advanced stage of skill in three years. It is unclear why Na-sop did learn pansori from a local shaman at that time. He did not say much about this diversion of attention. What is clear is that he did try to learn it whether it was either Na-sop's intention or his parents' idea. Did he understand at that time why his parents and neighborhood potters refused to teach him? Did he realize how hard pottery work is? Or, did he come to know the social discrimination of potters? Regardless of answers to these questions, he came back to the onggi factory in a month. The reason was simple. He could not pay attention to pansori. But he regretted what he had done at the age of twenty. He imagined that he could have been a famous pansori singer and made a fortune. After then, he lived his whole life as an onggi potter working for several onggi factories within a twenty-five-miles circle around his hometown. He moved from one factory to another where he could make a living for his family.

About twenty-five years later when he was mid-forties, he seriously tried to escape from being an onggi potter. At that time, as neighbor potters died and no one learned from them, he did not have people working with him. So, he just wanted to start another job. He moved himself away from the onggi factory at his hometown. At first, he tried to move where he had never been to. Sok-cho, where he sent his wife to see if they could settle down, is located at the east coast of Korean peninsula. It probably took more than two days for her to visit Sok-cho from Gok-sung. Sok-cho is a port town. The lifestyle and business of Sok-cho was quite different from those of Gok-sung. They even use different dialects. From these facts, it is certain that he was in a

desperate situation. He did not want to make an onggi any longer at any cost. After going to Sok-cho turned out to be impossible, he moved to Yeo-soo. Yeo-soo is near Gok-sung but a fairly large southern coastal city. He thought he could do anything other than pottery work in Yeo-soo. However, he failed to find a job for himself. He once tried to sell apples but never tried twice. Instead, his wife began to sell seasonings in a market place while he came back to an onggi factory.

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Na-sop's subjectivity as an onggi potter floated both centrifugally and centripetally with a linchpin he made at the age of fifteen or sixteen when he first learned how to make an onggi. His lines of flight as an onggi potter lie in-between those two oppositional movements. Heaney (1995) argues all learning as participation has these two movements:

All learning is participation—absorbing and being absorbed in the culture of practice, while at the same time acquiring both the competence and will to share in decisions which define that culture. Our participation can be either centripetal or centrifugal.

Centripetal participation moves us inward toward more intensive participation so that our learning and work influences and becomes constitutive elements in the definition of the community. Such participation (learning) is empowering. On the other hand, centrifugal participation moves us outward, keeps us on the periphery, prevents us from participating more fully and is thus disempowering. (p. 3)

Na-sop's father and neighborhood potters tried to disempower him from the community of onggi potters. Na-sop forcibly overcame this disempowering and succeeded in sharing the culture of the community. His subject-position for centripetal participation in the community was determined and enduring. But, paradoxically, it was the beginning of his centrifugal movement

from the community at the same time. As he picked up the speed of the centripetal movement in the community, he came to realize that he wanted to escape from it, to get on the centrifugal movement. Unfortunately, he did not succeed in the centrifugal movement. Why did he fail in those escapes? What he says in Act two may be answers to this question. He could not pay attention to pansori. His wife could not adjust herself in Sok-cho. He could not see any possibility of making a profit from apple selling. However, what he does not say in his failed escaping stories is that he did not position himself as a die-hard learner in his centrifugal movement. He did not try his best in those chances as he had done before when he overcame obstacles in learning how to make an onggi. He knew well how hard it is to learn something new. His elaboration on the good learner's attitude in Act four seems a different person's account from the man who failed in apple selling without any attempt to learn it seriously. In this sense, by silencing his subject-position as a learner at the time of escaping, Na-sop unconsciously acknowledged himself as a "destined" onggi potter that he never wanted to be. He might have tried to defer taking up this subjectivity of onggi potter even though he had lived as such. Ironically, he overtly regrets he did not succeed in transition to the other vocations. His resistance against naming his life as an onggi potter seems finally over when he acknowledged, "I am finished in this way [as an onggi potter] in the end" [p. 7: 136]. This destined ending is closely related to a different escaping.

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After coming back to the onggi factory, he had to work hard. His son and the second daughter were born in 1967 and 1968. He needed more money to raise and educate them. He seemed to have his first daughter who was born in 1946 married around then though he did not tell this story. Under these circumstances, he had more reason to keep his work rather than to

escape. He came to understand why he could not give up being an onggi potter. It was because he could not think of other possibilities in his life and he needed more money. He said: “When I am making an onggi, I have nothing in my mind like praying to the Buddha. Once I pay attention to this [onggi], the only thing I care for is that making one more of this. Nothing can come into my thought. So, I cannot do the other things. When I do the other things, I often want to do these and those. Onggi is the only thing that fully occupies my mind.....I am so absorbed in making it that I don’t know how time flies” [p. 7: 62]. Like a nomad who looks after green fields, he wandered around onggi factories. From time to time he visited home where his wife raised the children by herself. While he made a living out of onggi, he also witnessed the decline of it. At one time almost everything in the kitchen of the common people in Korea was made of onggi. The onggi industry fell down year by year in the rapid industrialization of South Korea since the 1960s industrialization provided cheaper and more durable household goods. Plastic and metal wares turned onggi out of the house. The down of onggi meant the development of Korean economy. People came to live better without onggi. Na-sop said, “Nation without onggi all became rich” [p. 7: 63].

More than twenty years after his failure to escape onggi, Na-sop met Soon-chaе Han in 1983. Soon-chaе suggested Na-sop work on the old Jolla-style onggi. The Jolla-style onggi was what Na-sop originally learned from his father. But the entire industry adapted to the changes in onggi-making. The shape of Jolla-style onggi came to resemble that of Kyonggi-style since this change lowered the cost with an introduction of new glazes—red lead and manganese. As is described in Act three, Jolla-style onggi has a big belly while Kyonggi-style is straight tall. Making an onggi without belly makes it possible to stack the kiln with more onggi since straight tall shape holds more power. Red lead and manganese reduce baking time significantly even

though there was a debate that they may be harmful to the human. Na-sop's skill had been transformed with these changes within the entire industry. The old Jolla-style disappeared into the history and Soon-chae wanted to revive it with a help of Na-sop.

Na-sop's coming back to or reviving of what he learned from his father was not simple. First of all, his hands could not escape from the decades of making Kyonggi-style onggi. What he embodied as a teenage learner had been transformed and disappeared. His hand forgot the old skill. Second, the Jolla-style onggi community of practice was shifted and there was no example for him to imitate as he recollected the old skill. Third, mud and clay were different from what his father had used. Na-sop's father got them from Gok-sung where his factory was located. But there was nothing left in 1983. And fourth, the customer had changed. The old customer bought a flawed onggi, but the new customer asks for a change if there is any problem. These difficulties conditioned Na-sop's coming back as another learning activity. It is a series of experiments.

The first experiment was a terrible failure. He used mud and clay from Hae-nam. After he made enough onggies to fill the kiln, he took them out to dry in the sun. Unfortunately, more than half of them broke. He brought mud and clay from Sam-po and got better results. Therefore, at first he used mud and clay only from Sam-po. Later, he mixed mud and clay from Ha-nam and Sam-po by half and half producing better results. Since he could not make a nice belly at first, the first baked onggi could not be sold. He gave them to the neighbor for free. Regarding the glaze, he did not add red lead and manganese to the glaze any more. He had to use only natural resources for glazing as his father did. The traditional glaze is made out of mud and ash by burning grass and tree. He usually mixed equal amounts of them. However, as the texture of mud collecting from different places is not consistent, sometimes it is needed to adjust the amount of ash. After a few years of trial and error, Na-sop achieved what he wanted to do. In 1986, he won

the Prime Minister Award (Second Place Award) at the National Competition of the Traditional Industrial Art and Crafts with his revived Jolla-style onggi. This winning was an official endorsement for his successful coming back to the traditional Jolla-style onggi. But still he was doing another experiment: “After winning the award, people acknowledge the product and [I could] decide the production process. But the problem is some customers demand a change because it [onggi] leaks. In the past, people used it after rubbing tempered castor oil bean [on the surface of it]. These days, people call it leaking when the onggi breathes out salt like a frost [on the surface] while they are preparing soy sauce [with the onggi]. People trump up the charges on the slightest pretext. They would love the onggi glazed with red lead. I want to fix it. I might need to reorganize mud and clay” [p. 7: 131]. Na-sop’s Jolla-style onggi was more expensive than the other ordinary one because it took more time and labor. Therefore, only rich people could afford it. This might cause complaints. The customer demanded a perfect one since they paid so much.

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How can we relate Na-sop’s coming back to his father’s style with the other escapes that he tried before in terms of his subjectivity as an onggi potter? Certainly, his coming back is not a centrifugal movement. He took up the onggi potter subjectivity and became nationally renowned. However, it is not a pure centripetal movement either. He broke out of the onggi potter community of practice of his time. In this sense, he made a different escape. It looks like a lonely movement even though he had a financial sponsor and other workers who helped him. Interestingly, Na-sop showed an old attitude of learning in this escape. He studied hard to solve problems he faced as he had done as a teenage learner at his father’s factory. This is why he succeeded.

Na-sop's escape in the centripetal movement raises an interesting question. In terms of Na-sop's Jolla-style onggi-making knowledge, can we say that Na-sop revived in his sixties what his father had taught him as a teenager? Or, can we say that Na-sop's knowledge has been always changing and becoming throughout his life time? We tend to judge successful learning in the form of outcome. If the outcome is different from or inconsistent with what s/he was taught, it is considered failed learning. This is not the case in Na-sop's life in that an onggi he made at the age of twenty is not the same onggi he made at the age of seventy. They possibly appeared to be the same. But we cannot say the former is the original Jolla-style and the latter is a revival of the former. Na-sop's skill to deal with mud and clay, ash and glaze, and fire had been changing over the time. The resources themselves also changed. He must have adapted his knowledge each time he tried to revive the Jolla-style onggi. Therefore, Na-sop's onggi was not a revival but a re-creation at the time. They were created in different socio-cultural-historical contexts by different learning activities and resultant knowledge.

This observation helps us think about the relationship between knowledge and learning activity. Learning activity has nothing to do with the internalization of stable, external knowledge that exists independently in the socio-cultural-historical context. Rather, knowledge is created and recreated through the learning activity. What Na-sop had learned in his teenage years changed when he adapted to the change in the entire onggi industry. What makes him revive the Jolla-style onggi in his seventies is not the same knowledge and skill he had learned as a teenage boy. As the socio-cultural-historical context changes, knowledge and learning activity also change; or vice versa. Therefore, learning activity can be seen as a temporal event in the process of becoming. In this becoming, there is no originality or finality that the learner can follow or pursue. How can we achieve consistency out of this series of temporality? How can we

call Na-sop's onggi as a revival of the disappeared? It is our affirmation or trust. In Na-sop's case, winning the national award gave him a public affirmation and trust that he owns proper knowledge. In spite of this affirmation, he was still learning and his knowledge was changing at the time of the interview in that he wanted to solve another problem—getting rid of salt frosting.

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Na-sop's subject-position on onggi and onggi potter is not singular but plural in his life time. First, it is something prohibited for him to learn even though it is what he dared to learn. Then, it is what he wants to discard away from his life. Also, it is what he should do for a living. And, it is what he wants to recreate. It seems different subject-positions surfaced in different moments of his life. However, when one position emerged, another position was also there as centripetal and centrifugal movements exist together. Reading certain subjectivity in terms of learning activity, therefore, is identifying the deferred, hidden, and/or embraced subjectivity that cannot not be unstable. In Na-sop's case, the figuration of escaping is very useful to reveal this.

When Na-sop's father refused to teach him, his father was over sixty years old. His father retired after Na-sop learned to make a hang-ah-ri. It was his father's permanent escaping. Na-sop said that his father was not concerned with the factory any more. Na-sop was seventy-four years old when the interview was conducted. He still actively worked. Na-sop said that he had never taken his son to his workplace. Why? Did he fear that his son would try to learn it? If he did, did Na-sop understand that his father had failed in his last resistance to the subjectivity of a “destined” onggi potter when Na-sop had taken over his factory?

Na-sop suspected that there would be no one who would succeed with the Jolla-style onggi after his death. He was somehow confident that the production of the Jolla-style onggi would be finished with his death. He knew well that what had made him to escape centrifugally

from the onggi community was a huge hurdle for the new generation to participate in this community of practice. He did not regret this. Rather, he thought there would be another way to make the Jolla-style onggi since the world was changing and a new technique would be developed. He believed that different socio-cultural-historical contexts enable a future potter to re-create in different ways. In this sense, his last escaping in the centripetal movement aimed to leave an artifact for a future potter to use. He sometimes wanted to quit this since he was too old to work. But he continued. By leaving it, he might resist the socio-cultural-historical context of 20th century Korea that came to devalue the onggi. Also, he could make an alliance with a future “destined” onggi potter.

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Na-sop seems to have been unaware that there was another onggi potter sticking to the traditional knowledge. Traditional Jolla-style onggi was designated as a National Intangible Cultural Asset in 1990. Ok-dong Lee was the first holder of this vanishing skill. Astonishingly, he was the eighth generation inheriting the family onggi business. Since Ok-dong died in 1994, there has been no holder yet. But his son, Hak-soo, learned it since 1976 to succeed his family business. According to Hak-soo’s internet homepage (www.ongki.com), Ok-dong did not talk with Hak-soo for almost a month when Hak-soo asked him to teach. Ok-dong wanted to terminate the inheritance, but failed like Na-sop’s father. In 1995, Hak-soo was designated as an assistant teacher—one level below the holder according to the National Intangible Cultural Asset Law.

Creating

The pansori drummer, Myong-hwan Kim was born into the richest family in Gok-sung, Southern Jolla province in 1913 as a last son with four brothers and four sisters. Unlike the other people in this study, he was an educated man. He had even been to Japan for secondary education. However, he was not good at studying in school. Rather, he became obsessed with the drum at the age of seventeen. He learned the drum from various great artists of the time. His nom de plume—il-san (literally means one mountain) figuratively stands for his great achievement. The first President of South Korea, Seung-man Lee gave it to him. He was selected as a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset in pansori drum in 1978. He officially married twice, but was often involved with other musicians. He had two sons and two daughters with his first wife, who died in 1945. Unfortunately, the first son went to the North Korea during the Korean War and the second son died young. He died in 1989 two years before the source data was published.

When there is no formal institution to learn knowledge and skills of the traditional art, apprenticeship in the community of artists is an alternative way of learning. Myong-hwan's learning activity was through apprenticeship. Whenever he heard of good drummers and singers, he visited them to ask for teaching. Pansori, the traditional Korean narrative song, needs two characters—singer and drummer. A singer sings to the accompaniment of a drummer. They are interdependent in performing the pansori. Learning how to play the drum is, therefore, heavily dependent on singers. Myong-hwan is not an exception. He began to learn to play the drum from a neighborhood drummer at first. Later, he developed his skill by playing the drum for nationally

famous pansori singers. He actively created his learning opportunities to be one of the best drummers in the nation. This essay presents Myong-hwan's lifelong learning activities to be a drummer by using the figuration of creating. The focus of analysis is given to how he created the learning activities, how socio-cultural-historical contexts deployed in this creation, and what he lost in the same process.

This essay is composed of a series of imaginary e-mails that Myong-hwan and I exchange. Using e-mail opens up new writing spaces. First of all, it creates a natural conversational space wherein Myong-hwan tells his life and learning directly. Though Myong-hwan's accounts are based on the source data, they are fictionally composed. It is not a vis-à-vis translation of the source data; rather, I combined stories from different places of the source data to make a story. As Myong-hwan's e-mail is talking to me, not the reader, in some places I need to help the reader to understand Myong-hwan's account clearly. I used brackets in Myong-hwan's e-mail whenever I need to talk to the reader.

Using e-mail makes this essay appear non-fictional to some readers of the 21st century who use e-mail in their daily lives. However, Myong-hwan never heard of e-mail. He had died before the invention of e-mail. So, I give him a fictional e-mail address, myonghwan@creating.context, to symbolize his lifelong learning activities. Dates are also made up. My e-mails to Myong-hwan are dated around the time when I read, analyzed, and wrote about him. Myong-hwan's e-mails to me have approximate dates from which he could look back on the learning activities in the e-mail. Therefore, the e-mail exchange can be read as a dialogue between the past and the present—it is a historical space. Using e-mail also provided me an emotional space. I can naturally express my emotional reaction to the source data when I write an e-mail to Myong-hwan. I used what has been compiled as transgressive data for this.

By using e-mail, this essay tries to contest the line between fiction and nonfiction in the practice of research representation. My composition of Myong-hwan's e-mails involves a "fictional" narrative—creating the context—that I figured out of his learning activities. Actually, the source data is already the interpretation of his past. The source data are edited from tape recordings of Myong-hwan's oral history. As the original interviews had been carried out over a long period of time by different interviewers, the publisher used the year 1987 as a datum point to calculate different ages and years that Myong-hwan had used to recollect his memory. The editor and publisher used their own analytical narratives in the selection and placement of segments of the interview transcript. What I have as source data, therefore, holds two layers of interpretation of Myong-hwan's life—first by Myong-hwan himself at the time of interviewing, then by the editor and publisher at the time of editing. It is a copy without an original and already a mixture of fiction and non-fiction. This essay is adding another layer to this "messy" text.

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From: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
To: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
Date: June 10, 2005
Subject: How are you and let me know.

Dear Maestro Kim,

Thank you for giving me a chance to talk with you through e-mail. As I said before, the first time I saw your name was about five years ago when I worked with my major professor, Dr. Kim, at Seoul National University. He asked me to check out a book about you from the library. I flipped over the pages of the book and was fascinated by the picture of your drum. It seemed to burst out sound in a moment. I got to be interested in the owner of the drum. I am a doctoral student who is eager to know how people learn throughout one's life. Now I am studying in the

United States. Your story will be of great help to my study and I hope I can learn how to live my life from you. First of all, how did you begin to learn how to play the drum?

From: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
To: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
Date: October 6, 1929 (Lunar Calendar)
Subject: Marriage banquet changed my life.

Hello Dae Joong,

Thank you for calling me maestro. You can just call me Mr. Kim if you don't mind.

When I was reading your e-mail, I was a little saddened by the three words—Seoul National University. I had had a son who attended the medical school of the same university. He was my first son. During the Korean War, I heard that he went to the North Korea. Some people said to me that he was kidnapped. Well, he was a smart man. I believe he could go to the Soviet Union for study and succeed in the North Korea. Well, it was because of his mother, Ms. Cho, that I decided to learn how to play the drum at the age of seventeen. I was studying in Japan—yes, I was privileged enough to go abroad more than seventy years ago—when I got married to her. My father had a stroke and my mother and brothers hurried to marry me. They wanted to marry me before my father died. They selected a bride and arranged a ceremony. Unfortunately, my father did not live until my marriage.

It was at the marriage banquet in my wife's village that the unforgettable event took place. The in-law family invited local singers and instrument players. When the party was high in its mood, people asked me to play the drum. I was the most important person at the party. Unfortunately, I did not know how to play the drum at all. I should have acknowledged that. But I grabbed the drumstick and it was like throwing a cold blanket over the party. People in the party made a fool of me. Well, I did not want to lose to anyone. So, I decided to learn to play the drum on that night. As I had to go back to Japan to finish my study, it was during the winter

break that I asked Mr. Pan-gae Jang, my first teacher, to teach me the drum. As there was no school or musical institution in which I could enroll, I had to learn it from the drum master. Mr. Jang lived five miles away from my home. During the summer and winter breaks, I came home not to see my wife but to learn the drum. My mother and brothers all opposed it. The brothers told me, "You should go to college to succeed in life." Sometimes, they used corporal punishment but couldn't stop me. My mother despised my playing the drummer since it was a lower class job. However, I did not want to do what I did not like. I was not interested in school and I did not want to be a servant under the Japanese after getting a college degree. Perhaps I could go to the United States or Europe for study if I wanted. I could have received a doctorate. Unfortunately, my only interest was the drum.

There was a precursor to my interest in the drum. My father invited nationally famous pansori singers to our house. He was the richest man in the town and liked to hear the pansori. When I was three or four years old, he held me in his arms listening to the pansori. When I was eight years old, I came to know the rhythm of pansori and love it. Maybe that's why I was indulged in the drum at the age of sixteen. That's how I began my career. By the way, it's good to talk with you. Hopefully, I also can learn something from you.

From: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
To: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
Date: June 25, 2005
Subject: Serendipity

Dear Mr. Kim,

Your story of beginning to learn how to play the drum is quite impressive. You used an unexpected shameful event to change your entire career. That reminds me of the social learning theory of career decision making developed by the American scholar John Krumboltz. If you had followed your brothers' advice of getting a college degree and studying abroad, you might have

produced a good learning theory. Well, who knows? Anyway, Krumboltz's theory is based upon another American scholar Bandura whose social learning theory assumes that individual development is largely affected by social events happening around the individual rather than by the innate, predetermined characteristics. Your wedding banquet and father's invitation of great pansori singers are good examples of social events. Let me explain the theory more. Krumboltz originally intended to answer the following questions in his theory: (a) why people enter particular educational programs or occupations; (b) why they may change educational programs or occupations at selected points in their lives; and (c) why they may express various preferences for different occupational activities at selected points in their lives. He identified four key factors; (a) genetic endowment and special abilities; (b) environmental conditions and events; (c) learning experiences; and (d) task approach skill. Genetic endowment and special abilities are inherited ones like race, sex, and physical appearance. Environment conditions and events represent social, cultural, political, economic, and natural forces that are usually out of individual's control but affect his or her career decision making. Learning experiences, especially past learning experiences influence individual career paths. Every individual has a typical history of learning experiences. Task approach skills are outcomes of interactions among genetic endowment and special abilities, environmental conditions and events, and learning experiences. These skills include performance standards and values, work habits, perceptual and cognitive processes, mental sets, and emotional responses.

I can single out one event that made me study lifelong learning as I look back to my life in terms of Krumboltz's theory. It was when I just began my coursework at the department of education in Seoul National University. The department divided twenty freshmen into five groups according to the student ID number and assigned a professor mentor to each group. I was

assigned Professor Kim. When we first met, he took me and the other three students to the lunch. I still remember his warm smile and encouraging words. I was away from home for the first time in my life and he was the first professor that I could trust. After the first lunch, I had not had any memorable event with him during my undergraduate studies. But the lunch certainly influenced my later decision to do a graduate study with him. The assignment of professor mentor was out of my control, but it affected my course of life. He is retired from the University, but still my mentor.

One thing I learned from the social learning theory of career decision making is what is called “planned happenstance.” Mitchell, Levin, and Krumboltz (1999) defined it as “creating and transforming of unplanned events into opportunities for learning” (p. 117). It seems many people experience the unplanned events. In an empirical study of 237 older adults’ career decision making process, Betsworth and Hansen (1996) find that 63% of men and 57 % of women participants agreed with the impact of serendipitous events on their career paths, for example, unexpected advancement due to the resignation, firing, or death of the previous worker, and being in the right place at the right time. Miller (1983) acknowledges, “the role of happenstance in many career decisions seems commonplace” (p. 16). So, it is important to consider happenstance as an opportunity for learning. I think this is what you had done at the age of seventeen. Maybe, what seems to be serendipity is not serendipitous. Life always unfolds unexpected events to us and we just decide how to cope with them. Your decision to learn how to play the drum seems to turn out great.

From: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
To: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
Date: August 20, 1946
Subject: Turning Serendipity into Lifelong Learning? It’s hard.

Hello Dae Joong,

It's interesting that there is a learning theory explaining my career beginning though it was not easy for me to follow. It might be happenstance at the beginning as you said, but became conscious painstaking efforts later. First of all, it's not easy to overcome the opposition of family members. At that time, the class hierarchy was still prominent in society. A professional musician was not the vocation of the high class, yangban. The high class man could learn to play music as a hobby or entertainment, but it cannot be his job. As I said before, I began to learn the drum during the school break while I was studying in Japan. My mother and brothers did not care much. When I came back home after graduation and learned the drum in earnest, it was different. They were upset. My first private tutor, Mr. Pan-gae Jang really helped me at that moment. He told my elder brother that I had such a great talent, greater than professional drummers. My brother, then, acknowledged my learning of the drum.

Mr. Jang was a great drummer. His performance of drumming was like beautiful petals dancing in the air. The zest just oozed out from the body. He seemed to be playing unconsciously. I cannot imitate his zest even though the scene is still lingering in my eyes. Sometimes, I practice in front of the mirror by myself. But I just can't play like him. He was so nice. I learned from him almost a year and half after I came back from Japan. There were many other students in Mr. Jang's house. I did a lot of housekeeping chores. My drumming skill advanced a lot during that time. It's like being promoted to a bureau chief from a section chief. When I was eighteen years old, I began to play the drum for the pansori singers invited by my family. The nationally famous singers called me a genius. They told me that I would be the number one drummer in the nation. In my twenties, I played the drum at the performance theater around the country. I also traveled with entertaining troupes. Though I was acknowledged as a talented drummer, I fell into contempt once. When I played the drum for a famous pansori singer, Mr. Dong-baek Lee, I lost

the rhythm. I was aghast at his singing. I did not know how to proceed. I dropped the stick and burst out crying. People around me tried to console me by saying, “You played very good as a prodigal man [an idle youth of the gentry]. You cannot follow the professional artist even though you practice hundred years.” That didn’t help. Rather, it hurt my self-respect. I clenched my teeth and said to myself, “I will be a better drummer than anyone else in five years.”

Though Mr. Jang was around my father’s age, he always called me “gentleman” and was very courteous in treating me. That’s because I was from the higher class. This class difference was another block for learning. As my family members opposed my learning of lower class vocation, I was an unwelcome man to the professional musicians. They, not just Mr. Jang but also the other teachers I met later, are almost always from the lower class. They would not like to teach me, saying that I was from the high class. Though they taught me, they always hid something really important from me. They had their own unyielding spirit. Though I challenged them that both upper and lower class men could learn and play the music, it was not easy to learn from them. To mix myself with them, I spent a lot of money. Often, I treated them with ribs and wine to get a chance to play the drum with them. Once I heard of some famous musicians, I sold more than a thousand pounds of rice. Then I went to the musicians’ house and stayed there until I felt that I learned enough. If I thought the money was not enough for the lesson, I sent mail to my wife. My wife sold more rice and sent me money. Fortunately, I did not need to worry about money, as our family owned a huge rice field. All of my interest was in becoming the best drummer. At that time, I practiced at least eight, sometimes fourteen to fifteen hours daily. When we were liberated from Japan in 1945, I was a champion of the drum in the nation. I was thirty-three years old.

From: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
To: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>

Date: July 2, 2005

Subject: Economic Conditions of Learning.

Dear Mr. Kim,

You were a really privileged man. It seems you never took care of your family when most of the people suffered from the lack of daily bread. I wonder how your family maintained wealth under the harsh Japanese occupation. Though I have no clue to your family business, it must have been your fortune to be born with a silver spoon in your mouth. While I read your e-mail, I looked back on my school days and I really envy you. I was born in a poor family. During my entire school years, my parents worried about paying tuition. I had not attended any extra-curricular activities except one English class when I was thirteen years old. My mother regrets that she couldn't teach me any musical instrument. When I left home for college, my parents couldn't provide all the expenses. I taught secondary school students to make my ends meet. You said you had been able to go abroad for doctoral study as your family was rich enough. Now I am doing doctoral study in the States, but it's quite a different story. When I applied for a few graduate schools in the States four years ago, my first concern was money. I had saved some money—I worked at the newspaper company as a reporter for four and half years. But my saving was not enough to stay in the school for more than four years. I am grateful that I found a program which gave me enough financial support. When I quit my reporter job to get a doctorate, one of my senior reporters told me a golden saying: "There are three things you need to get a doctorate. Money is the first and most important. Then, you must be healthy. The last one is an intellectual power. If you are not healthy, it just takes more time to get a degree unless you give up. If you are not intellectually powerful, all you need to do is put more time and energy to overcome it. But if you don't have enough money, your way will be tough and it even affects your life as an academic scholar." I think this is right even in your case. If you did not have

enough money, your health and talent could not be sufficient conditions for learning to be the best national drummer.

I was impressed by your way of using money to learn from the professional musicians. You spent money not just as a fee for lesson. You used it to overcome the class barrier in your learning context. I tend to think that the class barrier in learning situations is usually set by the upper class and lower class students often suffer from it. For example, lower class students often have a hard time in understanding textbook illustrations that are based on middle and high class culture. In your case, it is reversed. The lower class people set the barrier and you tried to overcome it. You were even called a prodigal man. It seems your participation in the community of lower class musicians is not just for becoming another musician like the others. You were a different kind of man from them. Though your financial power let you approach the community successfully, you cannot be a sincere member of their community. You seem to try to excel all of them. You said that the lower class musicians have unyielding spirit. To me, your competitive spirit surpasses theirs.

From: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
To: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
Date: June 28, 1961
Subject: Cost of the Quest.

Hello Dae Joong,

You're right. It was my fortune to be born into such a rich family. I admit that the rich in the past were a kind of thief. I don't think one could get such a huge wealth like my family without stealing other people's fortune at all. But, you know, money is money. Money cannot guarantee the happiness of life. I inherited lots of money from my parents, but I lost it all. It's not just because I spent money in learning the drum, but I couldn't properly manage my family. My second son died of virulence of a tumor when I was twenty-four years old. My wife died of

intestinal tuberculosis when I was thirty-three years old—the same year when Korea was liberated from Japan. The death of my wife was a big burden. My wife had taken care of the children while I was being crazed about the drum. After my wife's death, I stayed at home. It was turbulent times in Korea—liberation from Japan, separation of North and South, elections and a new government, lots of demonstrations, Yeo-soo military upheaval, and so on. In 1949, I moved to the city of Kwang-ju, and the next year, the Korean War broke. My house was burnt down. I was captured by the North Korean Army, because I was a son of a landowner who was easily considered as one exploiting the poor. Fortunately, neighbors pleaded for me as I knew nothing but drumming. As I told you before, I lost my first son at that time. He went to North Korea. I sent my two daughters to my sisters. I was miserable. It was desperate. I became addicted to opium smoking at that time. I was possessed with it for eight years.

Though I lost everything, I did not stop working on drumming. I taught the drum at the Kwang-ju traditional music institute. I met Ms. Woo-hyang Sung who had a great talent in pansori singing. I thought she had a potential to be a national pansori singer. So, when I earned some money by playing for a famous entertaining troupe organized by Mr. Bang-wool Im, I visited Mr. Eung-min Jung who was a famous pansori singer with Ms. Sung. He lived in Bo-sung. I was forty years then and Mr. Jung was in his sixties. I asked him to teach her. I also wanted to practice the drum with him. At first, he did not talk to me for two or three days. Then, Mr. Jung asked me to find another teacher, in that his style of singing was out of date. I waited for about five days more. Then, I told him, "There is no other fault bigger than rejecting a student who comes to learn from far away." About three days later, he took me and Ms. Sung to an invitation party and asked me to play the drum. After I played a short part from pansori Choon-hyang-ga, he grabbed my hands. He said, "I meet a great drum player in fifty years. Let's

begin.” Mr. Jung was the last teacher in my life. Actually, he was not a drummer, but I learned from him how to sing a song with a drum. You probably don’t understand this, but the drum has melodies and tunes. I realized this when I played the drum for Mr. Jung and watched him teach his students. I played the drum when Mr. Jung taught pansori to Ms. Sung for nine to thirteen hours everyday. I rented a room near Mr. Jung’s house and stayed there for four years. As my savings was run out, I played the drum for the other singers. I played so hard that I got pus in my hips at that time.

When Ms. Sung finished learning from Mr. Jung, I came back to Kwang-ju. Ms. Sung went back to her family. And, I found myself seriously addicted to opium. I couldn’t but do it whenever I got money. Opium really destroys people. In order to quit it, I turned myself into the prosecutor’s office. I served seventy-nine days in prison. Though I succeeded in quitting it, I spent a year in an island to recuperate myself and suffered from severe poverty after then. For three years, I happened to live in a cave of the Dae-heung temple in Hae-nam province. I wandered from place to place. Though I continuously taught monks and other people who wanted to learn from me, these were difficult years in my life.

From: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
To: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
Date: July 24, 2005
Subject: The cost of decision-making.

Dear Mr. Kim,

Thank you for sharing your sad story with me. Recently, my grandmother passed away. She was born in 1910 and lived through the turbulent modern Korean history. She grew up under Japanese occupation, experienced war, observed political fluctuations, and economic development. Regardless of concrete shapes of life, I really pay homage to those who had to live those periods of time, especially the Korean War, because life must have been in turmoil. Your

loss of your fortune and family members was not just your fault. I watched in a media how war often makes life out of control. I can understand your drug addiction. Let me introduce you to another American scholar, Jack Mezirow. His theory of transformational learning is often referenced to explain the changes in adulthood when there are disorienting dilemmas caused by life crises—for example, the loss of a job, mate or health, change of residence, and so on. Your experiences around the late 1940s and early 1950s look like a series of disorienting dilemmas. You lost your wife. You moved to a new place. There was a war. You lost your house. Your son left you. You had to send your daughters to your sisters. And, you could not play the drum like you had done before. People sometimes hardly handle these crises, because they are beyond our meaning perspectives, which are psychological and cultural assumptions that affect how we see ourselves and our relationships with others. Our existing meaning perspectives wouldn't produce proper actions to get the situations better. Mezirow argues if we critically reflected on our existing meaning perspectives and explored alternatives to them, we could have more inclusive, integrative perspectives. By transforming our meaning perspectives, we can discover new meanings and roles, and act upon it. But I don't know how many people could reflect critically when they faced with the things you had to deal with. Maybe some people still argue that you might not have got into the drug addiction if you had a good mentor. Well, maybe or maybe not. Sometimes, life events just overwhelm us, and I guess all we can think of is escaping the harsh life.

I wonder how you kept working on the drum in those harsh years. I am amazed by your will to control your body. Playing the drum more than ten hours everyday is beyond my imagination. I heard when I was in college that some students study so hard that they have pus in the hips. It was ridiculous to me then. But when I read your pus story, I could feel your pain in

my heart. The pain told me that a man of men is made out of tears of blood. I could never understand the tunes and melodies of the drum. Maybe the same kind of will to control your body made you quit drugs successfully later. No one can easily decide to go to prison to subdue one's body. I believe learning is not just putting knowledge and skill into your brain and body. Rather, learning is a decision-making process to guide one's own life. This involves not only how and what to learn but also its resultant effect on life. I think if you wonder what kinds of life you have lived, you should ask what kind of decision you have made regarding learning activities so far. I believe your relentless determination to learn the drum, will to control your body, and overcoming Mr. Jung's initial negligence even at the age of forty, cannot but make your life as a great drummer.

Maybe all the things you went through while you kept working on the drum—the War and poverty, the sorrow of disconnecting from your family members, and drug addiction—made you a different person. Though you probably did not critically reflect on your meaning perspective, I believe the depth and breadth of your life changed enormously and your music must contain them all. Your drum can grieve, weep, cry, smile, and laugh with your touches. I wish I could appreciate them all.

From: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
To: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
Date: December 12, 1983
Subject: Going to Seoul

Hello Dae Joong,

I am sorry for your grandmother. Do not be so sad so long. Life always goes on and your grandma will watch you. I don't know why I kept working on my drum despite such poverty. I had to endure. Maybe it's because all I could do was drumming. I don't know. If the change of residence can cause transformational learning in adulthood as you said, my life somehow

transformed after I moved into Seoul in 1968 when I was fifty-six years old. I had been to Seoul from time to time before then, and people in Seoul always asked me to come. But when I decided to move to Seoul, I didn't have enough money to buy a train ticket to the Seoul Station.

Miserable, isn't it? I got a ticket to No-rhyang-jin [the second station from the Seoul station] and walked to Seoul. Though I had some difficult times, a number of good things happened in Seoul.

First of all, I got a family again. The first one with Ms. Tong-jong-wol Ham was not successful. I met her in 1969 and lived with her for five years. Ms. Ham was a really talented kayagum [Korean traditional twelve stringed zither] player. I heard of her teacher, Mr. Ok-san Choi, but Ms. Ham was a disciple surpassing her master. I played the drum with hundreds of kayageum players. Ms. Ham was the best. I played the drum for her to practice kayagum six times a day for three years before we were separated. She became a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset in 1980. We were poor, but we really practiced hard. Two years after I separated from Ms. Ham, I got married to Ms. Chae-yoon Kim at the age of sixty-four.

Many people in Seoul recognized me—that's the difference between Seoul and Kwang-ju. When I had a surgery to remove a gallstone in 1975, a Korean Japanese, Mr. Bong-gil Kim paid the hospital fee. He said to women pansori singers, who nursed me through, "you should revive him." Many traditional musicians came to the hospital and said to the doctor, "unless you can revive this man, it is a tremendous loss for the country." Well, I am really grateful for their support. Especially, Ms. Gui-hee Park carried foods and underwear to the hospital for more than twenty days. I was also recognized by scholars who are interested in traditional Korean music. They came to ask what I heard from the great pansori singers for whom I had played the drum. Many scholars published scholarly articles and books based on my oral testament. [Actually, more than half of the source data contains the traditional Korean music theory and the story of

famous musicians]. And, I played at the nationally recognized stages. I played the drum at the Deep-Rooted Tree Publishing Company's Pansori Concert Series from 1973 to 1978. Later, I played the drum for the same company's project of recording all the pansori in 1982. I was a guest drum player of the Korean Broadcasting Company from 1980 to 1983. In 1978, I was selected as a holder of the National Intangible Cultural Asset in pansori drumming. And, those who learned the drum from me in Seoul founded an organization in 1981. I went to Japan and European countries to play the drum in 1982.

I came to Seoul with no money, but now I become a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. People talk to me that I have succeeded. Even my two daughters, whom I sent to my sisters and couldn't take care of, take pride in me. Many people helped me a lot. I have tried to repay them as much as I can. I do not forget anyone who treated me even to noodle soup when I was hungry. I believe true art is matured in the hardship of life. It cannot be achieved by someone who always has plenty of wealth. I would argue that I am the only one from the high class to be selected as a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. Many of the holders are from lower class professional musicians. They are engaged in traditional music as it is their vocation. They had to learn it to earn money even though they didn't want to. I am different. I devoted all of my fortune to learning it just because I loved it. I once told government officials that they had to classify the holders of National Intangible Cultural Asset according to their artistic maturity. There must be a difference between those who pursued art and those who chased money. But I agree that artists also need some money in this capitalist society. So, I have tried to enhance the work condition of drummers. The drummers were usually paid less than singers or instrument players. I did not stand for this. So, whenever I was invited to play the drum, I asked for at least the same amount of money as the other musicians.

From: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
To: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
Date: September 3, 2005
Subject: Geographical location

Dear Mr. Kim,

Your leaving Kwang-ju for Seoul really enabled you to achieve huge success. As a big frog in a little pond takes a great leap toward the world, it must have been rough at first. But you met people that recognized your artistic talent, your personal characteristics, and your contribution to the traditional Korea music. As you know, we have an old saying in Korea, "Send the horse to Je-ju Island, and send man to Seoul." It means that as Je-ju Island is the best place for the horse, Seoul is the place for man to succeed. I think it is because Seoul as the capital city of Korea has plenty of opportunities for anyone. Your life proves this saying to be right. Actually, your story in Seoul reminds me of a talented janggu player who refused to move into the city of Jeon-ju. His name is Mr. Ki-nam Shin and maybe both of you met each other. He also joined the entertaining troupe organized by Mr. Bang-wool Im, in which you played the drum. Though Mr. Shin had won the Presidential Award at the National Folk Music Contest in 1954 and was famous in his hometown, he did not take a leap toward the world like you. He was worried about money and urban life. I believe your decision to go to Seoul and his decision to stay in the rural hometown made a big difference afterward in both of your lives, even though there were more complex factors. Just living in Seoul does not guarantee anything. However, your story encourages me a bit. When I was a high school senior, everyone recommended me to go to college in Seoul. I did. When I was in college, I often heard that once I left the college, I could learn the world more. When I became a newspaper reporter in Seoul, I could get the broader worldview. Now, I left my job in Seoul, and left the small country Korea to learn the bigger

world. It's been just five years and I believe more things will happen to me. I hope my decision to leave Korea turns out to be right for my life.

I have one thing that I hesitated, but really wanted to ask you. You said you got a family again in Seoul, would you tell me more about your romance? I guess starting a new family in one's fifties and sixties is really something. And I actually wanted to ask about your relationship with Ms. Woo-hyang Sung before. I am sorry if I offend you. You don't have to answer. Privacy is privacy, and sometimes an untold romance story is more mysterious and beautiful.

From: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
To: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
Date: January 6, 1986
Subject: In a dream, I met them all.

Hello Dae Joong,

Let the untold remain untold. But I want to say this. Both Ms. Sung and Ms. Ham did have great talent. I think I sacrificed myself to teach them, and took their artistic achievement to the world so that everyone could appreciate it. Well, I think I have told you enough of my life and learning. Before saying goodbye to you, let me tell you about the mysteries of playing the drum.

The drumming ability is dependent upon the singer. If the singer can sing a pansori like an elementary school boy, even the national number one drummer is only able to play the drum like another elementary school boy. When the singer can sing like a middle school, high school, college, and the graduate school student, the drummer is just able to match the ability of the singer accordingly. Whoever that singer is, even though she is my lover, if her level of singing is like a middle school student, I cannot play the drum like a graduate student, even though I really try to do so. In contrast, when I played the drum with a great pansori singer, all of a sudden, I exhibited tunes that I did not know before. It just came across my mind in a half of a second and

oozed out of my hands. Unfortunately, I was not able to revive it afterward. I couldn't bring it back by myself. When the drumming tune is rightly harmonized with the singing, I am extremely thrilled. Nothing can be more pleasant! It is perfectly heavenly. I have been obsessed with this feeling. I don't have any hobby, because if I had time for a hobby, I would play the drum.

When I learned the drum, I did not follow the rules of rhythm of drumming. Rather, I followed the pansori song directly—I had practiced with so many of nationally renowned pansori singers. Their rhythm soaked my skin. When I move my body this or that way, the rhythm is already there. Though all the great singers passed away, their songs recur to me in the middle of the night. When I say in the evening that I will listen to the Mr. Eung-min Jung, then I meet him in a dream. I just put my hands on my chest when I go to the bed. My wife once told me that I hit her while we were sleeping. In the morning, I remembered that I was playing the drum for Mr. Jung in a dream, and wanted to finish it. I probably hit her at that moment. Mr. Sang-hyun Cho, who had learned the pansori from Mr. Jung when he was young, once shared a room with me. He heard a rustling sound in the middle of the night that I made in a dream. He told his friends that I still studied the drum even when I was sleeping.

I think no one had played the drum like me one hundred years ago. Maybe there will be no one like me two hundred years from now. Of course, I try my best to teach my students. Many of them have wonderful talent. However, they cannot play the drum as much as I can, because they have no chance to learn while playing for the great singers. It is because there are few great singers nowadays. If you want to be a great drummer, it is not enough to learn from a great drummer. You must play the drum for the great singers as many times as possible. Without the great singers, which I had a lot before, no drummer can be great.

It's been my pleasure to exchange e-mails with you. I don't know much to say about studying at school. I was not good at it. However, when I am playing the drum, I concentrate on the singer with everything that I have. I do not lose anything out of the singer at any moment. If you can, please study in this way. And, use your knowledge for making the world a better place.

From: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
To: Myong-hwan <myonghwan@creating.context>
Date: November 8, 2005
Subject: How can we have a drum master like you again?

Dear Mr. Kim,

Thank you for your advice and encouragement for my study. I read your advice, concentrating on the singer while you are playing the drum, as keeping my eyes on the others of my study at all times. The world in which I have to use my knowledge is where the others reside. Yes, you are right. I have to focus on the others and their contexts to produce myself as I want to be. Your whole life is now seen to me as a series of creating the context for learning. First of all, you opened up your own learning context by looking for teachers to learn the drum at any cost. There were many great drummers and pansori singers, which were not given to you until you went after them, in that you were considered as a different person from them. You had to overcome the class barrier in learning the drum sometimes by using your fortunes unsparingly, sometimes with your fine talent, and most of all with your relentless practices. Secondly, you learned the drum through observing the educational relations among the talented singers. You brought Ms. Woo-hyang Sung to Mr. Eung-min Jung and played the drum for both of them. You did not teach how to play the drum to Ms. Sung, nor learned it from Mr. Jung. But it created a learning space for you. You observed Mr. Jung's teaching of pansori to Ms. Sung, and mastered how to sing a song with a drum. You did have similar observations of teaching and learning among talented singers whenever you visited great singers to play the drum. Thirdly, creating a

learning context is not limited to pansori drummers and singers. Your romantic story with Ms. Tong-jung-wol Ham, who was a great kayagum player, was full of practicing the drum with her. In this regard, your moving to Seoul from Kwang-ju affected your learning activity enormously. Your life proved that geographical location makes a big difference in creating learning opportunities. Fourthly, you even created a learning space in your dream. As learning is an embodiment of knowledge and skills—you said the tunes soaked your skin, they can be performed in any place. Dreams might be the only perfect place for practice with the deceased greatest musicians. Practice makes practice at any time.

In your creating the context for more practice and learning, you earned honors including a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. You also created a new working context for the drummer in general. Your effort of being treated equally with the singers and instrument players changed the business culture. There is a shadow on your success. While you were creating a context, you also lost another context at the same time. Especially, you haven't had a stable family and wandered around in the summer of your life, even though you seem to sublimate sufferings at that period into your art. Well, I cannot but agree with you that it is not easy to have another drummer like you in the near future. As you said, the 21st century South Korea might not be able to produce a great pansori singer. Our turbulent modern historical context—Japanese occupation, War, rapid industrialization, radical restructuring of social systems into democracy—is not favorable for something old and traditional to prosper. Being born in the beginning of this turbulent age, you might be the last generation that created the learning context for the great drummer. Thank you and good bye.

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While I wrote this essay, I watched a pansori performance from time to time through the internet. The tiny small pop-up screen on my fifteen-inch computer monitor displayed a digitally transferred file. According to the source data, Myong-hwan enjoyed the great pansori singers' LPs, a long-playing phonograph record, when he came back home from Japan during his middle school days. If we digitally recover those LPs and develop a method of learning the drum and pansori song by using them, can I say that we may have someone who plays the drum better than Myong-hwan? Can I assert that creating the context for learning how to play the drum can be different in the 21st century? Can I send one more e-mail to Myong-hwan that I changed my mind and do not agree with his argument that there will be no one like him in two hundred years?

Controlling

Ki-nam was born in Jeong-eup, Northern Jolla Province, in 1914. He began to learn to play janggu at the age of nine. He traveled around Jolla province as well as Seoul, Manchuria and Japan to play janggu with various folk music performance groups. He won the Presidential Award (individual skill competition area) at the National Folk Music Contest in 1954, the Special Talent Award (individual competition area) at the Jon-ju Folk Art Contest in 1978, and the Distinguished Achievement Award at the National Folk Music Contest in 1978. He “officially” married twice, but he had a number of extra-marital relations. The first wife, who he was married to in 1934 at the age of 21, died in 1953. At the same year, he was married to Ms. Yu. He was a father of two sons and a daughter, but the eldest son and daughter died in 1980 and 1977

respectively. He was not just a janggu player but also a farmer and tobacco seller in his hometown. He died in 1985.

It was late at night when Bong-deuk heard some strange but rhythmical tapping sounds while he was trying to sleep. It was like a rat delving a hole into the wall. He lit a lamplight to look for the source of the mind-disturbing sound. It was not a rat but his second son, Ki-nam. Ki-nam was slapping the floor of the room while he lay down to sleep. Bong-deuk felt he should do something. It is not just at night that Ki-nam slaps anything near his hands. Ki-nam slapped all day long especially when a folk music band played in the town. Sometimes, Ki-nam went to the playing field with Bong-deuk's wooden pillow. He hung it on his neck with a string and imitated what a janggu player did. He was crazy about janggu. He even tapped his knees while he was sitting in the restroom. Bong-deuk was worried about his son since he believed slapping anything with hands drives a fortune out of his son. He needed to do something to break his son's "bad" habit. So, when Bong-deuk found Ki-nam slapping the floor that night, he called Ki-nam. He asked Ki-nam to reach out his hands to let him have a look. Ki-nam thought that his father wanted to read his palm. Bong-deuk placed Ki-nam's hands on a fulling block [a block, usually made of stone, for beating starched cloth smooth]. Suddenly, Bong-deuk hit them hard with his folding fan which is made of bamboo stick. One of Ki-nam's fingers was burst and blood streamed down. Bong-deuk might add a verbal admonition to this corporal punishment. This happened when Ki-nam was a nine-year-old boy. Ki-nam still had a scar on his finger when he was interviewed in 1981 as a sixty-eight-year-old man.

In spite of this middle of the night corporal punishment, Bong-deuk was not successful in discouraging Ki-nam from being indulged in janggu. Ki-nam recalled, "I didn't hear my father's words. It's of no use. Apart from my father's admonition, once I heard a folk music band playing,

then I would go after the sound even though it was from 2.5 or 5 miles away.” [p. 3: 25] His father was in a dilemma at that time—his father wanted to prohibit him, but if he forced it too hard, it could make Ki-nam just a stupid fool. At this juncture, there came a folk music band in the town. Since there was no lodging house in a rural area at that time, it was a custom that village people provided lodging, food and clothes for the band. One evening, Bong-deuk invited the head of the band and a senior janggu player to his house and treated them to a special dinner. Then, he asked the senior janggu player to teach his son, Ki-nam, how to play the janggu. Bong-deuk promised to provide food and clothes as a reward. The senior janggu player, Hong-jip, accepted the request with pleasure. Ki-nam got a small janggu of his own and started to learn to play the janggu from Hong-jip at the age of nine. Since the folk music band was organized temporarily for a special event such as an exorcism for a village or a construction fundraising, Ki-nam often traveled with his teacher.

Hong-jip was a relentless teacher. He used corporal punishment a lot. Ki-nam recalled that his cheeks belonged to his teacher. He said, “I was flogged detestably.” [p. 3: 26] Hong-jip whipped him when he was eating. It seems his use of corporal punishment was not always educational. Ki-nam remembered one incident very clearly: It was when they played for a market construction at Kim-je near Ki-nam’s hometown. In the morning Hong-jip ordered Ki-nam to get a new tobacco pouch. Ki-nam went to a merchant and asked a price. The merchant asked back why Ki-nam needed it since he was a kid. Ki-nam told the merchant that his teacher needed one. Ki-nam added that he had no money to buy it for his teacher. The merchant refused to give him one for free since it was early in the morning and he had not sold one. But he promised Ki-nam to give one at the close of the marketplace if Ki-nam would play the janggu for him. At a lunch break, Hong-jip asked Ki-nam for the tobacco pouch. Ki-nam answered that the merchant did not

give one since he just opened the market. All of a sudden, Hong-jip thrashed Ki-nam on the head with his janggu stick that was made of steel. It burst upon him like a thunderclap, but Ki-nam just kept having his lunch. Ki-nam had not realized that his hood was soaked with blood until the head of the folk music band noticed it.

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Corporal punishment can be understood as a pedagogical discourse to control the learner and learning activity. If we define pedagogy as a governmental activity for/of learning, controlling a student's body is an essential part of it. Imposing behavioral norms and setting a time clock in the modern schooling are simple examples. Foucauldian power relations are always present in this discourse. Corporal punishment is a distinctive feature of controlling a student's body in Korea. It is not a task of this essay to trace the root of Korean socio-cultural-historical use of corporal punishment, but it is certain that Korean society historically accepts corporal punishment (Doe, 2000; S.-W. Kang, 2002). In Joseon dynasty, parents usually presented a bundle of sticks, what is called a "love stick," to the children's teacher of local private tutoring center called so-dang. A famous folk painting by Hong-do Kim of Joseon dynasty describes an instruction room of so-dang that a student is weeping after being caned by his teacher. Today, school teachers can legitimately use corporal punishment if they think it is the only way to guide and correct students. The Korean Education Law allows corporal punishment from the elementary to high school and each school has its own guidelines for a proper implementation. I believe almost all Korean people directly or indirectly experienced corporal punishment in their school years. However, corporal punishment caused a lot of criminal lawsuits and public attention since 1990s. There have been continuous social debates over the limit of the means of corporal punishment in Korean society.

Parents also used corporal punishment. Let me tell my own story to illuminate the effect of corporal punishment in the Korean family. I have a fearful but fond memory of being caned by my father when I was eleven years old:

It took more time than usual to walk home. I took the dark shadow side of the road and looked out if there is something attracting my curiosity so that I could spend sometime before I got to home. I wanted to distract my mind. I was worried. I was scared. A report card. I put the heaviest burden in my backpack. I knew my father and mother would be dismayed. They worked hard and their hope and joy of life is my educational success. I was always a top student in the class. But my report card has a bunch of Cs and Ds. At that time I was a member of the school soccer team. I practiced early in the morning before class and till the late afternoon after class. I was tired and did not study at home. Therefore, it is quite reasonable that I had low scores in the exam. Fortunately, father had a dinner appointment and was late for the night. However, mother was completely shocked. She worried me. "If your father saw this report card, you could be punished." I went to bed earlier than usual. I did not want to see father. I awoke the next morning and washed my hands and face—surely, it took more time than usual. After having breakfast without saying a word, father told me to bring a bamboo stick that is used to scratch his back. He took out my report card. I did not say anything. He whipped me ten times on the calf. It bruised red, blue, and black. I went to school with my short pants since it was summer. I remember I felt relieved when I was going to school. I do not know why I felt so. Maybe the punishment made me assured that my father was concerned about me and loved me a lot. Friends in school asked me about the bruises. I was a bit ashamed but told them the whole story.

I do not believe anyone likes being physically punished in any situation. But corporal punishment in educational relations has a different meaning and effect in Korean society. It has been accepted as a good way of disciplining children and students. In my own story, my father wanted me to concentrate more on the study and I think he succeeded. I quit the soccer team and spent more time on my study. I thought that's the better way to please my parents. I did not want to play soccer insofar as I did poorly in academics. It was meaningful to him and me. Somebody may argue that there could be another way for my father to achieve the same object without using corporal punishment. I cannot but admit that my father was enmeshed in corporal punishment that is quite natural among Korean parents.

This enmeshment in corporal punishment in Korean people is obvious when we consider Koreans who are living in Western cultures. More often than not, some Korean parents are in trouble for their use of corporal punishment with their children. For example, in 2005, a Korean father in Canada was reportedly charged with assault with a weapon on his child. He sent his son to Canada with his wife for study, but the teenage son skipped classes and was rude to his mother. He flew to Canada and admonished his son verbally and physically. However, his son did not behave himself well. He flew to Canada again—he traveled twice in a week—and whipped his son harshly. The school teacher found the son's injuries the next day and contacted police. The court ordered the father to give \$2,500 donation to an organization that helps abused children and write an anonymous article to local newspaper about acceptable disciplines at home. The judgment was relatively light since the father did not know that Canadian law prohibits corporal punishment (Fong, 2005). Maybe the father had to stop as Ki-nam's father did when the first punishment was not working. This incident shows how much Korean people are inclined to use corporal punishment.

The effect of corporal punishment is not uniform. It is difficult to judge whether it serves a pedagogical purpose. There might be unintended effects. Resistance is always possible in that corporal punishment is based on power disparity between students/children and teachers/parents. And, there is a conflict between teachers and parents on using corporal punishment at the school. It certainly depends on socio-cultural-historical contexts of each and every corporal punishment. The current debate in Korean society shows this complexity. Many Korean people still believe that a certain level of corporal punishment is educationally necessary. However, dissenters argue that corporal punishment may infringe upon the constitutional right of individual freedom and pursuit of happiness. In 2004, the Korean Supreme Court illustrated three examples that are educationally improper corporal punishment: (1) the one that is done without informing the student of the educational meaning of it (2) the one that is done in public while unfamiliar people are watching (3) the one that strikes vulnerable areas of the student's body with a harmful object or the teacher's body (The Korea National Court Library, 2004). In spite of this ruling, a parent advocate group took the corporal punishment case to the Constitutional Court where it is pending now (S.-h. Kim, 2004).

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Let's get back to Ki-nam's story. What was the effect of corporal punishment on Ki-nam's life and learning? Corporal punishment from his father intended to disempower Ki-nam's learning of janggu, which was not successful. Bong-deuk worried about the adverse effect of it and chose to develop Ki-nam's aptitude. The one from his teacher, Hong-jip, resulted in complex effects. First of all, Ki-nam came to know that corporal punishment is not a good way to teach. He said, "People in these days will beat and trample on the teacher if they are flogged like me. They will go away. No one wants to learn to play the janggu." [p. 3: 26]. But he also used

corporal punishment when he taught his own students. One of his students, Jae-ki, told Ki-nam that he had not forgotten Ki-nam's corporal punishment. Ki-nam remembered, "He [Jae-ki] was so dull-witted that he couldn't receive a rhythm after three days of teaching. So I switched him on the calf several times." [p. 3: 130]. Another student, Doo-san, Ki-nam recalls, was whipped very harshly. Ki-nam was a kind of victim of corporal punishment but reproduced it again. Why? How can he justify his decision? What Ki-nam believed could be achieved by Hong-jip's corporal punishment could provide an answer to this question. When Ki-nam talked about his use of corporal punishment to his students, he exemplified how he had behaved when he had been punished. Ki-nam said, "When I learned, though I was whipped to bleeding in the day, I made a bow in the evening, 'Teacher, sleep well,' and in the morning, 'Teacher, have you had breakfast?' Even so I got slapped and whipped if I made a mistake again. That's the way I learned the janggu." [p. 3: 131]. This repeated corporal punishment effected Ki-nam's acknowledgement of the seemed-to-be unreachable skill of his teacher's playing the janggu. And, his teacher's punishment also assured Ki-nam that he could learn to reach the skill. Corporal punishment built a respect for the teacher and self-assurance of the student. Ki-nam did his best to surpass his teacher. Ki-nam said, "I wanted to learn everything completely and win over my teacher some day." [p. 3: 27]. Ki-nam's students felt similarly. Jae-ki told Ki-nam later, "I do not play so well even though my teacher whipped me to teach." [p. 3: 130]. Ki-nam regretted that there was no student who respected the teacher like he had done with his teacher.

It is suspicious though that corporal punishment alone did encourage Ki-nam to such an extent. Certainly, there was at least one more factor—filial piety to his mother. His father died when he was twelve years old. It was three years later that Ki-nam began to learn from Hong-jip. He has eight brothers and sisters. His mother had to raise them by herself. As he had not been to

school, Ki-nam could not read and write. Ki-nam said, “Mother was alone. Since I was not schooled at all, I could not be employed and a salary worker. I could not serve my mother faithfully. So, I wanted to learn the janggu by any means and win fame and a reputation all over the nation and world. Then, I can make a lot of money and support my mother and be a dutiful son.” [p. 3: 60]. In the folk music band, the first janggu player earned more money than the second player. If the first janggu player was paid 15,000 won (Korean currency), the second player got 10,000 won, and the others got less. Therefore, there was a competition to be the first janggu player in the band. The day for Ki-nam to be the first player came strangely.

It was when Ki-nam was twenty-two years old. Hong-jip and Ki-nam were invited to play at the fundraising event for a civic center in Kim-je. A local rich man whose last name was Won held a contest for the best folk music band for the event. Mr. Won selected four janggu players and Hong-jip was the first pick while Ki-nam took the second spot. It was a tradition that the first player takes the head of the line. When the band was playing, Mr. Won’s assistant took Hong-jip by the collar and shifted him after Ki-nam. Ki-nam was embarrassed. He could not play ahead of his teacher. It was not a proper way to respect the teacher. So, he moved back. At this time, the man took Ki-nam to the front. Ki-nam stepped back again, but the man took him again to the front. Hong-jip was embarrassed, too. He could not play at his best with shame. That night, Hong-jip cried in front of Ki-nam. Hong-jip could not accept that his own student played in front of him. So, Ki-nam met Mr. Won and told him the situation. Mr. Won understood it but did not allow Hong-jip to take the lead. Instead, he gave money to Hong-jip equivalent to a four-day wage. Mr. Won told him that it was not his wage but for drink. He wanted to console Hong-jip. Ki-nam could not but ask Hong-jip to go home and recover his strength. Hong-jip was old and got a tonsillectomy at that time. Hong-jip wrapped his janggu and left with tears in the eyes. Ki-

nam gave his teacher additional drink money equivalent to a two-day wage, saying “Have a drink on your way home, Sir.” [p. 3: 31].

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The sign that Ki-nam finally exceeded his teacher emerged as a physical activity like the way his learning was embedded in corporal punishment. In apprenticeship, the completion of learning can be demonstrated by the learner to present a fine product to the teacher or market, for example, ironware in the case of a blacksmith. However, janggu skill must be performed physically as it is the product of learning. It was dramatic that the audience considered Ki-nam playing better than his teacher and changed the standing order with his teacher. There was no more obvious evidence of completion than this incident. With this symbolic incident at Kim-je, Ki-nam got separated from his teacher and began to gain his own reputation. These two results can be seen in terms of body, politics, and learning. For this, we need to ask whose power is exercised on Ki-nam’s body as a center of learning and teaching. In other words, who controls? On the one hand, Ki-nam’s body was an object of teaching to Hong-jip. Ki-nam was determined to learn the janggu from Hong-jip. The power disparity between them and Korean pedagogical discourse enabled Hong-jip to use harsh corporal punishment. However, with this incident Hong-jip might not control Ki-nam’s body and learning any longer. Ki-nam became independent and had to manage his learning by himself. This aspect may be called the micro body politics of learning. It is concerned with the power relations inside the instructional scene, for example, between teachers and students, parents and children, or parents and teachers. On the other hand, the sponsor, Mr. Won, was another controller of Ki-nam’s body. Actually, Mr. Won was an overall controller of both Ki-nam and Hong-jip’s learning and life. He organized a folk music band and paid wages. Hong-jip and Ki-nam would not get a chance to play and make money

without the organizer/sponsor. This aspect can be called the macro body politics of learning. It is about the governing power of teaching-learning relations. It involves, but is not limited to, cultural discourses, (inter)national policies, and economic interests. With the Kim-je incident, Ki-nam's life moved from micro to macro body politics of learning.

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Let me briefly overview how the folk music band functioned in the traditional Korean society. First, it was closely embedded in agricultural economy and shamanism. The folk music band usually played in a village several occasions in every year, typically traditional lunar calendar holidays, for example, the New Year's Day, spring seedtime, and fall harvesting season. If the village is large enough and has good players, it composed its own band. But if the village couldn't afford it, one would be invited. Hong-jip and Ki-nam was one of those who were invited by villages around Jolla province. The village performance usually begins at the gate way of the village. The band plays for the tutelary deity of the village and travels around each and every house. Traditional Korean shamanism considers that a spirit dwells in every place of the house—kitchen, roof, well, etc. If the village is large, it takes several days to finish the village performance. It was the village performance when Bong-deuk asked Hong-jip to teach Ki-nam. The folk music was not just entertainment but also a religious ritual. So, there were certain rules to conduct this village performance. Ki-nam remembered the number of rules was ninety-nine. The village performance is sometimes combined with fundraising efforts to construct or buy whatever the village needed. Ki-nam got separated from his teacher at one of the fundraising events.

The folk music band, secondly, was traditionally a part of a theatrical business on the road. In Joseon dynasty, strolling entertainers called Nam-sa-dang-pae were usually

accompanied by the folk music band. The band gathered people easily and also took part in the show. After Japanese occupation, some traditional musical genres that had been appreciated by the ruling upper class, for example pansori, lost many of its audience. Usually pansori was sponsored by the local government or rich people. Therefore, many nationally celebrated pansori singers made up entertaining troupes and traveled around the country. Sometimes they went to Japan and Manchuria where many Korean people migrated at that time.

Apart from its functional aspect, the folk music band was also affected by Japanese colonial policy. According to Ki-nam, Japan banned playing the folk music in the village without a special permit from the local government. The permit was given when the village wanted to raise a fund for public purpose, such as buying new fire-fighting equipment or constructing a new bridge or road. It was impossible to play the folk music at the national holiday since Japan prohibited celebrating it. After liberation from Japan in 1945, the newly founded government promoted the folk music. The folk music was played at the national event and national and local folk music contests were held.

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Ki-nam's life as a professional janggu player unfolded in this context. He was hired by famous entertaining troupes organized by Hwa-joong-sun Lee, Yeon-soo Kim, and Bang-wool Im. They were all prominent pansori singers in 20th century Korea. Ki-nam traveled to Japan and Manchuria with Hwa-joong-sun troupe. He also played in the village performance many times. Actually, Ki-nam played with Hong-jip again at the big village performance six years after they were divided. In his heyday, Ki-nam was on the road for months with various playing groups and went back home with a lot of money. His mother and elder brother could sew clothes and farm with that money. But this business was not always good. The entertaining troupe did

not always attract many people. Ki-nam sometimes wanted to go home since he was not paid well. However, it was not easy. The organizer or sponsor of the troupe always kept an eye on him and made an effort to have him stay. Sometimes, a watchman followed him individually. When he played for the village performance, sometimes a better offer came from different villages after he accepted advanced money from the contracted village. He could not accept the better offer since the contracted village people could assault him later. Ki-nam led his life in such a power deployed world of playing the janggu. Be that as it may, Ki-nam adapted well to these politics.

Ki-nam understood that the organizer or sponsor “bought” him and he played to make money. Usually, the buyer demanded so much that he could not rest. At the village performance, the folk music band played all night from seven o’clock in the evening to six or seven o’clock in the morning. In the morning, sometimes blood came out from his throat when coughing. When he traveled four months playing for a temple construction fundraising, the band was accompanied by a herb doctor. He even bled in his inner thigh where the janggu chafed against it. It was hard work. Playing the janggu, Ki-nam said, is what “pierced the bone marrow.” [p. 3: 41]. His skill developed in this system and came into full blossom. He won the Presidential Award in the 1956 National Folk Music Contest.

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As Korean society underwent rapid modernization and economic development in the 1960s, traditional Korean music also experienced large changes. Industrialization created jobs in urban areas and, as a result, a rural exodus among young people impoverished many rural communities. Radio, television, and other modern machines changed an entertainment culture. And, most of all, shamanism in rural areas faded away as it was considered a kind of absurd

superstitious belief. The massive explosion of Christianity in the 1970s and 1980s also helped expel shamanism from Korean people's daily life. To help the reader to understand the change, let me briefly introduce the change my birthplace where my grandmother still lives underwent. When my mother was married, she had to cross the river with a small ferryboat to visit her father-in-law. There was no electricity. Only a pump well provided drinking water. As a little kid, I often saw a straw rope around a huge tree at an approach to the village. Beside the tree, there was a small altar house for a tutelary deity. The altar house nowadays is almost deserted. My grandfather had three sons and two daughters. Except my elder uncle, the other four now live in cities including my father. My elder uncle also has three sons and two daughters. All of them now live in cities though there is a bridge over the river, water pipes, and electricity lines in the village. My elder uncle enjoys watching television in the evening with his wife after working at the rice field. There is also a church which was founded more than twenty years ago though my uncle and aunt do not attend.

Similar changes happened at Ki-nam's village. Ki-nam told that there was no young unmarried man and woman in the village. They all went to cities to get a job including Ki-nam's two sons. Besides, the construction of a huge reservoir in 1965 to prevent flooding in the neighboring area submerged Ki-nam's village. It was a major blow to the village. There were about thirty-five households in the original village. More than half left for the city with government compensation. Ki-nam also intended to be one of them. But he was afraid that "city people" could deceive him and take his small amount of money. He thought he did not have enough money to buy a house in the city. At least he could move to newly reclaimed land from the sea since government compensation was a document that promised him to provide about 4.5 acres of rice field. But he sold the document since the reclamation work was not done before his

house was submerged and he was not brave enough to live with unfamiliar people there. He built a new home right above the hill with other people who remained. At the time of interview, only fifteen families were in the village. He worried too much about life outside of his hometown. He heard that people in Seoul were so coldhearted that they did not know their neighbor's face. He watched the news that old people committed suicide in the apartment complex since they were so lonely. When he visited a relative in Jeon-ju, the capital city of northern Jolla province, he was upset at the crosswalk since there were so many cars passing. He was too afraid to cross the road.

These changes affected the playing of the janggu—the macro body politics of learning. The village performance began to disappear since shamanism was oppressed, farming was industrialized, and the entertainment culture had changed. There were not many people who still cherished the folk music. Ki-nam's chance of being invited to the folk music band or entertaining troupe had been decreased. Not just the janggu but overall traditional Korean music was at the verge of disappearing since the entire social system had been changed. But on the other side, traditional musicians and players formed a professional association, the Korea Folk Music Association, in 1961. The forerunner of this association was founded by some pansori singers in Seoul during the Japanese occupation. The association was organized by the people who left the rural areas for Seoul and local cities. Government also introduced the National Intangible Cultural Asset in 1962 to preserve the traditional culture.

Ki-nam was not actively involved in these changes though he was a famous janggu player. Even though he could have wanted to do so, probably it had been uncomfortable for him to take part in this change since he could not read and write. Maybe he did not need to be involved. As he had been a farmer and sold tobacco to the neighbors since the 1950s, he was economically stable. And he might be proud of himself because those who knew his musical talent invited him

from time to time. He knew that some people who left for Seoul became famous and sometimes made a living out of teaching the janggu. He did not think that was his life. His life always belonged to his own land and rural house. He had a chance to move out of his tiny small village when the reservoir was constructed, but he remained. Even the leader of the A-ri-rang professional folk music band in Jeon-ju asked him to move out to work together. He sometimes was invited to play with them and Janggu players of the band wanted to learn from him since they could not follow his tunes. He simply refused it. He thought no one in the city would provide him with food and clothes.

Though he lived with farming and selling tobacco, he was recruited when he was sixty-two years old to be a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. In 1975, Jeon-ju Folk Music Association organized a folk music band with twelve locally renowned traditional instrument players including Ki-nam. They were all in their sixties and seventies. The Association people told them, “You all can be holders of National Intangible Cultural Asset. Why didn’t you dream to be such until now?” [p. 3: 146] Being pressed, Ki-nam answered, “If the Association knew this well, you should have notified us. We are all farmers and dig dirt for a living. How can we know it?” [p. 3: 146] The Association people asked Ki-nam and the others to practice so that they could be appointed as a holder of National Intangible Cultural Assets. Unlike the Association’s words of flattery, it was the beginning of hardship for Ki-nam. The twelve seniors paid their lodging and food by themselves during the two weeks of practice. They also ordered special costumes for the performance in Seoul by themselves. It was a burden to Ki-nam but he willingly spent money hoping to be a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. After two weeks of practice they performed at two broadcasting companies and the National Classical Music Institute in Seoul. They also played at Yong-in Folk Village where traditional Korean life

and cultural artifacts were displayed. When they played at one of the broadcasting companies, an old person who listened to the play asked in detail about how many tunes they had and from whom they learned. So, Ki-nam thought that they were picked as National Intangible Cultural Assets. But nothing happened. After he came back home, the Association never contacted him again. He heard later from the newspaper reporter who interviewed him that the Association took advantage of him and the other old people. Ki-nam remembers that broadcasting companies and the Folk Village paid 900,000 won (about \$1,000 but it was huge money in Korea at that time) for their performance but the Association took everything except lodging, food, and transportation in Seoul. It was a kind of fraud to him even though he was not economically motivated. He had always been paid for his performance apart from lodging, clothes, and food. But, at that time, it was about an honor that he could make before the end of his life. Ki-nam said, “I am not a kind of person who tries to be a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. I can make my living by myself and I do not need to be such. Well, though I sit here, those who know the beauty and essence of the janggu come to meet me. Why do I have to flatter them [those who can appoint a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset]? However, on the other hand, I have played the janggu as if it penetrated my bone marrow. So, deep in my heart I want to leave at least one honor behind before I die.....If I cannot get this honor, all my sixty years of hardships seem to be useless. But the inside story of becoming the National Intangible Cultural Asset was like that. I suffered such a shame as an old man.” [p. 3: 153].

After this fraudulent incident, he won a couple of awards in the national traditional music contest. But his life as a janggu player did not kept abreast with the change in the macro body politics of learning. He seemed to be disillusioned at his life as a janggu player. When he refused to teach the A-ri-rang folk music band janggu players, he said to them, “What do you do by

learning [the janggu from me]? Time goes as it is and you are getting old and can't play it any more. It is needless to say that I can't [play the janggu any more] since I lived long [and don't have much time left]. And, you are as good players as you are playing that much." [p. 3: 105]. Perhaps, this is why he did not have his own janggu for three years when he was interviewed in 1981. He said that he left his Janggu and costume in a bus by mistake when he came back home after performing at the national folk music contest. He did not or maybe could not afford to buy one. Anytime he wanted to play the janggu, he had to borrow it from the neighborhood women. He who had played the janggu since nine years old did not have his own at the end of his life. What a pity it is!

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So far I explored Ki-nam's life and learning from the perspective of the body politics. Whether it was surfaced in a relationship with Hong-jip (micro level) or through the socio-cultural-historical context change (macro level), power was always deployed in his body and affected the way of learning and the course of his life. Ki-nam had two wishes when he was interviewed. One is to have a smart student to hand over all the tunes he knew. The other is to play the janggu until he felt relieved from inside out. I do not know if he achieved these before he died. Still, his movement in his later life situations leads me to suggest that he did not achieve these goals.

Let me end this essay by introducing another dimension of power that was deployed in his body, learning, and life. Ki-nam gave up playing the janggu one time. It is not clear when he exactly decided not to play it. But it was when he became famous enough. He broke all the janggu sticks he had. The reason he wanted to escape it was that almost all of the janggu players around him died before their time. His teacher, many colleagues, and even his beloved student

died. He was possessed by the thought that he could be the next. His determination did not last. He could not see the folk music performance just standing among the audience. Unlike his worry, his death did not come quickly. At the age of sixty-eight, he had a stroke of paralysis. He was laid up for three months. The interviews were carried out when he recovered a little. During the interview, his wife mumbled, “He might be seized by the janggu spirit.” Perhaps, his whole life was so ever since he had crazily run after the folk music band as a kid.

Formalizing

So-shim was born in Jindo, a southern island of Southern Jolla province, in 1907. She was born on July 7th of the lunar calendar when the Altair and the Vega in the sky meet together once a year. She attributed her fortune in the life to this great birth date. Being selected a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset of kangangsullae in 1976 is truly her great fortune. She learned kangangsullae from her grandmother and enjoyed dancing and singing with her neighbors since she was sixteen years old. As a woman, she had a checkered life. She had been officially married to Mr. Jung at the age of eighteen, but left him without legal divorce. In 1935, she became the third wife of Mr. Park who died during the Korean War. Then, she became the second wife of Mr. Lee in 1951. Before becoming the holder of the National Intangible Cultural Asset of kangangsullae, she ran a brewery for a living for more than twenty years from her thirties to fifties. So-shim did not have her own child, but the children of Mr. Lee had with his first wife called her mother. After Mr. Lee died in 1989, she lived in Jindo by herself. She was eighty-four years old when the interview was published in 1990. She died in 1991.

Traditional Korean society did not provide women with the same education that men had. Knowledge and skills that women had to learn were different from that of men. In this essay I will explore the life and learning of a Korean illiterate woman, So-shim, in terms of the figuration of formalizing. So-shim's learning activity began with life skills transmitted from her mother and grandmother. Her ways of learning always happened in what is called informal situations. This informally learned knowledge and skills were treated differently from what men learned in formal institutions. Women were usually oppressed and discriminated from the social, economic, and political process. So-shim's life and learning is not an exception. But the socio-cultural change caused by the rapid development in Korean society had affected her life very much. Informally learned knowledge and skills helped her in managing her life in this change. The establishment of National Intangible Cultural Asset played a significant role in formalizing her kanggangsullae knowledge and her life itself. The figuration of formalizing is central to read So-shim's life and learning in this historical change in that her life is about the tension between what is informal and what is formal.

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When So-shim was born, her father got into a quarrel with her grandmother over registering her birth date. Her father argued that July 7th of the lunar calendar is too good to the girl and wanted to register her birth date as July 6th. Her grandmother opposed the change and won over her son. So-shim got her real birth date on the official document. If her father had won over her grandmother, So-shim might have had two birthdays—one is on the official formal document and the other is observed only by family members informally. It was the beginning of the renowned kanggangsullae singer in the gender discriminated society. If So-shim was born as

a boy, the date was so great and everybody celebrated it. But because So-shim was female, it was only a controversy in the family.

The foremost gender discrimination in the family was providing educational opportunities. So-shim's parents were rich in Jindo. Her parents were able to send their two sons to the mainland for schooling while the three daughters remained at home with no formal education. The life of her two brothers was so different from that of her sisters and herself. They did not spend the childhood together. So-shim said, "He [elder brother] went to so-dang [Korean private local tutoring center], then elementary school. He then went to the higher level of schools. We had never played, neither talked to each other." [p. 9: 38] The elder brother could speak Japanese and English since he went to the university in Japan. Whenever he came home, there was a big welcoming party. He learned Chinese classics like his father and grandfather did. While her elder brother learned three foreign languages, So-shim was not taught to read and write her own mother tongue. Her mother told her, "It is useless for the girl to learn to write and read." [p. 9: 38] So-shim's elder brother sometimes urged her to learn how to read and write. She did not comply with it since no woman around her was literate. She could not find a reason to learn to read and write. No woman was schooled. A socially powerful and self-evident discourse that formal education is just for men controlled So-shim's learning activity. Women's life and learning were situated informally.

So-shim was taught what was proper to the woman; cooking, weaving, sewing, brewing, and so on. The way So-shim learned them is informal and embedded in everyday life. Her mother always worked with her. So-shim learned to brew house wine so nice that her mother always asked her to do it. She also prepared kimchi and other seasonings and her mother praised her tasty dishes. Sewing was not a special skill to learn—every woman in the town learned it

before marriage. As So-shim wove so well that neighbors came to her house to look at her skill. Also, she learned to make clothes since her mother made So-shim's clothes.

While she learned housekeeping knowledge and skill from her mother, she also learned kanggangsullae from her grandmother. Kanggangsullae is a traditional circle dance played in the southwest region of Southern Jolla Province, especially Jindo and Hae-nam. An old folk tale says that Admiral Soon-shin Lee of Joseon dynasty who fought against the Japanese invasion in the late 14th century asked women in Jindo and Hae-nam to play a circle dance under the full-moon with a loud song to threaten the Japanese navy. People tend to think it was the beginning of kanggangsullae. However, it is believed that kanggangsullae originates from the ancient circle dance during the spring seedtime and fall harvest and Admiral Lee tactically used it to his advantage. It is exclusively women's play though So-shim remembered that sometimes a few young men danced together. Kanggangsullae begins when the moon rises with a slow circle dance. A lead singer sings the verses first and the others follow her with a refrain, "kanggangsullae." As the play goes, the song and foot step go faster and some variations of circle dance enhance pleasure.

A brief sketch of So-shim's grandmother is helpful to understand So-shim's life since she was not just So-shim's kanggangsullae teacher but also a lifetime mentor. The grandmother lived a very traditional way of life. She lost her husband [So-shim's grandfather] at the age of twenty-nine and had remained a widow ever since. So-shim's father was not her own son—the grandfather's first wife died right after giving birth to him. The grandmother raised him by herself. When So-shim's great grandmother died, the grandmother had slept at a straw-thatched hut beside the temporary tomb with a mourning dress for one hundred nights. It was a Confucian tradition that was not always observed by all people. After the hundred days, they held a big

funeral and praised So-shim's grandmother for her filial piety. Though the grandmother practiced the tradition strictly, she told widows later that they should have married again and lived a different life—she said to them that it had been useless for her to remain a widow. The grandmother loved So-shim more than the other two granddaughters and So-shim was the only one who learned kanggangsullae from her. The grandmother did not intend to make So-shim a great kanggangsullae singer. She taught it because So-shim just liked it.

So-shim's grandmother had learned kanggangsullae from her mother-in-law [So-shim's great grandmother]. She could not pass it on to her daughter-in-law [So-shim's mother] because So-shim's mother did not want to learn. So-shim's mother even opposed So-shim's learning of it. Every time So-shim came from kanggangsullae playing at night, the mother verbally scolded her. At times, she held a cane but did not actually use it, as So-shim promised that she would never go to play kanggangsullae again. However, when the moon arose after dinner, So-shim could not stand the friend's calling to go to the kanggangsullae yard. The mother was worried as So-shim behaved differently from her words. So-shim's father stopped the mother by saying that So-shim was born with temperament on the July 7th of the lunar calendar. The birth date was an excuse.

Learning and teaching of kanggangsullae exclusively depended on oral practices since everyone in kanggangsullae inheritance could not read and write. They were all so intelligent that they could listen, repeat and memorize all the words and tunes of kanggangsullae songs. They all had splendid memory power. So-shim says that both she and the grandmother were really good at doing sums in the head. This helped So-shim a lot later when she ran a brewing business. So-shim also used a small janggu to learn the rhythm of the song.

There were three distinctive characteristics in teaching and learning kanggangsullae between the grandmother and So-shim. First, learning and life was not separate at all. So-shim

took part in kanggangsullae singing and dancing with her friends and neighbor women while she was learning it from the grandmother. So-shim's father often allowed neighbors to use his yard to play the kanggangsullae. Under the full moon light, her sweet voice was gradually saturated with kanggangsullae. Second, the learning process itself was informal. The grandmother taught So-shim when So-shim was in the bed at night, when they worked together in the field, and when they took a rest during the daytime. The learning activity happened days and nights in and out of the house. Third, the grandmother told background stories of kanggangsullae songs along with the words and tunes. She contextualized the song and it definitely helped So-shim memorize the song. So-shim remembers the first song's background story that she learned from the grandmother: Once upon a time there was a man named Kum-su in Hae-nam. When Kum-su got married, he decorated an elegant sedan chair. There was a beautiful sunscreen on top of it. Music players marched ahead of the sedan chair. Everyone held the white decorating cloth of the sedan chair with their hands. Unfortunately he died soon after the marriage. So his coming back home was his funeral. Everybody followed Kum-su's casket holding a funeral flag—a long bamboo stick with a long cloth on which condolences are written. The words of the song is: "Pitiful, Hae-nam Kum-su, how many years do you want to live, reversing the road to the afterworld, going with a sedan chair, coming back with funeral flags." [p. 9: 59] The story became a song.

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Let me discuss So-shim's knowledge and skill in terms of socially unprivileged women's knowing and learning. Historically, traditional women's knowledge was treated differently from men's knowledge not just in Korea but also other places. While men's knowledge has been written and treated in an official institute like school, women's knowledge has often been labeled as "old wives' tales" (Dalmaiya & Alcoff, 1993). What So-shim learned from her mother and

grandmother—cooking, weaving, sewing, brewing, singing, dancing and so on—are “considered to be mere tales or unscientific hearsay and fail to get accorded the honorific status of knowledge” (p. 217). Dalmaiya and Alcoff call it an epistemic discrimination and discuss it by comparing the epistemic system of midwives and physicians. They point out four differences:

(a) Midwife knowledge was generally unrecorded, undocumented, and thus unauthorized according to the terms of authorization increasingly in use in the emerging medical establishment: publication in written form.

(b) Midwives gained their knowledge through practice and “hearsay” rather than through “authoritative” books that collected “facts” and stated them in the form of propositions.

(c) Midwives often gained their knowledge from their own embodied experience of childbirth; they were even proud of this fact.

(d) Much of midwife knowledge was empathic, and much of their skill in assisting in childbirth was based on this ability to identify with the expectant mother. (pp. 224-225)

Like midwife knowledge, what So-shim learned is not treated as socially authoritative knowledge. It is embodied in her body. It is knowledge that she “learns through observing another person [her mother and grandmother], participating in an activity with another [playing kanggangsullae with neighbors], or simply trying it out ourselves [herself] alone” (Dalmaiya & Alcoff, 1993, p. 221). I believe this learning process is not so easy at all since I once observed my wife’s learning of making kimchi from my mother. My wife had Korean cookbooks but recipes were not enough to make flavorful kimchi that I had enjoyed in Korea. I missed my mother’s dishes so much. We tried together but were not able to make it. So, my wife called my mother and asked how to make it. Well, it was even harder to follow since my mother was not able to explain her methods. The most difficult part was the measurement of seasoning. My

mother said, “Put a little bit of salt.” My wife asked back how much “a little bit” is. My mother’s reply was “See and taste it and do not put too much.” It seemed almost impossible for her to learn from my mother without sharing the same kitchen. What is completely embodied and embedded in my mother’s life was difficult to write down. My wife and I were struggling to figure it out.

So-shim is called an “illiterate” woman simply because she cannot produce and share her knowledge in written form. It is nonsense, however, to consider her to be ignorant by naming her such. She certainly owned different knowledge and used it differently to maintain her life. This is not to say that So-shim was satisfied with her life without being able to read and write. She regretted that she did not learn how to read when, especially, her brother urged her to do so. She said, “I should have studied when I was asked to go to So-dang for study. It is really regrettable. It is uncomfortable. When? It is deplorable that I cannot read the signboard and others wherever I go.” [p. 9: 124] What I want to point out here is that “illiterate” people also learned different valuable knowledge and skill. This knowledge and skill also produced effects on life and its circumstances.

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What are the effects of informally learned knowledge and skill on So-shim’s life afterward? This could be detected by exploring So-shim’s turbulent marriage life. She married three times and she has not been a “formal” wife of any husband. Her subjectivity as a wife was not stabilized. She was and was not a wife of her three husbands at the same time. Informally learned knowledge and skill were deployed in complex life situations. Her unstable subjectivity as a wife may result in the “formalizing” desire that marks her later life.

So-shim got married to Mr. Jung of Hae-nam when she was eighteen years old without even a previous chance of seeing each other. Not seeing each other before the marriage was the custom at that time. Only So-shim's mother in the family saw her son-in-law before the marriage. So-shim did not want to get married to Mr. Jung since he was twelve years older than her. Her father also opposed him because the fortuneteller said they did not have a good marital harmony. But her mother married her off to Mr. Jung as she believed that So-shim could live well with an old husband since she was born with a hard fortune—July 7th of the lunar calendar. Living with Mr. Jung was a nightmare to So-shim. So-shim was not satisfied with Mr. Jung. She said, "At that time, it was the best principle for the young people to meet the good partner and live well together. But I couldn't because the man was not good. He was ugly-looking. Even he could not speak distinctly as he twanged. Therefore he could not find a favor in my eyes." [p. 9: 49] So-shim was a beauty in the town. Her mother was worried about her since she was the best-looking girl in the town. Once she gave a hard time to neighboring men who sexually harassed her verbally and ran away. She reported it right away to the police and town elders. Mr. Jung was not the man to the woman who was bold and full of self-confidence. What made the matter worse was that Mr. Jung's family was poor and So-shim had to do a lot of work.

Astonishingly, she ran away from the Mr. Jung about a week after the marriage. There was a ferryboat between Hae-nam and Jindo. She said to her in-laws that she went to weed a dry field and took a ferryboat to Jindo. Her parents were upset since it was undesirable, unusual, and maybe unimaginable at that time. They soothed her and let her go back to Hae-nam. She ran away again and again. The parents always tried to turn her away. They asked, "Why do you keep coming back?" She said, "Because I don't want to live there." [p. 9: 49]. She did this run-away and back-and-forth for several years. The marriage was meaningless to her even though she had

a baby-girl born dead during that time period. One day when the parents drove her out again, she went to one of her friend's house instead of going back to Hae-nam. There she wove hemp cloth and made money. Her mother got to know this and came to the house. She said to her mother that she would return. But she went to another friend's house. She made more money by weaving hemp. Then she left Jindo as her parents wanted. She did not go to Mr. Jung. He visited her sister's in-laws, maternal aunt, and cousins in the mainland. She never adapted herself to the married woman's life.

Her learning before the marriage played an essential role in her run-away from married life. Certainly, weaving helped her make money. Her grandmother supported her run-away unlike her parents. The grandmother told her, "If you don't want to live there, do not go back." [p. 9: 49] Kanggangsullae was another help. She became one of the best singers even before the marriage. Neighbors often said that they could not play kanggangsullae without So-shim. She became a leader when she joined kanggangsullae while running away from her husband. She probably soothed and cheered herself by singing and dancing at night. Kanggangsullae could help her forget sad circumstances for a moment. As all the participants were women, So-shim could get plenty of emotional support from them.

When she became twenty-nine years old, the administrative head of her hometown, Mr. Park, enticed So-shim aggressively. He was twelve years older than her and had already two wives. Though So-shim was not officially divorced from Mr. Jung, Mr. Park forced her to live with him. So-shim resisted somehow because she did not want to be a third wife. Mr. Park offered that she did not need to live with the other women and could run a brewery independently. So-shim's parents told her that they did not want to interfere with it. They must have been tired of So-shim's years of wandering. So-shim became his third wife. Mr. Park was a

powerful man both economically and politically. He bought a brewery for So-shim and gave an exclusive brewing permission of the town to her. He also hired staff to help her. It was a profitable business. She supplied rice wine to neighboring villages as well as selling it directly to the customer. So-shim earned a lot of money and bought acres of rice fields. Her exceptional brewing and cooking talents from her mother were vital to sustain this business.

The life with Mr. Park was not always smooth. Though there was no friction among his three wives, he had a morbid suspicion of So-shim's chastity since So-shim was still beautiful and treated a lot of male customers. When So-shim was about forty years old, Mr. Park often battered her accusing her that she had relations with the other men. So-shim was tired of this false accusation and put a poisonous drug under the pillow so that she could take it any time. But she could not take it. Instead, she placed her shoes at the edge of the river and disappeared. At first, word spread that she committed suicide. So-shim met another wife of Mr. Park and he found her and apologized. After that, there was no suspicion and violence. She ran the brewery for fourteen years, until 1949, and gave it to her parents. It is unclear why she gave it up. However, her relation with Mr. Park was not so good at that time. They often quarreled with each other and Mr. Park stopped coming to So-shim's place. About that time, So-shim fell in love with Mr. Lee who was head of the village. Mr. Lee's position was lower than Mr. Park in terms of administrative structure. Mr. Lee was not as rich as Mr. Park. Mr. Lee also had a wife. Her distancing from Mr. Park and getting close to Mr. Lee happened in the late 1940s and early 1950s when Korea was liberated from Japan, divided into North and South, and had a war.

During the War Mr. Park's entire families were killed by the North Korea affiliated people in the town. So-shim was also threatened to be killed. People could hate Mr. Park and his family. It is important to remember that it was under the Japanese occupation when Mr. Park

served as a town administrator and So-shim made her living out of his tutelage. After Mr. Park was killed, she became a second wife of Mr. Lee in 1951. She gave all the fortune from Mr. Park to one of his distant relatives since Mr. Lee asked her to do so. Mr. Lee did not want to hear that he got her because of the fortune. Mr. Lee had five sons and a daughter with the first wife. So-shim maintained a good relation with the first wife and their sons. A year later in 1952, she opened a tavern house when there was a reclamation work in Jindo. She earned a lot of money. Cooking and brewing skills again helped her sustain an independent life. Later, the first wife went to Seoul with her first son and So-shim lived with Mr. Lee and the other children. She closed the tavern in eight years since the reclamation work was finished. Then she made her living out of farming. Unfortunately Mr. Lee was an incompetent man. He did not have to do with any kind of physical work. He did not help her run the tavern and did not know how to farm. She had to take care of everything and raising the children was also her responsibility. He worked at a few local administration positions in the 1950s and 60s. Most of the time, he wrote Chinese characters with a writing brush, listened to the music, and just passed the time.

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Informally learned knowledge and skill enabled So-shim to manage her life. She could not survive her turbulent life without them. Apart from her learning, her entire life seems “informal.” None of So-shim’s three important subjectivities—as a wife, a mother, and a kanggangsullae singer—were identified as “formal.” I assume that So-shim resisted these informal subjectivities and had a desire to achieve a formal status in different ways.

So-shim’s running-away from the first marriage without an official divorce placed her in a strange legal status. According to So-shim, she was officially documented as a wife of Mr. Jung, the first husband, though he got married again after she became Mr. Park’s third wife. Mr.

Jung's five children from another woman were also registered as offspring with So-shim. Mr. Jung had died in a ship crash a long time ago. Legally, So-shim remained as a wife of Mr. Jung though she never wanted to be such. Regarding the relationship with Mr. Lee, So-shim was just listed as a woman who shared Mr. Lee's house. No legal bind was made since South Korea only acknowledges monogamy. Interestingly, Mr. Lee registered his last son under So-shim's name in the family genealogy book—it allows plural marriages though it is not an official government document—so that the descendants would assume that So-shim gave birth to this son.

Her desire to formalize her subjectivity as a mother can be seen in her efforts to educate the children that Mr. Lee had with the first wife. She raised the fourth and fifth sons since the first wife of Mr. Lee was not able to teach them. Mr. Lee's first wife went to Seoul with her first son. It was really hard for So-shim to send the fourth to high school and the fifth to middle school at the same time as she engaged in farming. She sometimes borrowed money to pay the tuitions. She made clothes for them by herself. As they studied in a town away from home, she had to rent a room for them. Since it was the time that heating and cooking depended on firewood, she often visited them to collect wood in nearby hills. She often cried when she climbed the ridge of the mountain or tumbled on a rock. Mr. Lee was not a help to her at all. Though she sometimes grieved her hard luck, she did her best to educate them. So-shim also raised two daughters of Mr. Lee's third son from when they were toddlers till they became elementary school kids. Thanks to her sacrifice, all the children treat her very well though they have a natural mother and neighbors acknowledged her as their "raising" mother.

Even though So-shim has been listed as a wife with a son in Mr. Lee's family genealogy book and neighbors call her mother, her subjectivities as a wife and mother were not stable. The children are not her offspring and she is not the second wife of Mr. Lee in the monogamous

society. However, when she became a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset of kanggangsullae in 1976, it gave her the first formally acknowledged stable subjectivity. This formalizing deeply affected her life and learning activity.

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So-shim's informal life and learning encountered a formal influence when she was designated as a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset in kanggangsullae. She was selected as a second holder of this vanishing heritage. So-shim was not a student of the preceding holder, Ms. Yang. Ms. Yang was designated as the first holder in 1966 when kanggangsullae was selected as the eighth National Intangible Cultural Asset. Ms. Yang did not leave a successor. It seems there was a competition to be the next holder after Ms. Yang's death in 1971. So-shim did her best to be selected. So-shim says she sent numerous recordings of singing to the government authority.

When So-shim learned kanggangsullae in 1920s, it was embedded in everyday women's life in Jindo. As the effect of rapid industrialization and urbanization in Korea approached Jindo, the number of women in Jindo decreased. The daughters of Jindo went to Seoul and other cities to get a job. Women of the other regions tried not to be married to Jindo men who were mostly farmers or fishermen—one of So-shim's nephews in Jindo had a hard time in finding a bride since the women he met always disliked a farmer. Simply there were not enough women in Jindo to play kanggangsullae as a part of their life. This is why the government established a system to preserve every national intangible cultural asset. The system introduces a hierarchical classification in terms of dexterity of skill and knowledge: holder-assistant teacher-initiator-scholarship student. A scholarship student can be an initiator after three years of learning from a holder or assistant teacher. An initiator can be an assistant teacher after evaluation of the Cultural

Property Protection Committee whether he or she has potential to be a holder. The government financially supports the individual in this system to promote the preservation effort.

After being a National Intangible Cultural Asset, kanggangsullae is inevitably institutionalized. It is rarely played for fun by the village women; rather, it is performed or demonstrated to the audience as a special event at the theater or playground. It begins and ends with a bow to the audience. The variations of circle dance in the middle are fixed. The duration of performance is reduced to around thirty minutes. So-shim says it had been forty minutes before but dancers complained it is too hard to run that long time. A lead singer does not dance any more; she only sings a song in front of the microphone. In the past, the singer sung and danced together. These changes mean that kanggangsullae is established as a kind of authoritative “written” knowledge.

Since the national government controls kanggangsullae knowledge and skill as part of its preservation efforts, kanggangsullae becomes monopolized by the holder and her students. In the past, kanggangsullae was within the socio-cultural context of everyday life. Now, it is an object of historical preservation and somehow detached from everyday life. This change formalized the learning activity of kanggangsullae. So-shim taught initiators and scholarship students at the Cultural Center two times a month. About forty women came to learn. Though So-shim did not describe in detail how she taught her students, it could be similar to her grandmother’s teaching. Students would listen to, memorize, and repeat what So-shim sung and explained. The teaching and learning activity itself may be the same but it must be performed in a certain place at a certain time. So-shim said four persons have been “graduated” from her teaching. Each of them learned for five years. Even though So-shim thought they learned enough, they must have fulfilled five years because of the rule. It seems there has been a change in the rule after the

interview—the current rule requires only three years. So-shim was sixteen years old when she learned kanggangsullae from her grandmother. So-shim’s students were mostly in their thirties and forties. While So-shim practiced kanggangsullae in the village yard with neighbors, her students practiced it in the show at the theater or school yard where many spectators watch them.

The formalizing of kanggangsullae influenced not just a historical change of learning activity but also So-shim’s life. Becoming a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset gave So-shim an unchangeable subjectivity and she proudly enjoyed it. After being designated as a holder in 1976, So-shim sent a nice Western suit to Professor Joo of Chonnam National University as a gift since he made efforts for her. What is interesting is the way she predicted the next holder after her death—she said, “Anyone who spends much money will be the next.” [p. 9: 129]. It is not clear the meaning or intention of this statement; however, this may reflect how strongly she has cherished her subjectivity as a holder of kanggangsullae for more than ten years. It is something that is worth spending money on. Furthermore, So-shim wanted to redress her entire subjectivity in terms of a holder of kanggangsullae. This desire became lucid when she said that she wanted to raise a monument to the memory of herself. She wished this monument to be set before her death because her other subjectivities as a mother and wife remain informal and ultimately vanishing. She wanted everybody who sees the monument to remember her and her life. She saved money for this project out of the government financial support for the holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset.

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So-shim attributed her fortune of being a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset to her birthday, July 7th of the lunar calendar. She believed it is because of her birthday that she could sustain her life. However, it was the socio-cultural-historical change in Korean society,

especially the one resulting in the introduction of National Intangible Cultural Asset, which affected So-shim's life and learning. It certainly became a force to formalize So-shim's subjectivity as a kanggangsullae singer and provided the condition for her to formalize her life itself. Without this formalizing, So-shim's life might have ended up with a nameless pitiful woman who lived most of her life as a concubine. I do not know if she successfully raised a monument before she died in 1991. But her name can be found in the web pages with the phrase that she wanted engraved on the monument: "A holder of the eighth National Intangible Cultural Asset in kanggangsullae. Born in 1908 and died in 1991." (There is a discrepancy on her birth year between the source data and internet resources). She probably never imagined this extraordinary formalizing of her life.

Figurations Revisited

So far I described four figurations of learning with four people's lives and learning. This essay aims to revisit the previous four essays to show how the four figurations—escaping, creating, controlling, and formalizing—are present in each individual's life and learning. It will show you how the four figurations are overlapping one another in each individual's life. The revisiting, however, is not just for presenting the evidence of common figurations among the four people; rather, it is for showing how the four figurations are found as modified, detached, reversed forms in each people's life and learning. In other words, this essay is finding differences while claiming sameness of the four figurations in life and learning. The essay contains the life and learning of the fifth person, Ms. Tong-jong-wol Ham, who is not included in composing the figuration essays. So revisiting four figurations contains all five people's lives and learning.

This essay is complex in its style. As I presented only four people's lives and learning so far, it begins with the introduction of Tong-jong-wol. Her life is presented from the third-person

voice. Her interesting, dramatic life contributes to reading this essay fresh. Without her story, this essay could be boring in a sense that I have to repeat many stories from the previous essays. After an overview of Tong-jong-wol's life, the essay is followed by series of short sections with four subheadings—four figurations. In these four sections, each of the five people will talk about their learning and lives in terms of four figurations. It is presented from the first-person voice. Each person narrates his/her own story in terms of the given figurations. The narrated story, however, is fictional. It is like dead men talking—they actually all died. Sometimes they talk about the other people's story though they are not engaged in a dialogue. In addition, each of the four sections has a short story box. The four boxes contain my own story of learning and life based on the given figurations. The stories are from the period that I quit my job as a newspaper reporter and came to U. S. for doctoral study. I added these boxed stories to show that reading the five source data forced me to look back on my own life; that I am also talking while the five persons are talking; and that the four figurations have been attached to my own life. Let's begin with Tong-jong-wol's life.

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Tong-jong-wol was born in Byung-young Myun, Kang-jin Kun, Southern Jolla Province in 1917. Her birth name was Keum-duk. Tong-jong-wol had two brothers and four sisters. She was the sixth child. Her father had worked as a drummer at the local government and her elder brother also was a gifted kayageum player. Both of them quit the music before she was born and had lived as an ordinary farmer. Her mother's brother also played the kayageum. Though it was a small town, the local Byung-young administration had a group of musicians before Japanese occupation—Tong-jong-wol's father was one of them. There were a private music tutoring

places and rich families often invited nationally famous singers to the town when Tong-jong-wol was young.

When Tong-jong-wol was in elementary school, her family was bankrupt due to her second brother's business downfall. As she had to quit the school, she cried a lot. At that time Mr. Chang-su Kim of Kwang-ju, who was acquainted with her family, took her to the traditional music performance. Tong-jong-wol was fascinated by the woman singer named Hwa-joong-sun. She made up her mind to succeed in music like Hwa-joong-sun, because she could not go to school. She became a step-daughter of Mr. Kim at the age of twelve and learned the traditional music at the Kwang-ju Kwon-bun. Kwon-bun was a gisaeng [dancing and singing girl similar to geisha of Japan] organization during the Japanese occupation. Local gisaengs were usually educated and registered in kwon-bun. Tong-jong-wol learned traditional Korean song and dance, kayageum and other musical instruments for one and half years. Then she came back to her hometown and continued to learn the traditional music under the direction of many private tutors. She concentrated on pansori singing and kayageum. She practiced days and nights. There are two episodes illustrating how much she was determined to be a great musician. First, when she sang herself hoarse, she drank her own urine and excremental water. She heard that many nationally famous pansori singers did the same thing to relieve neck pain. Second, when she learned kayageum from Mr. Ok-san Choi, she seared her own fingers with willows. She said, "When the fingers were swollen up, put the willows in firewood charcoal until the other end of the willows produced boiling bubbles. Once you seared the fingers with the bubbles several times, the fingers became as hard as pebble" [p. 15: 33]. Mr. Choi was created his own melody of playing the kayageum called Ok-san Choi style Kayageum Sanjo [the genre of playing the Korean traditional

musical instrument]. It was designated as a National Intangible Cultural Asset and Tong-jong-wol was selected as its holder in 1980.

Tong-jong-wol got married to Mr. Bang at the age of sixteen. Mr. Bang was a head of the newspaper branch in Byung-young. She received her professional name Tong-jong-wol from Mr. Bang. She refused to talk about her first marriage in detail. The next year Tong-jong-wol went to Mok-po and began her life as a gisaeing. It seems her first marriage was not a normal one. When she was in Mok-po, she won the first place award at the musical contest hosted by the Columbia Recording Company of Japan. She went to Tokyo to record pansori singing and kayageum playing for fifty days. She was recognized early as a talented entertainer. However, her life was driven to the unexpected after she had a baby with Mr. Park who was a drummer at the age of twenty. When she was twenty-one years old, her mother urged her to go to Seoul without explaining any reason. Tong-jong-wol refused. She even cut her hair saying that it would be better to be a monk than to go to Seoul. Her mother turned a deaf ear. Tong-jong-wol thought there must have been some reason for her mother to expel her from Mok-po. She never knew it. In Seoul she continued to work as a popular gisaeing. Her gisaeing life, however, lasted only two and half months as she conceived a baby of Mr. Jung. Mr. Jung took her to his house. He was so rich that he could own a car and live in a big house in downtown Seoul. He already had four wives and was more than twenty years older than her. Tong-jong-wol lived as the fifth wife of Mr. Jung for seventeen years during which she gave birth to five boys and two girls—sadly, two of them died during the Korean War. For seventeen years she did not touch her kayageum even though she was keeping it in a closet. Her married life was not happy because of the jealous fourth wife who was a professional dancer. During the 1940s and 1950s when Korea was

liberated from Japan and suffered from the Korean War, Mr. Jung moved to Chungnam province and lost his fortune. She suffered from severe poverty then.

It was after the Korean War that Tong-jong-wol got back to music. She was in her late thirties. She founded a traditional music institute in Dae-jeon [the capital city of Chungnam province] and taught kayageum to make a living. As she had learned to play the kayageum without musical notes, it took three years for her to recollect all the rhythms and tunes that Mr. Ok-san Choi had taught her. She told that it had been possible since the rhythms and tunes had been stuck to her nerves. They came out one by one slowly. As she was troubled with her old and poor husband and the other wives, she left him with her own children in 1957. Then she moved to Seoul and worked at gisaeng restaurants where higher officials and business men were main customers. She organized an entertainer club with singers and traditional instrument players. She earned lots of money in a few years. She planned to go to the U. S. with her children. However, things went wrong. One of her customers who ran a construction company swindled her money. Her memory of that period was fragmented and obsessed with the feeling of being victimized.

In 1962 Tong-jong-wol began to learn to recite a shijo [a three-stanza Korean traditional poem] at Jeong-ak-won [a private institute that was organized by traditional musicians]. She was an outstanding student, but learning could not provide money for her. She once worked at a fish company to raise her children. At Jeong-ak-won she met Mr. Myong-hwan Kim who was a pansori drummer. They lived together from 1969 to 1973. Her memory of Myong-hwan, however, was full of regret. Though she acknowledged that he was a great drummer, he was violent and knew nothing about family. He was economically incompetent. She had her own house when they began to live together but lost it when they were parted. The only good thing

was that Tong-jong-wol could polish her kayageum playing with Myong-hwan's drumming. She argued Myong-hwan's drumming was given wider publicity by many kayageum players like her.

After separating from Myong-hwan, Tong-jong-wol lived in poverty until she died in 1994. Strings of tragedy also made her depressed. In 1977 her last son committed suicide. She was in a car accident in 1979. In 1989 one of her students published a novel based on her life without her knowledge. The novel was dramatized later for a TV series. It was a major blow to her since some traditional musicians considered that the book and drama degraded their prestige—especially by Tong-jong-wol's life as a gisaeng. Though she was selected as a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset in 1980 and taught many students, she avoided meeting people and cursed the world in her later years—neighbors called her an old crazy slanderer. When she died, one of her students, Ms. Jae-hee Park wrote a poem in memory of her life: “Oh, what a good day / panting for breath being buried alive / good riddance now it finally stopped / the rushing reins tying your wrist / good riddance now it finally broke / / pitiful pitiful snapped kayageum strings / seven seven year long lifeline again shuddering / never touch the strings with the drum in this world” (as cited in Jin, 2003, pp. 62-63).

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Escaping

Na-sop: I had asked my father to teach me again and again when I began to learn how to make an onggi. He refused to teach me since he did not want me to succeed his work. An onggi potter was not a respected job in Korea. It was a lower class work. Unfortunately, I had nothing else to learn when I was a young boy. My family did not send me to school. When Korea was industrialized, people replaced onggi with plastic, metal household goods. I decided to find another job after I made some money. I considered moving to a remote city Sok-cho, but failed.

Instead, I moved to nearby city Yeo-soo and tried to sell apples. I could not adapt to it. I came back to onggi factory and died as an onggi potter. Fortunately, I fulfilled my last desire before I died. I recovered skills that my father taught me. Onggi industry had changed a lot during my lifetime. While I had adjusted myself to changes, I had lost the original skills. Going back to my father's style was a kind of escaping from the widely accepted way of onggi making.

Ki-nam: I once escaped from playing the janggu when janggu players around me died. I thought I would be the next. I threw away my janggu and playing sticks. I came to believe there is a spirit that controls the good and bad luck of people. I often played for the tutelary deity of the village. We were very careful, because impure people—for example, women in a menstrual period, men who had been to a funeral—were not allowed to participate in playing. I heard a folk music player named Mr. Sung-ok Kang died on the spot due to being possessed by a spirit when he played for the tutelary deity of village in Go-chang. My

Being a newspaper reporter was my dream since I was an elementary school boy. I realized my dream at the age of twenty-seven. My centripetal movement in the community of reporters was successful. I passed a highly competitive newspaper company entrance examination and adapted myself to hard work. I often worked more than fifteen hours a day. I once got an award for my outstanding report. But I quit it in four and half years. Why? To say it simple, I did not want to live my entire life as a reporter. As I learned the life of reporter, I dreamed of other kinds of life at the same time. In particular when I looked at the life of senior reporters in their forties and fifties, it was not the kind of life that I had thought before. They did not have time for their family and themselves. My centripetal movement contained a centrifugal one in the community of reporters. I did participating and escaping at the same time.

escaping did not last long. I could not give up janggu. I think the industrialized Korean society escaped the janggu player. I did not have as many chances to play the janggu as I had before. Less and less people learned how to play the folk music. As I grew older, it was more difficult to find a good folk music band that I could play with. Even though I had found one, often they

could not follow my janggu rhythm with their instruments. They did not acknowledge their lack of skills but blamed me for not playing harmoniously. What a pity it is!

Myong-hwan: I had never given up drumming. All I wanted was to be the best drummer in the world ever since I was ashamed at my own marriage banquet. Even when I lost all the fortune and family in late 1940s and early 1950s, I sent my two daughters to my sisters and played the drum for more than ten hours a day. Escaping from the drum was out of my imagination. However, I was addicted to drugs at that time. I could not tolerate the sorrow. Maybe that was a kind of escaping. I later realized that drug addiction could spoil my whole life and turned myself into the prison to quit drugs.

So-shim: I escaped from the first married life that I did not want. I got married to Mr. Jung when I was eighteen years old. I just kept running out of Mr. Jung's house and coming back to my parents. They blamed me since my behavior was not acceptable in any way at that time. Escaping was the only way for me to resist being produced as what my parents wanted. I went to my friends and remote family members after my parents did not accept me. My parents finally gave up. If I had followed my parents and lived with Mr. Jung, my life as a kanggangsullae singer would have been impossible.

Tong-jong-wol: I envy you, So-shim. I should have escaped from unhappy married lives with Mr. Jung and Myong-hwan as early as possible. I regretted my life. If I had escaped from the swindlers, I could have gone to U. S. If my mother had let me stay in Mok-po when I was twenty-one years old, I might have lived a different life. I just could not escape from the series of surging events. I was not a master of my own fortune.

Creating

Myong-hwan: Since I asked Mr. Pan-gae Jang to teach me how to play the drum, I had tried to create contexts for learning. As the drummer was lower class work and I was from the upper class, I was estranged from the community of the drummer. They did not willingly share their knowledge with me. I used money to get into the community. I did not hesitate in paying large amounts of money to learn from the famous drummers. I treated pansori singers with food and drink to get a chance to play for them. I was crazed to be the best drummer in the nation. Even when I was poor, my desire to play the drum was not diminished. After losing my son and sending daughters to my sisters in the middle of the Korean War, I went to Mr. Eung-min Jung to improve my drumming skills. A pansori drummer needs great pansori singers. After the great pansori singers had passed away, I often met them in my dream. Sometimes I hit my wife while we were sleeping—I was playing for them in a dream. Moving to Seoul without anything in my hands was just another pursuit of creating contexts for life and learning as a drummer. It turned out to be successful.

Ki-nam: My father's invitation of Mr. Hong-jip Kim was the beginning of my learning how to play the janggu. I had nothing to do for creating contexts for playing the janggu while I was following Mr. Kim. Just being with him was the best context for learning. People always invited us to play for them. Even after I left Mr. Kim, I was not worried about my life as a janggu player. I was famous enough and made lots of money. As the industrialized Korean society did not need a folk music band as many times as before, and I had few chances of playing the janggu, some people still wanted me to play with them. I did not play the janggu for my living any more. Though I was not rich, I had run my own tobacco store and engaged in farming. I knew people who left Jolla province and managed their lives by playing the janggu in Seoul. I also had

chances to move into Jeon-ju, but I did not leave my rural home. I was afraid of urban life. Yes, I was an elderly headstrong rural man. Maybe that's why I ended up without janggu at my home at the end of my life.

So-shim: Unlike Ki-nam, I did not need to follow a teacher. My grandmother taught me kanggangsullae and I practiced it with neighboring women. Learning was embedded in my daily life. Grandmother taught it in any place at any time. I could sing and dance with neighbors whenever the moon rose. Well, the only obstacle was my mother who opposed me playing kanggangsullae late at night. I promised her again and again that I would never play it, which I could not keep. Things changed when I grew older. Kanggangsullae slowly vanished from my hometown Jindo with industrialization. Then kanggangsullae just created an unexpected context of life for me.

Creating a stable economic condition is really important for learning. After quitting my job as a reporter, I decided to go back to school. As I already finished the coursework for my master's degree, I wanted to write a thesis. As I lived in a tiny small one-room studio in Seoul, I needed a stable place to read and write. Fortunately, my major professor put a desk in his office for me. In addition to get a place to study, it was a great opportunity to closely look at a scholar's daily life. Financial support was another issue. For the first six months after quitting my job, I was eligible to receive unemployment insurance benefits. For the next six months, I was unexpectedly offered a part-time teaching position from the Kyonggi University. I was also involved in a research project and got an assistantship paycheck. I could barely manage my life for one year. The next problem was how I could fund my doctoral study. As I decided to study abroad, I needed scholarship. I could not support four or five years of study with my savings. That's why my first criterion of selecting the doctoral study location was getting enough financial support. I applied to four programs and got admitted to three. The first admission came without money. I had a personal connection with the second program. One of the professors who visited Korea before helped me find an assistantship. The third program offered the best financial support. In spite of personal help from the second program, I chose the third program.

It was designated as the eighth National Intangible Cultural Asset. After the first holder died, I was selected as the second holder after some competitions. I received financial aid from the government. I could sing and dance in front of the large audience at the performance hall. I became famous. I met students at the local

cultural center twice a month. My grandmother had never dreamed that her teaching would produce these amazing things in my life.

Na-sop: Learning to make an onggi was a struggle to me at first as my father and neighboring potters did not like to teach me. My mother also was opposed to my learning. I had a difficult time in urging my father to teach me. Once my father allowed me to learn it, my father's factory was the best place for learning. I sometimes visited a neighboring factory to observe the shapes of the other potter's products and tried to imitate them. That was my way of learning. The challenge of creating contexts for learning came later in my life when I tried to revive the traditional Jolla-style onggi. It was like making something out of nothing. My hands lost the skills that I had learned from my father. I did not have a model that I could follow. The materials were different from what my father had used. By trial and error I recovered the traditional Jolla-style onggi and won a national award. Well, some people might ask me why I did not try my best to create context for learning when I wanted to quit onggi. The answer is I don't know. Maybe I was a destined onggi potter.

Tong-jong-wol: When I was young, my parents sent me as a step-daughter to Mr. Chang-su Kim and later spent some money to hire private tutors for me. It was the best time in my life. I wanted to create a context for learning and life as a gisaeng like Hwa-joong-sun, but it gave me enormous suffering. Living as a gisaeng was incompatible with making a stable life. I had to leave Mok-po after having a baby. I was not able to touch kayageum for seventeen years after I conceived Mr. Jung's baby. Later, I was swindled out of my money by a customer. Though I pursued the artistic achievement when I lived with Myong-hwan, I still suffered from severe poverty. After being selected as a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset, I could barely manage my life. Life was bitter to me.

Controlling

Ki-nam: When I learned janggu from Mr. Hong-jip Kim, my body belonged to him. He frequently used physical punishment, which spurred me to practice janggu harder. He once hit me on the head when we had lunch. Though I did not like physical punishment, I really paid respect to my teacher. I determined to surpass my teacher whenever I got punished. The day came unexpectedly. The sponsor of a village performance wanted me to play before Mr. Kim. He ordered his man to place Mr. Kim behind me with force. It was embarrassing to me. With that incident I was parted from my teacher. I was freed from Mr. Kim's control. However, there was a bigger social controlling system in playing the janggu. Playing the folk music, of which janggu was a necessary instrument, was embedded in the agricultural way of life. With Korean society's rapid industrialization the system had changed really fast. The folk music has been estranged from the daily life. I did not keep abreast with the speed of this change.

Na-sop: Ki-nam talked about the effect of industrialization on the folk music. The fortune of onggi was not an exception. Onggi almost disappeared from Korean people's daily life as plastic and metal household goods took its places. In the past the onggi was an essential part of life—almost all containers and kitchen wares were onggi. In an industrialized society, an onggi is just an object of nostalgia. In Jolla province, the onggi industry had to use red lead and manganese to survive in the market. Using those materials along with changing the shape reduced the cost. I had been adapted to this change until I decided to go back to the original Jolla-style onggi that I had learned from my father. I did not have to worry about selling the old-style onggi. My sponsor took care of the business. Fortunately, after I got an award, urban rich people came to buy. Even the President Doo-hwan Jeon wanted me to make a large onggi for his family.

Tong-jong-wol: When I was young, I drank my urine and excremental water and seared my own fingers. I was able to control my body to master pansori song and kayageum. But my life as a gisaeng was out of my control. My body was not mine. Society considered a gisaeng as the plaything of men. Gisaeng was a despised species. I could not throw off this yoke. Becoming a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset was not helpful. It was another burden. College professors sent their students to me. The students told me that they must have learned my rhythms and tunes to pass the examination. I was never invited to evaluate my own students. What a joke it was! No one mastered my rhythms and tunes. How could anyone else evaluate my student's skill except me?

So-shim: I agree with Tong-jong-wol. Controlling the learning activity is sometimes funny. I had a student who had learned everything from me, but she had to come to my regular teaching session to fulfill the five-year attendance rule. The government made it a rule when kanggangsullae was designated

When I thought of doctoral study, two professors in Korea asked me not to go abroad. Professor A received his doctorate from Seoul National University (SNU) and was just appointed as an assistant professor at a local four-year teaching university. Professor B was a faculty member at SNU who earned his doctorate from the U. S. The following two short dialogues are reconstructed from my memory. In the second dialogue professor B and I had a lunch together with my major professor.

*

Professor A: Have you found a professor whose interest is same with yours?

I: No. American professors did not know much about lifelong learning of Korean people.

Professor A: Why do you still want to go abroad?

I: I think I can learn qualitative research methods and theoretical perspectives of learning in adulthood.

*

Professor B: I want you to study at SNU. We should stop importing academic knowledge from the U. S. and produce our own one.

I: (silent)

My major professor: Dae Joong should consider the academic job market in Korea. Many universities in Korea still prefer foreign doctorate holders to domestic ones.

*

Professor A and B were right. Knowledge production is embedded in the context. I wanted to contribute to the development of Korean lifelong education. Pursuing a doctoral degree at home might be critical to this. Well, my major professor was also right. I have to think about after getting a doctorate. My decision? I came to the U. S.

as the National Intangible Cultural Asset. The government set up uniform rules to control the activities of the holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. The government also controlled the form of kanggangsullae. Under the government preservation policy, kanggangsullae became standardized because it had not had a fixed form. The length of performance time was significantly reduced and the role of a lead singer did not include dancing any more. Kanggangsullae became a tightly controlled theater performance that is separated from everyday life. To preserve kanggangsullae was to control every aspect of it.

Myong-hwan: I heard lots of stories of how the great pansori singers controlled their body when they learned. I can understand why Tong-jong-wol drank urine. Maybe that's why I practiced drumming more than ten hours a day. To be a great artist, you should do your best. I was not concerned about my family while I was learning to play the drum. Almost all of the drummers and singers had to learn their skills to make a living. Some of them became a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. I am a different kind of holder, because I did learn drumming only to be a great artist. Even when I became poor I did not think of quitting drumming. I once talked to a government official that there must be classification among the holders of National Intangible Cultural Asset. Those who pursued pure artistic achievement are different from those who took the art just as a means of income. I think becoming the holder was a reward for my lifelong artistic endeavor.

Formalizing

So-shim: Being a holder of the National Intangible Cultural Asset enormously influenced my life. I learned kanggangsullae informally from my grandmother and played it informally with neighboring women. After I earned the holder position, I had to teach at the local cultural center with a fixed schedule. I performed kanggangsullae in front of the audience with my students. The

effect of being the holder reached farther than the practice of kanggangsullae itself. I had a desire to formalize my life with the name of kanggangsullae holder. I was just a nameless woman in Jindo. I was registered in the government record as a wife of my first husband that I refused to live with. I had lived as the second wife of a local man without my own child. I wanted to be remembered as a kanggangsullae holder, not as the second wife or woman without her own child.

Tong-jong-wol: People certainly remember me as the holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset in kayageum. When I was young, I wanted to found an orphanage. I loved children. It was a wonderful dream. Everything went wrong. I did not have my own house in the end. Formalizing my life? Why the hell! Just leave me alone.

Ki-nam: I received a number of awards at the national competition. I had a desire to formalize my life as a renowned janggu drummer. I thought I had to be a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset to be recognized as an excellent janggu player. There was a chance. I played at Seoul with a folk music band that was organized by Jeon-ju Folk Music Association. The association people deluded me that I would be designated as a holder. It turned out to be a daydream. I was cheated by some urban people who just wanted to make some money. I don't know how many people could remember my life as a janggu player. My last wish was to have a smart student who could succeed to my tunes and rhythms.

How could my doctoral degree produce my life differently? How could I be different with a doctorate? As I apply for jobs, I keep finding myself focused on academic positions. The job descriptions are mainly about teaching and publishing. Teaching? Though I have not taught independently during my doctoral study, teaching my own course feels great. Publishing? I just submitted a manuscript to a scholarly journal. Though it was time and energy consuming work, it was an interesting experience. But I ask myself more questions: Are these—teaching and publishing—all that I want to do the rest of my life as a holder of doctorate in education? What are my desires in the past and present? How could I formalize my life with a doctoral degree?

Myong-hwan: Being a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset changed my life. I was really pitiful before then. My two daughters, who I abandoned to my sisters, forgave me after I became a holder. Everything I learned informally from various teachers was formalized. The recording company published numerous CD titles with my playing. Lots of students came to learn from me. They formed an association named after my nom de plume, Il-san. College professors published books and articles on Korean traditional music based on the interviews with me. What I learned from pansori singers and drummers could have been buried in my memory if I had not become famous enough to be interviewed.

Na-sop: I had a neighbor who was a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. He actually informed me of the National Competition of the Traditional Industrial Art and Crafts where I got the Prime Minister Award. He urged me to be a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset. Well, I was not interested in it. I did not want to be bothered by it. A holder must have exhibited regularly and taught students. I was not sure that I could find a student. Onggi was vanishing. All I wanted is to pass down the traditional Jolla-style onggi to the next generations so that they could cherish it. If I am lucky, there will be an ardent potter who wants to succeed in making the traditional Jolla-style onggi by imitating mine in the future.

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Some readers may think that this essay is incomplete and the author should add something to this final section of chapter four. Well, maybe or maybe not.

[To those who think maybe] Let me briefly discuss this study's three research questions. I treated the three research questions—(1) What are the patterns of learning activities among the people? (2) What was the socio-cultural-historical context that influenced their life and learning? And, (3) How did the patterns of learning activities emerge in conjunction with the socio-

cultural-historical context?—as a whole in each essay. The four figurations are the patterns of learning activities. The influences of the Korean socio-cultural-historical context cannot be separated from the figurations. They are embedded in each essay. Regarding the third question, the reader should revisit the characteristics of the surface that I discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The surface is leaking and amorphous. There is no one fixed process of emerging. It is always multiple. The final essay showed this multiplicity by describing the sameness and differences of the four figurations among the five people.

[To those who think maybe not] What else do I have to add to this chapter? Summary? How does this add-on affect the reading of this chapter? I save the answers to these questions for the next chapter and end this one without a summary.

CHAPTER 5

FROM DAL SEGNO TO CRESCENDO

Writing a conclusion, perhaps, is not a proper step to close this study since life and learning are always unfolding yet another event, activity and unexpected happenstance. To conclude anything may be an impossible business in learning that is embedded in everyday life. Nothing can be concluded as its trace remains and becomes a subject of learning in different socio-cultural-historical contexts. So I admit that I cannot conclude this study, the lifelong learning activities of five Korean people in the 20th century Korean socio-cultural context. This must be open to yet another possible inscription at another historical moment. Writing a conclusion is a harsh intellectual torture to me. Though I am unable to conclude this study, I still need a mark of ending and point of departure to another moment of life and learning. As the lifelong learning of five subjects of this study have been described with multiple figurations, this study also has multiple endings—that means multiple points of departure. I want readers to identify multiple exits out of this study and hopefully to find their own exit when they close the back cover and put it on the shelf.

The conventional format of the final chapter of the dissertation, typically under the heading of conclusion, is composed of, though not limited to, the restatement of purpose statement and research questions, summary the findings, conclusions and discussion, implications for practice, and suggestions for future research. Unlike this somehow fixed sequential composition, this study follows the non-traditional multiple endings used by Joanna Russ (1983), Susanne Kappeler (1986), and Patti Lather (1991). Lather, in her book *Getting*

Smart, refers to Kappeler's book to introduce multiple endings. Kappeler refers to Russ's. So it is a kind of genealogical line of multiple endings. Russ finishes her book on women's writing with an epilogue followed by an author's note and then an afterword. It seems impossible to her to finish to the book with a single concluding chapter. Kappeler interprets that Russ has "too much to say" (p. 220). Some may point out the author's inability of summarizing one's own argument. But I agree with Kappeler: "I do not usually wish to conclude and sum up, rounding off the argument so as to dump it in a nutshell on the reader" (p. 212). Kappeler ended her book, *The Pornography of Representation*, with a postscript and practical perspectives. Summarizing is dangerous since it could shut down diverse, multiple interpretations of the work by imposing the reference point of interpretation. Lather is more explicit why she uses multiple endings. She writes, "It [her book, *Getting Smart*] offers no synthesis, no teleological conclusion, as its vision is somewhere other than progressively perfectable systems" (p. 153). She does not want to use her study as a contribution to the given field of study's teleological progress. To find out another way of using her study, she presents a series of endings: postscript, epilogue, afterword, and coda. This chapter is written as an extension of this genealogical line of Russ-Kappeler-Lather's multiple endings. I adopt headings from music theory unlike the aforementioned authors' literary headings. Musical headings function very well in expressing the theme of each ending as they direct how to play the music.

Dal Segno

In music composition, the Italian phrase "dal segno" means to perform over again from an earlier point where a certain sign has been placed. The sign, called segno, cannot be placed at the beginning but in the middle. Dal segno is a direction to go back to the segno sign. Every research has this place to go back, which is crystallized as a purpose statement and research

questions. After presenting this study's purpose and research questions in chapter one, I have repeated them at the beginning of subsequent chapters. I went back to the purpose statement and research questions every time I typed chapter titles as if there was *dal segno*. I did not practice this ritual at the beginning of this final chapter. But it is worth reading the purpose statement and research questions once again:

The purpose of this study is to understand the influence of the socio-cultural-historical context on learning as it contributes to the construction of people's lives. In particular, this study will examine how 20th century Korean socio-cultural-historical context and the lifelong learning of Korean people co-construct one another. The research questions are: (1) What are the patterns of learning activities among the people? (2) What was the socio-cultural-historical context that influenced their life and learning? (3) How did the patterns of learning activities emerge in conjunction with the socio-cultural-historical context?

When I took classes about how to write dissertation chapter one and two, I heard that the research questions could be changed at the final defense meeting. The story was like this: A doctoral candidate finished her/his research and presented findings. Committee members raised points that certain questions are not answered in the findings. Or some findings are not addressed in the research questions. What the committee asked for is usually changing research questions at the end of the research. I thought, "what a joke it is," though everyone in the classroom seemed to understand it. Now I also understand this joke, because I have changed my purpose statement in the course of this dissertation. When I wrote chapter one to three, the second sentence of the purpose statement was "In particular, this study will examine how 20th century Korean socio-cultural-historical context and the lifelong learning of 20 Korean people co-construct one

another.” Careful reading may noticed that there was a number 20. My initial intention was to analyze twenty people’s lifelong learning as the source data are composed of twenty books. I omitted the number when I wrote chapter four since I had only analyzed five people. I once considered changing the number from twenty to five in the purpose statement. But it was meaningless. I even added my own life and learning in the final essay of chapter four. As you can imagine, I could not but omit the number from the drafts of chapter one through three. In my case, the change is not so significant and does not happen at the defense meeting. But I can imagine that even research questions could be significantly changed. This raises a following question: What is the function of the purpose statement and research questions in the practice of dissertation study if they can be changed at the final stage? This question is another mark of *dal segno* and I should go back to my *segno* mark that I repeated in the previous chapters.

I drew the purpose statement and research questions from the theoretical discussion of adult learning theories in chapter one. I identified two paradigms of inquiry—learning from experience and learning with/in experience—and argued that both paradigms share the assumption that the learner and experience are in separate domains and reflection mediates both. Due to my desire to deny this Cartesian worldview and thanks to the postmodern/poststructural critique, I could raise a new question to explore learning in adulthood: What lifelong learning activities in the socio-cultural-historical context function in what ways in constructing the learner’s life? I needed to concretize this abstract question to use in an actual research. With choosing the *Korean People’s Oral History Series* as source data, I could generate the purpose statement and research questions. In chapter one I presented the purpose statement and research questions as an end product.

In chapters two, three and four, the purpose statement and research questions seem to be repeated mechanically. But the function of each repetition was different. In chapter two they functioned as a guide to look at the adult learning literature. Since experience is the big word in literature, the review was focused on four descriptions of relationships between learning and experience—informal learning, learning from experience, extra-rationality in learning and learning in socio-cultural context. The four descriptions were chosen because the subjects of the source data rarely had formal education, but they talked about their life experiences, were engaged in bodily activities—the selected five people are all artists or artisan, and lived in the concrete socio-cultural context. I added a section on Korean history in chapter two since I assumed that most readers probably do not have a basic background knowledge of Korea.

In chapter three the purpose statement and research questions were used to trigger my imagination about how I could look at the source data. Though I had the purpose and questions, they were useless unless I was equipped with a sound methodological tool. As the source data were published documents, I critiqued various content analysis methods in terms of their assumptions about data, purpose of study, and analysis strategy. Then I proposed postmodern content analysis as a method of this study.

In chapter four the repetition of the purpose statement and research questions reminded the reader of the study's objectives once again. After repeating the purpose statement and research questions I revisited chapter one. I reminded the reader of the new question—what lifelong learning activities in the socio-cultural-context function in what ways in constructing the learner's life?—that I drew out of theoretical discussion of adult learning theory. I did it because that question was a point of departure of this study. So the repetition of the purpose statement and research questions in chapter four functioned as a reminder.

Postmodern deconstruction of language reveals that a signifier cannot hold its stable meaning. The lesson I learned from this is that instead of trying to discover the meaning, you need to look at the function of a signifier in a specific location at a given time. The purpose statement and research questions as a signifier reflect the researcher's desire, intention and interest of the given study. As the signifier is repeated at each chapter, different desires, intentions and interests make it function differently. In addition, a hidden desire, unknown intention and unexpected interest can be jettisoned out in the middle of a study. Sometimes the researcher could not notice this. Maybe this is why the purpose statement and research questions need to be changed at the end of the study even though they are the guiding posts of a study.

In music a segno mark requires a fine sign, which indicates the end point, to complete the function of dal segno. The composer sometimes put a fine in the middle. Otherwise, the end of the music is its fine point. Music has to stop though Dal segno makes it play again. Where can I put a fine sign so that I can walk away from this study? Where is the end point of life, learning and their context? The five people's biological lives already ended. But their traces of life and learning are left and became a subject of this study. It seems revived and never ended. In this study I only put dal segno and segno. I need to go back and play with the segno again and again. I do not have a finish line in this cadence of life and learning. And remember the purpose statement and research questions are in the middle. Like a rhizome there is "no beginning or end" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, p. 25).

Coda

In the middle of writing the findings chapter I wrote a book review of Danish adult education professor Knud Illeris's *Adult Education and Adult Learning*. I began the review with an image of the learner: "Exploring the relationship between learning and education is one of

perennial tasks of educational researchers. At the heart of this relationship, there is an image of a learner that researchers want to produce” (D. J. Kang, 2006, p. 85). I argued that educational researchers directly or indirectly produce an image of the learner and there is no generic learner that can be found through the research activity. For example, when a theory of learning considers the learner to be self-directed, one cannot say that self-directedness is an inherent nature of the learner. Self-directedness is just the given theory’s image of the learner. An image of the learner, therefore, has no original reference—this is not to say the theory of learning is illusory but to point out what we have is just a produced image. As Baudrillard (1988) says, an image of the learner is “a real without origin or reality” (p. 166).

In chapter one I have discerned two paradigms of inquiry with regard to theory building on adult learning—learning from experience and learning in/with experience. I argued that both paradigms assume that a learner and experience are in separate domains and reflection mediates both. For example, experiential learning theory produces an image of the learner who turns experience into applicable knowledge through reflection. Transformative learning theory produces that of the learner who can critically reflect on her/his frame of reference. An image of learner in both paradigms is the one who are able to reflect on experience and him/herself. This image is based on Enlightenment philosophy. I critiqued this Modernist production of image of learner in terms of postmodernism/poststructuralism and proposed a new question to produce a different image of learner. The question is: “What lifelong learning activities in the socio-cultural-context function in what ways in constructing the learner’s life?” This question is schemed out to describe a learner who continuously struggles to gain the means for sustaining his/her life, makes meaning out of experience, and creates a difference in the world. This learner is produced in the socio-cultural-historical context as learning activities are conditioned,

mediated, and shaped by the aforesaid context. At the same time, this learner embraces, modifies, resists, blocks, distorts, or transforms the aforesaid context. This relationship that the learner has to do with the socio-cultural-historical context is very complex. I proposed a concept of surface where the learner and the socio-cultural-historical context engage with each other. Surface is a figurative space to describe images of the learner in this complex relationship. The subjects of this study are five Korean people who worked as a potter, janggu player, pansori drummer, kayageum player, and kanggangsullae singer in the 20th century. I depicted their life and learning in terms of four figurations—escaping, creating, controlling, and formalizing. The figurations are images of learner on the surface. In the following I will discuss how these four figurations theorize learning in adulthood differently, that is to say, how these figurations produce different images of the learner and learning.

First, the figuration of escaping explores the complexity of learning as participation in a community of practice. Lave and Wenger's (1991) theoretical framework of legitimate peripheral participation and community of practice is generally used as a tool to describe how a newcomer becomes a member of the given community. It is widely used in organizational settings (for examples see Galagan, 1993). Merriam, Courtenay, and Baumgartner's study (2003) suggests that it can be used to look at learning in a socially marginalized community. In any setting, the main focus is given to how the members of the community share social practice and knowledge with one another. Legitimate peripheral participation is a tool to describe how a newcomer becomes a full member. The predominant image of learner here is someone moving to the center of the community.

Describing Na-sop's lifelong relationship with the onggi potter community, I figured out that becoming a member of the community of practice is rather influenced by the complex socio-

cultural-historical context. By using Heaney's (1995) idea of centripetal and centrifugal movement of participation in the community of practice, I depicted an image of the learner who is actually escaping from the given community. When the community of practice is socio-economically marginalized, old members of the community try to block the newcomer, especially their family members, from getting knowledge and skills. They just do not want to hand down the given community's practice to the next generation. Ironically when the newcomer becomes a full member with great effort, he tries to escape from the community since he knew first-hand the socio-economical discrimination of the community. Learning as participation in the community includes not just acquiring knowledge and skill that the given community supplies, but also understanding the socio-political-economic location of the community in society. Though he lives as a member of the community to sustain his life, he intends to get out of it.

An image of the learner that I draw from Na-sop is one who is moving in opposite directions at the same time. This is quite a different image of the learner from the one moving toward the center of the community. This image of the learner reminds Engeström and Miettinen's (1999) critique of legitimate peripheral participation. They point out that the legitimate peripheral participation leaves out the learner's movement to unexpected directions that result from criticizing authority and introducing change. In Na-sop's escaping we see these unexpected directions not just when he tried to find another job but also when he criticized, though implicitly, the onggi community that had lost the traditional Jolla-style onggi while adapting to industrialization. In the latter case, he escaped from the onggi community of his time to revive the traditional Jolla-style. When we consider So-ship's participation in the social institution of marriage, criticizing authority and introducing change are really vivid. By running

away from her first marriage against socio-cultural norms and parents' wishes, she made an unexpected movement to produce her life differently. The image of escaping is useful to describe the learner's unexpected movement under the various influences of socio-cultural-historical context. It is also helpful to consider the minority community's location in society with regard to its member's lifelong learning activity. As the Korean society experienced rapid industrialization and urbanization, Na-sop's onggi community and Ki-nam's janggu community were marginalized—society escaped from those communities. The image of escaping enables the depiction of individual life and learning along with changes in the socio-cultural-historical context.

Second, the figuration of creating interrogates the conditions of informal learning: what makes informal learning possible? Informal learning is predominantly discussed in organizational settings though it is initially used as one classification of adult learning situations—formal, informal and non-formal situations (Jarvis, 1987; Marsick & Watkins, 1990; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). Informal learning happens in our everyday life. But as living itself is not learning, it is imperative to judge which life events lead to learning in describing informal learning. Learner's subjective judgment is considered as a critical factor (Jarvis, 1987). Marsick and Watkins (1990) argue that proactivity—readiness to take initiative, critical reflectivity, and creativity of the learner are three enhancing conditions of informal learning. An ideal image of the learner is one who is self-directed and able to reflect critically and creatively. While Jarvis, Marsick and Watkins focus on individual factors, Lohman (2000) studies environmental inhibitors to informal learning of public school teachers. She describes four inhibitors: lack of time for learning, lack of proximity to learning resources, lack of meaningful rewards for learning, and limited decision-making power in school management. It would be interesting if

we could put the Marsick and Watkins's ideal informal learner into Lohman's hostile environment.

The figuration of creating explores an image of the learner who deals with some degree of obstacles situated in her/his informal learning situations that are outside of the organization. The figuration of creating opens up a space to look at how learners embrace, resist, distort, or transform socio-cultural obstacles while at the same time are conditioned, shaped, and mediated by the same obstacles. In Myong-hwan's life it is apparent that his learning is full of informal activities. The beginning of learning drumming was incidental—a shameful event at his own wedding banquet. He turned this happenstance into a learning opportunity with a help of his wealth. Economic condition is critical in turning his motivation into actual learning. He was blocked by the class barrier in creating a learning context but overcame it. Creating proper economic conditions maintained his learning activities. He could earn money out of his knowledge and skills. In contrast, Tong-jong-wol had a hard time in maintaining her learning activities. She incidentally watched a famous woman pansori singer's performance. Thanks to her step father and family support, she could begin to learn traditional Korean music in a non-formal gisaeng organization and from private tutors. But when she got married to a wealthy man, she was forbidden to play the kayageum. When she divorced him and tried to learn the kayageum again, she was unable to support herself with sufficient income. She worked as a professional entertainer but she could not improve her musical skill out of it. In Tong-jong-wol's life creating an informal learning context was really hard despite her determination.

The figuration of creating enables me to see that context for informal learning cannot be given; rather, the learner must create one in her/his own life. Sometimes it is relatively easy when you are a member of certain institutions like a corporate organization, school, or family.

But in some cases it is really hard regardless of the learner's motivation level. The figuration of creating provides an image of the learner that is at the juncture of being constituted by the larger societal context and creating her/his own context for learning. Creating a context is what makes learning happen and produces the learner. The figuration of creating is also useful to describe how the informal learning is creating a different context for the learner. From So-shim's life we could see how her informal learning of women's knowledge and skills provided a means of income throughout her life. Informally learned kanggangsullae changed her entire life and subjectivity. With this image of the learner who is creating and is created by the socio-cultural-historical context, informal learning can be seen differently.

Third, the figuration of controlling explores body politics in learning activities. The role of physical body in learning is less studied in the field of adult education. It is only recently that phrases like embodied learning, mind-body connection in learning, or somatic learning are found in adult learning literature. Interest in body is based on, in part, resistance of Cartesian overemphasis on mind over body. It is also related to Feminist influence on theorizing adult learning. The scope of transformational learning and experiential learning theories is expanded much through this interest (Fenwick, 2003; Michelson, 1998; Taylor, 2000). An image of the learner is reconstructed as one who can claim his extra-rational faculties—such as bodily feeling, emotion, affection, spirituality, or intuition in the process of learning while still acknowledging rationality. The figuration of controlling moves one step further from this image of learner. It looks at how power is deployed on the body as an object and tool of learning. Power here is used as a Foucauldian concept that is exercised in all human relations (Foucault, 1980). Power is not a property that can be possessed by the student or the teacher. Rather, it is exercised in teaching-

learning relations. And tactics to exercise power can be varied in different socio-cultural-historical contexts.

In Ki-nam's relation with his janggu teacher Hong-jip, corporal punishment was a critical tactic to control his body and learning. Hong-jip frequently used corporal punishment to teach Ki-nam. This exercise of physical power on Ki-nam's body produced the positive effect of spurring Ki-nam's motivation to surpass his teacher. The use of corporal punishment does not always produce the intended effect of enhancing the student learning. Some of Ki-nam's students could not learn what Ki-nam intended to teach in spite of harsh corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is a disciplinary power in the Korean context. Ki-nam disciplined himself to respect his teacher even though he disliked corporal punishment. He also expected the same respect from his students. But the status of corporal punishment as disciplinary power was challenged recently as Korean socio-cultural context changed. Many students and parents oppose government allowance of corporal punishment at school.

Disciplining or controlling one's own body in learning is also revealed in the other persons' learning. Though it is not directly related to teacher's or mentor's exercise of physical power, the learner voluntarily disciplines one's own body. It is another tactic of disciplinary power in learning. Myong-hwan practiced more than ten hours a day and had pus in his hips. Tong-jong-wol seared her fingers and drank her own excremental water and urine. Na-sop stayed in a factory by himself to learn to make an onggi while the others took a break. They all disciplined their body to achieve their learning goals.

Aside from this disciplinary power that was deployed directly on their bodies, they were all aware of another controlling power that shaped their life. Hong-jip's exercise of power was halted when his body was physically positioned after Ki-nam's in a folk music performance. The

sponsor of the performance, another power that was exercised via their body, abruptly finished their teaching-learning relation. Ki-nam, though, understood this power that shaped his life as a janggu player very well. The five people all knew socio-economic power that affected their practice. And they used it and resisted it. Na-sop never brought his son to his factory as he was afraid that his son wanted to succeed at this physically hard, socially disrespected work. All of them knew that becoming a holder of the National Intangible Cultural Asset could change their lives. Myong-hwan and So-shim used it very well. But Tong-jong-wol was suffered from the social opinion on gisaeng even after she became a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset.

The image of learner from the figuration of controlling is s/he who is sensitive to power relations of what and how s/he learns. This image can contribute to theorizing learning as body politics. We cannot avoid the exercise of power in learning. Brookfield (2001) points out that this Foucauldian exercise of power awakens adult educators who think of themselves as empowering agents. Brookfield argues, “liberatory practices can actually work subtly to perpetuate existing power relations” (p. 22). The figuration of controlling enables us to look at the learning body that is subjugated by the power relations. The learners of this study are well aware of this power. The figuration is, therefore, used to describe how the learner succeeds or fails in resisting in her/his local context.

This controlling figuration and theorizing learning as body politics can extend Kolb’s experiential learning theory and Mezirow’s transformative learning theory. The figuration confirms the role of extra-rationality in experiential learning process. It clearly reveals that the process of turning experience into knowledge by reflection involves the role of the body. Ki-nam’s reflection on his teacher’s and his own use of corporal punishment shows that the body is at the center of learning process. Knowledge and skills are always embodied and somatic

controlling is inseparable from learning. Tong-jong-wol's story of searing fingers and drinking urine and excremental water and Myong-hwan's story of pus in his hips are all confirm the involvement of controlling the body in learning. The transformative learning theory concerns how the frame of reference changes and how the learner can be successfully facilitated for this change. I think the frame of reference is directly connected to an image of the learner in that the teacher's perception of the learner's frame of reference is essential to describing the image of the learner. By facilitating learning process the teacher wants to change this image of the learner. The changes between pre- and post-images of the learner can be described as transformative process. Facilitation is not necessarily achieved by a human subject like a teacher, instructor, friend, or colleague. Things such as books, TV programs, social events, etc. can trigger the learner to think of her/his image as a learner and pursue changes; however, the things are always related to human subjects who wrote a book, produced a TV program, and were involved in a social event. Transformation process inevitably contains power relations between those who learn and those who (directly or indirectly) teach. Those who teach have an image of the learner that they want to achieve as a result of their facilitation. The figuration of controlling can be a tool to look at the power relations in this image changing—transformative learning—process, especially in terms of the learner's body.

And fourth, the figuration of formalizing explores how informal learning produces a different life, that is to say, a learner's subjectivity differently. In formal learning situations the learner receives a diploma or certificate as an acknowledgement of learning. It provides an "official" subjectivity to the learner such as college graduate. In informal learning situations the same kind of social acknowledgement happens differently. Adult learning theories tend to view learning as a process of producing knowledge, skills, and/or attitudes that can be used in the

learner's life context. Especially in an organizational setting, learners are encouraged to turn their tacit knowing into explicit formal knowledge through informal learning to improve personal and organizational performance. The figuration of formalizing tries to see beyond this instrumental viewpoint on the relationship of informal learning and life. It contends what informal learning produces is a life itself.

In So-shim's case a product of her informal learning of kanggangsullae, being a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset, functioned as leverage to produce her entire subjectivities differently. She wished that she could be remembered as a holder of National Intangible Cultural Asset, not as a second wife without her own child. The establishment of National Intangible Cultural Asset made this possible. It functioned as not just preserving the vanishing cultural asset but also changing forces in the holder's life. Myong-hwan enjoyed societal rewards as a holder in his later life. Ki-nam had deep sorrow at failing to be a holder. How about Tong-jong-wol? If she had not been selected as a holder, her life would have been more miserable.

The figuration of formalizing allows reading people's desire of having a student differently. It's not just handing down their knowledge and skill; rather, it means that their subjectivity could be handed down to the next generations. Ki-nam really wanted to hand down his rhythms and tunes that were embedded deep in his heart. Myong-hwan was proud that his students organized an association to preserve his knowledge and skills. Na-sop left a traditional Jolla-style onggi to have a link with the future potter who he could not see. They really wanted to see their subjectivity as a potter, janggu player, or drummer in the future generation, though they were highly skeptical of its actuality. They knew the world had changed.

An image of learner from the figuration of formalizing is one who is struggling to be acknowledged socially with their informal learning achievement. The learner struggles to

produce a different subjectivity and to have students who succeed her/his subjectivity. This image may contribute to inscribing an informal learner differently from the one depicted in an organizational setting.

What is learning in our daily life that is full of contradiction, chaos, uncertainty and indetermination? The four figurations of this study are my tools to describe images of life and learning. Let me come back to my question, “what lifelong learning activities in the socio-cultural-context function in what ways in constructing the learner’s life?” Escaping, creating, controlling, and formalizing were my buzzwords to answer this question. I do not want to romanticize the five people’s life and learning with these buzzwords and academic writing. It seems to me that they tasted too much bitters of the life with little sweets. If my work, though, could contribute to seeing learning differently, overcoming Cartesian dualism in theorizing learning in adulthood, I might be forgiven my immature interpretation of their lives.

Ad Libitum

ad lib abbr. of Latin *ad libitum* = ‘at pleasure’; a direction indicating that a passage may be played freely according to the performer’s fancy. The term also applies to an instrumental part that may be added or omitted in the performance of a work (Cummings, 1997).

This is an e-mail that I send to those who think they are practitioners of adult education.

From: Dae Joong Kang <daejoong@uga.edu>
To: practitioners@adult_education.institutions
Date: Feb 2, 2006
Subject: Practice and/or Theory

Dear friends,

So far you have read an unfamiliar research study that probably makes you feel uneasy with this final chapter. If you feel great, I am sorry that I misunderstood you. But if you choose to read this study to get something to apply to your daily practice, you may regret reading this

study now. As people usually expect that an educational research study should provide practical implications, I assume that you also have some sort of expectation when you picked this book. Honestly, I do not know how my study can be applied to the “real” practice. This study deals with Korean people and context that are far away from you. Probably you never heard of the methodology that I used in this study. As I have not had so-called “practitioner experience” in adult education institutions, it was impossible for me to speculate viable implications while I was writing the findings. Maybe I can talk about this and that of implications that everyone can easily agree with. But such suggestions could be meaningless to you. Instead of imagining meaningless implications, let me talk about the relationship between theory and practice. I hope this will help you and me think of theory and practice.

In 1972 French philosopher Gilles Deleuze discussed the relationship of theory and practice with another French historian/philosopher Michel Foucault (Foucault & Deleuze, 1972/1977). Though the discussion was made more than thirty years ago, I believe their insight is still valuable to us. First of all, they do not consider practice as an application of theory, nor theory as being inspired by practice. Deleuze argues that seeing the relationship in that way is a process of totalization, in that theory must either serve or be served by practice, and vice versa. He says, “the relationships between theory and practice are far more partial and fragmentary” (p. 205). One must encounter difficulties in the process of application since the theory cannot be perfectly applicable. So how can we see the relationship differently? To Deleuze, “practice is a set of relays from one theoretical point to another, and theory is a relay from one practice to another” (p. 206). Foucault argues more straightforwardly, “theory does not express, translate, or serve to apply [to] practice: it is practice” (p. 208).

Well, what I did in this study is my practice. Yes, I did theory work as my practice. This study began with a theoretical discussion. I just discussed possible theoretical contributions of this study in the previous section. Well, theory is my practice. There are arguments that adult education research needs theory work. Chapman heavily critiqued the adult education field for its overdependence on the other disciplines such as psychology and sociology for theory. I also talked about this in chapter one. She argues if theory can travel among disciplines, adult education only borrows theories without sending back. She even says, “we’ve [adult education researchers] always been so half-hearted about theory that we’re just really tokenist” (Chapman, 2005, p. 310). A similar concern is heard from European adult education researchers. Bron and Schemmann (2002) write: “adult education does not have many theories that can be considered originating in the scientific discipline” (p. 7).

Your reading of my practice may or may not be useful to your practice. But I thank you for your reading my study. At least you are still interested in theory. Bron and Schemmann (2002) point out, “it seems that practitioners tend to lose interest in theoretical discourse and certainly the current developments within the field of adult education” (p. 8). Even Chapman (2005) asserts, “practitioners don’t need theory, just more practice” (p. 311). But if you agree with what Deleuze said on practice, it is a relay from one theoretical point to another, I believe your reading helps your practice. At least you have found that my theory is not useful to your relay. If you think it is useful in any sense, please feel free to use it. There is no one right way to use it. I put “ad libitum” on my entire study so that you can perform in your own way.

Let me say goodbye to you with Myles Horton’s saying: “Now you don’t teach people things, since they’re adults; you help them learn. And insofar as you learn how people learn, you can help” (Horton, 2003, p. 119).

Crescendo

Am I transforming as a different learner throughout this study? How do the lives of five people enable me to inscribe my life differently? What was hidden? What is new? What is persisting? How does the world become different through this study? Where is it found? How does it enact power-knowledge relations?

Am I preparing for the next phase of life after this study? What kinds of new practice have I designed out of this study? Where is my next point of relay in theory and in practice? Is it needed to prove that the four figurations are very useful to describe different life and learning in different context? Is this a possible project?

Am I going to read and write about the other fifteen people in the source data with the same method and research questions? Seeking more figurations? Am I going to use postmodern content analysis to explore another research problem? Digging another document?

Where to move? How to act? What to think? For whom and why? And, with whom?

In music performance crescendo indicates a steady increase in intensity or force, especially in the volume or intensity of sound. Now, let me play crescendo from the end of this study.

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