THE ROLE OF CONFUCIAN CULTURAL VALUES AND POLITICS IN PLANNING

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR ADULTS IN KOREA

by

KIUNG RYU

(Under the Direction of Ronald M. Cervero)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand how cultural values influence educational

planning in Korea. Specifically, the study was to examine how Confucian values play out

in educational planning in terms of negotiating power and interests. The following

research questions guided the study: First, what Confucian values influence program

planning processes and outcomes? And second, in what ways did social and political

relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions?

A qualitative study was conducted of thirteen program planners in Korea. Six women and

seven men ranging in age from twenty-six to forty-nine were interviewed using an in-

depth and semi-structured format. The participants were from nine different geographic

locations representing the diverse areas of Korea in a variety of educational settings. Data

analysis revealed that: first, Confucian values such as group harmony, respect of

hierarchy, propriety, face, bond of affection, and distinctive gender roles, were deeply

rooted in the program planners. Second, the influence of Confucian values and existing

social and political relationships that structure planning tables enabled and constrained

their actions. Under the second finding, four main themes were constructed: (a) the hierarchical human relationships based on Confucian values determine inequalities among people and the pre-existing capacity to act at the planning table; (b) the hierarchy-conscious mindset of Korean people defines who sits at the planning table, where decisions are made, and how interests are achieved by exercising of power; (c) Confucian values are integrated into the planners' complex sets of interests including educational and political objectives for educational programs; and (d) Confucian values influence negotiation behaviors and outcomes. Four conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this study. First, Confucian values that are embedded in organizational culture manifest in Korean program planners' attitudes and behavior. Second, group orientation and the value placed upon the maintenance of harmony are emphasized and shape the way in which Korean program planners construct educational programs. Third, Korean program planners construct educational programs by negotiating personal, social, and organizational interests in socially and culturally structured power relations marked by the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships. Fourth and finally, the interwoven values of the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships and maintenance of group harmony shape negotiation behaviors of Korean planners.

INDEX WORDS: Adult education, Program planning, Confucianism, Confucian
                 values, Human resource development, Organizational culture,
                 Korean culture, Qualitative study

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by

KIUNG RYU

B.A., Korea University, Seoul, Korea, 1999

M.Ed., The University of Georgia, 2001

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KIUNG RYU

Major Professor:	Ronald Cervero	
Committee:	Talmadge Guy	
	Wendy Ruona	
	John Schell	

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

Adult educators and learners no longer live in culturally homogeneous societies. Today, we live together with people from all over the world having different cultural backgrounds. As the world becomes closer and more interconnected, the importance of cultural awareness and influences has been increasingly recognized in recent years. The study of various cultural values, ideologies, and belief systems has emerged as a critical topic relevant to both theoretical and practical issues concerning the struggles of developing and implementing culturally relevant adult education programs. A call for proactive paradigm changes in response to these needs has been inevitable for adult educators to move toward a broader global context (Hayes & Wilson, 2000).

The concept of culture has been discussed from many different angles by various researchers. Despite voluminous literature on culture, culture is not easily defined. The American anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) reviewed the literature on culture and found and assembled over 150 definitions. According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, culture is "the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations." The definition of culture by Kluckhohn (1951) provides that culture:

consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and

transmitted mainly by symbols, constitute the distinctive achievements of human

groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture

consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially

their attached values. (p. 86)

Kluckhohn's definition of culture has been widely accepted in mainstream academic

discourse and has been adopted by many researchers in the discipline of social science

and its applied fields. Hall (1973), focusing more on people, suggests that culture is "the

way of life of a people, [and] the sum of their learned behavior patterns, attitudes, and

material things" (p. 20). More recently, Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) define that culture

is "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the member of one group or

category of people from others" (p. 4). Hofstede and Hofstede stress that culture derives

from one's social environment rather than one's genes. Explaining manifestations of

culture at different levels of depth, they distinguish symbols, heroes, rituals, and values.

According to their "skins of an onion" metaphor, "symbols represent the most superficial

and values the deepest manifestations of culture, with heroes and rituals in between" (p.

6).

  In organizational contexts, cultural studies drawn from the field of anthropology

were introduced into the mainstream of scholarly management literature by several

researchers in the early 1980s (e.g., Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Ouchi, 1981; Pascale & Atho,

1982; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Pettigrew, 1979). Schein (1992) describes culture as a

pattern of basic shared assumptions that a group, organization, or collective body learns,

uses, and teaches to its new members. He suggests that there are three levels of cultural

elements: artifacts, espoused values, and basic assumptions. Cummings and Worley (2001) define organizational culture as "the pattern of assumptions, values, and norms that are shared by organization members" (p. 498). They argue that organizational culture is important and affects organizations' strategy and implementation as well as performance. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) also define organizational culture as "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the member of one organization from another" (p. 282). They further claim that "an organization's culture, however, is maintained not only in the minds of its members but also in the minds of its other stakeholders, everybody who interacts with the organization" (p. 283). In brief, from these definitions, the organizational culture as a distinctive "personality" of an organization separate from other organizations is the shared set(s) of norms, behaviors, standards, customs, values, beliefs, and assumptions that emerge from the interaction of organizational members and stakeholders.

Over the past two decades, researchers have increasingly recognized the importance of organizational culture and cultural studies in general particularly on a global basis. Hofstede (1980, 1991, 2001), Hofstede and Hofstede (2005), and Adler (2008) have stressed that people bring their cultural background to the organization and their cultural values affect the structure, policies, practices, operations, communication processes, and interactions with various stakeholders of organizations. For example, in an international organizational behavior study, Adler (2008) focuses on the behavior of managers, employees, and organizations from a global perspective. She notes that variations across cultures and their impacts on organizations follow systematic, predictable patterns. She argues that "no country's system or perspective is any better or

worse – any more or less effective – than any other country's; rather, each is distinct and therefore must not be understood as a replica of any other nation" (p. vii).

After conducting cross-cultural research in a multinational corporation in seventy countries for more than thirty years, Hofstede (2001) found that how national cultures differ in key areas of power distance (the degree of equality/inequality between people), collectivism versus individualism (the degree of individualistic or collectivistic achievement and interpersonal relationships), masculinity versus femininity (the degree of distinctiveness in gender role), tolerance for ambiguity (the degree of acceptance of uncertainty and ambiguity) , and time orientation (the degree of future and past oriented values), provides insights for organizational studies and culture studies in general. Although Hofstede's seminal study of cultures and organizations has been widely used, his study has been criticized on various grounds, including the issue of representation of total population. Recently the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) research project has provided an updated assessment of cultural dimensions (Robbins, 2003). According to Robbins (2003), the GLOBE project has identified nine dimensions on which national cultures differ. The nine dimensions are: assertiveness, future orientation, gender differentiation, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, individual/collectivism, in-group collectivism, performance orientation, and human orientation (pp. 69-70). Instead of replacing Hofstede's study, the nine dimensions by the GLOBE project have extended and attempted to depict his work from multiple angles.

Although it is dangerous to generalize about Korean culture as a whole, differences do exist – differences that distinguish it from those in other parts of the world,

especially in Western culture. Confucianism is considered as the most distinctive, defining characteristic of the Korean society and other East Asian regions such as China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Vietnam, and Japan, which are the so-called Confucian-influenced regions or Confucian heritage cultures. Although the influences of modernization, economic development, and Western culture have drastically transformed the traditional agricultural society of Korea over the last four decades, modified Confucian values are still deeply saturated in the consciousness of the Korean people and embedded in every aspect of daily life and the way of thinking of individuals who then transmit these values to the next generation (Berthrong & Berthrong, 2000; Hahm, 2003; Kim, 2004; Robinson, 1991; Rozman, 1991; Tu, 1996). For example, Robinson (1991) argues that although Confucianism "no longer dominates Korean political and social life as a prescriptive orthodoxy, it has gone underground and continues to covertly shape behavior and social organization in Korea" (p. 204). Since selected Confucian values survive in modified form and are ambivalent in the sense that they have potential as an enabler or hindrance to economic development, social and political progress, it is not clear which Confucian values are "good or evil." This issue has been contested and debated for generations, especially since the colonialization of the Chosun dynasty (1392-1910), the last royal dynasty of Korean history, by Japan in 1910.

Confucian values have influenced and shaped every aspect of the lives of Korean people, including organizational culture and the way business has been practiced for over 2000 years. Although globalization and the spread of Western influence into these Confucian-influenced regions has weakened, the traditional values have been weakened, they still survive in altered form. The emphasis on harmony, group orientation,

hierarchical relationships, bond of affection, education, and familism in organizational contexts is derived from the Confucian tradition. For example, Alston (1989) examined that a key principle of Korean organizational behavior is *inhwa* (인화), which is defined as harmony. He argues that *inhwa* stresses harmony between unequals and links persons who are unequal in rank, prestige, and power. A study on a relationship between Confucian values and Korean school administrators' leadership style and job satisfaction (Son, 2000) revealed that the Korean principal's Confucian values were strongly related to their leadership styles. He concluded that "the culture of Korean educational administration is deeply rooted in the Confucian culture" (p. 91). In a study of conflict management styles, Kim, Wang, Kondo, and Kim (2007) identified that Korean people have strong preferences for avoiding, accommodating, compromising, and other collaborative strategies to manage interpersonal conflicts in the workplace. Generally speaking, because maintaining harmony is more important than "winning," people predominantly use compromise and avoidance as the major strategies for handling those situations. Maintaining harmony is one way to reach stability in societies in which the group orientation and hierarchical relationships exist within a Confucian-influenced culture (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

It is evident that while Confucianism continues to influence throughout Korean society today in subjects such as politics, organizational behaviors, interpersonal relations, communication patterns, social mobility, education, and people's various forms of everyday life, Confucianism in Korea is underarticulated and mostly unacknowledged. Hahm (2003) stated that Korean people know more about what Kant or Marx said than what Confucius and his followers said. The previous sentence may be an exaggeration,

but the main point is that Confucianism in Korea exists "in a less visible and more diffuse state and is exercising an unconscious and therefore more powerful influence on people's lives" (Hahm, 2003, p. 270).

Although cross-cultural differences exist and the differences have been known for many years, much remains unknown about how different cultural values influence adult education theory and practice. In particular, although program planning activities are not culturally neutral, but replete with cultural values and affected by them, there is little attention given to the culture issue. Rather, most program planning theories and models in the field of adult education have been traditionally based on Western or North American cultural perspectives. Recently, the adult education and human resource and organizational development (HROD) literature on non-Western perspectives has grown and with that increasing attention paid to understanding the role and influence of cultural values in shaping adult education and HROD theories and practices (e.g., Alfred, 2003; Merriam, 2007; Merriam & Associates, 2007; Merriam & Mohamad, 2000; Pratt, 1991; Wang, 2006; Wang, Wang, Ruona, & Rojewski, 2005; Yang, Zheng, & Li, 2006). For example, Merriam and Associates (2007) attempt to challenge the hegemony of the Western view of adult learning by offering several other perspectives including Islamic, Native American, Hindu, Maori, Buddhist, African, Latin American, and Confucian perspectives. In the same book, Merriam (2007) argues the following:

> What is presented as "Western," "Native American," "African," "Latin American," or "Eastern" values and systems of thought capture, imperfectly of course, some of the differences that in turn affect not only how we see the world, but how learning experiences are interpreted. (p. 9)

Merriam points out that understanding these differences is crucial to broadening our learning and knowing and enhancing our practice as adult educators. As another example, interviewing nineteen Malaysian older adults, Merriam and Mohamad (2000) found that the Malaysian cultural values of collectivism, hierarchy, relationships, face, and religion contributed to shaping the learning of adult learners. Pratt (1991) also identified that Chinese values such as collective self, the family as a basic unit, hierarchical relationships, compliance with authority, and the maintenance of stability and harmony were significantly different from those of most Western nations, and provided different foundations for thinking about the provision of adult education.

Problem Statement

According to Cervero and Wilson (1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2006), because planning is a social activity, a planner's interaction with their organizational settings in which they routinely negotiate personal, organizational, and social interests to construct educational programs is critical. The underlying assumption of their theory is that negotiating power and interests is vital to action and they ask what adult educators can do to plan programs responsibly. Thus, by understanding program planning as a social activity, acknowledging power relationships and the interests of all the people who have a stake in the program becomes one of the main tasks for planners.

The Cervero and Wilson theory addresses the issues of extreme individualism which unrealistically empowers individuals who plan programs with a conflict-free, context-free, and ideal universal situation. Instead of ignoring power, politics, and ethical issues as irrelevant and unimportant to good program planning, they focus a spotlight on the complex issues related to power, politics, and ethical commitment to make sense of

program planning practice within conflict-ridden, context-specific, and messy real world situations. Cervero and Wilson (2001) argue that adult education is not practiced on a neutral stage. Rather, they maintain that it "happens in a social location that is defined by a particular social vision in relation to the wider systems of social, economic, and cultural relations of power" (Cervero & Wilson, 2001, p. 6). In other words, Cervero and Wilson have shown how the larger systems in society such as culture and organizations, and the associated structural and historical dimensions, influence and shape program planning with relation to power by pointing out the socio-political and socio-cultural nature of program planning that has been ignored.

In this sense, program planning is significantly affected by individuals' beliefs and values, organizational cultures, social norms, and the societal culture which exists within a society. In educational planning for adults, program planners and stakeholders bring their instilled cultural values to the process of program planning. Existing organizational and societal cultures that are closely allied with different power relationships among people and negotiation behaviors are affected by cultural values such as large power distance versus low power distance, or an emphasis on individualism versus group cohesion within a society. How these cultural values brought by planners who negotiate interests in relations of power are used impacts the outcome of the educational program. How organizational culture, which is shaped by the cultural values of people who interact with each other, also impacts the process of the planning as well as the outcome of the program. Thus, program planning activities are not culturally neutral, but replete with various cultural values and affected by them.

Although Cervero and Wilson have emphasized the importance of the contexts that are embedded in the society and the organization and inevitably determine what planners do and what they must do, relatively little attention is given to the character of culture. Cervero and Wilson's discussion of culture as one of contextual variables is rather general. They do not distinguish between different levels of cultures and the role of cultures within the broader society and institution. Furthermore, like most program planning theories and models that have traditionally been based on Western or North American cultural perspectives, the Cervero and Wilson theory has paid little attention to the issue of cultural differences. Although there are number of studies using their theory as a conceptual framework, only a few focus on program planning from a cultural perspective, or on how power and interests are negotiated from the perspective of a traditionally distinctive cultural background. Furthermore, there are no studies being done on the impact of Confucian values on educational planning.

<div align="center">Purpose and Research Questions</div>

The purpose of this study was to understand how cultural values influence educational planning in Korea. Specifically, the study was to examine how Confucian values play out in educational planning in terms of negotiating power and interests. The central questions explored in this study were:

1. What Confucian values influence program planning processes and outcomes?

2. In what ways did social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions?

Significance of the Study

This study aimed to make contributions to adult education and human resource and organizational development (HROD) field. This research contributes and extends theoretical knowledge and practical applications of program planning and the role of culture in society and organization in the following aspects. First, this study is the first to apply the Cervero and Wilson program planning theory to explore the role of culture for understanding and interpreting program planning practices in the non-Western cultural context. Most studies on program planning using the Cervero and Wilson theory as a theoretical framework have been conducted based on the North American cultural context. It is an important effort especially since different cultural values play a critical role in shaping the programs, practices, strategies, and policies that would affect many people. As Guy (1999) points out, the idea of a generic adult learner with certain universal characteristics and traits no longer works. He argues that "the particular sociocultural context in which adult learners exist and act strongly influences the motivations, needs, goals, and perspectives that learners bring to the learning environment" (p. 94).

Second, this study attempts to fill in the research gap for Cervero and Wilson's program planning theory. It is important to acknowledge that program planning is significantly affected by individuals' beliefs and values, organizational cultures, social norms, and the societal culture which exists within a society. Over the past decades, Cervero and Wilson have emphasized the importance of the contexts that are embedded in the society and the organization and inevitably determine what planners do and what they must do, Their theory, however, has limited discussion of the culture issue. The role

of culture within the theory is also as yet unknown. This study adds further knowledge to a crucial aspect of program planning.

Third, this study in a practical sense will help educators and practitioners who plan educational programs in the face of increasing cultural diversity as well as complexity. Program planners enter the educational practice in a particular cultural system in which culture and society are interwoven so that culture matters for the shaping of educational programs and policies. Because culture can be interpreted in terms of contradiction and hidden conflict, dominant ideologies, power, class, gender bias, and so on (Alvesson, 2002), adult educators and practitioners must understand larger systems of culture and society, and anticipate their actions that "are both enabled and constrained by their place in these systems" (Cervero & Wilson, 2001, p. 11).

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter provided an introduction and overview of the gap in research relative to the cultural influence on program planning. The problem of the study was discussed, followed by purpose, research questions, and significance of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to understand how cultural values influence educational planning in Korea. Specifically, the study was to examine how Confucian values play out in educational planning in terms of negotiating power and interests. This chapter reviews the relevant literature. The literature review is divided into three sections. The first section includes organizational culture and its history and philosophical elements. The second section discusses Confucianism and its history and philosophical elements that have become Confucian values common to modern Korean organizational settings. The third and final section provides a description of the historical development and central concepts of the Cervero and Wilson theory of program planning. It also provides a critical review of the research that has been done using this theoretical framework.

Organizational Culture

Although a significant amount of research on organizational culture has been conducted by researchers from diverse backgrounds such as anthropology, management, public administration, sociology, psychology, human resource and organizational development, and education, cultural studies in organizational contexts are still young and in the process of being debated. To better understand organizational culture, it is helpful to examine what organizational culture is, how it has developed, and what beliefs and assumptions underlie it.

Definitions of Organizational Culture

Martin (2002) used a "cultural wars" metaphor to describe the uncertainties and existing various views of the organizational culture theory and research (p. 52). Based on Martin's list of definitions of organizational culture (pp. 57-58), table 1 summarizes key words from the various definitions of organizational culture.

It seems at a glance their common themes are "shared meanings and understandings" by certain group members (e.g., Davis, Hofstede & Hofstede, Louis, Sathe, Schein, and Sergiovanni & Corbally). For example, Schein (1992) defines organizational culture as:

> a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its
>
> problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well
>
> enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the
>
> correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (p. 12)

This definition of organizational culture indicates that shared values and norms are learned by members and transmitted to new members within the organization.

Norms. Norms refer to "acceptable standards of behavior within a group that are shared by the group's members" (Robbins, 2003, p. 229). Keyton (2005, p. 24) points out three main features of norms: (a) pattern of behavior or communication; (b) what people should do in a specific setting; and (c) collective expectations of what behavior should be or what reaction should be given to a particular behavior. Thus, norms are not written policies, procedures, or standards, but are instead informal and unspoken rules that guide group members' behavior. Robbins (2003) indicates that norms "differ among groups, organizations, and societies, but they all have them" (p. 229). Because norms become

routine and unstated expectations about behavior, organizational members rarely discuss

what the norms are (Keyton, 2005).

Table 1

Definition Emphasis from the Various Organizational Culture Studies

Author(s)	Definition Emphasis
Peters and Waterman (1982)	"stronger" "excellent companies" (pp. 75-76)
Smircich (1983)	"meanings" "patterns of beliefs" "worldviews" "activity" "environmental circumstances" (p. 56)
Davis (1984)	"shared beliefs and values" (p. 1)
Sergiovanni and Corbally (1984)	"shared meanings" "material objects and ritualized practices" (p. viii)
Louis (1985)	"shared" "understandings or meanings" (p. 74)
Sathe (1985)	"shared " "understandings" (p. 6)
Mills (1988)	"dominance" "conflict and contradiction" (p. 366)
Feldman (1991)	"positively or negatively valued" (p. 154)
Meyerson (1991)	"multiple meanings" "ambiguities" (pp. 131-132)
Schein (1992)	"shard basic assumptions" "integration" (p. 12)
Alvesson (2002)	"a theoretical tool for developing sensitivity for differentiation, inconsistency, confusion, conflict, and contradiction (p. 195)
Martin (2002)	"shared meanings, conflict, and an ambiguity" (p. 62)
Hofstede and Hofstede (2005)	"the collective programming of the mind" (p. 282)

Values. Among researchers, there is a slight difference in locating values within

the levels of organizational culture. Adler (2008) and Hofstede and Hofstede (2005)

locate values at the deepest level of culture, whereas other researchers believe that basic

assumptions are at the root of culture (Cummings & Worley, 2001; Keyton, 2005; Schein,

1992). However, most of the literature agrees with the importance of values that influence attitudes and behavior. Anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn (1967) defines a value as "a conception or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of actions" (p. 395). Values tell members what is important or unimportant in the organization, what is right or wrong and what deserves their attention (Adler, 2008; Cummings & Worley, 2001). Robbins (2003) notes that values "lay the foundation for the understanding of attitudes and motivation" (p. 64), and influence our perceptions. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) describe values as "the core of culture" according to their "skins of an onion" metaphor (p. 8).

One of the major characteristics of values is that generally values are not fluid and flexible. In other words, because people acquire values in their early years – from parents, teachers, friends, and others – and those values tend to remain relatively stable over time (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Robbins, 2003). Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) note, values are "broad tendencies and preferences" and deal with contrasting ideas such as evil versus good, dirty versus clean, dangerous versus safe, forbidden versus permitted, decent versus indecent, moral versus immoral, ugly versus beautiful, unnatural versus natural, abnormal versus normal, paradoxical versus logical, and irrational versus rational (p. 8). In relation to work and organizations, for example, Keyton (2005) includes prestige, wealth, control, authority, ambition, pleasure, independence, creativity, equality, tolerance, respect, commitment, politeness, and harmony. The second characteristic of values is their embeddedness. Because values often exist in an embedded manner in organizations, they are "difficult to discern until they are manifested in behavior and shared by organizational members" (Hofstede, 2001; Keyton, 2005, p. 33). Keyton

(2005) argues that "some values are subconsciously held become assumptions that we use in choosing our behavior and communication without consciously considering the choices we are making" (p. 25). Third and finally, because values are located in the onion's core, culture change occurs much slower than its outer layers such as artifacts, rituals, and practices (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) discuss about changing practices and stable values:

> Our world is changing. Technology invented by people surrounds us. The World Wide Web has made our world appear smaller, so that the notion of a "global village" seems appropriate. Business companies operate worldwide. They innovate rapidly; many do not know today what products they will manufacture and sell next year or what new job types they will need in five years… So on the surface, change is all-powerful. But how deep are these changes? Can human societies be likened to ships that are rocked about aimlessly on turbulent seas of change? Or to shores, covered and then bared again by new waves washing in, altered ever so slowly with each successive tide? … Culture change can be fast for the outer layers of the onion diagram, labeled practices… Culture change is slow for the onion's core, labeled values. (p. 11-13)

In brief, norms and values are the core elements of organizational culture, and many researchers indicate that shared values and norms are learned by members and transmitted to new members within the organization.

Not all researchers agree that organizational culture is interpreted as shared meanings and understandings, however. For example, addressing the ignorance of gender issues within organizational settings, Mills (1988) argues:

Cultural arrangements, of which organizations are an essential segment, are seen

as manifestations of a process of ideational development located within a context

of definite material conditions. It is context of dominance (males over

females/owners over workers) but also of conflict and contradiction in which

class and gender, autonomous but overdetermined, are vital dynamics. Ideas and

cultural arrangements confront actors as a series of rules of behavior; rules that, in

their contradictions, may variously be enacted, followed, or resisted. (p. 366)

Alvesson (2002) also argues that "culture is best perceived not simply as a provider of

clues for understanding social integration and harmony and guiding behavior, but also as

a theoretical tool for developing sensitivity for differentiation, inconsistency, confusion,

conflict, and contradiction" (p. 195). The concepts of organizational culture by Mills and

Alvesson, refer to organizational culture as "dominance," "conflict and contradiction,"

and "inconsistency and confusion."

Other researchers, Feldman (1991), Meyerson (1991), and Martin (2002), stress

"ambiguities" of organizational culture. No clear shared meanings and understandings

and no clear conflicts and contradiction characterize their concepts of organizational

culture (Martin, 2002). Instead of specializing in a focused area, Martin's definition

covers a broad range of topics relevant to the understanding of organizational culture. She

(2002) concludes that:

When organizations are examined from a cultural viewpoint, attention is drawn to

aspects of organizational life that historically have often been ignored or

understudied, such as the stories people tell to newcomers to explain "how things

are done around here," the ways in which offices are arranged and personal items

are or are not displayed, jokes people tell, the working atmosphere (hushed and

luxurious or dirty and noisy), the relations among people (affectionate in some

areas of an office and obviously angry and perhaps competitive in another place),

and so on. Cultural observers also often attend to aspects of working life that

other researchers study, such as the organization's official policies, the amounts

of money different employees earn, reporting relationships, and so on. A cultural

observer is interested in the surfaces of these cultural manifestations because

details can be informative, but he or she also seeks an in-depth understanding of

the pattern of meanings that link these manifestations together, sometimes in

harmony, sometimes in bitter conflicts between groups, and sometimes in webs of

ambiguity, paradox, and contradiction. (p. 3)

Despite the many different perspectives to organizational culture, there are three

viewpoints that are taken into consideration for this study. The first and second

viewpoints stem from Smircich's (1983) paradigmatic distinction between two facets of

organizational culture: as something an organization *has* and as something an

organization *is*. In the first viewpoint, researchers who believe that an organization *has*

culture treat culture as a variable among other variables, such as members, structure,

leadership, and technology. This perspective can be seen as a functionalist viewpoint that

examines how an organization's culture can be managed and how "strong culture" will

lead to outcomes that the organization desires (Martin, 2002). Second, other researchers,

however, see culture as a root metaphor that represents the idea that culture is something

that the organization *is*. That is, they see culture as a metaphor of organization, not just as

discrete variable to be manipulated at will (Meyerson & Martin, 1987). In other words,

under this perspective culture is a metaphor, a lens of viewing and understanding

organizational life. Organizations are understood not mainly in managerial terms, but in

terms of their expressive and symbolic aspects (Smircich, 1983). Third, the critical

viewpoint is concerned primarily with sociopolitical aspects that are manifested in many

different ways in organizations (Keyton, 2005). Under this perspective, organizations are

sites of hierarchy, dominance, and power.

To sum up, each perspective has its own unique way of approaching

organizational culture from different angles, but each of them places emphasis on one

aspect of organizational culture and thus is incomplete. I argue that viewing an

organization from only one viewpoint of these three perspectives is limiting. Therefore, I

suggest that organizational culture should be viewed from all three theoretical

perspectives simultaneously. Under this perspective, the following sections address

historical and philosophical elements of organizational culture.

The History of Organizational Culture

The history of organizational culture is considered as a series of ongoing debates

between different perspectives (Martin, 2002). Cultures have been studied by

anthropologists for more than a century, but studies of organizational culture have a much

shorter history. The earliest study of organizational culture can be traced to Chester

Barnard's *The Functions of the Executive* (1938). Later, as the field of organization

theory began to develop, Talcott Parsons (1956) wrote an article about a sociological

approach to the theory of organization in the first issue of *Administrative Science*

Quarterly, one of the leading journals in organizational studies (Harrison & Carroll,

2006). Although early organizational theorists contributed to the development of ideas

about informal organization structures, human relations, and cooperation, they were sparse and scattered, and a specific focus on organizational culture did not emerge until the early 1980s (Alvesson, 2002; Harrison & Carroll, 2006).

The corporate culture boom. Starting with Pettigrew's article, *On Studying Organizational Cultures* (1979), new studies drawn from the field of anthropology were introduced into the mainstream of scholarly management literature by several researchers (Ashkanasy, 2003). During the early 1980s, the success of Japanese business was studied by researchers (e.g., Ouchi, 1981; Pascale & Atho, 1982) who introduced and examined Japanese corporate culture, and triggered the interest in organizational culture from both academics and practitioners (e.g., studies by Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Peters & Waterman, 1982). During this period, there was a wealth of research that offered the promise that a "strong" integrated culture will enhance performance improvement and maximize greater productivity and profitability (Martin, 2002). This view of corporate culture as "a universal tool for competitiveness and excellence" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 7) or functionalist viewpoint (Martin, 2002) is consistent with studies of culture as a variable by Smircich (1983).

In contrast to this functionalist approach, other researchers adopted a more symbolic or descriptive approach which views culture as a lens of examining organizational life (e.g., Barley, 1983; Schultz, 1991). Drawing on Smircich's culture as a root metaphor, this approach focuses more on the interpretation of symbols, such as rituals, stories, or myths. Whether it focuses on functional or symbolic aspects of culture, these studies can be also seen as Meyerson and Martin's (1987) *integration* perspective that sees organizational culture as an organizational set of common and shared values.

Most studies during this period focused on "the consistencies of values, attitudes, and behaviors within a particular organization that distinguish it from others" (Ashkanasy, 2003, p. 302).

The variation. During the early 1980s, roughly at the same time as studies of the functionalist and descriptive research evolved, another group of researchers attempted to examine opposing points of view that had been silenced by the studies with the traditional viewpoints (e.g., Gregory, 1983; Riley, 1983; Rousseau, 1990). These researchers argued that an organization is not simply a single, monolithic dominant culture; instead, it is a collection of subcultures that coexist in relationships of intergroup harmony, conflict, or indifference (Meyerson & Martin, 1987). Meanwhile, in the mid and late 1980s, the other group of researchers (e.g., Brunsson, 1985; Feldman, 1989) focused on the ambiguous nature of organizational life and "multiplicities of interpretation that do not coalesce into the collectivity-wide consensus characteristics of traditional research and that do not create a subcultural consensus" (Martin, 2002, p. 107). In other words, conflicts and opposing views within subcultures are not clearly defined. But instead ambiguity exists with regard to organizational culture. In sum, during this period several groups of researchers attempted to understand organizational culture from different angles that illustrate the differentiated and multi-faced aspects of organizational culture.

The critical viewpoint. Although the functional and descriptive, and other differentiated viewpoints, still continue to proliferate today in organizational culture research (Martin, Frost, & O'Neill, 2006), during the early 1990s, some researchers advocated for a more critical perspective that was opposed to the cultural studies that are often value-neutral and objectivist, and only aim to help organizations improve their

productivity and performance (e.g., Alvesson, 2002; Alvesson & Berg, 1992; Barley, Meyer, & Gash, 1988; Putnam, Bantz, Deetz, Mumby, & Maanen, 1993). The critical theorists have argued that using the lens of power and politics to understand organizational culture has been largely ignored by the mainstream researchers, so that it is important to recognize the "sociopolitical and structural power issues that are integrated and built into the day-to-day interaction and that influence perceptions of power throughout the organization" (Keyton, 2005, p. 100).

In short, the history of organizational culture shows that several different perspectives have emerged and been put forward in order to better understand various issues and interests within the organizational contexts. Those ongoing debates have been making a valuable contribution to the field of organizational culture and organizational theory in general.

The Philosophical Elements of Organizational Culture

As a basic subject matter of metaphysics, ontology is a study of assumptions about the nature of reality. The philosophical foundations of my perspective on organizational culture reflect two different kinds of ontological assumptions. Adopting Ashkanasy, Wilderom, and Peterson's (2000) different kinds of ontologies of organizational culture, two assumptions to what they call a structural realist ontology and a social construction ontology are discussed. First, under the structural realist ontological orientation, organizations exist as structures that have a variety of properties, including culture. The structural realist ontology asserts that "the fundamental constituents of the physical world are structures" (Ryckman, 2005, p. 242). From this perspective, an organization is a kind of structure that *has* a culture. This perspective is consistent with

Smircich's (1983) paradigmatic mode of organizational culture as something an organization *has*. This perspective is also congruent with Chia's (1996) being-realism, a reality that "preexists independently of observation" (p. 33), enabling researchers to "treat ideas, such as "organizations" or "cultures," as unproblematic objects of analysis (Martin, 2002, p. 31).

Second, the social construction ontology emphasizes the "varying regularity in events that happen and gives researchers room to select which sets of events to group together into a culture" (Ashkanasy et al., 2000, p. 7). The ontological view of social construction is that "the existence or manner of existence of a thing is dependent, in some substantial part, upon the social world" (Crossley, 2005, p. 214). In other words, in the social construction reality, the concept of reality is constructed by the various activities of social agents. Under this perspective, an organization is a kind of culture (Ashkanasy et al., 2000). Smircich's other facet of organizational culture as something an organization *is* corresponds to this ontological orientation and Chia's becoming-realism which views "organizations not only as outcomes of organizing processes, but as processes in themselves" (Hancock & Tyler, 2001, p. 87). The ontology adopted by the critical viewpoint is also derived from the social construction ontological perspective. Under this perspective, reality is socially constructed. Thus, the social reality is shaped by social, political, economic, ethnic and other factors that develop over time (Yolles, 2000).

The philosophical foundations also reflect two epistemological orientations. Epistemology deals with the nature of knowledge. As Crotty (1998) notes, ontological issues and epistemological issues tend to emerge together. In this sense, in accordance with Chia's being-realism ontology, researchers who take the representational

epistemological stance believe external facts and objects to be the source of meaning and truth (Alasuutari, 1995). The representational epistemology that stems from the positivist paradigm assumes people know that there is an objective reality apart from our perception and use symbols and language to accurately describe and explain that objective reality (Chia, 1996; Martin, 2002). Under this perspective, language is used "unproblematically, to represent reality, accurately communicating what is out there" (Martin, 2002, p. 31). Generally, this epistemological position in terms of organizational culture is embodied in functional or instrumental dimensions that often emphasize harmony, consensus, clarity, external adaptation, and internal integration (Alvesson, 2002; Schein, 1985).

Further, these assumptions typically relate to concerns about their methodology of choice. From this epistemological stance, a quantitative or etic approach (outsider point of view) is often used to measure various dimensions of culture in organizations (Martin, 2002). Deductive approaches that emphasize applicable cultural dimensions or analytic categories are derived from this epistemological orientation (Ashkanasy et al., 2000). Hofstede's (1980, 1991, 2001) longitudinal study of cultural values in terms of power distance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, tolerance for ambiguity, and time orientation in a multinational business environment is an example of this approach.

In contrast, researchers who subscribe to the subjectivist epistemological stance gain new knowledge based on existing knowledge and experiences. In other words, they view all forms of research as inherently subjective (Preissle & Grant, 2004). In accordance with Chia's becoming-realism, "researchers and cultural members

subjectively interpret and represent what they observe rather than perceiving an objective

reality" (Martin, 2002, p. 34). Methodologically, under this epistemological stance,

researchers often use a qualitative or emic approach (insider point of view) to understand

cultural practices. Inductive approaches that "emerge from the bottom up (rather than

from the top down), from many disparate pieces of collected evidence that are

interconnected" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 6), are often used for this kind of research.

Epistemologically critical theory is subjectivist, which leads to research results

being value-laden by the beliefs and assumptions of the inquirer (Yolles, 2000).

Influenced by the Marxist tradition and developed by the Frankfurt School in the early

1920's, critical theory opposes the deterministic positivism advocated by the scientists,

who build on scientific discovery largely by objective, verifiable, reductionistic, and

value-neutral knowledge and facts. Thus, for critical organizational researchers,

knowledge is linked to socio-political perspectives and is used for emancipatory ends and

other political aims. As Alvesson (2002) argues, organizational culture research has been

largely favored by positivists or functionalists who focus mainly on shared values,

consistent behavioral norms, commitment, productivity, performance improvement, and

building a strong corporate culture. But there is also another side of culture, and critical

theorists in organizational contexts focus more on an emancipatory view on knowledge.

Summary

Culture in an organization is important but complex. Because of the complex

nature of organizational culture, there are different lenses for identifying and

investigating the culture. Each perspective has its own point of view, and offers a unique

solution to the complex phenomena. Although the different perspectives have different

theoretical assumptions and concerns, they complement each other. The viewpoints which attempt to reduce the multi-faced nature of organizational culture to a single explanatory perspective must be rejected. As I have already stated my views on organizational culture and ontological and epistemological positions, both objectivist and subjectivist assumptions have influenced theories and practices in organizational studies and need to be considered, which yields a more complete and deeper understanding of organizational culture. This notion suggests that cultural studies in organizations include physical manifestations as well as the subjective meanings associated with these observable manifestations (Martin, 2002). Furthermore, asking "Whose interests are being served?" is necessary, although it is often implicit and difficult to decipher. As Martin (2002) suggests, "culture has both material and ideational aspects" (p. 35). I believe both must be studied, even though it is not easy to seek a balance between the two different perspectives.

<div align="center">Confucianism</div>

Confucianism is an ethical and philosophical system based mainly on teachings and concepts from Confucius (551 – 479 B.C.E.) of ancient China. Although Confucius himself claimed that he was not a creator but instead a transmitter of the wisdoms of the ancient sage kings, he has been known as the father of the most dominant thought system of East Asia for over two thousand years. Much of East Asia, including China, Korea, Vietnam, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Japan, was influenced by Confucianism and shared certain common philosophical heritages and cultural elements. Confucianism distinguishes them from the cultural antecedents of Western societies and still has an important role to play in philosophy, politics, ethics, education, and culture (Berthrong &

Berthrong, 2000; Rozman, 1991; Yao, 2000). The main moral and ethical values: *jen* or

ren (인, benevolence), *yi* (의, righteousness), and *li* (예, propriety) and the key principles:

the hierarchical relationship, group orientation, harmony, bond of affection, face, the

distinctive gender role, and zeal for education are its main concepts. One reason that

Confucianism has had such a profound impact is because it was adopted as the official

state ruling ideology of the Chosun dynasty (1392-1910) for 500 years in Korea, and of

the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) in Japan, as well as of many dynasties in China (Yum,

1988).

This section reviews the literature on Confucianism and provides an introduction

to understanding Korean organizational culture in terms of Confucian values. The

subsections covered include the history of Confucian values, underlying assumptions and

a brief study of core Confucian values.

History of Confucian Values

Confucianism is an ethical and philosophical value system based mainly on

teachings and concepts from Confucius of ancient China. The classic presentation of

Confucianism took shape during the Spring and Autumn Period (770 - 476 B.C.E.) and

much of the modification, elaboration and clarification on classical Confucianism were

added by Confucius's followers and scholars in the Warring States Period (475 – 221

B.C.E.) (Yao, 2000). During those periods, ancient China was ruled by a feudal system

and experienced many wars. Since Confucius's main ideas were developed in a chaotic

time of inter-state war, his main concerns were how to stop the wars and violence, and

how to bring peace to all people (Zhang, 1999). Confucius's approach to social problems

was an attempt to restore and build a highly moral society, which he believed necessary

to the maintenance of a stable and peaceful world. Since the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. –

220 C.E.) in which Confucianism was adopted as a ruling state ideology, Confucianism

has been firmly established in East Asia as one of the most powerful systems of moral,

political, and social principles governing nearly every aspect of life (Wang, Wang, Ruona,

& Rojewski, 2005). Confucianism was introduced to Korea and other East Asian regions

and mixed with local culture and tradition, disseminating and reinforcing its values (Yao,

2000).

China is the birthplace of Confucianism, but it spread out all over the East Asian

regions. It was in the second century B.C.E. that Korea was exposed to Confucianism for

the first time, when China's Han dynasty had a close relationship with Korea (Haboush,

1991). A review of literature on Korean history shows that Confucianism in Korea was

introduced and played a role in the formation of political ideology and government policy,

but was not fully considered as a unifying ideology until the 13th century. The following

section includes a chronological discussion of the Confucianization of Korean society.

The section is divided into the pre-World War II, postwar and economic miracle, and

contemporary periods in order to better reflect the significant changes that have affected

Confucian values.

Pre-World War II Period. Most of the literature on Confucianism in premodern

Korea discusses how Confucianism functioned in the past and evolved into a new

hegemonic ideology intermingling with other religious beliefs such as shamanism and

Buddhism. Haboush (1991) addressed these issues in a chronological discussion of the

Confucianization of Korean society. She examined three periods: ancient Korea, Koryo

(918-1392), and the Chosun dynasty (1392-1910). In ancient Korea, during the Three

Kingdoms of Korea (57 B.C.E. – 668 C.E.), Chinese culture, Buddhist and Confucian teachings were introduced and assimilated into Korean shamanism and indigenous culture. Haboush (1991) stated that it was Koguryo (one of the Three Kingdoms) that displayed Confucian influence in the early centuries. The first national Confucian academy was established in 372 and Korean scholars became proficient in Confucian literature (Chung, 1994; Lee, 2001). Yet Confucianism during this period was still at a predevelopmental stage. Haboush (1991) assessed that the impact of Confucianism on the Three Kingdoms was limited, as the overriding religious ethos was Buddhist.

Unlike the Three Kingdoms, Confucianism in the Koryo dynasty (918-1392) began to play a part in the society, even though Buddhism was prevalent through the country. In fact, Buddhism was the official national religion, and Buddhist temples served as centers of learning (Kim-Renaud, 1991), but Confucianism gained much popularity as a guiding principle for life and the national civil service examination, and played a significant role in the formation of political ideology and government structure (Haboush, 1991; Kim-Renaud, 1991). The government established a national Confucian institution in order to facilitate the teaching of Confucianism to youngsters. Literature of the *Confucian Classics* was taught as the core curriculum at the institution during this period.

The Koryo dynasty was succeeded by the Chosun dynasty (1392-1910). During the Chosun dynasty, Korea was one of the most Confucian countries in the world and the first nation to promulgate Confucianism as a state orthodoxy, and to rigorously implement its ideology and policies on a national level. The Chosun dynasty saw Confucianism, or more accurately, Neo-Confucianism as the foundation of Korean

culture and society (Chung, 1994; Deuchler, 1992; Haboush, 1991; Keum, 2000; Kim-Renaud, 1991; Yao, 2000). Haboush (1991) named this society as a "Confucian revolution" (p. 90). She discussed the Confucianization of the Chosun dynasty in terms of education, government, meritocracy and heredity, family, rites and ancestor worship, and patrilineality and patriarchy. For example, the Chosun dynasty established Confucian shrines and Confucian schools in every community in order to train Confucian scholars (Chung, 1994). The study of Confucian classics was a major activity for scholars and government officials (Kim-Renaud, 1991). Haboush (1991) delineated the uniqueness of Korean Confucianism and suggested that indigenous Korean familial and social structures - a rigid class structure and a polity in which a Confucian elite exerted tremendous influence over the throne – distinctively showed the Chosun dynasty as a normative Confucian society. Confucian dogmatism prevailed in Chosun society for almost 500 years.

Since the late nineteenth century, Korea has undergone a fundamental transformation of its economy and political and social systems (Robinson, 1991). The influx of Western ideas, cultures, and technology, and the Japanese colonialization of the Chosun dynasty, made Confucianism a scapegoat for political, economic, and social ills. For example, Sangyun Hyun's *The history of Korean [Chosun] Confucianism* (1949) (as cited as in Robinson, 1991) was one of several early attempts to reexamine Confucianism in Korea. He listed the beneficial influences of Confucianism: encouragement for learning, respect for ethics, and respect for righteousness. Some of the baneful elements of Confucian tradition include: factionalism, clanism, class conflict, anti-commerce, adoration for titles or positions, and reverence for the past (Lee, 1967; Robinson, 1991).

Postwar Period and Economic Miracle. During this period, while Confucianism initially lost much of its previous prestige, modified and selected values were re-recognized by modern government, organizations, and business practices. Robinson (1991) analyzed that the entire Confucianism tradition came under assault in the early and mid twentieth century, but, at the same time, "selected values from this tradition were mobilized toward the service of the modern state" (p. 216). He showed how Korean political leaders manipulated Confucian values to maintain discipline in the name of national security and economic development. People were "indoctrinated to perceive the nation as a family, with the president as the patriarchal head" (Kim, 1996, p. 218).

Since World War II, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan's explosive economic growth has been achieved through a patriarchal organizational system along with emphasis on the modified Confucian values, such as group orientation, hierarchical relationship, harmony, affectionism, and zeal for education (Kim, 1996; Ornatowski, 1996). Absolute loyalty to the superior (or to the company) as an extension of filial piety, and a hierarchical relationship between a superior and his or her subordinates which is derived from the Confucian principles of the five cardinal human relationships (오륜) between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friends, were adopted. These relationships are not one way, hierarchical relationships, but instead are two-way or reciprocal. For example, Lee (1998) described Korean culture and the transformation of employment practices in Korean businesses as follows:

These Confucian values permeate every aspect of a Korean's behavior in his or her family, in the work organization, and in social interactions. In their work

organization, the traditional values are reflected in the subordinate's loyalty to the superior (or to the company) and the latter's benevolence and paternalism toward the former. They are also shown in the superior's directive leadership and the subordinate's obedient behavior. Trust among friends is reflected in peer relations and informal interactions. Centralized authority, vertical hierarchical order, harmony among employees, diligence and hard work, and a seniority-based reward system are all closely related to the traditional Confucian values. (pp. 27-28)

In addition, new employees were indoctrinated to an organizational culture that is grounded firmly in familism, where the president of an organization has patriarchal authority as a family head based on Confucian hierarchical relationship and loyalty. Given these conditions, the practices of lifetime employment, and seniority based wages and promotion prevailed in order to maintain harmony and stability (Lee, 1998; Ornatowski, 1996).

Contemporary Period. The contemporary re-recognition of Confucianism has been a flourishing subject in terms of economic growth over the last two decades. Witnessing rapid economic growth in Confucian-influenced regions, most researchers agree that to explain the unexpected economic growth of the East Asian regions, one must turn to the domain of culture, specifically their common Confucian-influenced value system (Chen & Chung, 1997; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Tu, 1996). Wei-ming Tu (1994), one of the New Confucianists, who has dedicated recent decades to writing and teaching on Confucian philosophy, stated that "South Korea today is more Confucian than her East Asian neighbors in cultural orientation, social structure, political ideology, and economic

strategy" (p. 761). More recently, researchers have stressed that Confucianism has been most influential in shaping Korean culture and its political and social landscape (Hahm, 2003; Kim, 2002; Kim, 2004; Lee, 2006; Son, 2000; Yao, 2000). For example, Yao (2000) argues that "Korea was perhaps the first country in which Confucianism exerted a sweeping influence, and this influence was not only present in the past but is also still evident today" (p. 115).

Although traditional Confucian values continue to wane, they still play an important role, but seldom under the label of Confucianism or Confucian values (Ornatowski, 1996). Robinson (1991) argues that although Confucianism "no longer dominates Korean political and social life as a prescriptive orthodoxy, it has gone underground and continues to covertly shape behavior and social organization in Korea" (p. 204). Since selected Confucian values survive in modified form and are ambivalent in the sense that they have potential as either enabler or hindrance to economic development, or to social and political progress, it is not clear which Confucian values are "good or evil." However, organizations still utilize the concepts of harmony, familism, respect for hierarchy, loyalty to the organization, and place a high emphasis on human resource development related aspects such as training, organizational development, and various other learning and development programs.

To sum up, centralized authority, hierarchical relationships, emphasis on harmony, familism, group orientation, education, diligence and hard work, loyalty to the superior or the organization, seniority-based wage and promotion system, and paternalistic management have been reflected by the Confucian tradition. Although it is difficult to measure precisely how much of those Confucian values impact the "miraculous"

economic development in East Asian regions, it seems clear that the modified values have played a major role in the successful industrialization, and at the same time, business organizations have promoted them to maintain discipline in the name of corporate profit. The Confucian values have been modified and selected in the manner heretofore described and will continue to survive in the mix of different cultural values.

Underlying Assumptions and Core Values

Confucianism is a wisdom-oriented philosophical system, whereas (Western) philosophy is systematic argumentation and theory (Wong, 2001). The philosophical basis of Confucianism is mostly derived from the teachings of Confucius and his followers, which are recorded in the *Classics of Confucianism*.

The metaphysical notion of Confucianism is based on the concept of the Way (도, *dao*). The Way refers to the moral ideal of the unity and harmony of heaven and humanity (Yao, 2000). Yao (2000) has indicated that "the Way of humans signifies morality, and to follow the Way of heaven is to lead the most virtuous life" (p. 148). Consistent with the notion of the Confucian Way, from the axiological point of view, this core concept of Confucianism is directly related to its ethical values. The time of Confucius was generally characterized by moral disorder, heavy taxation, corrupt governments, and political chaos (Zhang, 1999). People suffered at the hands of corrupt officials, social injustice, inequality and wars. To approach these social problems, Confucius focused on increasing stability and harmony. In other words, Confucius's approach to social problems was an attempt to restore and build a highly moral society, which he believed necessary to the maintenance of a stable and peaceful world. For him, the ideal world is a world without conflicts and a world full of harmony. In order to make

this happen, Confucius centered on the development of *junzi* (군자, a moral person, profound person, superior person, or virtuous person). Unlike *xiaoren* (소인, an inferior person, petty person, or small-minded person) who is preoccupied with his selfish material desires, a *junzi* takes care to cultivate his or her sublime moral character by pursuing *jen* (인, benevolence or humanity), *yi* (의, justice or righteousness), *li* (예, propriety or rite), *chih* (지, wisdom), and *xin* (신, faithfulness) which enables him to become fully human (Zhang, 2000).

　　Ethical values. Among them, *jen* (인) is the highest virtue one can aspire to. According to McNaughton (1974), *jen* refers to natural human feelings for others, graded owing to one's relation to them. It represents love for oneself as well as mankind as a whole. Thus, *jen* is like "a seed from which all the virtuous qualities of the ideal humans are originated" (Chen & Chung, 1997, p. 321). In practice, *jen* is closely related to the concepts of reciprocity, filial piety, and loyalty (Tao, 2000; Yum, 1988). Second, *yi* (의) refers to moral righteousness or a sense of justice. *Yi* serves two major functions: the direction of righteous behavior and the connection of all appropriate behaviors (Chen & Chung, 1997). *Yi* therefore shows what is the right human action to implement *jen*. The concept of y*i* can be understood in terms of human relations. *Yi* applies to a long-term, obligatory interpersonal relationship (Yum, 1988), which is closely related to loyalty to the superior within an organizational context. Third, *li* (예) refers to rites, propriety and respect for social norms. Yum (1988) identified that "*jen* and *yi* are the contents of the Confucian ethical system, and *li* (propriety, rite, respect for social form) is its outward form" (p. 378). *Li* is perceived as the rule or regulatory etiquette of the universe and of fundamental human behavior (Yum, 1988). In brief, the real-life practice or embodiment

of these ethical values in organizational contexts is closely related to the key Confucian values, such as loyalty between boss and subordinate, bonds of affection between people, and harmonious interpersonal relationships.

Confucian concept of self. The ontological view of Confucianism can be traced from the concept of Confucian self that exists in relationship to other people. Pratt (1991) explains the concept of self as follows:

> In all cultures, people come to know their world based on a particular construction of self… It is the ground from which all else is viewed and understood but, which itself, goes unseen. Although it goes unseen, it defines who we are and how we relate to the rest of the world. It shapes the ways in which events, relationships, and life in general are interpreted. It is the inseparable soul of our values and our perception. (p. 286)

Confucianism views the self and its autonomy differently. Confucianism sees human beings as organic and network-based entities that are interconnected with each other, family, community, and society. Self in the classical Confucian sense is a center of relationships rather than an isolated being (Tu, 1985). In other words, self in Confucian thought is not to be understood by separating and isolating the self from others, but by finding one's position in relation to others (Lee, 2002). For analyses of the Confucian self in terms of moral and social dimensions in relation to some Western perceptions, Yao's (1996) study is relevant. In his view, the Confucian self is

> essentially a concept of moral relationships, emphasizing that what comprises individual identity is constituted in a social context, and should be revealed and

examined in its public dimensions. Without others and without social relations, the self has no ground to be based on. (p. 5)

In a similar vein, examining a Confucian perspective of self-learning, Kim (2000) summarizes that the Confucian self, when compared to the Western tradition of self, is "relational and emphasizes moral and social dimensions" (p. 116). This view is fundamentally different from the Western tradition which emphasizes that persons are autonomous, rational, and self-conscious individuals who are capable of making personal choices and context-free choices in a conceptual vacuum (Elias & Merriam, 2005; Lee, 1994).

Zeal for education. From the epistemological perspective, in Confucianism, seeking absolute truth is not of a central concern (Choi, Han, & Kim, 2007). Instead of regarding truth as an end in itself, Confucianism stresses that lifelong efforts through self-cultivation and learning are the means by which man becomes fully human to finally become a *junzi* (군자, moral person). Cheng (2006) notes that knowledge and morality in the Confucian context are to be developed over one's lifetime by a process of self-cultivation that requires ceaseless efforts to achieve. Thus, with continuous learning and self-cultivation, a human's innate capacities are actualized in a person, making him a mature *junzi* (Zhang, 2000).

Because of this Confucian tradition, education has been considered the most valuable activity in life and a tool for self-cultivation of humanity. The Confucian-influenced regions all firmly believe that education is of paramount importance in a person's life (Biggs, 1998; Chen & Chung, 1997; Lee, 1996). Korea's zeal for education has been one of the most fascinating aspects in contemporary Korea. It originates from

the Confucian tradition that places a strong emphasis on education as a means for self-cultivation and upward social mobility. On the positive side, the emphasis on education has led to people striving toward the acquisition of quality education, including the strong desire to pursue advanced degrees and diplomas (Kim, 2004). Korea's strong commitment to education has also contributed to the improvement of the production of quality human resources for the society, the rapid expansion of higher education (Lee, 2006), and economic growth and modernization in Korea (Morris, 1996).

This excessive passion for education, however, has caused numerous negative consequences. For example, the national use of meritocratic entrance exam systems for college, government agencies, and most *chaebol* (재벌, Korean business conglomerate) companies, which originated from the Confucian tradition for selecting officials for government positions, has generated extremely high competition and has produced "examination hell" for placement in the better universities and job positions (Kim-Renaud, 1991; Ornatowski, 1996). Examining the role of education in Korean society, Kim-Renaud (1991) argued that "probably the most important characteristic of the Korean culture is its tenet that only the most learned should rule the country and society" (p. 295). She concluded that Korea's educational system has become a mechanism of creating and legitimizing new privileged classes and produces inequality which increases the gap between the haves and have-nots (Kim-Renaud, 1991).

Group orientation. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) described Korean culture as one of high collectivism (as opposed to individualism). They define individualism and collectivism as follows:

Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose:

everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate

family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from

birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout

people's lifetimes continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty.

(p. 76)

According to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005), the key characteristics of collectivist

orientation are as follows: harmony and consensus, a strongly developed ability to feel

shame and the loss of face, frequent use of the words "we" or "our," collective interests,

family-owned companies, ideologies of equality prevailing over individual freedom, in-

group customers getting better treatment, relationship prevailing over task, and high-

context communication. Their study identified that all Confucian-influenced regions

scored high on the collectivist orientation.

Examining trends in collective leadership in Korean organizations, Yang (2006)

found that:

There is a clear linkage between Confucian values and social structure and the

relatively low emphasis on individualism in Korea. This is manifest in a close

long-term commitment to the member 'group,' be that a family, extended family,

or extended relationships. A collective society (such as Korea) fosters strong

relationships where everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their

group (Hofstede, 1980). The principle of group harmony in Korea is derived from

Confucian ideas, stressing smooth, constructive, and conflict-free interpersonal

relations (Paik & Sohn, 1998). (p. 285)

Similarly, Kim, Triandis, Kagitcbasi, Choi, and Yoon (1994) argue that "collectivist societies that support the basic tenets of Confucianism prioritize the common good and social harmony over individual interests" (p. 8). They point out that individuals in a Confucian context are considered to be linked in a web of interrelatedness.

This collectivist orientation of Confucian culture emphasizes and encourages teams, teamwork, and collaboration (Wang et al., 2005). In Korean organizational contexts, for example, Song and Meek (1998) argue that organizational progress in a Confucian context is achieved through the group's efforts. They identified that the talented and aggressive individual who does not put aside personal interests for the sake of collective interests is not well accepted because their actions break the harmony. Thus, the individual performance is evaluated by its contribution to the interests of the group and to group harmony (Song & Meek, 1998). In a similar vein, Yum (1988) and Chen and Chung (1997) described the orientation of the interpersonal relationship of East Asian regions as particularistic and having a highly distinctive nature between in-group and out-group members. Yum (1988) characterized in-groupness as follows:

> The intermediary has an in-group relationship with both parties and so can connect them. One strategy is for the intermediary to bring up an existing relationship that links the two parties, for example, explaining that "you are both graduates of so-and-so college" or "you are both from province A." Alternately, the intermediary can use his or her own connections with them to create an indirect sense of in-groupness, for example, explaining that one is "my junior from high school," and the other "works in the same department as I do." (p. 380)

Yum concluded that this sharp distinction is derived from the Confucian moral code for interpersonal relationships.

Hierarchical relationship. Under the Confucian tradition, human relationships are regulated by the five cardinal human relationships (오륜) between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friends. In a review of the research in Confucian social behavior, Hwang (2001) indicates:

> Between father and son, there should be affection; between ruler and subject, righteousness; between husband and wife, affection to their separate functions; between older brother and younger brother, a proper order; and between friends, friendship. (p. 188)

These relationships are not one way, hierarchical relationships, but instead are two-way or reciprocal. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) observed that these relationships contain mutual and complementary obligations. For example, the younger owe the elder respect and obedience, and the elder owe the younger protection and consideration. One of the goals for these relationships is maintenance of harmony and stability. Wang, Wang, Ruona, and Rojewski (2005) noted that "as long as each person behaves according to rank and social status, social harmony can be achieved" (p. 315).

These five relationships are closely connected to Hofstede's (1980, 1991, 2001) description of the dimension of power distance. The dimension of power distance refers to "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 46). The studies show that the Confucian-influenced regions scored high or medium-high on the index. According to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005), the key

characteristics of the large power distance dimension are as follows: obedience taught by parents, respect given to parents and elders, viewing of teachers as gurus, arranging organizations hierarchically, using more supervisory personnel, viewing the ideal boss as a good father, expecting wages and promotions based on seniority, respecting white-collar jobs, and governments ruling autocratically. For example, Koreans feel comfortable in social interactions when they can identify the appropriate social rank for members of the group within the predetermined rules for defining senior and social status (Song & Meek, 1998). Identifying one's age and social status or position is important, because the use of honorific language and courteous manners are expected of all people at all times.

In a broader sense, authority and leadership are also related to Hofstede's power dimension. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) argue that "authority survives only where it is matched by obedience" (p. 46). The leadership style in organizational contexts in Korea is often perceived as authoritarian. Studies on Korean culture and leadership styles have shown that the characteristics of the leadership style are authoritative and paternalistic (Chang & Chang, 1994; Lee, 2001; Oh, 2003; Paik & Sohn, 1998). For example, Oh (2003) found that the authoritarian leadership manifests itself in organizations in Korea in many ways, including "reigning over people, and in being conscious of special authority, in abusing that authority, in obeying blindly, and etc." (p. 132).

Harmony. Maintaining harmony is one way to reach stability in societies in which the group orientation and hierarchical relationships prevail. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) note that in the collectivist family, "the maintenance of harmony with one's social environment becomes a key virtue that extends to other spheres beyond the family" (p.

87). Efforts to maintain harmony are reflected in many ways including emphasis on indirect communication patterns and organizational behavior. Yum (1988) identified that East Asian people avoid saying "no" because it is considered impolite and undesirable. The reason behind indirect communication patterns is that confrontations and conflicts should be avoided or at least formulated so as not to hurt anyone (Hofstede & Hofstede; 2005, Song & Meek, 1998; Yum, 1988). Examining managerial principles in Japan, China, and Korea, Alston (1989) identified that a key principle of Korean business behavior is *inhwa* (인화), which is defined as harmony. He points out that:

> "*Inhwa* stresses harmony between unequals. *Inhwa* links persons who are unequal in rank, prestige, and power (De Mente, 1988). This term requires that subordinates be loyal to their superiors and that superiors be concerned with the well-being of subordinates. (p. 29)

In short, harmony in a Confucian context is "the most emphasized value of all and is widely used in company mission statements, new recruit training and indoctrination programs, and ceremonial events" (Ornatowski, 1996, p. 582).

   Bond of affection. Efforts to maintain harmony are also reflected in the emotional dimension. The emotional dimension is critical to maintaining conflict-free human relations in a highly collective and hierarchical culture. Song and Meek (1998) examined that the glue which binds vertical relations is *jeong* (정, human feeling) in Korean society. *Jeong* refers to "a bond of affection or feelings of empathy to others" (Yang, 2006, p. 285). Yang argues that *jeong* in a Korean organizational context is an important dimension for forming the sense of one-ness among organizational members. Thus, *jeong* appears stronger among in-group members such as family, relatives, alumni, and co-

workers than the members of the out-group (Song & Meek, 1998). Ornatowski (1996) points out that relationships between individual employees within the organization "tend to be centered more upon affective feelings rather than the formalistic rationalism" (p. 583). Consequently, people are sensitive in reading others' feelings or emotions to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships.

Face. The concept of face plays a critical role in the Korean context. The issue of face in a Confucian context is closely related to other concepts such as social status, reputation, prestige, dignity, and honor (Ho, 1976). Face can be gained and maintained through successful social performance and interactions such as exemplary behavior, superior performance, and trustworthiness (Ho, 1976; Wang et al., 2005). Losing face, then, means the sense of being shamed, humiliated, or embarrassed as a result of unsuccessful social performance and interaction. For example, a principal of a Korean local middle school committed suicide after being accused of sexual harassment. One of the possible answers to these phenomena is that the person felt he had lost not only his personal face but also the face of related families or groups. Ho (1976) identified that face is lost when a person fails to "meet essential requirements, as functions of one's social position" (p. 871). In short, the core concept of face is derived from the Confucian moral code, Confucian group orientation, and emphasis on loyalty. The value of face is reflected in various aspects of daily life in Korea.

The distinctive gender role. Historically Confucianism has been criticized as being sexist. Addressing Korean women's unequal access to education, Chung (1994) points out that all human relations in a Confucian society "are based on loyalty and obedience as well as the division of labor by gender" (p. 490). Indeed, Li (2000) notes

that Confucianism "has an infamous past of oppressing women, which today's

Confucians cannot feel proud of" (p. 187). More recently, Jang and Merriam (2004) have

addressed gender in higher education in Korea. They asserted that despite recent social

changes in Korea, "Confucianism still strongly dominates Koreans' ways of thinking and

limits women's lives" (p. 274). In a hermeneutical study on Confucius's classics,

Wawrytko (2000), however, found that Confucius did not intend to denounce women –

Confucius and his followers had merely addressed human relations and social roles in

terms of both men and women. Although Confucius or the original teachings of

Confucius may not be intent on oppressing women, people under the Confucian-influence

societies need to change their behavior and attitude toward women (Li, 2000).

Summary

Confucian values have influenced and shaped every aspect of the lives of the East

Asian population, including organizational culture and the way business has been

practiced for over 2000 years. However, because of globalization and increased Western

influence in these Confucian-influenced regions, the traditional values have been

weakened, but still survive in altered form. The emphasis on harmony, education, group

orientation, hierarchical human relationships, face, and bond of affection in

organizational and social contexts is derived from the Confucian tradition. By examining

the history and basic assumptions of those values and principles, the critical investigation

of cultural meanings may be useful not only for an understanding of the roots of East

Asian regions today, but also for anticipating the future of Confucianism.

Cervero and Wilson Program Planning Theory

This section is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the historical development and central concepts of the Cervero and Wilson theory of program planning. The second part offers a critical review of the research that has been done using this theoretical framework. Finally, the third part critically reviews how the theory addresses issues culture.

The Historical Development of the Cervero and Wilson Theory

Program planning is one of the most critical activities in the field of adult and continuing education. Various theories and models have been developed and used to respond to the complex nature of planning tasks. Although Cervero and Wilson first presented their program planning theory in 1990, their book, *Planning Responsibly for Adult Education: A Guide to Negotiating Power and Interests* (1994a) and journal article, *The Politics of Responsibility: A Theory of Program Planning Practice for Adult Education* (1994b) were considered as the beginning of a new paradigm for a practical but theoretically sound program planning guide for adult educators.

Reviewing the three traditions of classical, naturalistic, and critical viewpoint of program planning theory, Cervero and Wilson (1994b) found that the existing planning theories are unable to represent the central dimensions of the social practice of program planning.

The classical viewpoint. One of the traditional adult education planning traditions is the classical viewpoint or technical-rational viewpoint which attempts to logically and procedurally explain a rationale for viewing, analyzing and interpreting the curriculum and instructional program. This viewpoint holds that given the power of rational

scientific inquiry, any problem can be instrumentally solved (Wilson & Cervero, 1997).

This technical-rational tradition can be traced back to Ralph Tyler's curriculum and

instruction theory in 1949.

In his classical book for curriculum and instruction, Tyler (1949) outlines one

way of viewing an instructional program as a functioning instrument of education.

Although this model was not intended to be applied to adult education directly, it has

become a prescriptive method for planning programs and been widely used in the field.

Tyler's (1949, p. 1) framework begins with identifying four fundamental questions: What

educational purposes should the school seek to attain? What educational experiences can

be provided that are likely to attain these purposes? How can these educational

experiences be effectively organized? How can we determine whether these purposes are

being attained? This Tylerian framework for curriculum development has been widely

adopted by teachers, administrators and planners, and easily expanded to add more

sequences or steps by the planning theorist. Cervero and Wilson (1994a) note that Tyler's

four questions have been translated into the prescriptive steps of the program planning

process as described in nearly all theories.

There are six main characteristics of Tyler's model. First, this model assumes that

an educational program is to be planned and continued for improvement, if certain basic

principles are used in its four major sequential activities: need analysis, design and

development of contents, implementation, and evaluation. Tyler (1949) states that

"planning is a continuous process and that as materials and procedures are developed,

they are tried out, their results appraised, their inadequacies identified, suggested

improvements indicated" (p. 123). Second, this model depicts formulation of objectives

as a central activity. Tyler (1949) points out that "educational objectives only when the information about the learner is compared with some derisible standards, some conception of acceptable norms, so that the difference between the present condition of the learner and the acceptable norm can be identified" (p. 6). He argues that the setting up and formulation of objectives are the most critical criteria guiding all the other activities of planners. Third, Tyler's model is rational, technical, and scientific in nature. This approach suggests that planners use their rationality to formulate educational objectives and carry out their tasks, and that they believe that using scientific and technical skills are important tenets of program planning activities (Wilson & Cervero, 1997). Fourth, this model does not take account of the subjectivity in learning experiences. Basically, the learning experiences, which are included in the curriculum, do not represent students' learning experiences; they portray the experiences of subject experts and the people who have been involved in curriculum development process. Fifth, this model emphasizes a cumulative process and values behavioral change over the course of the schooling years. Thus, educational experiences accumulate to exert profound changes in the learner, "in the ways water dripping upon a stone wears it away" (Tyler, 1949, p. 83). Finally, Tyler's model assumes that the process of curriculum planning is neutral. Tyler ignores the politics in curriculum development. The model only suggests three sources of objectives, and the development of psychological and philosophical screens to help select the proper objectives.

In the adult education context, applying andragogy to a framework in planning adult education programs, Knowles's (1950) book, *Informal Adult Education*, is regarded as one of the earliest works on program planning in the field of adult education (Sork,

2000). Knowles's (1980, pp. 26-27) model consists of six phases: (a) helping learners diagnose their needs for learning; (b) planning with learners a sequence of experiences that will produce the desired leanings; (c) creating conditions that will cause the learners to want to learn; (d) selecting the most effective methods and techniques to produce the desired learnings; (e) providing the human and material resources necessary to produce the desired learnings; and (f) helping the learner measure the outcome of the learning experiences. Knowles's model basically expanded Tyler's model, adding the involvement of learners. Cervero and Wilson (1994a) assessed that "Knowles's model has not changed the logic of Tyler's questions but rather has been more explicit about the involvement of learners in the process" (p. 15).

There are other planning models that can be located within the classical viewpoint. According to Sork (2000), between 1950 and 1970 only a handful of books (e.g., Bass & Vaughan, 1966; Bergevin, Morris, & Smith, 1963; Lynton & Pareek, 1967; Shaw, 1969) on program planning were produced. Sork found that most of these books presented conventional forms of planning based more or less on the Tyler Rationale.

The heritage of the Tyler Rationale has appeared under the tiles of the interactive or flexible model (Caffarella, 1988) and the systematic planning model (Sork & Caffarella, 1989). Sork and Caffarella's (1989) systematic model can be understood in a stepwise fashion. Their six steps are (a) analyzing planning context, (b) assessing needs, (c) developing program objectives, (d) formulating an instructional plan, (e) formulating an administrative plan, and (f) designing a program evaluation plan. They assert that systematic planning is a powerful tool for designing effective, efficient, relevant, and innovative educational programs.

Caffarella's (1988) interactive model is derived from three major sources: systems theory, principles of adult learning, and practical experience. Caffarella (1988) states that "systems theory provides the model's framework and was taken from Tyler's description of the curriculum development process" (p. 29). Although her model appears to be non-linear, interactive, dynamic, and flexible, her 12-component model of program planning still contains the elements of the technical-rationale perspective. First, each program component includes a set of tasks and responsibilities. In this approach planners may use this checklist as linear steps where each step follows logically from the previous one. Another similarity between the classical viewpoint and Caffarella's model is that both link learning with behavioral change and change in behavior with incremental educational change. Caffarella's model shows how learning results in a change in the learners' knowledge level, performance, and/or attitudes. For planners, then, to be become more skilled at balancing the various components of the planning process is accomplished through trial and error. Third, Caffarella's model emphasizes the importance of analyzing needs and identifying program objectives. The first five of the twelve tasks in her model are devoted to ways of identifying program objectives. These five tasks are (a) identify the basis for program development, (b) compile and analyze training needs, (c) analyze the list to determine whether a formal training program is appropriate, (d) determine priorities for training, and (e) identify specific training program objectives. As Tyler pays more attention to the educational purposes, these five tasks also emphasize that having a clear understanding of a program's purpose is crucial for overall success. Finally, using a "what-to-do and how-to-do-it" approach, this model presents planning skills, strategies, and suggestions for planners.

Caffarella's model, however, is different from other traditional models in several important ways. First, this model is a set of interactive and dynamic elements, and provides an alternative to more linear, step-by-step models. Caffarella (1988) argues that "the key word in using the model is flexibility" (p. 27). She suggests that the use of the model "should be tailored to meet the demands of a specific planning situation" (Caffarella, 1988, p. 27). Unlike Tyler's model, Caffarella's interactive model acknowledges outside factors that can have an impact on the program planning process.

In short, the classical viewpoint assumes that one of the major tasks of planners is to logically follow from the phase of needs analysis to the phase of evaluation. Planners apply a standard set of principles and procedures without any considerations of the social aspects of program planning. Little attention has been paid to the social or political nature of program planning practices. Cervero and Wilson address this issue. They argue that "real-life planners say that it is not an accurate depiction of what they really have to do and what is important about their everyday practice" (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a, p. 16).

The naturalistic viewpoint. Unlike the classical viewpoint, the naturalistic viewpoint emphasizes the people who make real-world choices before planning systems. This viewpoint attempts to address questions concerning a set of principles and procedures upon which conventional planning theories are based on (e.g., Brookfield, 1986; Houle, 1972; Walker, 1971).

Walker (1971, 2003) attempts to approach a different way of program planning by moving from Tyler's classical planning approach to a naturalistic approach where programs should be practical and planners should make decisions through practical reasoning. Walker's naturalistic model consists of three elements: the curriculum's

platform, the design, and the deliberation associated with it. The platform is "the system of beliefs and values that the curriculum developer brings to his task and that guides the development of the curriculum" (Walker, 1971, p. 52). The platform includes "an idea of what is and a vision of what should be, and these guide the planner in determining what he should do to realize his vision" (Walker, 1971, p. 52). After the platform is established and data gathered, the planner formulates decision points, devises alternative choices, considers arguments for and against the choices, and chooses the most defensible arguments. Walker (1971) called this consideration of possible actions as deliberation. Walker suggests that program planners "should consider the pros and cons of all the most promising alternative actions in light of the best available knowledge" (Walker, 2003, p. 215). The third element in this model is the design. Walker describes the design as the series of decisions. He suggests that the design is represented by the choices that enter into its creation. Thus, in this model, the output of the program planning process "is not a collection of objects, not a list of objectives, not a set of learning experiences, but a set of design decisions" (Walker, 1971, p.54).

There are four major characteristics of this approach. First, Walker's model attempts to focus more on what planners actually do when planning curricula than how planners should follow prescriptive and established procedures with linear logic. In this model decision makers "consider what action, if any, is best for a situation all things considered" (Walker, 2003, p. 214). In searching for actions to solve problems, decision makers should strive for the best informed, most thoroughly considered decision. Thus, people plan in a non-formulaic fashion that challenges the linear logic of the classical approach. Planners solve practical problems through deliberation. Rather than following a

sequential flow chart, this model puts program planners' decision making in the center of the process. According to Walker (1971), deliberation produces a curriculum design. Planners specify the design by the series of decisions that produce it. Thus, Walker's model is a temporal, not an objective-driven model. Second, this model shows all the relevant features of the specific context that planners should consider when they make wise planning decisions. Walker (2003) suggests that curriculum problems "happen to specific, unique, living people, institutions, and communities, and a good curriculum decision must be right for a particular case" (p. 214). Thus, this model avoids oversimplifying the planning process as it occurs in practice. Third, unlike the classical viewpoint which planners are supposed to be value-neutral, the naturalistic model considers the recognition of value conflict and the potential dangers. According to his model, deliberation is value-based, yet no specific values are prescribed. Walker (2003) argues that "because arguments about the merits of a course of action always appeal to some values, different values or a different priority ordering among them may lead to a different final judgment" (p. 236). Fourth, his naturalistic model considers pros and cons of alternatives. Walker (2003) argues that good deliberation "looks at problems from the points of view of all the interested parties and seeks whenever possible resolutions that are superior from every point of view" (p. 240). Walker (2003) suggests that planners "should consider the pros and cons of all the most promising alternative actions in light of the best available knowledge" (p. 215). Finally, Walker's model makes defensible judgments in context. Walker (1971) explains that "the animating principle in curriculum deliberation is the desire for defensibility, for justifiability of decisions" (p. 54-55).

In adult education, Houle (1972) and Brookfield (1986) represent the naturalistic viewpoint. In his two-part system of program design, Houle (1972) suggests that the first part, the eleven major categories of educational design situations, be examined to determine in which each category each proposed learning activity belongs. He believes that planners should analyze the context in which their decisions are made. For the second part of the system, Houle proposes a set of seven decision points and components that are understood "as a complex of interacting elements, not as logical sequence of steps" (p. 46). The components of his framework are (a) a possible educational activity is identified, (b) a decision is made to proceed, (c) objectives are identified and refined, (d) a suitable format is designed, (e) the format is fitted into larger patterns of life, (f) the plan is put into effect, and (g) the results are measured and appraised. Houle suggests that planners have a spirit of pragmatic and utilitarianism. He also pointes out that "the system suggested is a natural one" (p. 56), and that the eleven categories and seven decision points are practical and easy to apply to various planning situations.

Brookfield (1986) attempts to examine the theory-practice disjunction produced by attempts to plan educational programs for adults. He argues that "nowhere is this theory-practice disjunction more evident than in the realm of program development for adult learners" (p. 202). He criticizes the major texts on program planning which do not represent the real world of practice. He recognizes that program planning is not just using a theory or model that is found in manuals and textbooks. Rather, planners need to be aware of the importance of the context in which they deal with real world works. Thus, he sees planners as "practical theorists" who use their intuition, and feeling by "playing a hunch" (p. 245).

In brief, unlike the classical model, the naturalistic viewpoint emphasizes the people who make choices in the real world before planning systems. This viewpoint attempts to address questions concerning a set of principles and procedures which conventional planning theories are based on. Naturalistic planning theories claim that the traditional models which mainly originated from Tyler's approach ignore real aspects of what really happens as programs are developed in a real world context. In response to these concerns, the naturalists have described planning as a decision-making process or one of making practical judgments in a specific context (Cervero & Wilson, 2006). In this sense, this viewpoint is more practical and flexible than the classical viewpoint. Because the naturalists acknowledge the real situations which program planning occurs and design constraints such as time and money, planners making best judgments should be practical theorists. Thus, this viewpoint attempts to address the theory-practice disjunction (Brookfield, 1986), and challenges the context-free traditional models that are procedure driven.

Nevertheless, the naturalistic viewpoint neglects important aspects of how planners negotiate power and interests at the planning table. Although this tradition considers the recognition of value conflict and its potential dangers, it does not articulate the political noise being generated by different interests and power relations among planners and stakeholders. This approach also does not have a sound basis for context, even though it brings the important aspects of context to program planning activities. Cervero and Wilson (1994a) argue that "the naturalistic viewpoint does not provide clear insights into the dynamics of conflicts or into the contexts in which they occur" (p. 26). Cervero and Wilson found that the naturalistic viewpoint, like the classical viewpoint,

neglects the importance of structural constraint and instead mainly emphasizes planning practice and action as primarily within the discretion of individual planners. It is not enough to say that context matters. A greater understanding of "how context is constituted and what that means for human action in structuring, and structurable relations of power" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 255) is needed. Finally, the naturalistic viewpoint maintains the underlying rationalist prescription which "represents the decision-making aspects of implementing rationalist problem solving steps" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 246).

  The critical viewpoint. The critical viewpoint emphasizes the political and ideological aspects of planning educational programs, which the classical and naturalistic planning theories and models have neglected. Broadly influenced by the Marxist tradition, this approach addresses the issues of power, social inequalities, and emancipation. Because the central concern of this tradition is to bring about change based on justice and emancipation, its judgments are "inherently ethical and political, not technical" (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a, p. 21).

  Paulo Freire's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is an example of a critical viewpoint of adult education. For him education is a political and value laden act that challenges the indoctrination and manipulation of traditional, so-called, banking education (Elias & Merriam, 2005). Thus, Freire calls for reform in education to bring about social and political changes in society. In other words, for Freire "adult education is a political act in challenging repressive power structures that requires an ethical commitment to social justice" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 246).

During the 1980s, Forester's (1989) approach has also provided a new way of thinking about program planning theory and practice. Forester argues that because inequalities of power directly structure planning practice, program planners who are blind to relations of power will inevitably fail. His approach is based on the assumption that power and inequality are realities and planners of all kinds must face these matters in the practical world. Forester (1989) argues that "in a world of severe inequalities, planning strategies that treat all parties equally end up ironically reproducing the very inequalities with which they began" (p. 8). Another characteristic of Forester's approach is that it focuses on the political boundedness of decision-making in the process of program planning. This perspective shows that planning is not simply the collection of facts and figures, but rather, and more importantly, the interpretation of those facts and figures in a social context. For him because political inequality shapes the situations in which planners work, decision-making, then, is both technical and political. Thus, his viewpoint suggests that planners not only satisfice but also make decisions that minimize inequality and promote democratic ends.

Forester's theory is driven by values. In other words, this approach calls for planners to operate from a particular value orientation. Forester (1989) points out that planners can "anticipate obstacles and respond practically, effectively, in ways that nurture rather than neglect – but hardly guarantee – a substantively democratic planning process" (p. 5). Finally, Forester opposes the mean-ends and information-processing accounts of planning approaches. Forester (1989) assessed that those perspectives are "empirically less fitting, functionally and strategically less illuminating, and ethically less instructive" (p. 24). Thus, to understand planners' work as "a potentially critical

argumentative practice, selectively organizing (or disorganizing) other's attention to future possibilities of acting, appears to be a much more powerful account of what planners really do" (Forester, 1989, p. 24).

As Forester points out, power and inequality are realities and planners of all kinds must face these matters in the practical world, Hart's (1990) approach represents a feministic viewpoint that liberates women by helping them find their voice, which has been suppressed by existing structures that prevent social equality. Hart (1990) assesses that "in a world where individual and social power is distributed unequally, all forms of interaction are permeated with the spirit of competitiveness" (p. 64). As Forester's theory emphasizes program planning activities which are largely determined by structural forces, Hart argues that liberation may be

> severely limited by or come in conflict with institutional boundaries, particularly
> in the case of established, mainstream institutions that have historically been built
> on certain class, race, and sexual privileges and therefore represent precisely those
> forces that are to be critiqued in consciousness-raising groups. (p. 64)

She stresses that "the full cycle of consciousness raising includes the actual experience of power on the individual level, a theoretical grasp of power as a larger social reality, and a practical orientation toward emancipatory action" (Hart, 1990, pp. 70-71).

In short, the critical viewpoint emphasizes the political and ideological aspects of planning educational programs, which the classical and naturalistic planning theories and models have neglected. Because the central concern of this tradition is to bring about change based on justice and emancipation, its judgments are "inherently ethical and

political, not technical" (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a, p. 21). This approach has thus been criticized for being impractical to execute in the field.

The Cervero and Wilson planning theory. Addressing these missing features from the three viewpoints, Cervero and Wilson (1994a, 1994b) proposed a negotiation of power and interests theory. Their theory is inspired by the notion that educational activities are political and ideological in nature and involve power relations between various actors in the whole society. Cervero and Wilson bring the importance of the socio-political aspects of planning that have been largely neglected to the central stage. Since the introduction of their book and article in 1994, plenty of journal articles, book chapters, and conference presentations have been published and conducted by Cervero and Wilson during the past decade. In addition to their own works, there are a number of studies using their theory as the conceptual framework, including journal articles, book chapters, unpublished dissertations, conference presentations, and several book reviews.

Cervero and Wilson give further details about their theory in their book, *Power in Practice: Adult Education and the Struggle for Knowledge and Power in Society* (2001). In their attempts to link power and program planning practice, they found that the issues of power and practice have been ignored in adult education. In their book, they urge adult educators to understand "how the power relations in the wider society are manifested in the concrete programs, practices, and policies" (Cervero, Wilson, & Associates, 2001, p. xvi), and to change the image of adult educators to the politically astute and ethically charged image of "knowledge and power brokers" (Wilson & Cervero, 2001, p. 271).

More recently, Cervero and Wilson (2006) have further developed their planning theory and have proposed the "planning table" metaphor as the centerpiece of their theory.

Although their central concepts – planners exercise power to negotiate interests in an ethical and democratic way – remain the same from their 1994 work, their new volume provides a "lens to connect the technical and political decisions that people make at the planning table" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. vi). Their planning table assumes that the "practical decisions and technical strategies about needs, objectives, instructional design, administration, and evaluation are connected to the real world contexts where power, interests, and commitments, and negotiation strategies are part of everyday life" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. vii).

The Central Concepts of the Cervero and Wilson Theory

Reviewing three traditions - the classical, naturalistic, and critical viewpoint - Cervero and Wilson (1994a) recognize the need for a new theory to practically guide the process of planning educational programs for adults. They assume that each perspective has its own unique way of approaching program planning, but the fundamental problem of the theory-practice gap in still exists.

The theory-practice gap. For the classical viewpoint, Cervero and Wilson address the issues of extreme individualism which unrealistically empowers individuals who plan programs with a conflict-free, context-free, and ideal universal situation. Instead of ignoring power, politics, and ethical issues as irrelevant and unimportant to good program planning, they focus a spotlight on the complex issues related to power, politics, and ethics to make sense of program planning practice within conflict-ridden, context-specific, and messy real world situations. Thus, their theory calls for careful scrutiny of the normative and prescriptive notion of discrete, technical, and rational planning procedural steps that the classical viewpoint suggested were important.

Cervero and Wilson recognize the naturalistic viewpoint that the planner faces complex choices with ill-defined problems to solve, incomplete information about the alternatives and their consequences, and limited time, skill, and resources (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a; Forester, 1989). Their theory also acknowledges the naturalistic viewpoint which attempts to address the theory-practice disjunction (Brookfield, 1986), and challenges the context-free traditional models that are procedure driven. However, Cervero and Wilson argue that the descriptions of context are incomplete and deliberations, decision-making processes, and relationships among people during program planning do not address well structural constraints. Cervero and Wilson (1994a) claim that "the naturalistic viewpoint does not provide clear insights into the dynamics of conflicts or into the contexts in which they occur" (p. 26). Thus they found that the naturalistic viewpoint, like the classical viewpoint, neglects the importance of structural constraint and mainly emphasizes planning practice and action as primarily within the discretion of individual planners.

For Cervero and Wilson the critical viewpoint gives a new way to consider educational programs which can be largely determined by structural forces such as, ideologies, and the interests of social, cultural, and political institutions (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a). Cervero and Wilson recognize the structural constraints which determine and diminish planners' choices directly. Their theory is inspired by the notion that educational activities are political and ideological in nature and involve power relations between various actors in the whole society. Thus, Cervero and Wilson's theory integrates planners' individual discretion that the classical and naturalistic viewpoints have focused on and the social and institutional structures in which planners work.

Power, interests, ethical concerns, and negotiation. Cervero and Wilson (1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2001, 2006) proposed a new paradigm for a practical but theoretically sound guide to adult educators. For Cervero and Wilson "program planning is essentially a social activity in which people negotiate with each other in answering questions about a program's form, including its purposes, content, audience, and format" (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a, p. 28). According to Cervero and Wilson, because planning is a social activity, a planner's interaction with their organizational settings in which they routinely negotiate personal, organizational, and social interests to construct educational programs is critical. The underlying assumption of their theory is that negotiating power and interests is vital to action and they ask what adult educators can do to plan programs responsibly. Thus, by understanding program planning as a social activity, realizing the power relations and interests of all the people who have a stake in the program becomes one of the main tasks for planners.

According to Cervero and Wilson (1994a), adult educators "always plan programs in contexts defined by a concrete set of power relationships and associated interests" (p. 119). Power and interests are central to determining a planner's actions in program planning. Cervero and Wilson (1994a) refer to power as "a capacity to act, a logically necessary feature of all planning practices" (p. 120). In other words, for them power is not a specific kind of relationship but is rather an inevitable dimension which is related to all the various people who are involved in the program planning process and their complex interactions. This view contrasts with the traditional viewpoints that mainly focus on planners' individual discretion. Rather, Cervero and Wilson stress that the importance of a planner's power is rooted in social conditions and that it results from

certain enduring social relationships. In this sense, their theory sees power as enacted within the different kinds of social relationships. Because different people have different levels of power and are affected to different extents, asymmetrical power relationships among those people are inevitable. Another important implication for Cervero and Wilson's power in program planning is that power is not one way, but reciprocal – "the actual construction of the program depended on the negotiation of many key points by those involved" (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a, p. 122).

If power relations are central to shape educational programs as a planner's capacity to act, interests are important to represent various actors' (learners, teachers, planners, institutional leaders, and the affected public) implicitly or explicitly pursued agendas. Cervero and Wilson (1994a) define interests as " a complex set of dispositions, goals, values, desires, and expectations that lead people to act in certain ways and to position themselves in a particular manner when confronted with situations in which they must act" (pp. 122-123). Interests in their theory are negotiable and closely related to a planner's power. According to Cervero and Wilson (1994a), interests are involved in the exercise of power, and people exercise their power in accordance with their own specific interests. Because of different interests from various people and the nature of complex planning situations, Cervero and Wilson (2006) urge adult educators to enact their ethical commitments by answering two basic questions: "Who should benefit in what ways from educational programs, and whose interests should be represented at the planning tables where judgments are made about educational programs" (p. 92)? Thus, their theory suggests that adult educators understand educational outcomes as well as other social or political outcomes that are related to the complex sets of interests. Cervero and Wilson

(2006) also urge adult educators to look beyond the "fundamental blind spots" of almost all program planning theories, which assume that planners' interests are only related to educational outcomes (p. 90).

Because Cervero and Wilson see program planning as a social activity, negotiation is an important feature of their theory. According to Cervero and Wilson (2006), there are three situations in which negotiations are undertaken: (a) consultations – people's power is unimportant and they have similar interests; (b) bargaining – people's power matters and they have both common and conflicting interests; and (c) disputes – people's power is highly asymmetrical and they exercise power to achieve their own interests. Unlike the classical and naturalistic viewpoints which focus mainly on the planner's individual discretion, their theory emphasizes negotiation as a social activity. Thus, educational programs are constructed by human interactions, where people have different interests and conflicts about those interests. For Cervero and Wilson (2006) negotiation is a political activity in which "planners exercise power to represent their own and others' interests in shaping educational and political outcomes" (p. 94).

In short, by recognizing the problem of the theory-practice gap of the conventional program planning theories, Cervero and Wilson have proposed a fundamentally different perspective that "puts people at the center of planning action" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 102). By doing this, Cervero and Wilson's theory suggests that planners exercise power democratically and negotiate power and interests in an ethically responsible way based on two fundamental questions: who should be at the planning table and who should benefit from the educational program.

A Critical Review of the Research Using the Cervero and Wilson Theory

This section is divided into two parts. The first part reviews studies analyzing the Cervero and Wilson theory for further understanding. The second part offers a critical review of studies using its theory as a theoretical framework.

Studies analyzing the Cervero and Wilson theory. Based on the Cervero and Wilson theory, Yang, Cervero, Valentine, and Benson (1998) offer an instrument to measure adult educators' power and influence tactics. Seven power and influence tactics that include reasoning, consulting, appealing, networking, bargaining, pressuring, and counteracting were identified and validated to further develop an instrument. The instrument, Power and Influence Tactics Scale (POINTS) provides reliable and valid measurement for adult educators' power and influence tactics during the program planning process. This study has contributed to an understanding of planners' behaviors and patterns in the face of power and how planners exercise their power in program planning practice. As Cervero and Wilson (1994a) stress, this study confirms that power is not a static concept and can be obtained by a variety of influence tactics.

Hendricks (2001) examines the relationships between the components of the matrix of situational characteristics (power relation and conflict), planner characteristics (proactivity, reactivity, and experience), and the use of tactics of influence in adult education program planning practice. One of the strengths of this study is that it provides a further understanding of various influencing tactics that are used in different types of situations and by different planners. This study expands Cervero and Wilson's theory by addressing variables that may be important across multiple situations. A limitation of this study is that the ethical dimension of Cervero and Wilson's theory is not included for the

relationships. The ethical dimension that derives from an interplay with the contextual and individual factors should be considered and addressed.

Studies using the Cervero and Wilson theory as a theoretical framework. The studies by Carter (1996), McDonald (1996), and Mills, Cervero, Langone, and Wilson (1995) have been conducted in community development contexts. In each study, the Cervero and Wilson theory has been used to successfully explain and understand a range of diverse and complex phenomena and planning activities in the area of community development. In particular, when community development involves empowering individuals and groups of people in order to change their lives for the better, program planning plays the most critical role in enhancing the process. The studies above clearly show that the conventional planning theories are not adequate to address the realities of practice and to provide a practical guide for real planners.

In a continuing medical education (CME) context, Maclean (1996) describes the administrative structure of the continuing education function at the medical school and CME program's relationship to the university and its external clients. For Maclean the Cervero and Wilson theory provided deep insight into various aspects of program development in CME. First, this study clearly shows that planners work with a variety of interpersonal and institutional interests that affect the final program design. Second, by understanding the political environment in the continuing educational context, this study shows the political and ethical dilemmas faced by continuing educators when the various levels of power are presented and the various interests are negotiated. Finally, this study illustrates how the complex sets of interests that people represent at the planning table are

related to educational outcomes as well as social and political outcomes (Cervero &

Wilson, 1998b, 2006).

In corporate education contexts, a study by Mabry and Wilson (2001) investigates

how adult educators negotiate power and interests in program planning for training and

development in a corporate setting. This study is significant not only because it attempts

to understand program planning as a social activity in a corporate setting, as Cervero and

Wilson have stressed, but also because it shows that the specific negotiation tactics that

the planners employed depended upon what sort of involvement they wanted from each

stakeholder. A critical language study by Rees, Cervero, Moshi, and Wilson (1997)

involves another corporate planning context. This study, however, is different from all

others, because it attempts to explain the exercise of power through the use of language

and its effects on power relations and program construction. One of the strengths of this

study is that the finding shows how power in and behind language that is shaped by

extant socio-cultural norms can promote or obstruct the egalitarian exercise of power and

substantively democratizing interactions. However, the problem with the actual use of

language in program planning is far more complex and is determined by belief, values,

rules, and norms established by the overall society of language users. In addition, while

analyzing verbatim planning talk is important, in real situations people make judgments

according to many other communication tools such as gesture, silence, non-verbal cues,

email, instant messaging, public notices, documents, or faxes.

In higher education contexts, Hendricks (1996), Kleiber (1996), and Watkins and

Tisdell (2006) have applied Cervero and Wilson's framework for examining and

understanding program planning practices. Cervero and Wilson's theory does indeed

provide Hendricks with insight into a fundamental notion of program planning:
negotiation of power and interests occurs at all levels – not only in the grand aspects of
program planning, but also among the everyday communications of educational planners.
In Kleiber's study, one of the strengths is that it describes the negotiation process in detail.
Another strength is that as Cervero and Wilson (1994a) suggest, it vividly shows how
planners face asymmetrical power relationships in developing educational programs. Just
as in other studies drawing on Cervero and Wilson's theory, Watkins and Tisdell's study
found that the adult degree program planners face the dilemma of needing to negotiate
power and interest among the players who are at different ends of the continuum of these
concerns.

In HIV/AIDS education contexts, Archie-Booker, Cervero, and Langone (1999)
argue that most AIDS prevention programs have ignored the sexual politics and social
inequalities that exist in the relationships of African-American women. Cervero and
Wilson's theory fits well with this study, because it allows the researchers to focus on the
power relationships among the various actors (and non-actors) in the planning process
and emphasize the need for culturally relevant programs for specific audiences and the
need for further research to better understand the politics of planning such programs.
Sessions and Cervero (2001) show how the political struggles of an urban gay
community are played out in the process of planning programs for HIV-negative gay men
in a community agency. This study demonstrates three important lessons. First, it shows
that planning educational programs is not merely a process of meeting the needs of adult
learners. Instead, it is a fundamentally political process that occurs at every level and
interplays with relations of power and people's interests. Second, as Cervero and Wilson

(2001) stress, the study confirms that adult education programs always have two outcomes: the program itself and "the maintenance or transformation of the power relations and interests that drive the program" (Sessions & Cervero, 2001, p. 253). Third, the study reminds readers that in negotiation conflicts, program planners should ask two important questions: who benefits? and who should benefit from the program?

In adult literacy education contexts, Drennon and Cervero (2002) identify the struggles that facilitators of practitioner inquiry groups in adult literacy education face when enacting democratic practices in a context of power and politics. This qualitative study revealed some important findings regarding power relationships. First, the study shows how facilitators negotiate among competing power relations and interests to achieve their practical aims while they are negotiating the interests embedded in the issues of power. Second, the study shows how power relationships are being reproduced or transformed. A qualitative study by Sandlin and Cervero (2003) involves another literacy program planning context. In it, they examine how ideologies about work and education are enacted and negotiated in the day-to-day classroom life of educational programs for welfare recipients. The major finding of this study implies that there is always conflict among the agendas that are related to political and ethical dimensions of their educational programs for welfare recipients.

In public health continuing education contexts, Umble, Cervero, and Langone (2001) show how meta-negotiations about power relations and frame factors and substantive negotiations about the program itself shaped a continuing education program. One of the major contributions of this study is that it highlights how planners are constrained in their actions by power relationships rooted in complex historical and

organizational processes, as well as by the material and conceptual frames in which they find themselves. In addition, this study confirms that adult educational programs are created and re-created over time by negotiations. Finally, illustrating the stakeholders' interests, the study points out that interests, power relations, and programs are not static but continually renegotiated.

In women's education contexts, Scott and Schmitt-Boshnick (1996) examine the collective planning for a community-based program for women in Canada. This study highlights some important considerations regarding program planning and adult education in general. First, it raises serious ethical questions, such as whose purpose are we serving? and what are we doing this for? Second, the study helps readers understand the ongoing tension between having an organization that honors women's experiences and needs and simply sustaining the organization. Thus, as Cervero and Wilson (2001) argue, this study derives from the researchers' seeing "adult education as a site of struggle over knowledge and power" (p. 15).

In state educational policy, Maruatona and Cervero (2004) argue that Botswana has maintained a conventional view of literacy by taking controversial issues off the planning tables and excluding key stakeholders in the development of primers. This qualitative study reveals two potential implications that are important to adult educators. First, the state-driven literacy program has reproduced its hegemonic power and maintained state interests through a failure to incorporate the interests of adult learners. This finding confirms the theories of Cervero and Wilson (2001) suggesting that adult education is a site of struggle for knowledge and power. Second, this study points out that

because of structural factors, the planners have minimal opportunity to plan a viable and transformative literacy education.

Although not all studies have been discussed here, reviewing and critiquing the studies mentioned above is a good opportunity not only to examine how various adult educators have planned programs in a variety of settings within the lens of Cervero and Wilson's theory, but also to more fully and practically understand Cervero and Wilson's theory itself with different angles.

A Critique of the Cervero and Wilson Theory with the Issues of Culture

For the past decade Cervero and Wilson (1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2001, 2006) have provided adult educators and educators in general with a new way of thinking about program planning and examining what is really important in program planning. Their theory calls for careful scrutiny of the normative and prescriptive notion of discrete, technical, and rational planning procedural steps that the conventional theories suggested were important.

Cervero and Wilson address the issues of extreme individualism which unrealistically empowers individuals who plan programs within a conflict-free, context-free, and ideal universal situation. Instead of ignoring power, politics, and ethical issues as irrelevant and unimportant to good program planning, they focus a spotlight on the complex issues related to power, politics, and ethical commitment to make sense of a program planning practice within the conflict-ridden, context-specific, and messy real world situation. Cervero and Wilson (2001) argue that adult education is not practiced on a neutral stage. Rather, they maintain that it "happens in a social location that is defined by a particular social vision in relation to the wider systems of social, economic, and

cultural relations of power" (p. 6). In other words, Cervero and Wilson have shown how the larger systems in society, the culture and organizations, and the associated structural and historical dimensions, influence and shape program planning with relation to power by pointing out the socio-political and socio-cultural nature of program planning that has been ignored.

Although Cervero and Wilson have emphasized the importance of the contexts that are embedded in the society and the organization and that inevitably determine what planners do and what they must do, relatively little attention is given to the character of culture. According to Caffarella (2002), context in program planning is defined as the human, the organization (structural, political, and cultural factors), and the wider environment (general economic, political, cultural, social climate) that affect decisions planners make about programs. In this sense, culture, as one of contextual variables, can be divided into two aspects: societal culture and organizational culture both of which are embedded in the society and organization and influence program planning practices. Societal culture, as an outside force or wider environment, influences the attitude and practices of people and organizations in various ways (Smircich, 1983). Organizational culture, as an internal factor, is described as shared key values and beliefs that are seen as the personality of an organization (Deal & Kennedy, 1982). Thus, societal culture influences organizational culture, although each organization has its own "personality."

The main point here is that Cervero and Wilson's discussion of culture as one of contextual variables is rather general. They do not distinguish between different levels of cultures and the role of cultures within the broader society and institution. For program planners, understanding the natures of culture in the society and organization is crucial,

because organizational culture reflects hierarchy, dominance, and power from the organization's larger social environment. In organizational contexts, power relations are often determined and exercised by the design of the organization. Under this perspective, power is structural and built into the structure of the organization. Power relations are also derived from the society's cultural values and norms that often emerge and result in unstated and unconscious conditions. For example, Hofstede's (1980, 1991, 2001) longitudinal study of cultural values in a multinational business environment has shown that Confucian culture regions scored high or medium-high on the dimension of power distance which refers to the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. Therefore, by understanding culture, planners anticipate how people think, how they interpret information, how they respond to each other, and how they understand stakeholders and the wider environment.

Among studies using this theoretical framework, several studies address culture specifically. Examining the influence of societal culture and context, Maruatona and Cervero (2004) show how the centralized literacy planning in Botswana fails to address conflicting forces based on interlocking socioeconomic and cultural factors such as class, gender, ethnicity and the languages of planners, supervisors, and literacy facilitators. This study clearly shows that planning program practices for adults are embedded in social, cultural, and political contexts that have enormous influence on the policy-making process in Botswana. This study also shows that the control of planning by the elite helped to reproduce the dominant culture and knowledge. As Cervero and Wilson (2001) stress, like adult learners, planners enter in "larger systems of power and privilege, and their actions are both enabled and constrained by their place in these systems" (p. 11).

Archie-Booker, Cervero, and Langone's (1999) article is another study that specifically addresses culture issues. This study seeks to understand how abstract social, cultural, and organizational systems of power are played out in the planning process to produce or not produce culturally relevant programming for African-American women. The findings suggest that the overall programming is not culturally relevant for African-American women. This study attempts to illuminate the struggle over defining the needs of the program recipients whose culture is different from that of the people in power who are responsible for planning the program. This research is similar to Maruatona and Cervero's study in that both studies have highlighted that planning programs can create cultural conflicts that are related to power and dominance issues.

In religious education contexts, Burns and Cervero (2004) present issues that pastors have identified as framing the politics of ministry practice. This study found that organizational culture of a church forms around its ministry vision and philosophy together with the formal and informal relationships of power in the church. Unlike the other two studies above, this study focuses only on the role of culture within the organization. Another study that illustrates organizational culture as a contextual factor is found in the article, in which Mills, Cervero, Langone, and Wilson (1995) show how the personal and organizational interests of adult educators are causally related to the educational planning. This study found that organizational structure and culture have a significant effect on the planning practices.

Summary

The Cervero and Wilson theory provides a new lens for viewing and understanding program planning (Sork, 1996). Thoroughly examining the three traditions

of the classical, naturalistic, and critical viewpoint, Cervero and Wilson recognize the

need for a new theory to practically guide the process of planning educational programs

for adults. They assume that each perspective has its own unique way of approaching

program planning, but the fundamental problem of the theory-practice gap still exists.

Each of the three traditions "presents a model of practice that strongly emphasizes one or

other poles of theoretical dichotomies of planner discretion and structural constraints, or

more generally, rationality and politics" (Cervero & Wilson, 1992, p. 25). Thus, Cervero

and Wilson's theory integrates planners' individual discretion while the classical and

naturalistic viewpoints have focused on social and institutional structures in which

planners work. There have been numerous studies examining how program planners

negotiate power and interest in various educational contexts. These studies have provided

"ample evidence that the optics they supplied reveal new and exciting features of the

terrain of program planning" (Sork, 1996, p. 89). However, as Sork suggests, much work

remains to be done to extend their theory. Further examination of culture issues is one of

their tasks.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter began by examining literature on organizational culture. Culture in

an organization is important but complex. The history of organizational culture shows

that several different perspectives have emerged and been put forward in order to better

understand various issues and interests within the organizational contexts. Because of the

complex nature of organizational culture, there are different lenses for identifying and

investigating the culture. Each perspective has its own unique way of approaching

organizational culture from different angles, but each of them places emphasis on one

aspect of organizational culture and thus is incomplete. I argue that viewing an organization from only one viewpoint of these three perspectives is limiting. Therefore, I suggest that organizational culture should be viewed from all theoretical perspectives simultaneously.

Understanding all these perspectives is important, because this study investigates the educational programs, describes planners' values and organizational culture, and discovers key phenomena in a Confucian-influenced context. A review of literature on organizations in Korea revealed that the selected and modified traditional Confucian values such as harmony, group orientation, respect for hierarchy, loyalty to the organization served, bond of affection, face, gender inequality, and high emphasis on human resource development, are identified in organizations in Korea. As Cervero and Wilson's planning theory suggests, because program planning is essentially a social activity, it is important to examine how the program is produced through negotiations among the planners and stakeholders who have different values, power and human relations, interests, and negotiation strategies that are embedded in Korean society and culture.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to understand how cultural values influence educational planning in Korea. Specifically, the study was to examine how Confucian values play out in educational planning in terms of negotiating power and interests. The research questions explored in this study were:

1. What Confucian values influence program planning processes and outcomes?

2. In what ways did social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions?

This chapter describes the methodology used for this study including discussion of the research design, participant sampling and selection criteria, methods for data collection and data analysis, reliability and validity issues, and researcher's assumptions and bias associated with this study.

Design of the Study

A qualitative design was employed for this study because qualitative methods focus mainly on understanding participants' experiences and behaviors and are appropriate when asking questions that explore phenomena in natural settings where there has previously been little research conducted (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Merriam, 1998). This study, more specifically, utilized generic qualitative design (Merriam, 1998). This type of qualitative research is useful in seeking

to discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, or the perspectives and

worldviews of the people involved… Data are collected through interviews,

observations, or document analysis. Findings are a mix of description and analysis

– an analysis that uses concepts from the theoretical framework of the study.

(Merriam, 1998, p. 11)

Research methodology is based on the underlying paradigm that derives from

fundamental assumptions about the nature of reality, the nature of knowledge, and the

theoretical framework. This qualitative research is based on the social constructionism

paradigm. Social constructionism is "built on the thesis of ontological relativity, which

holds that all tenable statements about existence depend on a worldview, and no

worldview is uniquely determined by empirical or sense data about the world" (Patton,

2002, p. 97). Similarly, Merriam and Simpson (2000) point out:

The key philosophical assumption upon which all types of qualitative research are

based, is the view that reality is constructed by individuals in interaction with

their social worlds. Thus, there are many "realities" rather then the one,

observable, measurable reality which is key to research based in the positivist

paradigm. (p. 97)

In other words, social constructionism is rooted in a belief that all reality is a reality

constructed by human beings (Crotty, 1998).

At an epistemological level, in accordance with the ontological viewpoint, rather

than being independent from the subject being studied, researchers who involve a

subjective meaning-making process interpret phenomenon between the internal processes

of the mind and the social world (Lichtman, 2006; Merriam, 1998). In a review of

characteristics of qualitative research, Creswell (2003) indicates that:

> Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive. This means that the researcher
>
> makes an interpretation of the data. This includes developing a description of an
>
> individual or setting, analyzing data for themes or categories, and finally making
>
> an interpretation or drawing conclusions about its meaning personally and
>
> theoretically, stating the lessons learned, and offering further questions to be
>
> asked (Wolcott, 1994). It also means that the researcher filters the data through a
>
> personal lens that is situated in a specific sociopolitical and historical moment. (p.
>
> 182)

These assumptions are consistent with the theoretical framework for this study, which

suggests that program planning is a social activity whereby people construct educational

programs by negotiating personal, social, and organizational interests in contexts marked

by socially and culturally structured power relations. In this sense, qualitative

methodology fits well with the present study, because the study seeks to understand the

meanings Korean adult educators ascribe to their experiences, interactions, culture,

organizations, and society.

Qualitative research is the approach of choice for this study because it explores

planning processes in terms of negotiating power and interests with Confucian values that

have not been examined before and that display complexities and uniqueness. Most

program planning theories and models in the field of adult education have traditionally

been based on Western or North American cultural perspectives, and the issue of non-

Western culture, and more specifically, Confucian cultural values, has not been addressed

in program planning studies. This exploration with a qualitative method was needed because there is little existing research on the topic, and its complexity needs to be better understood (Creswell, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Instead of looking at the surface of many things, one of the main goals of this study is to reach a deep level of understanding. An important aspect of the present study is to look at the whole rather than isolating variables in a reductionistic manner. Because the main goal is to understand how Korean program planners negotiate power and interests in Confucian contexts, the researcher needs to look at it much more completely. Silverman (2005) notes that qualitative research "can provide a deeper understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data" (p. 10). Furthermore, it is helpful to fill out the meaning of findings from a large-scale survey through in-depth study using qualitative research (Patton, 2002). For example, Hofstede (1980, 1991, 2001) found that how national cultures differ in key areas of power distance, collectivism versus individualism, masculinity versus femininity, tolerance for ambiguity, and time orientation provides insights for organizational studies. Although his seminal study of cultures and organizations has been widely used, his study has been criticized on various grounds, including the issue of representation of total population. Qualitative research can provide meaningful detail to help make sense out of a body of quantitative data. Qualitative research can "put flesh on the bones of quantitative results, bringing the results to life through in-depth case elaboration" (Patton, 2002, p. 193). In short, what distinguishes this qualitative study from a quantitative study is a willingness to look beneath the surface, to gain an in-depth understanding of how planners and stakeholders interpret the meanings of the manifestations of Confucian values and how these

interpretations form patterns of clarity or inconsistency and ambiguity that can be used to characterize understandings of their planning activities (Martin, 2002).

Because the perspectives of Korean planners involved are central to the study, how and why planners socially construct educational programs and behave within their constructed organizations and the society can become clearer through a qualitative method. A qualitative method can reveal how a Korean planner's cultural values affect program planning processes and outcomes, because those cultural values strongly influence people's behavior and daily practices such as individuals' perceptions and attitudes, communication, motivation, leadership, stress, power, conflict management, negotiation, group dynamics, and team work. The phenomenon of interest from the participants' perspectives is valued, listened to, and taken into account, rather than minimized and made impersonal. This is in contrast to quantitative research which often uses mathematical models, statistical tales, and graphs, and usually is written in an impersonal style (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Qualitative research is "highly appropriate for studying process," because a focus on process involves "looking at how something happens rather than or in addition to examining outputs and outcomes" (Patton, 2002, p. 159). As Cervero and Wilson (1998a) point out, an educational program is "never produced by a single planner acting outside of an institutional and social context" (p. 139). Educational planning process for adults, as a social activity, usually takes place with an emphasis on participation and involvement along with such things as building relationships and mutual understandings between various actors. In this sense, qualitative research is well-suited for this study because: "1) depicting process requires detailed descriptions of how people engage with

each other; 2) the experience of process typically varies for different people so their experiences need to be captured in their own words; 3) process is fluid and dynamic so it is not easily summarized on a single rating scale at one point in time; and 4) participants' perceptions are a key process consideration" (Patton, 2002, p. 159).

Sample Selection

Since I am interested in the in-depth understanding of those from whom I can learn a great deal about the issues that are central to the purpose of my research, purposeful sampling was the method of choice for this study (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002). Comparing different sampling strategies, Patton (2002) points out:

Qualitative inquiry typically focuses on relatively small samples, even single cases ($N = 1$)…selected purposefully to permit inquiry into and understanding of a phenomenon *in depth*. Quantitative methods typically depend on larger samples selected randomly in order to generalize with confidence from the sample to the population that it represents. (p. 46)

Unlike probability sampling that is often used in the quantitative design with a random sampling method, purposeful sampling is "based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (Merriam, 1998, p. 61).

Patton (2002) argues that "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth" (p. 230). Thus, for this study, a purposeful sampling was chosen so I could deal with the information-rich phenomenon. And, in order to obtain the most meaningful information of how Confucian values play

out in educational planning, I intentionally selected participants and sites to understand

and learn the central phenomenon (Creswell, 2002).

There are several different types of purposeful sampling. For example, Patton

(2002, pp. 230-242) organizes the types of purposeful sampling into fifteen categories:

extreme or deviant case, intensity, maximum variation, homogeneous, typical, critical

case, snowball or chain, criterion, theory-based, confirming and disconfirming cases,

stratified, opportunistic or emergent, purposeful random, sampling politically important

cases, and convenience sampling. Similarly, Merriam (1998, pp. 62-64) places the

different types of purposeful sampling into seven categories: typical, unique, maximum

variation, convenience, snowball, chain, and network sampling. Patton (2002) points out

that "the logic of each strategy serves a particular purpose" (p. 230).

Among these different strategies, the typical and snowballing sampling

approaches were used for this study. First, when typical sampling is used, Patton (2002)

explains, "the site is specifically selected because it is not in any major way atypical,

extreme, deviant, or intensely unusual" (p. 236). In typical sampling, the sampling

process often begins with cooperation with key informants, such as program managers or

knowledgeable staff, "who can help identify who and what are typical" (Patton, 2002, p.

236). This sampling strategy was the most appropriate for this study, because in

describing Korean culture, organizations, and people to those not familiar with the setting

studied, it is helpful to provide a qualitative profile of typical Korean planners and sites.

In other words, the typical sampling approach was used to describe and illustrate what is

typical to those unfamiliar with the Korean context of program planning (Patton, 2002).

Second, the snowballing strategy was used by asking the following questions: Who

knows a lot about adult and continuing education programs, planning practices, and planners in Korea? Whom should I talk to? As Patton (2002) states, by asking several key people "who else to talk with, the snowball gets bigger and bigger as you [the researcher] accumulate new information-rich cases" (p. 237). To do this, I first started interviewing a key program planner who has worked at a Korean adult and continuing education research center. During the interview I asked the interviewee if the program planner could recommend other individuals to interview who might have the information-rich cases. In addition to helping me identify additional participants, as a key informant, the interviewee provided a qualitative profile of one or more typical cases.

Based on the information provided by the key informant through the initial contact, the selection criteria for the program planners were determined as follows: (a) program planners with a minimum of three years field experience who have been actively involved in planning programs for adults; (b) program planners who had planned a new or major education program within the last twelve months or have been in the process of planning; (c) program planners representing diverse organizations (business, government, educational institutes, non-profit organizations, and other adult and continuing education providers); and (d) program planners representing diversity in age, gender, and geographical location.

The central aim of these selection criteria was to obtain the information-rich cases and maximize what can be learned in the period of time available for the study (Tellis, 1997). More specifically, these criteria were to help describe typical program planning practices in Korea and to ensure capturing how Confucian values play out in the planning activities of an everyday and commonplace situation. Thus, these selection criteria are

closely related to the primary interest study and derived from the primary research questions and the main study purpose (Yin, 2003). First, the participants were limited to program planners with a minimum of three years of experience because they have a clear understanding of the overall planning practices, power relationships, different interests between various stakeholders, and the socio-cultural context. Second, in order to obtain more accurate and vivid information, the participants who had planned a new or major education program within the last twelve months or were in the process of planning. Third, instead of focusing on only one organization or a single case, the participants were selected on the basis of their diverse representations for the adult and continuing education planning practices in Korea. Fourth, the participants were also selected to represent diversity in ages, genders and geographical locations because my review of Korean organizational studies indicated that these elements impact organizational culture, power relations, interpersonal relationships, and negotiation strategies.

In qualitative research, there are no set rules for determining sample size; it is a matter of judgment (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003; Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002). Patton (2002) suggests that the trade-offs between breadth and depth for an adequate number of the sample:

> With the same fixed resources and limited time, a researcher could study a specific set of experiences for a larger number of people (seeking breadth) or a more open range of experiences for a smaller number of people (seeking depth). In-depth information from a small number of people can be very valuable, especially if the cases are information rich. Less depth from a larger number of

people can be especially helpful in exploring a phenomenon and trying to

document diversity or understand variation. (p. 244)

Citing Lincoln and Guba's (1985) discussions about sampling until a point of saturation

or redundancy, Merriam (1998) argues that "what is needed is an adequate number of

participants, sites, or activities to answer the question posed at the beginning of the study

(in the form of the purpose statement)" (p. 64).

To select the qualified participants based on these criteria, I first had two initial

informal meetings with one of the key informants. Five possible participants were

discussed and selected in cooperation with the key informant. I then contacted another

key informant in Korea. He and I selected three program planners according to the

selection criteria. I also contacted four individual program planners whom I had known

for years, and briefly explained a description of the study. Most of the planners agreed to

participate. I made the first contacts with all 12 people, and of the 12 planners

approached about participating in this study, two people declined. But, one of the two

people referred me to two other planners who might be willing to participate in the study.

I contacted those two planners, and one of them met the selection criteria. Thus, I started

with a total of thirteen participants who met the criteria established above including the

two key informants.

<div align="center">Data Collection</div>

For this study, the data were collected through interviews and document analysis.

Among various data collection methods, the decision to use these particular techniques

was initially made to answer my research questions, considering the actual research

situation (Maxwell, 2005). Discussing the relationship between research questions and data collection methods, Maxwell (2005) argues:

> There is no way to mechanically "convert" research questions into methods; your methods are the *means* to answering your research questions, not a logical transformation of the latter. Their selection depends not only on research questions, but also on the actual research situation and on what will work most effectively in that situation to give you the data you need. (p. 92)

Thus, the data collection methods used are "determined by the researcher's theoretical orientation, by the problem and purpose of the study, and by the sample selected" (Merriam, 1998, p. 70). I used interviewing as a primary data collection method for the study.

Interviews

As a favorite "digging tool" of field researchers, interviewing is the main data-gathering device in most forms of qualitative research (Denzin, 1978; Merriam, 1998). Many methodological researchers view an interview as a conversational tool between the researcher and participant (deMarrais, 2004). deMarrais (2004) describes the interview as "a unique form of discourse between two people where one is an informed learner who is there to learn more about another's experiences or series of experiences, views or perspectives, or reaction to a particular phenomenon or event" (p. 55). Patton (2002) further describes the purpose of interviewing as follows:

> We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. The issue is not whether observational data are more desirable, valid, or meaningful than self-report data. The fact is that we cannot observe everything.

> We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intensions. We cannot observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective. (p. 341).

Patton's underlying assumption of conducting interviews is that participants' inner perspectives are meaningful and knowable. Thus, through interviewing, the researcher gathers participants' stories, to find out what is in and on their mind. Similarly, Seidman (2006) points out that at the root of interviewing is "an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (p. 9). Seidman (2006) concluded that interviewing is "a powerful way to gain insight into educational and other important social issues through understanding the experience of the individuals whose lives reflect those issues" (p. 14). Therefore, this study was rooted in the fundamental assumption that through in-depth interviews, I could gather and learn participants' lived stories, meaning, and perspectives. By interviewing, planners' Confucian values, their lived experiences and stories, and culture of the organizations that are mostly unobservable could be revealed with their perspectives.

There are several forms of interviews. Yin (2003) distinguished three types of interviews: open-ended, focused, and structured. According to Yin (2003, pp. 89-92), in an open-ended interview, the researcher asks for the participants' opinion on the issues. This type of interview can be used to formulate questions for subsequent interviews

(Merriam, 1998), and could serve to corroborate previously gathered information (Tellis, 1997). In a focused interview, the participant is interviewed for a short period of time, and the interview remain open-ended, but the researcher is more likely to follow a certain set of questions derived from the research questions. The structured interview is an oral form of a survey, similar to a formal survey, and is often used to gather common demographic data from participants. In this type of interview, a list of predetermined interview questions is prepared ahead of time. Similarly, Merriam (1998) identified that interviews can range from a highly structure or standardized format in which questions and the order they are asked are predetermined to an unstructured or totally open-ended format in which nothing is set ahead of time. A mix of more-and less-structured format is located in the middle of the continuum.

For this study, semi-structured interviews were employed not only because they can provide a rich source of insights into cultural aspects, but also because they provide scope to ask for more details that follow up something already asked with a flexible manner (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Merriam, 1998). With a mix of more and less structured questions, the questions were more flexibly worded in order to "respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic" (Merriam, 1998, p. 74). In this study flexibility is particularly needed since the questions explore program planning in a Korean context where there has previously been little research conducted.

All interviews were conducted solely by the researcher in Korea between June and July of 2008. In order to obtain in-depth information within the time frame, an interview guide was developed to ensure that I asked the participants questions that are

relevant to the research questions of this study. The initial interview guide was developed

in English (see Appendix A), and I translated it into the Korean version (see Appendix B).

Since this study employed a semi-structured interview format, the interview guide

contains several specific questions that I want to ask the participants and some open-

ended questions that allow me to clarify and elucidate their responses, and to prove the

underlying meaning of what they say (Lichtman, 2006; Merriam, 1998). Although

interviewing is the preferred tactic of data collection in qualitative research, getting a

good interview is not so easy (Stake, 1995). The key to getting good data from

interviewing is to prepare and ask good questions (Merriam, 1998). Merriam suggests

that hypothetical, devil's advocate, ideal position, and interpretive questions can be used

to elicit good data, whereas multiple, leading, and asking yes-and-no questions should be

avoided. Immediate follow-up questions or probes are an important part of the process.

Before I actually began the interview, I provided some preliminary background

information to each participant. This includes (a) why I am here, (b) my purpose, (c) what

I will do with the information, (d) how I will keep the information confidential, and (e)

how long the interview will take (Lichtman, 2006). The consent form was then given to

each participant, which outlines the main purpose of the study, voluntary nature of the

participation, principles of confidentiality, and participant's rights (see Appendix C).

Interviews began with informal conversation, to develop rapport and improve

cooperation, and generate meaningful and useful data (Lichtman, 2006). All interviews

were conducted in Korean, and each interview session took approximately one and a half

hours to two hours at a mutually agreed upon time and location. All interviews were

audio-taped with the consent of participants. Audio-taping is especially useful to capture

quotes accurately and served to corroborate my field notes (Rossman & Rallis, 1998). At

the end of the interviews, I asked them the final question: "Is there anything you want to

add that you haven't talked about? By doing this, participants have one more chance to

talk anything they want to share. Upon completion of each interview, the audiotapes were

carefully marked and sorted, and my field notes with my own thoughts and reactions

were also stored in a safe place. The data analysis and translation issues will be discussed

in the following sections.

Documents

Patton (2002) points out that "documents prove valuable not only because of what

can be learned directly from them but also as stimulus for paths of inquiry that can be

pursed only through direct observation and interviewing" (p. 294). Marshall and

Rossman (2006) suggest that the decision to gather and analyze documents or archival

records must be linked to the research questions developed in the theoretical framework

for the study.

According to Merriam (1998), the first step of using documents in qualitative

research is finding relevant materials. Once documents have been located, the researcher

must assess their authenticity and accuracy. This step involves identifying whether

documents are primary or secondary sources. After checking the authenticity and

accuracy, the researcher develops some system for coding and cataloging them.

There are several strengths and limitations. The use of documents and records as

forms of triangulation is to corroborate the evidence from other sources (Yin, 2003).

Documentary data are often considered as objective, stable, and unobtrusive. However,

the potential overreliance on documents has been criticized. Another caution is that a

document may be written for some specific purpose and some specific audience other than those of the case study being done (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). Thus, the researcher must "be correctly critical in interpreting the contents of such evidence" (Yin, 2003, p. 88).

During my data collection period, I collected a variety of documents including program planning documents and organizational documents and records such as letters, memoranda, agendas, meeting minutes, proposals, reports, action plans, curriculum plans, organizational records, maps and charts, demographic records, and personal records. Any document that is relevant to the study was gathered and utilized based on the research questions developed in the theoretical framework for the study. I reviewed all the collected documents that could provide "a behind-the-scenes look at program planning processes and they came into being" (Patton, 2002, p. 294).

<div style="text-align:center">Data Analysis</div>

In qualitative research, data analysis involves working with the data that the researcher has seen, heard, and read so that one can make sense of what he or she has learned (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). More specifically, this process involves

> systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and other materials that you accumulate to enable you to come up with findings… Analysis involves working with data, organizing them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing them, and searching for patterns. (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 147)

Ruona (2005) points out that qualitative data analysis is "a process that entails 1)

sensing themes, 2) constant comparison, 3) recursiveness, 4) inductive and deductive

thinking, and 5) interpretation to generate meaning" (p. 236). According to Ruona (2005,

pp. 236-240), sensing themes involves identifying categories in order to sense the themes

emerging from the data. Ruona (2005) notes that qualitative data analysis "demands

immersion in the collected data, openness and conceptual flexibility to perceive the

patterns, and a great deal of information processing" (pp. 236-237). Second, constant

comparison originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) refers to comparing

constantly to organize the data into meaningful categories. Third, recursiveness of

qualitative data analysis implies that simultaneous and recursive process help the

researcher critically reflect and continually learn throughout the data collection and

analysis process. Merriam (1998) also points out that "data collection and analysis is a

simultaneous activity in qualitative research" (p. 151). In other words, data analysis

begins with interviews, observations, and analyzing documents during the data gathering

stage. By doing this throughout the research, the researcher can generate credible and

trustworthy findings (Merriam, 1998). Fourth, in qualitative analysis, both inductive and

deductive thinking are used, while continuously shifting back and forth between

inductive and deductive reasoning. Finally, interpretation involves not only merely

manipulating data, but also a theory building process of identifying themes and categories

to offer the researcher's perspective of what goes beyond thier data.

Since the researcher deals with a complex and massive amount of data, there are

challenges in the qualitative data analysis process. Patton (2002) warns that the

challenges include "reducing the volume of raw information, sifting trivia from

significance, identifying significant patterns, and constructing a framework for

communicating the essence of what the data reveal" (p. 432). Patton suggests that the

researcher do their very best with their intellect, skills, and insights to make sense out of

the data and, further, to make connections with the world based on the purpose of the

study.

Table 2

Overview of Data Analysis

Stages	Major Activities
Stage 1: Data Preparation	- Getting the collected data into a form (Transcribing interviews and reading field notes and memos)
	- Editing, tidying up, and formatting the data
Stage 2: Familiarization	- Actively engaging with the data (listen to tapes, rereading the data, making comments)
Stage 3: Coding	- Creating preliminary coding system
	- Tagging the data with the codes
	- Editing the coding system and recoding, if necessary
Stage 4: Generating Meaning	- Generating meaning from the codes, categories, and themes
	- Interrelating the parts of the data to the whole

Note. Based on "Analyzing Qualitative Data" by W. E. A. Ruona, 2005, In R. A.

Swanson & E. F. Holton III (Eds.), *Research in organizations: Foundations and*

methods of inquiry (pp. 233-263). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Although there is no formula for transforming qualitative data into meaningful findings, models and methods of analyzing data can be found in abundance (Patton, 2002). Among those, I adapted Ruona's (2005) four-stage model of qualitative analysis using Microsoft Word to conduct a rigorous and comprehensive analysis of the data. The following sections discuss the four stages of data analysis: data preparation, familiarization, coding, and generating meaning. The overview of data analysis shows in Table 2.

Stage 1: Data Preparation

In this phase, I prepared the collected data into a form that is easy to work with. More specifically, I transcribed my data using the simplest format. To protect the identity of the participants, their names were replaced with ID numbers in this phase. Using Microsoft Word, I created a word table that is divided into several columns as summarized in Table 3 for each interview.

Table 3

A Sample Table for Coding

Code	ID	Q#	Turn #	Data	Notes
Labeling and coding emerging themes	Labeling the participant	Recoding the number of the question that was asked	Sequencing the text of the interview (a meaningful segment - a sentence, a passage, or a whole paragraph)	The actual text from the data, divided into meaningful segments	Recording personal notes

Note. Based on "Analyzing Qualitative Data" by W. E. A. Ruona, 2005, In R. A. Swanson & E. F. Holton III (Eds.), *Research in organizations: Foundations and methods of inquiry* (pp. 233-263). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Stage 2: Familiarization

During this stage of analysis, I began to record my insights about what I had learned in the data. To do this, first, I read the data until I felt familiar with it, ensuring to see important meanings and patterns in what I had heard, seen, and read. Then, for each meaningful segment of data (a phrase, sentence, paragraph or passage), I added a row into the table, filling each column. I continued this process until the response I was working with was sufficiently divided into meaningful statements, adding as many new rows as I needed. I repeated this process for two more interviews.

Stage 3: Coding

Discussing the use of codes to develop themes, Creswell (2002) notes that the researcher reaches a point where a category or theme is fully understood and developed and the same information is repeatedly displayed. Creswell emphasizes that

> Saturation is the point where a theme is developed and detailed and no new information can add to its specification. Unquestionably the point at which you achieve saturation is a judgment call, but most qualitative researchers realize when this point occurs. (Creswell, 2002, p. 273)

In this stage of data analysis, I further segmented the data into themes/categories in order to tag those categories and themes with a code number. To do this, I preestablished a coding scheme based on the complied preliminary list of themes (see Appendix D). Since I inductively analyzed the data, the code scheme was derived from the data with the three initial analyses from the stage two. I reflected on and work with my list to understand the data, while clustering similar topics together, and creating categories and subcategories. Once I felt like I had a good understanding of the data and saw recurring topics or

patterns, I assigned a five-digit coding number to each category. By doing this, I was able to create categories and subcategories with the five-digit coding system. Once I tagged the three initial sets of data, I edited the coding scheme and added new categories. Then, I repeated the process for all the data (see Appendix E).

Stage 4: Merging and Working with All Data to Generating Meaning

During this phase, I merged all of the data together into a master document in order to conduct a group level analysis. By doing this, I moved toward generating meaning and building theory. In other words, I interpreted and explored how the themes that had emerged were connected to each other as well as how they were connected to the ideas I had, the literature and to the prior research. Using sorting features, the data from the thirteen participants who discussed one of the themes were analyzed. I repeated this process for the rest of the categories.

The major issue related to this data analysis process is the accuracy of translation. Since all the data were collected in Korean as the research participants were all Korean, data were analyzed in Korean. For the final report of the findings, I translated selected statements, paragraphs, sentences, or passages and verbatim quotes into English. In order to ensure translation accuracy, a two-phase accuracy check was used. In the first phase, once I translated the data into English, I sent the translated data (English) along with the original data (Korean) to a researcher who speaks both Korean and English fluently and received a doctoral degree in the United States. Since she had a similar experience with translating Korean into English when she wrote her dissertation, I requested her to check if the translations were correct and any text was missing. In the second phase, once she corrected the translations, I revised the translated data (English). Then, I sent the

translated data only to a colleague who also speaks Korean and English fluently. This time I requested him to translate the translated data (English) to Korean. The second bilingual colleague with no knowledge of the wording of the original data translated the English texts rendering back into Korean. Finally, I compared the original and back-translated data, and made corrections. This "back translation" process ensures equivalence of translation between two languages.

<div align="center">Validity and Reliability</div>

Unlike experimental studies that are often concerned with causation, explanation, prediction, and generalization, qualitative research is more concerned with in-depth description and understanding (Cousin, 2005). Thus, qualitative researchers argue that the criteria for ensuring validity and reliability is rigorous are different from those for determining rigor in more positivist, quantitative research (Merriam, 1998). For example, Maxwell (2005) distinguishes between quantitative and qualitative designs in the ways they deal with validity issues. Maxwell (2005) explains:

> Quantitative and experimental researchers generally attempt to design, in advance, controls that will deal with both anticipated and unanticipated threats to validity… Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, rarely have the benefit of previously planned comparisons, sampling strategies, or statistical manipulations that "control for" plausible threats, and must try to rule out most validity threats after the research has begun, using evidence collected during the research itself to make these "alternative hypotheses" implausible. (p. 107)

Because of the different epistemological bases of qualitative research in discussing validity and reliability, using different criteria in determining trustworthiness in

qualitative research prevails (Lewis & Richie, 2003; Merriam, 1998). Merriam (1998)

concludes that for any type of research validity and reliability are "concerns that can be

approached through careful attention to a study's conceptualization and the way in which

the data were collected, analyzed, and interpreted, and the way in which the findings are

presented" (pp.199-200). Many writers of qualitative research have proposed several

strategies to ensure validity and reliability. The following sections discuss the strategies

that I built into this study to ensure that the study is trustworthy with the respect to

validity and reliability.

Validity

On the issues of validity in qualitative research, two main aspects of validity –

internal and external- are frequently discussed. In a broad sense, internal validity refers to

"the match between the researchers' categories and interpretations and what is actually

true" (McMillan, 1996, p. 251). More specifically, internal validity is "the extent to

which researchers are observing/measuring what they think they are

observing/measuring" (Vidovich, 2003, p. 77). Alternatively, credibility also refers to

internal validity in qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed credibility in

qualitative research as the equivalent for internal validity in experimental studies.

Corresponding to internal validity, credibility "exists when the participants in a study

recognize the truth of the findings in their own social context" (Holloway, 1997, p. 160).

There are many strategies and techniques to enhance internal validity. Patton

(2002) addresses three fundamental issues to enhance the credibility and overall quality

of qualitative research: (a) rigorous methods for doing fieldwork; (b) the credibility of the

researcher; and (c) philosophical belief in the value of qualitative inquiry. More

specifically, Creswell (1998) suggests eight verification procedures. They include:

prolonged engagement and persistent observation, triangulation, peer review, negative

case analysis, clarifying researcher bias, member checks, rich, thick description, and

external audits. Similarly, Merriam (1998, pp. 204-205) proposed six strategies: (a)

triangulation (using multiple researchers, data sources, data collection methods); (b)

member checks (taking data back to the participants to check); (c) long-term observation

(gathering data over a period of time); (d) peer examination (asking colleagues to

comment); (e) participatory or collaborative modes of research (involving participants in

all phases of research); and (f) researcher's biases (clarifying the researcher's beliefs,

assumptions, and theoretical orientation).

For this study some of these strategies were used to ensure internal validity. First,

in order to establish a holistic understanding of the phenomena of this study, I

triangulated data by using multiple data sources and methods. Instead of relying on

interviewing as the primary data collection, any documents related to organizations and

program planning were gathered and analyzed. Using various data sources and methods

makes the findings of the study as robust as possible (Yin, 2006). Second, I used member

checks to ensure participants' view of the credibility and accuracy of the interpretations

(Creswell, 1998). I sent interview transcripts to participants for checking. The

participants were asked to examine my drafts of findings for their verification,

clarification, and feedback. Through member checks, participants can "provide critical

observations and interpretations and interpretations, sometimes making suggestions as to

sources of data" (Stake, 1995, p. 115). Third, I asked a knowledgeable and trusted

colleague to critically review my interpretations and findings. This process facilitates the

raising of alternative views and opinions to be considered (Ruona, 2005). Fourth and finally, I presented my assumptions and biases that are related to this study at the end of this chapter. In that section, I addressed my past experiences, biases, and orientations that have possibly shaped the interpretation of the study (Creswell, 1998).

External validity deals with the issue of generalization. In other words, external validity is "concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations" (Merriam, 1998, p. 207). The issue of generalization in qualitative research has been problematic because of its difference from experimental studies. Many writers of qualitative research argue for the uniqueness of qualitative research in terms of generalization. For example, Guba and Lincoln (1981) argue that in qualitative research the concept of transferability can be alternatively used instead of the concept of generalization using experimental studies. Stake (1995) proposed reader's naturalistic generalization, as different from explicated generalizations. Stake (1995) emphasizes the "embeddedness in the experience of the reader" (p. 86). He believes that the researcher provides various experiences through findings of the study, assisting the reader in adding their own parts of the story – that is, making naturalistic generalizations.

Merriam (1998) proposed three basic strategies to enhance the possible external validity in qualitative research: (a) rich, thick description; (b) typicality or modal category; and (c) multisite designs. For this study, although the intent was not to generalize findings, but instead to understand the phenomenon, I employed two strategies such as producing rich, thick description of findings and using typical and multiple participants to enhance the overall trustworthiness of the study.

Reliability

Reliability deals with the question of whether two researchers independently conducting the exact same research come up with the same findings (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). The issue of reliability in qualitative research is problematic, because reliability in a research design is "based on the assumption that there is a single reality and that studying it repeatedly will yield the same results" (Merriam, 1998, p. 205). Furthermore, the notion of replication in qualitative research is inapplicable, because of the complex nature of the phenomena being studied (Lewis & Richie, 2003). Similarly, Marshall and Rossman (2006) argue

> Qualitative research does not claim to be replicable. The researcher purposefully avoids controlling the research conditions and concentrates on recording the complexity of situational contexts and interrelations as they occur naturally. The researcher's goal of discovering this complexity by altering research strategies within a flexible research deign, moreover, cannot be replicated by future researchers nor should they attempt to do so. (p. 204)

Although the notion of reliability in qualitative research cannot be the same as natural science, reliability should be one of the central concerns of any research (Silverman, 2005). Thus, instead of using the concept of reliability in qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed the concept of dependability or consistency of findings from the data. Therefore, no matter if findings can be found again, Merriam (1998) concludes that the main point is that it is the matter of "whether the results are consistent with the data collected" (p. 206). Merriam (1998) proposed three techniques to

ensure that the findings are dependable and consistent: (a) the investigator's position; (b) triangulation; and (c) an audit trail.

In order to enhance dependability of the findings of this study, I used multiple methods of data collection. For data analysis, I adapted rigorous data analysis method, interpreting and exploring how the themes/categories are emerged and connected to the concepts I have and the literature (Ruona, 2005). Finally, in order to ensure dependability of the findings, the researcher's position, assumption, and theory behind the study were discussed in the next section.

<div align="center">Researcher Bias and Assumptions</div>

As a primary instrument for the data collecting and analyzing data, the role of the researcher is critical (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 1998; Ruona, 2005). Since all information is filtered through the researcher's eyes and ears when data are gathered and analyzed, it is greatly influenced by the researcher's worldview, knowledge, skills, experience, and background (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Ruona (2005) states that the researcher's "personal histories, gender, social class, ethnicity, characteristics, beliefs, and biases influence every stage" in qualitative research (p. 235). Merriam (1998) points out that as the primary instrument for research, the qualitative researcher can maximize opportunities for collecting and analyzing meaningful information in a specific context. On the other hand, the researcher as human instrument is "limited by being human – that is, mistakes are made, opportunities are missed, personal biases interfere" (Merriam, 1998, p. 20). Therefore, it is important to know about the researcher of the study in order to help the reader understand how I am approaching this study, how I am interpreting the data, what I am going to be sensitive to,

and what my relationship to the topic under investigation is. It is also important for the reader to critically examine my assumptions and biases which likely influence to the validity and reliability of the interpretations and findings. The main goal here is not to debate objectivity versus subjectivity. By presenting this personal statement, as I already discussed in the reliability and validity section, trustworthiness and authenticity of the interpretations and findings of the study are established.

I was born and raised in a typical Korean family. Although the influences of modernization, economic development, and Western culture have drastically transformed the Korean traditional agricultural society over the last four decades, my personal worldview, beliefs, and values have been shaped by Korean culture that is mainly rooted in the Confucian traditions that value diligence, education, family, loyalty, tolerance, harmony, moderation, and sense of righteousness. Fortunately, I have had several opportunities to experience and learn other cultures/regions including the United States, England and other European countries, and China and other Asian regions. These valuable experiences have helped me become sensitive to cultural knowledge, issues, differences, relativity, and complexities with societies. These experiences also have helped me articulate my personal beliefs and values which are mostly grounded in the culture system of Korea. In speaking of the relation of organizational culture and program planning, as a full-time public service faculty member at the Educational Technology Training Center at the University of Georgia, I have been involved in a variety of program planning activities and projects for adults. Living and working in different cultures for years helps me critically examine similarities and differences between the American and Korean organizational culture and program planning practices.

Research methodology is based on the underlying paradigm that derives from fundamental assumptions about the nature of reality, the nature of knowledge, and the theoretical framework. This study is based on the social constructionist paradigm. I believe that human beings create their perceived social reality. Thus, I believe that a social phenomenon is created and developed in a particular social context. In this sense, I am involved in a subjective meaning-making process to interpret phenomenon between me and the world. My worldview and assumptions are consistent with the theoretical framework for this study, which suggests that program planning is a social activity whereby people construct educational programs by negotiating personal, social, and organizational interests in contexts marked by socially and culturally structured power relations. Since this study seeks to understand the meanings Korean adult educators ascribe to their experiences, interactions, culture, organizations, and society, my philosophical orientation helps me to relate to concerns about methodology of choice for the study.

Through the lens of social constructionism, I assume that program planning is significantly affected by individuals' beliefs and values, organizational cultures, social norms, and the societal culture which exists within a large society. My prior program planning experience in the United States has shaped my perspectives on program planning and culture issues. Thus, as Guy (1999) suggests, I believe that culture is central to shaping and molding educational programs for adults. My familiarity with the program planning and organizational culture in the U.S. that I have experienced for years plays a crucial role in helping me have freshness of insight and understanding for the Korean context. However, this familiarity might serve as a bias in making judgments during the

data collection and analysis. Additionally, as discussed in the previous chapter, much literature on Korean culture and Confucianism has informed me about the cultural value system of Korea. I assume that Confucianism is one of the core value systems in Korea, and through a qualitative method, the Confucian values in program planning contexts can be revealed and described in terms of the actors' relationships and actions that reflect the cultural frame of reference in Korea.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter described the methodology for this study that examines how cultural values influence educational planning in Korea. This chapter detailed the research design of the study, the sample selection, and data collection and analysis procedures and methods. A qualitative research design was used by conducting interviews and analyzing documents as the primary data collection methods. A strategy for analyzing data was presented in detail. Finally, the issues of validity, reliability, and bias and assumptions of the researcher were discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to understand how cultural values influence educational planning in Korea. Specifically, the study was to examine how Confucian values play out in educational planning in terms of negotiating power and interests. The following research questions were addressed by this study:

1. What Confucian values influence program planning processes and outcomes?

2. In what ways did social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions?

The design of the study was qualitative and the methods of interviewing and document analysis were used to collect data. Thirteen program planners were interviewed and documents were collected and analyzed for this study. Ruona's (2005) four-stage model of qualitative analysis using Microsoft Word was used to derive findings from the interviews and documents. Each interview was thoroughly transcribed in Korean and partly translated into English. 212 single-space pages were generated by the researcher for analysis.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section presents a description of the research participants. The second section presents findings from the interviews and documents.

The Participants

Thirteen program planners in Korea were interviewed for this study. The participants were purposely sampled and selected based on these criteria: (a) program planners with a minimum of three years field experience who were actively involved in planning programs for adults; (b) program planners who had planned a new or major educational program within the last twelve months or were in the process of planning; (c) program planners representing diverse organizations; and (d) program planners representing diversity in age, gender, and geographical location. Table 4 presents the profiles of each of the thirteen planners interviewed.

Program Planner Profiles

There were six female and seven male participants who range in age from twenty-six to forty-nine. The participants were from nine different geographic locations representing the diverse areas of Korea in a variety of settings. The participants have between three and fifteen years of experience in program planning. Four participants have been college educated, and most possess advanced degrees. The participants are presented in random order and are referred to by pseudonyms in an effort to protect their identity.

Cho. Cho, in her late 30s, is a researcher and program planner who works for an educational research institute in an urban area. She has been with the institute for six years. She is responsible for the planning and development of a variety of nation-wide projects and services for adult education. As a researcher, she has contributed numerous articles to scholarly journals and books regarding adult education in Korea. As a practitioner, Cho directed and developed plans and resources for a national lifelong

learning project, and led the execution of multiple and complex planning initiatives. Cho

works professionally doing independent projects in her area. I interviewed Cho at her

office on a Friday afternoon. She talked about her experiences as a program planner, and

she spoke of Confucian values and Korean culture and how Confucian values influenced

planning processes and outcomes. The interview lasted approximately 100 minutes.

Table 4

Profile of Program Planners Participating in the Study

Planner	Age	Gender	Education	Title – Organization	Experience
Cho	35-39	Female	Ph.D.	Senior Researcher/Program Planner – Research Institute	6 years
Hyun	45-49	Male	M.Ed.	Manager/Program Planner – Central Government	12 years
Seo	25-29	Female	M.Ed.	Instructional Designer – E-learning Company	3 years
Hong	35-39	Male	B.A.	Manager, Human Resources – Multinational Corporation	8 years
Kwon	35-39	Male	M.A.	Lifelong Education Program Specialist – Municipal Government	5 years
Jang	35-39	Male	B.A.	Senior Assistant, Human Resource Development – Food Company	5 years
Koh	30-34	Female	Ph.D.	Lifelong Education Program Specialist – Municipal Government	3 years
Choi	35-39	Male	B.A.	Manager, Human Resources – Automobile Part Company	9 years
Han	45-49	Female	B.A.	Program Planner – Municipal Government	11 years
Yim	35-39	Female	M.A.	Lifelong Education Program Specialist – Municipal Government	7 years
Joo	30-34	Male	M.A.	Lifelong Education Program Specialist - Municipal Government	4 years
Yoon	45-49	Male	Ph.D.	Director/Program Planner – Central Government	15 years
Sung	25-29	Female	M.Ed.	Manager/Program Planner – Professional Association	4 years

Hyun. Hyun is a forty-five-year-old manager working in a central government organization. He is a high-ranking government official in the Ministry of Labor. His responsibilities include providing planning and execution of special projects for the employment and training of young adults. As a graduate of the Master of Human Resource Development program, he has a good understanding and passion for generating employment opportunities and mentoring by guiding career development for young adults. As a manager, Hyun has three staff members working directly for him at his department. My meeting with Hyun occurred in an office on a Thursday morning. His answers were brief and to the point, permitting natural conversation. He briefly talked about his program planning experiences, and then addressed Confucian values. When he talked about Korean culture in general, he was genuinely excited. The interview lasted approximately 80 minutes.

Seo. Seo is an instructional designer for a small web-based e-learning company. She is in her late 20s and has her Master's degree in human resource development. Seo handles the design and development of several interactive web-based courses for K-12 teachers. She is very articulate in her work and is professional in everything she does. The instructional designer is her first job after completing graduate school. She is often frustrated by the fact that her workload is too heavy. It is a challenging environment to work in especially as a young woman right out of school. Seo works long hours to get the job done, somewhere between 12 and 18 hours a day. As with the others, scheduling an interview with Seo was not easy. We had to reschedule our first meeting once due to her busy work schedule. Our meeting lasted about one hour. She was eloquent and thoughtful

in talking about Confucian values in Korea. It was a fine interview, and I believe she made her point very clear.

Hong. Hong is a manager of the human resources department of a division of an American-based information technology corporation. He is responsible for all aspects of human resources including recruiting, compensation, payroll, and training in a business of approximately 600 employees. He is thirty-six years old and has been in the human resources field for almost eight years. After graduating from university in 1998, Hong was hired by a German-based multinational manufacturer and supplier of automobile components. After working as a senior assistant in the human resources department for four years, Hong landed the current job as a manager of the HR department. He likes his job and has been happy there a long time. Hong is married and the father of two children. He, unlike other people with families, does not have the issues of work-family balance. About his job he notes, "This is a dream job for me." He is a friend of mine from high school, and we have known each other well for years. My interview with Hong was conducted in a restaurant. He was prepared by offering specific examples and details from his own experiences. During the interview, he was good-humored and relaxed. My conversation with him was very notable, because one could see how different organizational culture informs and shapes a workplace.

Kwon. In his late 30s, Kwon is a lifelong education program specialist and program planner in the division of lifelong learning at a municipal government. He has worked in his present job for over five years. Kwon is a professional who works closely with adult learners in the city. His responsibilities include planning, coordinating and delivering programs for general public. His current position as the educational program

specialist and program planner differentiates him from the other municipal government officials who work with him in the same division. Kwon's job, unlike that of the government officials, requires specialized knowledge and skills in lifelong learning, which can be trained and certified by the educational institutes in accordance with the Law of Lifelong Learning in Korea. Kwon and I made some phone calls to discuss our meeting before I went to meet him at his office. The interview was conducted in a meeting room in the city hall. The interview was very informative. He was well prepared for the interview. His answers were logical and made complete sense to me. The interview lasted approximately 100 minutes.

　　Jang. Jang is a senior assistant of the human resource development team for a well-known food company in Korea. Specially, he is engaged in training and career development for 2500 employees. Jang is thirty-six years old and has been with the company for five years. He came to the company after receiving a Bachelor's degree in education from one of the prestigious universities in Korea. Jang and I have known for each other from our college days where we took some classes together. Throughout the years, we have kept in touch with each other. He is very gentle and patient. The interview went very smoothly. The interview was quite interactive and we had a really good time and enjoyed talking about his work and Confucian values that we grew up with. The interview lasted approximately 90 minutes.

　　Koh. Koh is a thirty-four-year-old woman who is a lifelong education program specialist and program planner in the lifelong learning center at a municipal government. Her responsibilities include program planning and execution for the city's lifelong learning projects. The city has a population of approximately 600,000. Koh spends much

of her time planning educational programs for the citizens. She has been with the center for three years. Before she joined the lifelong learning center, she had been working as a faculty member at a university. She taught adult education courses to college students at the university for several years. Koh has a strong background in adult education and has completed a higher degree in adult education. The interview was conducted at her office. Koh talked about how the city has been promoting the lifelong learning projects and changing its image over the past ten years. She also talked about the organizational culture of her workplace and how culture has changed in the past decade. Koh was very polite and supportive throughout the interview. The interview lasted approximately 60 minutes.

Choi. Choi is a manager of the department of human resources for an automobile part company. He is thirty-five years old and has been with the company for eight years. He came to the company directly from college where he studied law. His responsibilities are many but mostly involve oversight of accounting, human resources and operations. Choi and I have been close friends since the beginning of middle school. He is very polite and considerate when around other people. Choi described the organizational culture as very male-dominant. The company, like other automobile makers, is predominantly male. Choi stated that the biggest problem in his company is the lack of communication within teams and slowness of communication between teams. The interview lasted over two hours.

Han. Han is a municipal government employee and program planner in the central region of Korea. She is forty-five years old and has been the municipal government for ten years. She is energetic and friendly. She has worked in various positions for various

functions including a program planner of the division of the Family and Women's Affairs, Lifelong Learning, Regional Economic Development, and Strategic Planning within the organization. At the time when she participated in this study, she was working in the division of the Regional Economic Development. When Han worked for the division of the Family and Women's Affairs in the late 90s, she developed many educational and job training programs for women, and the Welfare and Education Center for Women was established through the efforts of Han. When I met her in the city hall lobby, she gave me a quick tour of the Welfare and Education Center for Women and Lifelong Learning Center which recently opened. After the tour ended, we came back to the Lifelong Learning Center for interviewing. She was cooperative and very engaged in the questions during the interview. The interview lasted one and a half hours.

Yim. In her late 30s, Yim is a lifelong education program specialist and program planner in the division of lifelong learning at a municipal government. She has worked in her present job for over seven years. Her responsibilities include program planning and execution for the city's lifelong learning projects. Yim spends much of her time planning and implementing educational programs for the citizens. Yim is a very innovative planner. She has developed numerous educational programs for adult learners. Some of the programs have been benchmarked by several planners in the lifelong learning cities in Korea. She is a hard worker who pours much energy into her endeavors and finishes what she starts. Yim offered to meet with me during her busy schedule of work. The interview was conducted at her office in the city's lifelong learning center. Yim was very eloquent and articulate. During the nearly two-hour interview, she checked several times if her

answers were good enough for me. Yim thanked me for coming and interviewing her and stated that she enjoyed herself and learned a lot from the interview.

Joo. Joo is a lifelong education program specialist and program planner in the division of lifelong learning at a municipal government. He is thirty-one years old and has been with the municipal government for four years. Joo, like other lifelong education program specialists, is in charge of program planning and execution for the city's lifelong learning projects with five other people in his department. Joo is very diligent and responsible. He sees himself as a lifelong learner and has been engaged in adult education since his college years. He is currently pursuing his doctoral degree in Adult Education. The interview was conducted at one of the classrooms in the lifelong learning center where he works. At the beginning of the interview, he was a little intimidated and nervous. He was very careful to select proper words, when he answered my questions. However, as time passed, he was no longer nervous. He shared some personal stories about difficulties he faces as a young program planner. The interview lasted one and a half hours.

Yoon. Yoon is a forty-seven-year-old director working in a central government organization. He is a high-ranking government official in the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology. Currently working as the director of the department of the Academic Research Promotion, Yoon directly supervises six people and takes a major responsibility for providing planning and execution of various national projects and establishing policies for higher education in Korea. He studied abroad in the United States as a foreign fellow of human resource development dispatched by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology. He received his masters' and doctoral degree in

human resource development from the U.S. Yoon is a high-energy person who is able to multi-task and loves working with people. The interview was conducted at his office where staff in the division he runs are situated in a large open space. He greeted me with a hearty "Welcome" and invited me to sit next to him. Due to his busy work schedule, the interview was conducted over lunch at the office. Yoon talked about his current project for higher educational institutes and issues relating to program planning.

Sung. Sung is one of the youngest participants in this study. She is twenty-five years old, and a manager of a professional association for the Korean Lifelong Learning City Project. Holding a master's degree in lifelong education, Sung has worked in her present job for over four years. Her responsibilities include strategic planning, and staff development for people who are involved in the Korean Lifelong Learning City Project. Sung spends much of her time planning and implementing educational programs for people who are involved in the Korean Lifelong Learning City Project. Her job involves significant travel. She is a very outgoing and energetic person who enjoys working with people. The interview was conducted at her office. Our meeting lasted about one hour. Sung talked about how the association has evolved over time. She also talked about the organizational culture of her workplace along with Confucian values. Sung shared several stories with me about the programs she has done.

<div align="center">Findings of the Study</div>

This section is divided into two parts to answer the research questions that guided this study. The first part, addressing the first research question, examines planners' internalized Confucian values within an organizational culture and how they influence program planning processes and outcomes. The second part, which addresses the second

research question, focuses on how social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions.

Table 5 provides an overview of major themes that emerged during the data analysis. The data yielded two main findings that are associated with the two research questions. Each finding is supported by the themes and categories found in the qualitative data, as discussed in the next section.

Table 5

Overview of the Findings

Research questions	Themes	Categories
What Confucian values influence program planning processes and outcomes?	Confucian values in program planning	Group harmony
		Respect of hierarchy
		Propriety
		Face
		Bond of affection
		Distinctive gender roles
In what ways did social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions?	Confucian values, and social and political relations in program planning	Power relations and Confucian values
		Exercise of power in a Confucian context
		The intersection at the planning table of Confucian values and people's interests
		Negotiation within a Confucian context

Confucian Values in Program Planning

This section discusses the findings based on the first research question. It addresses what Confucian values influence program planning processes and outcomes. Because the program planners interviewed for this study described Confucian values as internalized and embedded within their organizational culture, it should be noted here that the themes and categories for this section detail how these values which influence planners' decisions, actions, and judgments are represented at the planning tables.

Relationship between Confucian values and organizational culture. The program planners stated that the Confucian values that are internalized by the individuals and their surroundings are manifested in program planning as a part of their overall work. Specially, some of those values are deeply embedded in the culture of the organization and have become the "collective unconscious." The data collected from the interviews revealed that Confucian values were deeply rooted in the program planners. Although each planner had unique ways of seeing and doing things, there were certain common values and principles that shape their daily behaviors and responsibilities and influence the way that they make judgments about their work. In other words, even though the Confucian values that the planners possess were manifested personally, those values were nonetheless shared. Seo's following statement represents this well:

> Confucianism is like our origin. Korean people grow out of Confucian values. It can be described as our soil. Our soil is different from the soil in America. Plants that grow in the Korean soil should be different from the plants that grown in America. For example, although both Korean and American have the same seeds

of sweet potatoes, when they are planted, the taste is different, because of the two

different soils. (Turn #35)

Seo described Confucianism as an underlying cultural identity that had been internalized

and subconscious for years. In a similar vein, Joo explained,

On the surface, you can find Korea much changed. We have changed rapidly.

However, deep down inside we really haven't changed. The Confucian values that

we talked about here are naturally reinforced by our parents and educational

systems. Usually we don't talk about the Confucian values, but the values largely

reside in our unconscious. (Turn #20)

By the same token, Yoon also stressed that "although we don't speak about specific

Confucian values, Confucian values are manifested in our work attitude and ethic" (Turn

#19).

However, Hong, who works at an American-based information technology

corporation, explained that a different organizational culture can develop. Hong indicated,

"My company has a relaxed culture. The company is fairly decentralized, with flat

hierarchical pyramids. The company got rid of organizational ranks and job titles last

March" (Turn #7). Hong kept on with an example:

Individualism is convenient. American culture is easier than Korean Confucian

culture. For instance, nobody forces you to drink at the after-work-gathering in

America; people decide to do that all on their own. If I say I don't want to drink,

that's all. No is no! (Turn #38)

The company adapted to and established the culture of the parent company in America,

promoting its new organizational culture.

When asked about describing organizational culture, some planners also talked about organizational structure. This made me perfect sense to me because organizational structure as a basic dimension of organizations is influenced by its internal and external environments. Among thirteen planners, nine planners' organizations (Hyun, Koh, Han, Yim, Joo, Yoon, Choi, Sung, and Jang) can be described as highly centralized. Decision-making in their organizations is concentrated at a single point. Their bureaucratic structures are characterized by formalized rules and regulations, centralized authority, and the chain of command. Yoon explained,

> Although there are routine tasks in the department, sometimes my staff and I merely carry out our big boss's directives. If the President asks the Minister to report on an agenda, then that becomes our department's task. It's some kind of emergency. We have to do the task first. Our job priorities are closely attuned to the top-level people. (Turn #26)

Although Yoon, as a director of a department, can exercise his power in some degree, he clearly is in a subordinate relationship to the director of the bureau, the vice-minister, and the minister. The highest-level of the organization sends instructions, directions, or orders to a subordinate, and then the subordinate sends the same instructions, directions, or orders to his or her subordinates. In other words, a communication pattern in his organization flows from one level to the next lower level.

Speaking of communication behavior, Hyun provided the following description from within his organization:

> The organization has a vertical structure, because of bureaucracy and organizational rank. People communicate with the same rank people. It is difficult

to communicate with different-level people. For example, if a junior official in my department talks to a manager in the other department, the manager really doesn't like that. The manager of my department should talk to the manager of the other department, because the assistant official doesn't have authority to make a decision. Also, that's proper etiquette. (Turn #22)

During the interview with Hyun, he showed me an organizational chart that indicates the formal structure of his organization and who reports to whom. Similar to Yoon's organization, the patterns of communication in Hyun's organization can be described as downward communication, which means that communication flows from one level to the next lower level. As mentioned in the respect of hierarchy section, Hyun's remark was representative. He said, "Once my boss tells me what to do, I must do it. Questioning his decision is not recommended. I can ask any questions about the task, but not about his decision" (Turn #20). Clearly, most governmental organizations and some of the private organizations in this study put decision-making power in the hands of upper-level managers. Lower-level employees including some planners gathered information and resources and gave them to their superiors.

Not all organizations have the vertical and centralized structure, however. Hong who works at an American-based information technology corporation portrayed his organization as the following:

The company is fairly decentralized, with flat hierarchical pyramids. The company got rid of organizational ranks and job titles last March. Honestly, as a Korean, sometimes I miss some of the Confucian cultural values, because I can ask my subordinates to do my work. "Hey, man. I got to go home, so you do this

for me, OK?" I can't do this here. There is no chain of command here. Because

we respect each other, I should politely ask people to do something. Instead of

saying, "Do it," I should say, "Can you do this for me?" (Turn #36 & 28)

Because of the decentralized structure, the concepts of authority and maintaining the

chain of command are less important than at other organizations. He further elaborated,

The company maintains high employee utilization. Employees don't waste their

time for unnecessary things. Our company doesn't have: "Hey, change its font

style to *Gulim* font (a Korean font style). The CEO of our company doesn't like

tables in the document. Do *Dotum* font (a Korean font style) with 11 size." We

are not wasting our time for this. No formal document here. We use e-mail. There

were cabinets full of documents in the former workplace. It's efficient here,

because I don't have to worry about paperwork. I used to spend 30 minutes for

filing tons of paper. Why do I need to do that? (Turn #32)

Obviously, the patterns of communication in this organization flow relatively laterally

and tend to be more casual and spontaneous than the communication patterns in the other

organizations.

The efforts to replace the conventional hierarchical organizational structures with

empowered systems were discussed by the planners. For instance, the role of the lifelong

education program specialist as a new position in the structure of the municipal

governments has brought new structural options for the governments. Kwon explained,

When you think of government organizations, you usually accompany the image

of bureaucracy of the chain of command system. But, we've changed. We have a

team structure, although it's not a real team system. Anyway, lifelong education is

a brand-new field in municipal governments where a lifelong education program specialist is also recognized as a new member of the organization. Since the lifelong education specialists don't belong to the official government rank system, there is no clear-cut hierarchy of status. Due to this system, I, unlike other government employees, need a process of negotiation with my team leader and others. (Turn #18)

One of the interesting aspects of the team structure is that some of the planners - Seo, Kwon, Yoon, Joo, and Choi - often described their conventional structures as team-based systems. As addressed by Kwon in the previous quote, even though the planners said that their organizations are team-based structures that primarily characterize the decentralization of authority and decision-making, their organizational structures remain predominately bureaucratic. For example, they just use the term "a team" to refer a department or division. They just use the term "a team leader" to refer a manager or director. In other words, although their organizations seem to employ team-based structures, the conventional elements of organizational structure are retained with a mix of the team structure.

Most planners held similar views regarding internalized Confucian values within the organizational culture, and believed that organizational structure as a pre-existing foundational design component leads to the planners' actions being shaped by Confucian values, fitting into the larger cultural landscapes.

When asked to describe what Confucian values were represented, the following items were mentioned throughout the course of this study: (a) group harmony; (b) respect of hierarchy; (c) propriety; (d) face; (e) bond of affection; and (f) distinctive gender roles.

The program planners gave examples of how these values were manifested in their organizations and actually integrated into their planning practices.

Group harmony. Group orientation and the value placed upon the maintenance of harmony within Korean organizations are commonly shown under the Confucian tradition, which emphasize the common good and social harmony over individual interests. All of the planners participated in this study stated in some manner that they or their organizations emphasized and promoted group orientation and harmony at the expense of individualism.

Yoon, the director in a central government organization, explains how he sees the group orientation:

> Koreans more often use "we" or "our" rather than "I," "mine," "you," or "yours." Our department, our county, our son…etc. It's internalized into our unconscious. People in here always call it "our department." The funny thing is that a man often calls his wife as "our wife" rather than "my wife." If you look at this official document that I've created, it reads, "our division…," not "my division." We-consciousness is permeated through Korean family culture. (Turn #26)

He further elaborated,

> Star players are not welcomed by the organization. The organization highly values its employees who can work together for another 20-30 years. Although his or her performance is outstanding, if he or she is the person who would break group harmony, the organization would not hire the person. Most Korean organizations highly value teamwork and team players. (Turn #22)

Yoon emphasized that an organization does not hire just an individual employee, but rather a group member who belongs to the organization. In a similar vein, Hyun stated,

> Group harmony is emphasized over each individual's ability. In fact, individuals' abilities are not much different, because they have passed the national test required for working here. Therefore, what is really important is if he or she can harmoniously work together with others, and is a team player. (Turn #14)

Seo provided a similar discussion about group orientation and harmony. She stated, "I think America likes creating heroes. Korea likes working together as a group. As a result, the individual performance is buried into a group's performance" (Turn #17). Other planners provide similar answers to the questions, as demonstrated by these direct quotes:

- Our organization focuses more on group harmony (화합) and harmony (인화), rather than selfishness. (Han, Turn #15)

- We created a departmental slogan: "A creative individual within a harmonious workplace" (Kwon, Turn #22)

- The organization wants a team player. People want to stand in the middle of a line. They don't want to be the first or the last. (Kwon, Turn #23)

- People want to be comfortable and safe working inside "we." They want to belong to a certain group that accepts an individual as a group member. (Kwon, Turn #27)

- Group harmony is important. Working alone is undesirable. Working together is desirable. Any non-team players would be kicked out of the organization. (Joo, Turn #22)

In addition to the emphasis on group harmony, the planners pointed out how their organizations promote group harmony. Almost all planners noted that their organizations have certain types of activities that support group harmony. Joo provided the following related example:

In order to promote group harmony, the organization financially supports activities within and between the departments or divisions. For example, we have a rally or field trip to strengthen a sense of group membership, which is held away from the workplace. We have an organization-wide sporting event, and go hiking together. We also have an after-work gathering from time to time. (Turn #21)

Yim provided a similar discussion about her organization:

Group harmony (화합) is very, very important within the organization. That's our manager's motto. Because that's his number one priority, he strongly emphasizes it. Everybody must attend after-work gatherings or sporting events. We have to do such activities together. Group harmony (화합) or a spirit of harmony and solidarity (인화단결) is extremely emphasized. (Turn #23)

Among those activities for promoting group harmony, after-work gatherings were very common and popular. In fact, after-work gatherings are regarded as a part of their work. Choi stated,

Of course, people must attend all kinds of events for promoting group harmony. Attending an after-work gathering is obviously an extension of one's work. It should be. That's why people can't miss the gatherings. If you don't attend the after-work gatherings, you'll be in a bad situation. Not everybody wants to go to the gatherings, but you should go. (Turn #20)

Some of the planners talked about a manager's role and how that role can promote group harmony. In Yoon words,

> The desire for group harmony at the department level depends on who the manager is. It depends on the manager's leadership and management styles. Who's the manager is important. Each manager has a different style of promoting and dealing with the overall culture and group harmony. (Turn #18)

Similarly, while addressing how his manager promoted and realized group harmony during the planning process for the Lifelong Learning Festival, Kwon remarked,

> The role of the team leader was significant in providing places to promote *hwahap* (group harmony). We had many after-work gatherings during that time. The team leader always told us, "Just trust and follow me!" It was like a catchphrase. He cried this anywhere. When he was a little tipsy at an after-work gathering, he always talked about this. He shouted, "Trust and follow me, and then we can do it!" Actually, we started the planning for the festival with nothing, but the team leader brainwashed us into believing that we can do it. By doing this, he promoted group harmony and a sense of we-conscious. (Turn #42 & 44)

Kwon's manager wanted to stimulate the development of group harmony, and the manager saw himself as an active player in the process.

With regards to program planning, data from the interviews clearly revealed the impact of group harmony on program planning processes and outcomes. Cho provided the following related example:

> Adult learners don't want to be in front, because it makes them uncomfortable. I always keep this in mind when planning programs. Adult learners like the class

size to be 10-15. They want a class to feel comfortable while hiding themselves in the class. If the class size is too small, they won't come to the class. They are not comfortable with the situation that "I" should do some things in the class. They are more comfortable with the situation that "we" are doing some things in the class. A sense of "we" protects me. (Turn #27, 29, & 30).

In addition to considering we-consciousness by providing a proper class size, Cho also talked about maintaining group harmony in program planning. She kept on with an example, stating, "The planners avoid direct confrontations at the planning table. Although there is something unreasonable about a decision, the planners don't raise their voices at the planning table" (Turn #24). She indicated that if there is something to talk about, she prefers meeting one-to-one with other planners after the planning meeting. Similar to Cho, Han pointed out, "If there is a disagreement at the planning table, I don't say no to anybody. I personally meet with the person later, and talk about my interests" (Turn #34).

Paradoxically, data from interviews revealed that a strong sense of we-consciousness sometimes causes a highly distinctive nature between in-group and out-group members. Kwon who participated in planning and coordinating for a lifelong learning festival pointed out,

There are three organizations responsible for the big event. Although my team members promote group harmony and work well together, my team as a group doesn't work well with other organizations. So, sometimes there are conflicts between the three different organizations. I think group harmony (*hwahap*)

maintains and works well inside of the same team or organization, but it doesn't

work well with other teams or organizations. (Turn #41)

Kwon further elaborated, "A too-strong sense of we-consciousness creates a strong sense

of in-groupness, and may separate other groups from us" (Turn #27).

Respect of hierarchy. Based on interview data and organizational documents and

charts, it is clear that the principle of hierarchical Confucian human relationships is

reflected within organizational culture and in program planning. The participants

addressed that hierarchical human relationships as perpetuated by the traditional

Confucian values that predetermine relationships between people, influence the planners'

decisions, actions, and judgments. The hierarchical human relationships are also related

to power relations, which will be discussed in the second research question in detail.

During interviews, the planners made consistent comments on the intense age-

conscious culture in Korea. Sung, the youngest participants of the planners, said,

> I have much to talk about age. I never reveal my age to anyone, because I'm very
>
> young in this field. I need a doctoral degree, so people can't look down on me.
>
> That's why I don't tell my age. If people know how old I am, they stop using
>
> honorific language. Then, people treat me like a child who knows nothing. (Turn
>
> #15)

Choi also shares,

> In Korea, you must use honorific language to a person who is older than you are.
>
> That's a big difference from other cultures. That's been our culture. It's the same
>
> within organizations. That's one of Confucian traditions. That's the principle of

Jang yu yu seo [장유유서, a hierarchical order between older and young people].

(Turn #23)

Other planners provide similar answers, as demonstrated by these direct quotes:

- Specially, Korean people are very sensitive about their age. I will be very stressful if my manager is younger than I am. (Yim, Turn #26)

- People are very age-conscious. Knowing someone's age makes me comfortable. (Han, Turn #23)

- I treat my subordinates differently based on their age. It is easier for me to work with people who are younger than I am. (Yoon, Turn #30)

- The age factor is very important. It's difficult for me to express my ideas in front of older people. Instead of me talking, I prefer listening to older people. (Kwon, Turn #31)

- I went to the tax office today. Since I look young for my age, a tax office didn't use honorific language for me. I want to look older. (Hong, Turn #35)

In addition to age, the principle of the Confucian hierarchical human relationship is also reflected in the boss-subordinate relationship. Data from interviews revealed that hierarchy in the planners' organizations reflects existential inequality between higher and lower organizational rank. Yoon who works at the central government pointed out,

The central government is a huge bureaucracy, and hierarchy is very much respected. The chain of command is critical here. The boss-subordinates relationship can be compared to the relationship between parents and children. Their relationship is vertical. (Turn #17)

Echoing this point, Hyun said, "Once my boss tells me what to do, I must do it.

Questioning his decision is not recommended. I can ask any questions about the task, but not about his decision" (Turn #20).

The hierarchical relationships between superiors and subordinates in the organizations are also reflected in subordinates' behavior about going home from work. Most of the participants except Hong and Koh addressed this behavior. Yim said, "We work 9 to 6. But, if my boss is still working, nobody can go home" (Turn #27). Similarly, Kwon stated, "If my boss is still at his office after 6, other people can't go home. I should figure out what my boss's mood (눈치, *noonchi*) about if it's time to go home" (Turn #32). Sung also added, "Subordinates can't go home, if superiors are still working. Specially, nobody can go home in government organizations. The superiors need to tell their subordinates to go home first, but they don't" (Turn #14). It is apparent that the superior's authority plays an important role in the subordinate's behavior.

With regards to program planning, data from the interviews revealed the impact of hierarchical human relationships on program planning processes and outcomes. First, the principle of *Jang yu yu seo* (a hierarchical order between older and young people) was reflected in program planning. Cho replied,

Older program planners often talk first at a planning meeting. If the older planners don't speak, the discussant gives an opportunity for them to say something. People are considerate of the older planners. Of course, the older planners already know what they should do at the meeting based on their age. (Turn #32 & 35)

This is one example that illustrates the importance of age to be strongly recognized by the planners. Since the planners believe that the older the person, the more powerful they are, some planners, Cho, Joo, Sung, and Choi addressed the issues that are related to their age.

The age factor in program planning is also related to power, which will be discussed in the section for the second research question in detail.

Second, the planners discussed that the contents of a planning proposal are often changed by the process of *kyul jae* (결재, approval from upper levels) without prior notice to the planners. Sung indicated,

I think I am an experienced and professional planner. However, there is nothing I can do, if the high-level people tackled some little problems that might be unimportant. Here is what happens. I send my planning proposal to my upper level manager, and the manager sends it to his upper level manager, and so on. That's the *kyul jae* procedure. The thing is that the contents of the proposal are changed as those managers or directors review it without consulting with me. That makes me crazy. Nevertheless, I can't voice my disagreement. If I do, that means I challenge their authority. I think that's very hierarchical. (Turn #19)

Joo also reflected on the *kyul jae* procedure. He pointed out,

The contents of the program were often changed by the manager, the manager's manager, and the top manager. As a result, the program that I developed changed into a completely new program. That's very common. I go to the manager's desk with the proposal for *kyul jae*. Then, my manager talks to the upper level manager for *kyul jae*. Then, the upper level manager goes to the upper level manager. I can't talk about the program to the upper level managers directly. (Turn #40)

It is apparent that their organizational structures cause the problems and issues during the approval procedure. However, most of all, the culture that respects existential hierarchy and authority is embedded within the organizations. Since the strong existential

hierarchy and authority in Korea are supported by not only the organizational structure, but also the hierarchical human relationships under the Confucian tradition. As a result, the planners' decisions and actions are controlled by hierarchy within organizations, and influence the entire program processes and outcomes. The hierarchical human relationships and power relations in program planning will be discussed in the section for the second research question in detail.

Propriety. The principle of propriety (예, *li*), one of the Confucian ethical values, is closely related to Confucian hierarchical human relationships. Under the Confucian tradition, *li* refers to rites, propriety and respect for social norms in which *Jang yu yu seo* (a hierarchical order between older and young people) prevails. *Li* is perceived as the rule or regulatory etiquette of the universe and of fundamental human behavior (Yum, 1988).

Based on interview data, it is clear that the principle of propriety is reflected within organizational culture and in program planning. Kwon emphasized, "The proper human relationships are more important than individuals' abilities in the organization. Propriety plays an important role in shaping the proper relationships" (Turn #34). Similarly, Joo, Jang, Koh, Choi, Han, and Yim described propriety as a critical factor that contributes to a harmonious human relationship. In other words, if a person fails to possess or show propriety in one's behavior to others, one cannot have good relationships with others. Joo stated,

> When I have a planning meeting for negotiating some things, I first show my
> respect for the stakeholders. I give them respect, even though I have more power.
> I try to please them first, and then convince them. (Turn #39).

Similar to Joo, Han pointed out,

Because I live and work in a small town, everybody knows who I am. The learners are my brother and sister's friends, cousins, nieces, uncles, and so on. Everybody is related to each other in some way. That's why I should be polite and respectful towards the learners. (Turn #33)

The principle of propriety is also closely related to the idea of respect of hierarchy, where social norms are conceptualized as regulating *Jang yu yu seo*. Cho indicated, "I treat older planners with respect. I am very cautious about showing propriety for them" (Turn #34). She further reasoned,

When I was a young planner, I was very careful not to be rude to others. I didn't want to be perceived as rude. So, I paid special attention to propriety. In order to behave properly, I didn't share my opinions with other people. Although nobody told me to do this, I knew that I should behave according to my age. (Turn #43)

In addition to propriety and hierarchy, Koh addressed the issue of a courtesy protocol for bosses or high-level figures. She pointed out, "When the head of our organization is present at an event, we should treat him as a VIP according to a courtesy protocol" (Turn #27). Yim provided a viable explanation:

It's all about the courtesy protocol for our big boss. Why do we have to worry so much about who's going to sit where? If the boss sits here, who's going to sit next to him? I think that's excessive loyalty to him. I am upset when our staff only cares about the courtesy protocol for the boss, not the program and learners. They only care what the boss thinks about the program. But, I think it is more important to care about the learners who come and learn. (Turn #38)

Face. The concept of face plays a critical role in the Korean context. The issue of face in a Confucian context is closely related to other concepts such as social status, reputation, prestige, dignity, and honor (Ho, 1976). The findings of this study support the above views. Hyun explained,

> During planning meetings, people don't feel free to express their ideas, because they don't want to lose their face. What if I am wrong? They're used to seeing themselves through others' eyes. That's why it is difficult for them to convey their ideas. People have fear of judgment from others. (Turn #30)

Hyun believes that Korean culture has been relatively monolithic, so Koreans believe what is different is wrong or not good.

The concept of face is also closely related to *Jang yu yu seo* (a hierarchical order between older and young people) and propriety. Koh's response reflects both hierarchy and propriety:

> Although my explanation of the learning community concept is too short and somewhat vague, older people who are at the meeting are reluctant to ask questions about that concept. That's why I always try to explain them in as much detail as I can. I think that's propriety for the older people. They don't want to lose their face. Because I am an expert on this concept, I think it is quite OK for them to ask some questions. However, since they have been working in this field for 15-20 years, it is uncomfortable for them to ask questions of a young person like me. (Turn #21)

Similar to Koh, Joo also added that the concept of face influenced decision-making. He said,

As a program planner who has a higher degree in adult education, I don't think

that the plan is going to work the way he decided it should. Even though I talked

to him and tried to convince him about this, he won't change because of face. The

manager thinks that he is the person who is in a high-level position, and makes the

decision. He doesn't like being taught by a young and low-level position person

like me. Because of saving his face, he won't listen to my advice. (Turn #32)

As Koh and Joo argued, face can be a big part of making decisions in program planning.

Older people do not want to lose face in front of younger people. Losing face means the

sense of being shamed. Younger people are also considerate of older people's feelings

and help older people maintain their face.

The planners also addressed that their behavior that they are very conscious of

other people's eyes is closely related to the concept of face. As Hyun noted above, they

stated that people are extremely mindful of seeing themselves through others' eyes. Yoon

pointed out, "Face is very important and reflected in various ways in the organization.

For example, a small thing that could be communicated by persons should be

communicated with a formal document. The organization likes being formal" (Turn #35).

Jang provided a viable explanation:

For example, face is reflected in the process of selecting an instructor and training

facility, because showing off is important here. Who is the instructor? Which

facility? I should be conscious of other people's eyes, because the CEO is coming

to the training. If the CEO is not coming, I would not book a conference room in a

five-star hotel. But, if he is coming, all other things should be leveled up to save

face for him. If the training session is held at a cheap hotel, what would other

people say about us? (Turn #33)

Similarly, Yim shares her story about feedback from her section chief:

My section chief said, "We can't do this, Yim. How could Mr. M (the head of our

organization) come and make an opening speech for only 50 people?" If the class

size is over 50, I think the quality of the course decreases. So, I decided 50

participants should be the maximum in the course. However, the section chief

didn't like that. He yelled at me, "Yim, we can't invite Mr. M here with only 50

participants. Do 100!" In the end, I decided to allow 100. (Turn #40)

As Jang and Yim noted, face influenced the planners' actions and decisions in

program planning. On the positive side, however, the concept of face has contributed to

rapid growth of lifelong education in Korea. Speaking of the Korean Lifelong Learning

Festival, Cho remarked,

Face is one of the factors that have contributed to growth of Korean lifelong

education. If a city is hosting the big event, other cities have to host the event too,

because of others' eyes. If you can do, I can do too. That's why Korean people are

easily swept along by fads. The same thing is happening in lifelong education in

Korea. Since other countries are doing lifelong education, we're also doing it

whatever it is. (Turn #52)

Cho further elaborated,

Face is important. The host city for the Lifelong Learning Festival shows off,

because of other people's eyes. Because the Minister of Education comes to the

event, the city has to show much more than the city got. Although face has

contributed to Korea's recent lifelong education boom, I am concerned about how

much the boom has contributed quality-wise. We need to stop showing off. We

need to stop paying too much money for decoration purposes at the learning

events. (Turn #53 & 54)

It is apparent that the concept of face along with hierarchical human relationships

and propriety, illustrated by the planners' stories, applies to program planning process

and outcomes.

Bond of affection (Jeong, 정). Jeong refers to "a bond of affection or feelings of

empathy to others" (Yang, 2006, p. 285). Efforts to maintain harmony are also reflected

in the emotional dimension. The emotional dimension is critical in highly collective and

hierarchical Korean culture where harmonious human relations are important.

Based on interview data, it is clear that *jeong* is reflected within organizational

culture and in program planning. Specially, the planners regarded *jeong* as a close-knit

and personal human relationship. Yoon described *jeong* within his organization as

follows:

Jeong really matters, because I can work with "my people." Our teamwork is

stronger, because we've known each other for years, and I can treat them like my

family. However, if I have *jeong* with a person (have a personal relationship with

a person), but he is not competent to perform, our team will be in jeopardy. But,

usually I can't ignore *jeong*. If I don't have *jeong*, and care about *jeong*, people

would treat me as a heartless bastard who doesn't care about his friends and

fellow. (Turn #39)

Jang provided a similar discussion about *jeong*:

> One of the difficult ones in Korea is *jeong*. The concept can be expanded to a sense of closeness that comes from alumni and/or "hometown buddy." I don't know about other countries, but this is very important in Korea. A close-knit and personal human relationship influences everything. If I were in charge of hiring a new employee, I would select a person who has attended the same university. Even though the applicant was not among the top scorers, I chose him. It happens. (Turn #24)

> As Yoon and Jangs pointed out, *jeong* is deeply rooted in Korean organizations and is a critical factor in the planners' decision-making. Yim's following statement represents this well:

> *Jeong* works for everything. For example, although I am the person who is rational and cares much more about quality of programs, I want to hire a part-time instructor, work together with a consulting firm, and contract with a printing company that I have known personally. We exchange *jeong*. I trust them and am happy to work together with them. Working with people or unknown organizations makes me uncomfortable. Because if there is *jeong* between us, I can ask them anything I like. No risk. These informal and personal relationships help a lot. (Turn #30 & 31)

She emphasized that the informal and personal relationships between program planners and stakeholders are critical in decision-making. Cho stated, "*Jeong* is important, when negotiating. I should speak up for the person who has *jeong* with me at the planning table.

Because of *jeong*, I become emotionally attached to the person" (Turn #42). Yoon further articulated,

> When gathering information and feedback for planning this project, I listened to researchers and professors who I am familiar with. I just picked up the phone and asked them personally. I called the professors who I know personally, and consulted with them in matters. Other professors from other universities might have different ideas. When I make a decision, I use these informal and personal relationships that come from Korean *jeong*. These relationships can influence critical decision-making. (Turn #45)

In fact, during our many informal conversations, Yoon indicated that he has a list of people to call when he needs help. Similar to Yoon, Sung points out,

> When I plan programs, *jeong* and human network are important. Because there are not many universities that have programs for lifelong education, there are only a few professors who I can contact. So, the fact that I am one of the advisees of my major professor is helpful and useful. Especially, when I need instructors for a workshop that I plan, human network is the best way to find and get in touch with people. It really works. I maximize the use of the human network. (Turn #19)

As a matter of fact, for the planners, *jeong* as an overarching concept in human relations is regarded as a "human network." Yim explained,

> I think the driving force for my planning work comes from my "human network." I have used the network to solve many problems, and it has helped me a lot. I think "human network" is the most critical factor in program planning. (Turn #42)

By using her professional network, she was able to go somewhere for information and problem solving. Yim shared another comment about how her human network had helped her to achieve her goals. When she moved to the current position of the lifelong education program specialist, she was in charge of planning a train-the-trainer certification program for literacy education. However, since she was new to this region, she had a hard time recruiting participants. The following is what Yim told the participants:

> I can't do it by myself. I am not from this city. Since you are from this city, utilize your human networks, and go out and bring more people. Otherwise, the program will not run. (Turn #43)

Most planners used *jeong* and personal networking interchangeably. Personal networking, like the principle of *jeong* that emphasizes the interpersonal relationships between people based on trust, is a reciprocal process based on the exchange of help and support. Thus, the planners believed that maintaining good personal networks and trusting informal relationships with people contributes to building strong *jeong*.

   Distinctive gender roles. Historically Confucianism has been criticized as being sexist. Traditional Korean society tied women's roles and functions to the home where their roles and functions were severely restricted. Jang and Merriam (2004) argue that despite recent social changes in Korea, "Confucianism still strongly dominates Koreans' ways of thinking and limits women's lives" (p. 274). When asked about describing gender issues that the planners face, most planners talked about their various experiences and the challenges they encountered. Speaking of women's roles, Han remarked,

Women's roles are still smaller than men's. People believe that gender roles in

Korea has changed, and equalized. Although the ratio of women in the workplace

continues to rise, and women are smarter than men are, men are considered more

reliable and desirable than women in the workplace. (Turn #28)

Similar to Han, Kwon pointed out, "I think women's roles are still limited. The fact that

the Korean government established the Ministry of Gender Equality for prevention and

relief of gender discrimination indicates remaining gender inequalities in Korea" (Turn

#38).

Jang further explained how women's roles are presented within the organization.

He explained,

Gender role is embedded in our everyday lives. I don't think it's a matter of

inequality, but distinctive gender role is reflected in our daily lives. Recently there

are more women in the workplace. But, there is something else besides their job

performance. When the company hires a person, it wants the "something" from

him or her. The something, for example, could be…when there is a business need

to socialize with contractors, superiors want a subordinate who is a good alcohol

drinker, entertains people, and sings well at a karaoke pub. Nobody mentions this,

but there is something. Superiors can't ask women subordinates to do this,

because of sexual harassment, which is a very sensitive issue. I think it will take

time to break this kind of mentality. (Turn #26)

Having spent over 15 years at the central government, Yoon had something to say

about gender issues. He said,

When working together with women within the organization, there is something that women don't have or I don't like. For example, after finishing a project, we have an after-work gathering which involves food and alcohol. But, women usually don't like the gathering, and go home, because they have a family to take care of. Although there is a position that requires working alone rather than with other people, some job tasks require meeting stakeholders to negotiate with them. The person who takes care of the task should be aggressive, buy some drinks for the stakeholders, meet and drink with the press, and lobby. However, women are not welcomed here, because they have not raised or trained to do those. (Turn #41)

When addressing gender issues, women planners especially talked about issues with their age. The women planners believe that a combination of their age and gender causes twice the problems at work. Cho's remark was representative:

When a young woman like me speaks up at a meeting, I've seen some people act uncomfortable. When I am the first to initiate a handshake, I recognize that my behavior can make some men feel awkward. To some degree, working young women still have difficulties to deal with. (Turn #33)

When I asked Cho to describe a planning meeting with people who do not know her well, she replied,

Sometimes people ask my age. I don't give them a direct answer. But, when I talk to them, I try to make them believe that I am over 40 years old. Otherwise, people are not easily convinced by young women's words. (Turn #60)

Seo shared a story about being a young woman:

As an instructional designer, one of my tasks was to work closely with the

subject-matter experts who provided content for the e-learning program. In order

to get the content on time, I had to urge them to do their job on time. I sent them

e-mails and contacted them. I was 25 years old and the SMEs were 40-50 year-old

men. One time I was a little demanding for the contents, and one of the SMEs said

I was rude and unrespectful to them. I guess he told me this because I was a

young girl. (Turn #14)

Apparently, the SMEs expected Seo as a young woman to be submissive to them. As

mentioned above, if a program planner is a woman *and* young, she might experience

disadvantage or have a handicap in exercising power.

The first section of findings discussed what Confucian values influence program

planning processes and outcomes. The program planners interviewed for this study

described Confucian values as internalized and embedded within organizational culture.

The data collected from the interviews revealed that Confucian values were deeply rooted

in the program planners. Although each planner had their own way of seeing and doing

things, there were certain common values and principles that shape their daily routine and

responsibilities and influence the way that they make judgments about their work.

Confucian Values, and Social and Political Relations in Program Planning

This section discusses the findings based on the second research question. It

addresses in what ways social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values

to enable or constrain planners' actions. As Cervero and Wilson (1994a, 1996) point out,

the planners recognized program planning as a social activity where people interact with

others and make judgments in social and organizational contexts that determine the features of an educational program, such as its purpose, content, audience, and format. Most importantly, all of the planners interviewed showed in some manner that the influence of Confucian values and existing social and political relationships that structure planning tables enabled and constrained their actions. The planners work in socially and politically constructed places in which Confucian values are integrated into organizational culture. As I continued to work with the data, four major categories reoccurred during the course of the interviews. These categories include: (a) power relations and Confucian values; (b) exercise of power in a Confucian context; (c) the intersection at the planning table of Confucian values and people's interests; and (d) negotiation within a Confucian context.

Power relations and Confucian values. In this study, the planners recognized program planning as a social activity that involves interacting with others and inevitably involves power relations that influence whose interests are considered in the decisions at the planning table. The planners pointed out that the hierarchical human relationships based on Confucian values determine inequalities among people and a pre-existing capacity to act at the planning table.

Data from the interviews revealed that the planners' capacity to act is rooted in socio-cultural conditions. First of all, being old in Korea means that seniors have a certain capacity to act rooted in specific socially-structured human relationships. More specifically, the principle of *Jang yu yu seo* (장유유서, a hierarchical order between older and young people) that is derived from the Confucian principles of the five cardinal human relationships (오륜) was evident throughout the interviews with the planners. The

interviews clarified how the principle of *Jang yu yu seo* applies to power relationships in program planning. Working on establishing a basic training curriculum and infrastructure for training, Choi provided a viable explanation:

> As an assistant manager of the HR division at that time, I had full power and authority over the training project for engineers. I told you that the subject-matter experts were executive officers and chief managers. So, I had to treat them with respect. That was difficult for me. When some of them came and saw me, they immediately recognized the age difference. Of course, they were older than I was. Once they knew that they were older than I was, they stopped using honorific language. They started using phrases such as, "Hey, boy." So, it started like this, and I had to beg them to get the content. I had to. (Turn #8)

Even though his organizational rank was relatively high within his organization, his power became greatly diminished due to the age difference. Thus, although Choi's power was exercised continually while he planned the program, the success of his exercise of power was affected by the Confucian principle of *Jang yu yu seo*. In other words, Choi had to act within given relationships of power, which came with his job and age in this case, and he did not really know how his relationship and negotiation with the subject-matter experts (SMEs) would turn out. Once he met the SMEs, the power relationships between Choi and the SMEs were re-established in the Confucian context.

Adding to the perception that the older the person, the more powerful they are, Yim provided another vivid illustration:

> When you look at me, I look young for my age. When I entered a classroom to conduct a workshop or to announce something, people in the class recognized that

I am young, and seemed to look down on me. Thus, now, I intentionally tell

people how old I am as soon as I enter a classroom. Then, I start teaching.

Especially, if there are many older learners in a classroom, I want to build a

strong image of myself to them. If I am not doing this, I can't manage my class.

As you talked about power a minute ago, of course, I respect learners, but if I

don't have power over them, I don't think I can work here. I am a person who sets

my own standards and never gives up on what I want. (Turn #36)

Yim told her exact age, because looking young for her age made Yim less powerful. Apparently, Yim's capacity to act was rooted in socio-cultural conditions in which certain Confucian values are respected.

All interview participants recognized the importance of age. In fact, asking and confirming whether the principle of *Jang yu yu seo* influenced planners' decisions and actions did not make sense to them, because there is no doubt age is very important in Korea. For example, when asked about describing age and power relations, Choi just laughed and told me, "Why are you asking me such a silly question?", because the answer is clearly "Yes, age is very important in Korea."

Second, in addition to the principle of *Jang yu yu seo*, data from the interviews revealed that organizational rank and seniority are directly related to power relations and the hierarchical human relationships. Although the notion of position power that comes from the specific job or titles people hold and seniority has universal applicability, its manifestations are deeply rooted in Confucian hierarchical human relationships. Sung pointed out,

Korea is still a hierarchical society. I heard that hierarchy was more sharply

defined in past years. Organizational rank and hierarchy remain important here.

Thus, we care about who's coming to the meeting, and what the person's

organizational rank is, because the person will be treated according to one's rank.

(Turn #29)

In Sung's story, I saw how Confucian hierarchical human relationships shaped the

judgments about specific features of the program that she planned. The hierarchy-

conscious mindset of Korean people mattered because it defined who sat at the planning

table. Sung worked this socio-culturally constructed planning table to make decisions

about the program.

Other planners also addressed the hierarchy-conscious mindset of the Korean

people. For example, Jang who is in charge of training and career development for 2500

employees, shared his story:

I tried a new way of grouping over 2000 trainees for the Culture Change

Leadership Training. Usually, since there is no way to offer a training session for

the entire staff at the same time and location, we divide them into groups

according to their organizational rank. So, for example, if you are at a certain

level, you go to a certain session. I have been using their organizational rank as a

criterion to decide whether a person belongs to which training session. However, I

wanted to group them according to their tasks for this training, because I thought

that the training would be more effective and relevant to them. But, I found it

didn't work well, because people really care about their organizational rank.

(Turn #18)

Similar to Sung's story, the tradition of Confucian hierarchical human relationships

provided the frame for making fundamental decisions about the program's purpose,

audience, and its format.

The hierarchy-conscious mindset also affects decision-making dynamics. The

kyul jae (결재, approval from upper levels) procedure represents and reinforces the

straight line of authority that comes from the top of the organization. Sung's following

statement explains respect of hierarchy as well as the vertical *kyul jae* procedure in the

decision-making process:

> I think I am an experienced and professional planner. However, there is nothing I
>
> can do, if the high-level people tackled some little problems that might be
>
> unimportant. Here is what happens. I send my planning proposal to my upper
>
> level manager, and the manager sends it to his upper level manager, and so on.
>
> That's the *kyul jae* procedure. The thing is that the contents of the proposal are
>
> changed as those managers or directors review it without consulting with me.
>
> That makes me crazy. Nevertheless, I can't voice my disagreement. If I do, that
>
> means I challenge their authority. I think that's very hierarchical. (Turn #19)

Apparently the vertical decision-making structure in which Sung was not able to

adequately represent her program that she had developed for months influenced planning

processes and outcomes.

Similar to Sung, Koh explained,

> The *kyul jae* first goes to my section chief, and then to the manager. After the
>
> manager signs, I take the *kyul jae* to the director of the bureau. After the director
>
> signs, I give it to the section chief or the manager. Then, the section chief or

manager take the *kyul jae* to the assistant president. Finally, the assistant president signs, the section chief or manager goes to the president office. When I first came here, I couldn't understand this procedure, because I am the one who planned the program, Why can't I go to the top for *kyul jae*? (Turn #14)

When asked about describing power relationships and program planning, some planners explained how the combinations of age, organizational rank, and seniority create complex power relations, which are rooted in the principle of Confucian hierarchical human relationships. Yoon explains,

If an administrator is young, he can't do whatever he wants as an older administrator does, because he should take into account others' age and rank. If his age combines with organizational rank, he would get great power. Usually, since the older the person, the higher the organizational rank, power doubles in organizations. (Turn #31)

Choi further elaborated,

Hierarchical order in organizations consists of combinations of seniority, age, and organizational rank - date you started employment here, age, and rank. Seniority doesn't mean an employee has a high ranking in the organization. Therefore, these three factors act together in some way. My organizational rank is around the middle level. I am the manager of the department, and there is a senior assistant who is my subordinate. But, he is seven years older than me. So, I can't tell him to do something as I tell my other subordinates. I still can't say, "Do it." I say, "Can you do this for me?" I kindly ask him to do something. I treat him this way within the organization. If we see each other outside of company, for example,

during teatime, lunch, or other social gatherings, I am like the youngest brother.

(Turn #22)

Choi's power was rooted in a specific socio-culturally structured relationship, which came from Confucian values. His story clearly shows that power relations are complex and multi-layered, and signified by the hierarchy-conscious mindset of Korean people.

Third, the socio-culturally structured nature of power was also related to gender issues. Most of the planners interviewed believed that women's roles are still limited, and gender issues which are derived from the traditional cultural values are closely related to power relations in program planning. Specially, as Cho and Sung argued, working as a young woman in Korea is challenging in many ways. The women planners emphasized that a combination of their age and gender causes twice the problems at work. Most planners noted that women enjoy equal rights with men at work, but traditions that disempower and devalue women are still observed. This point is best conveyed by Kwon. He shared a story about a meeting for the Lifelong Learning Festival. Kwon said,

When we share our ideas and thoughts at a meeting, there is no big difference between men and women. But, when deciding who's doing what, there is a difference. When the team leader decides who will perform what jobs and tasks, he does consider gender difference. The team leader delegates more responsible tasks to men. (Turn #47)

He continued,

When we had a meeting with other organizations, there was a woman planner who was also a team leader for another organization. She was very outspoken and aggressive at the meeting. Well, it seemed like everything went fine at the

planning table, but after the meeting I heard a man said "She is only a woman,

after all." That was kind of a sexist comment. Some men chat privately about

women who are very tough and aggressive. There is something going on. I guess

people have tendency to be negative about women who are aggressive and

obstinate. (Turn #48)

Kwon's comments emphasize that these sexist perceptions are deeply rooted in everyday

life and are often reflected in program planning. Most planners stated the same thought as

Kwon. As Jang and Choi addressed the gender issues in the previous section, even though

legislation prohibits sexual harassment in the workplace, and direct sexual harassment

has decreased, they pointed out traditions remain unchanged and tangled in people's

thoughts.

There appeared to be much in common in terms of how women planners face

power relations and pre-existing stereotypical images of women in the workplace.

Specially, the women planners' power is closely related to their age. This was reported as

the most commonly addressed issue by all women planners interviewed. Speaking of the

Lifelong Learning City Project, Yim said, "The mindset of denigrating young women is a

very real and serious issue. This tradition is very common. Specially, since most lifelong

education program specialists are young, their organizations often look down on them"

(Turn #37).

Seo, an instructional designer of an e-learning company, shared her frustration

when dealing with stakeholders who are mostly older men. Seo said,

I was a woman, and young and inexperienced, and my job was so detailed that I

could not even have a chance to talk about the big picture. Because my job was so

detailed, actions that I was taking were really like throwing a pebble into the ocean. I saw myself as too small. So, I didn't even think about taking actions. I didn't even think that I should say something at the planning table. Because everybody else was middle-aged men…I think I was the only woman there. I was the only 25-year-old woman. The meeting went something like this: A manager from the H Information Systems gave a brief presentation. Other middle-aged men sit and surrounded the manager. Then, my manager talked, and then a man talked about the system. I just handed out materials that I prepared. I didn't even think that I should say something at the planning table. People who attended at the meeting were mainly in their 40s, at least 30s. During the meeting, I found something wrong, but I thought that my small input would not make any difference. You know, I felt like my dreams were shot down, even before they began. (Turn #25, 26, & 27)

Even though Seo had substantial expertise and a graduate degree in instructional design and human resource development, she demurred before the older men and was unable to speak.

Apparently, the women planners had much less capacity to act at the planning table with men planners. In other words, although the women planners were the same skill-level as other people in each situation, their capacity to act was different because of the socio-culturally structured gender relations in which they were situated. The point is that because of the cultural tradition in Korea, the pre-existing structural capacity to act is relatively stable, and these culturally-influenced power relations play out in the planning table.

Exercise of power in a Confucian context. As I noted earlier, a great deal of power people have in organizations comes with specific socio-culturally structured relationships that are derived from certain Confucian values. More specifically, the hierarchy-conscious mindset of Korean people defines who sits at the planning table, where decisions are made, and how interests are achieved by exercising of power.

The planners acknowledged the existence of pre-existing power relationships that are rooted in the Confucian value system, while indicating that they dealt with the problem of how to promote their interests by exercising power. In fact, being a young program planner is tough and it is difficult for young women planners to exercise power in every situation. Cho briefly discussed how she felt when she was a young planner:

> I was very young and sometimes wanted to look older. I felt myself too small and knew nothing. Because that's our culture, I was very careful about this. The fact that I was young and inexperienced was my handicap. Being young means being inexperienced and naïve in Korea. You know, Korean people care much about this. What if people look down on me because of this? (Turn #61)

For Cho, young age, per se, was akin to a handicap in the eyes of people. As other planners mentioned, the older the person, the more powerful they are. Similarly, 25 year-old Sung also shared her frustration as a young woman planner:

> People say that I am insolent. I am young and highly educated, and have a loud voice. I have to say what I want to say, but when I say something with a normal voice, people say that I am insolent, because I am young. Since I am young, I should be submissive and always say, "Yes, yes." But, I often say, "I don't think so." Then, people say that I am insolent; especially when I first worked here. So, I

cried a lot, because I couldn't say anything at all. Nobody listened to me. This

made me sad. I might be the extreme case; young and a woman. (Turn #17 & 18)

Seo is pursing a doctoral degree in adult education not only to move her career ahead, but

also to get a diploma, so people cannot look down on her. In other words, since being a

young woman is a clear professional handicap for program planners, having a doctoral

degree elevates one's power status and gives social acceptance.

When asked about describing gender and exercise of power, Han explained how

the combination of gender, age, and organizational rank causes difficulties in achieving

her interests. Han said,

> Gender matters. For example, I want to do a project. I want to raise money for the
>
> project. Who's meeting with members of the municipal assembly really matters.
>
> As a program planner, I could better convince them, but I don't have enough
>
> organizational rank and level. It's also related to age. Sure it is. Although I could
>
> better present information about the project and fight for money more effectively
>
> than my section chief, my organizational rank is not enough…, because of my age
>
> and being a woman too. As a program planner, if I visit a place to check things
>
> out, even though I am an important person in this situation, I found myself
>
> bringing coffee to men and treating them nice, explaining things to them nicely,
>
> even though I am the inspector. It happens, because I am a woman, and because
>
> of organizational rank. (Turn #30)

Han's capacity to act was constrained by the socio-culturally structured relationship,

which mostly came from Confucian values. In other words, Han planned her program in a

situation in which the pre-existing power relationships are firmly rooted in the Confucian tradition and this tradition functioned as a limiting and constraining force.

While power relations based on the Confucian values enabled and constrained the planners' access to and capacity to act at the planning table, the outcome of the planners' exercise of power was not pre-determined. For example, Choi explained how he utilized hierarchy and power relations in program planning, when he was developing a basic training curriculum and infrastructure for the technical staff of his company. He had a hard time getting resources and materials from the subject-matter experts (SMEs) who are mostly older than he is and higher in organizational rank. When he was struggling with the difficulties, he utilized power relations this way:

I decided to ask the executive director to make phone calls about the issue on behalf of me. There is a big difference between my phone call and his phone call. His call is very likely to solve my problem, even though he and I talk about the same thing on the phone. (Turn #33)

He went on with another example of utilizing power relations:

I can't keep calling, asking, and bothering the subject-matter experts to send me the resources and materials. It is difficult for me. If the current director of the research center was a high-level executive in the entire organization, I could use his name to have the SMEs do this. My former boss, the director of the center, was the chief vice president for the entire organization. He was the second highest-ranking member within the organization. He's gone though. I used his name to make something work. When I talked to the SMEs, I said, "The vice president wants you to this, so please give me something by a certain date." It

worked! You know why it worked, because the high-ranking officer told them to do it. The thing is that the vice president didn't know anything about this. I lied to them. (Turn #35)

Choi used a tactic of legitimate power that is derived from the vice president's position within the organization. The SMEs recognized and accepted the authority of the vice president's position. Choi knew how the SMEs would react to authority, and he utilized the hierarchy-conscious mindset of the SMEs. Although Choi had less power than the SMEs in terms of age and organizational rank, he did resolve the problems by maneuvering the authority of the vice president's position for getting resources and materials from the SMEs. This example suggests that even in asymmetrical power relationships, power is contingent on how people choose to use that power.

Similarly, Yim, as the lifelong education program specialist of a municipal government, told me that even though she was in a subordinate relationship to her manager, her deserved recognition within the organization and the organizational structure that respects her expertise and professionalism limited how the manager could exercise his power. Yim said, "My manager has been very supportive regarding developing educational programs. He has let me do things that I planned, and never disturbed me in planning programs. Planners from other organizations always tell me how lucky I am" (Turn #20). Although Yim's capacity to act rooted in the Confucian tradition was distributed asymmetrically to people at the planning table, her power relations were not static, but were instead negotiated at the planning table.

The intersection at the planning table of Confucian values and people's interests. As Wilson and Cervero (1996) point out, people's interests in program planning are

causally related to the programs that are developed. People involved in planning educational programs "exercise their power in accordance with their own specific interests and the interests of others they represent at the table" (Cervero & Wilson, 2006, p. 88). Thus, it is important which people attend planning meetings and whose interests are being considered in the decisions being made.

Two important findings need to be made about how people's interests play out with Confucian values at the planning table. First, Confucian values were integrated into the planners' complex sets of interests, and were manifested at the planning tables. The planners in this study worked with the complex sets of interests of the stakeholders, who represented their own interests. When asked about describing the complex sets of interests, the planners talked about their own specific interests and the interests of others, and how Confucian values that were integrated into the complex sets of interests lead them to act in certain ways, especially when confronted with situations in which people must make a judgment about their programs. For example, Kwon, who participated in planning and coordinating for a lifelong learning festival, shared his story. There were three organizations responsible for the big event, and conflicts between the three different organizations. In order to reconcile the competing interests between the three organizations, what Kwon's organization as a host and a location for the festival did was to sacrifice its interests for the other organizations, even though his organization had power over the other organizations. The main reason was to maintain harmony between the organizations, so that the festival can continue to succeed (Turn #12). Cho shared a similar story as Kwon's, while attending a planning meeting:

When I was a young planner, I was very careful not to be rude to others. I didn't want to be perceived as rude. So, I paid special attention to propriety. In order to behave properly, I didn't share my opinions with other people. Although nobody told me to do this, I knew that I should behave according to my age. (Turn #43)

Even though she had her own interests at the planning table, she gave up her interests for other people. If she is perceived as a person who is rude and insolent, and does not consider the Confucian principle of propriety, she would be facing trouble in many regards. Confucian hierarchical human relationships and gender issues also contributed to power relationships that inevitably influence which and whose interests should be severed. The combination of her age and gender affected the power relationships between Cho and other people at the planning table. Thus, although the features of the educational program were determined by the interests that people including Cho represented at the planning table, Cho had to behave and act according to the cultural frame of reference of Korean mainstream culture.

Second, Cervero and Wilson (2006) point out that the complex sets of interests that people represent at the planning table are related to educational outcomes as well as social and political outcomes. In this study, the planners demonstrated how the Confucian values were integrated with political objectives, while affecting decisions regarding the program's instructional design and implementation. For example, Jang, a senior assistant of the human resource development team for a well-known food company, explains,

For example, face is reflected in the process of selecting an instructor and training facility, because showing off is important here. Who is the instructor? Which facility? I should be conscious of other people's eyes, because the CEO is coming

to the training. If the CEO is not coming, I would not book a conference room in a five-star hotel. But, if he is coming, all other things should be leveled up to save face for him. If the training session is held at a cheap hotel, what would other people say about us? (Turn #33)

Although the program's educational objectives were important, Jang had to consider political objectives. Jang had political interests included improving the status of his HRD team by increasing the quality and status of teaching location. The concept of face that is related to the issue of a courtesy protocol for bosses or high-level figures was also manifested along with the political objectives.

When Yim was in charge of planning a train-the-trainer certification program for literacy education, her supervisor brought interests related to social and political outcomes. In Yim's words,

My section chief said, "We can't do this, Yim. How could Mr. M (the head of our organization) come and make an opening speech for only 50 people?" If the class size is over 50, I think the quality of the course decreases. So, I decided 50 participants should be the maximum in the course. However, the section chief didn't like that. He yelled at me, "Yim, we can't invite Mr. M here with only 50 participants. Do 100!" In the end, I decided to allow 100. (Turn #40)

Yim provided another example:

It's all about the courtesy protocol for our big boss. Why do we have to worry so much about who's going to sit where? If the boss sits here, who's going to sit next to him? I think that's excessive loyalty to him. I am upset when our staff only cares about the courtesy protocol for the boss, not the program and learners. They

only care what the boss thinks about the program. But, I think it is more important

to care about the learners who come and learn. (Turn #38)

Yim had interests related to the educational outcomes of the program, and cares more

about learners and the quality of the course. However, the section chief, her supervisor,

had interests that are unrelated to the educational outcomes. Because of the presence of

the head of the organization for the training session, the supervisor wanted to make things

look good for the head. The supervisor was extremely mindful of seeing the educational

program through others' eyes, which was closely related to the Confucian principle of

face. Additionally, the supervisor had his personal interests of improving his standing

with the head. As mentioned previously, the concept of face is also related to the issue of

a courtesy protocol for bosses or high-level figures. Most planners interviewed said that

people who want faster promotion at work should be good at showing courtesy protocol

for their superiors. Apparently, the supervisor had his personal and political interests, and

his interests that were manifested by the Confucian values led him to act in certain way.

In summary, as the cases have shown, of the complex sets of interests that people

brought to the planning table, not all of them were related to educational objectives.

Some interests were related to political objectives that influenced decision-making in

conjunction with the Confucian values that are manifested in various forms and degrees.

Negotiation within a Confucian context. As Cervero and Wilson (2006) argue,

because two or more people exercise power to represent their own and other's interests at

the planning table, negotiation as a practical and political form of action is crucial to

program planning. I need to point out two major findings about how negotiation is

approached and carried out in the Confucian context. First, all of the planners interviewed

showed in some manner that asymmetrical power relationships that are derived from

Confucian values influence negotiation behaviors and outcomes. Cho's statement

represents this well:

> Confucian values greatly influence negotiation behavior and outcomes. Thus, if
> there is an important planning meeting for negotiating something, a person who
> has the capacity to influence others attends the meeting. Although the person
> doesn't know much about the topic in detail, the organization sends the person to
> the meeting based on his age and organizational rank. Expertise not only comes
> from a person who has extensive knowledge, but also is supported and
> accompanied by their age and rank within an organization. It really matters in
> planning and negotiating. When a person who has power based on his position in
> an organization talks about something, even though he is not my boss and I don't
> work for the organization, I respect him for that. The thing is if respect of
> hierarchy is strong, others can't talk. For example, if a person who has a director-
> level position from an organization speaks out about an issue at a meeting,
> planners from other organizations are not comfortable in talking openly about the
> issue. People recognize their own hierarchical positions. That's one of our cultural
> characteristics. Actually, I came to the meeting on behalf of my region, and others
> came to the meeting on behalf of their regions. It's an equal situation for both, but
> the people themselves don't think that, because that's our culture. Before I go to a
> planning meeting, I already have some information on people who are coming.
> Even I have some information about their organizational rank and age. It is
> necessary for me to have the information, because not only do I not want to make

a mistake, but also I want to plan ahead for them. It is an essential part of negotiation. I often utilize this strategy. Ironically, I can lose status, if I tell people how old I am at meetings. If that's the case, I never talk about my age. (Turn #55-59)

Cho emphasized that the amount of power that is derived from Confucian hierarchical human relationships is critical to making judgments, and this hierarchy-conscious mindset of Korean people affects different approaches to negotiation. Indeed, she had a strategy to be able to anticipate and analyze situations so that she could determine an approach.

As Cho mentioned above, "If a person who has a director-level position from an organization speaks out an issue at a meeting, planners from other organizations are not comfortable talking openly about the issue." People recognize their own hierarchal positions at the planning table, and this hierarchy-mindset affects how people interact with a person who has power in a highly asymmetrical relationship. Kwon provided a similar thought, remarking, "The age factor is very important. It's difficult for me to express my ideas in front of older people. Instead of me talking, I prefer listening to older people" (Turn #31). Joo also addressed the issue of the Confucian principle of *Jang yu yu seo*. He said, "I have a hard time making my ideas seem good and convincing. I think people seem to feel such things: a young guy like me tries to teach older people, and wants to do something together" (Turn #25 & 26). Because he is young, his words are less convincing than older people's are. Joo's description seems to suggest that the older the person, the more powerful they are in situations in which people negotiate personal and organizational interests. In fact, using the Confucian principle of propriety, Joo

developed his own strategy on how to negotiate with older people. Joo stated, "When I have a planning meeting for negotiating some things, I first show my respect for the stakeholders. I give them respect, even though I have more power. I try to please them first, and then convince them" (Turn #39).

Gender also matters here. As I noted earlier, the planners acknowledged the existence of pre-existing power relationships that are rooted in Confucian values, while indicating that they dealt with the problem of how to promote their interests by exercising power. Being a young woman planner is tough and it is difficult for them to exercise power in situations in which people negotiate personal and organizational interests. The women planners - Cho, Yim, Sung, Seo, and Han - shared their stories about how a combination of their age and gender caused twice the problems at the planning table. Han's remark is representative:

> Gender matters. For example, I want to do a project. I want to raise money for the project. Who's meeting with members of the municipal assembly really matters. As a program planner, I could better convince them, but I don't have enough organizational rank and level. It's also related to age. Sure it is. Although I could better present information about the project and fight for money more effectively than my section chief, my organizational rank is not enough…, because of my age and being a woman too. (Turn #30)

Cho provided a similar discussion. She stated, "When a young woman like me speaks up at a meeting, I've seen people who are uncomfortable. To some degree, working young women still have difficulties to deal with" (Turn #30). Apparently, women *and* young

planners experience difficulties in exercising power in situations where they negotiate with people.

Although the asymmetrical power relationships that are rooted in Confucian values in negotiating situations were relatively stable, some of the planners counteracted power inequalities to achieve their interests. Choi's story fits well into here. When Choi was developing a basic training curriculum and infrastructure for the technical staff of his company, he had a hard time getting resources and materials from the SMEs who are mostly older than he is and higher in organizational rank. He used a tactic of legitimate power that is derived from the vice president's position within the organization. When he talked to the SMEs, he said, "The vice president wants you to this, so please give me something by a certain date." Choi knew how the SMEs would react to authority, and he utilized the hierarchy-conscious mindset of the SMEs. Although Choi had less power than the SMEs in terms of age and organizational rank, he did resolve the problems by maneuvering the authority of the vice president's position for getting resources and materials from the SMEs. In other words, Choi was able to counteract the SMEs's power by using the principle of *Jang yu yu seo* to get the materials and resources.

Second, most of the planners interviewed had a story to tell of their organizations' efforts to maintain group harmony and emphasize the common good and social harmony over individual interests in the Confucian context, and some described efforts to maintain harmony in negotiating situations. For example, Cho described how people approach conflict and negotiation at a planning table. She stated, "The planners avoid direct confrontations at the planning table. Although there is something unreasonable about a decision, the planners don't raise their voices at the planning table" (Turn #24). People

believe that confrontations and conflicts in that context may spoil harmony, and hurt anyone at the planning table. Thus, if there is something to talk about, people prefer meeting one-to-one with others after a planning meeting. Similar to Cho, Han pointed out, "If there is a disagreement at the planning table, I don't say no to anybody. I personally meet with the person later, and talk about my interests" (Turn #34). The amount of power that people bring to the planning meeting is relatively unimportant in these situations because group harmony is valued between unequals and links persons who have asymmetrical power relationships.

In addition to group harmony, some planners talked about *jeong*, the emotional dimension of group harmony, in negotiating situations. Since *jeong* is seen as an informal and personal relationship between people at the planning table, negotiation behaviors and outcomes are strongly influenced by *jeong*. For example, Cho stated, "*Jeong* is important, when negotiating. I should speak up for the person who has *jeong* with me at the planning table. Because of *jeong*, I become emotionally attached to the person" (Turn #42). Other planners gave numerous examples of how *jeong* influenced decision-making in negotiating situations both in a positive and negative way. Although the planners believed that *jeong* was one of the core values of Korean culture, they expressed their ambivalent feelings toward *jeong*. Because *jeong* affects the need for harmonious and reciprocal relationships between people, it is often regarded as irrational by the planners.

This section of findings discussed in what ways social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions. All of the planners interviewed showed in some manner that the influence of Confucian values and existing social and political relationships that structure planning tables enabled and

constrained their actions. Four major categories reoccurred during the course of the interviews. These categories include: (a) power relations and Confucian values; (b) exercise of power in a Confucian context; (c) the intersection at the planning table of Confucian values and people's interests; and (d) negotiation within a Confucian context.

The planners pointed out that the hierarchical human relationships based on Confucian values determine inequalities among people and the pre-existing capacity to act at the planning table, and the hierarchy-conscious mindset of Korean people defines who sits at the planning table, where decisions are made, and how interests are achieved by exercising of power. This section also examined how Confucian values were integrated into the planners' complex sets of interests including educational and political objectives for educational programs. Lastly, the section discussed how negotiation is approached and carried out in the Confucian context.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter presented the major findings of the study. The chapter began by providing an overview of the research participants. The profiles of thirteen program planners were presented in random order. The chapter then discussed the findings in terms of answering each of the two research questions. The first question addressed what Confucian values influence program planning processes and outcomes. The program planners interviewed for this study described Confucian values as internalized and embedded within organizational culture. The data collected from the interviews revealed that Confucian values such as group harmony, respect of hierarchy, propriety, face, bond of affection, and distinctive gender roles, were deeply rooted in the program planners. Although each planner had their own way of seeing and doing things, there were certain

common values and principles that shape their daily routine and responsibilities and influence the way that they make judgments about their work.

The second section of this chapter discussed in what ways social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions. The program planners interviewed for this study showed in some manner that the influence of Confucian values and existing social and political relationships that structure planning tables enabled and constrained their actions. Four main themes were constructed. First, the hierarchical human relationships based on Confucian values determine inequalities among people and the pre-existing capacity to act at the planning table. Second, the hierarchy-conscious mindset of Korean people defines who sits at the planning table, where decisions are made, and how interests are achieved by exercising of power. Third, Confucian values are integrated into the planners' complex sets of interests including educational and political objectives for educational programs. Finally, Confucian values influence negotiation behaviors and outcomes.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Program planning is one of the most critical activities in the field of adult and continuing education. Program planning is significantly affected by individuals' beliefs and values, organizational cultures, social norms, and the societal culture which exists within a society. In educational planning for adults, program planners and stakeholders bring their instilled cultural values to the process of program planning. Existing organizational and societal cultures that are closely allied with different power relationships among people and negotiation behaviors are affected by cultural values. This study examined how cultural values play out in educational planning. Following a summary of the study, I discuss the conclusions of the study. Finally, I close this chapter with the implications for theory and practice.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand how cultural values influence educational planning in Korea. Specifically, the study was to examine how Confucian values play out in educational planning in terms of negotiating power and interests. The following questions guided this study: (a) What Confucian values influence program planning processes and outcomes? (b) In what ways did social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions?

The design of the study was qualitative and the methods of interviewing and document analysis were used to collect data. Thirteen program planners in Korea were

interviewed and documents were collected and analyzed for this study. There were six female and seven male participants who range in age from twenty-six to forty-nine. The participants were from nine different geographic locations representing the diverse areas of Korea in a variety of settings. The participants have between three and fifteen years of experience in program planning. Four participants have been college educated, and most possess advanced degrees. The interviews were mostly focused on what Confucian values influence program planning processes and outcomes and how Confucian values affected their power relations, interests, and negotiation in the planning process. All interviews were conducted solely by the researcher in Korea between June and July of 2008. Data analysis consisted of the use of Ruona's (2005) four-stage model of qualitative analysis (data preparation, familiarization, coding, and generating meaning) to conduct a rigorous and comprehensive analysis of the data.

Two major findings emerged out of the data to address the research questions: (a) exhibiting the internalized Confucian values in program planning as a part of planners' overall work within organizational culture; and (b) interaction of key dimensions of the planning table with Confucian values. With regards to the first research question, the program planners interviewed for this study described Confucian values as internalized and embedded within organizational culture. The data collected from the interviews revealed that Confucian values such as group harmony, respect of hierarchy, propriety, face, bond of affection, and distinctive gender roles, were deeply rooted in the program planners. Although each planner had their own way of seeing and doing things, there were certain common values and principles that shape their daily routine and responsibilities and influence the way that they make judgments about their work.

The second findings discussed in what ways social and political relationships intersect with Confucian values to enable or constrain planners' actions. Four main themes were constructed during the course of the interviews. First, the hierarchical human relationships based on Confucian values determine inequalities among people and the pre-existing capacity to act at the planning table. Second, the hierarchy-conscious mindset of Korean people defines who sits at the planning table, where decisions are made, and how interests are achieved by exercising of power. Third, Confucian values are integrated into the planners' complex sets of interests including educational and political objectives for educational programs. Finally, Confucian values influence negotiation behaviors and outcomes.

Conclusions and Discussion

Four conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this study. The first conclusion of this study is that Confucian values that are embedded in organizational culture manifest in Korean program planners' attitudes and behavior. Second, group orientation and the value placed upon the maintenance of harmony are emphasized and shape the way in which Korean program planners construct educational programs. The third conclusion is that Korean program planners construct educational programs by negotiating personal, social, and organizational interests in socially and culturally structured power relations marked by the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships. Fourth and finally, the interwoven values of the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships and maintenance of group harmony shape negotiation behaviors of Korean planners. These conclusions are discussed in the following sections.

Conclusion 1: Confucian values that are embedded in organizational culture are manifested in Korean program planners' attitudes and behavior

The first conclusion of this study is that Confucian values that are embedded in organizational culture are manifested in Korean program planners' attitudes and behavior. The findings support many of the insights in current literature on organizational culture and Confucian cultural traditions in Korea. Program planners in this study discussed Confucian cultural traditions with many different situations in detail with regard to program planning activities.

Much evidence in this study shows that Confucian values are located at the deepest level of Korean culture. This, as Seo observed, suggests that Confucianism is the cultural origin of Korea, and Korean people grow out of Confucian values. The planners' views are congruent with many studies in the literature on Confucianism showing that it is considered most influential in shaping the socio-cultural landscapes of Korea (Hahm, 2003; Kim, 2002; Kim, 2004; Lee, 2006; Son, 2000; Yao, 2000). The planners' views confirm that although Confucianism is no longer the official state ruling ideology of contemporary Korea, it still plays an important role in philosophy, politics, ethics, education, and culture (Berthrong & Berthrong, 2000, Rozman, 1991; Yao, 2000).

Because Confucian values are located at the root of Korean culture, generally these values are not fluid and flexible. In other words, this is because people acquire values in their early years and those values tend to remain relatively stable over time (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Robbins, 2003). In this study, the participants plan their programs in situations in which the pre-existing cultural values are firmly rooted in the Confucian tradition that has been practiced for centuries. This finding is consistent with

Hofstede and Hofstede' (2005) study where they examined national cultures and organizations. They argue, "Culture change can be fast for the outer layers of the onion diagram, labeled practices. Practices are the visible part of cultures…Culture change is slow for the onion's core, labeled values" (pp. 12-13). As Joo pointed out in this study, on the surface, we can find Korea much changed, but deep down inside cultural values that people share have not changed much. Although the influences of modernization, economic development, and Western culture have drastically transformed the traditional agricultural society of Korea over the last four decades, modified Confucian values are still deeply saturated in the consciousness of the Korean people and embedded in every aspect of daily life and the way of thinking of individuals who then transmit these values to the next generation (Berthrong & Berthrong, 2000; Hahm, 2003; Kim, 2004; Robinson, 1991; Rozman, 1991; Tu, 1996).

Program planners strongly believed that the Confucian cultural traditions permeate every aspect of their attitudes and behavior within their organizations. Organizational culture studies indicate that values are situated at the root of culture. For example, Robbins (2003) notes that values "lay the foundation for the understanding of attitudes and motivation" (p. 64), and influence our perceptions. Similarly, Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) describe values as "the core of culture" according to their "skins of an onion" metaphor.

Confucian values that the planners discussed in this study exist in an embedded manner in organizations, and the values are manifested in their attitudes and behavior while planning programs. During the interviews with the planners, one of the most frequently reported words or phrases was "embedded," or "internalized." Keyton (2005)

argues that values in organizational contexts "are subconsciously held become assumptions that we use in choosing our behavior and communication without consciously considering the choices we are making" (p. 25).

The planners described Confucianism as an underlying cultural identity that had been internalized and subconscious for years. For example, Yoon stated that although people do not talk about specific Confucian values, Confucian values are manifested in work ethics, attitudes, and behavior. Similarly, Joo pointed out that Confucian values are naturally reinforced by parents, teachers, friends, organizational members as well as socio-culturally structured systems and environments, and the values largely reside in our unconscious. This finding is consistent with Lee's (1998) study in which he examined Korean culture and employment practices in management research. Lee explained,

> These Confucian values permeate every aspect of a Korean's behavior in his or her family, in the work organization, and in social interactions. In their work organization, the traditional values are reflected in the subordinate's loyalty to the superior (or to the company) and the latter's benevolence and paternalism toward the former. They are also shown in the superior's directive leadership and the subordinate's obedient behavior. Trust among friends is reflected in peer relations and informal interactions. Centralized authority, vertical hierarchical order, harmony among employees, diligence and hard work, and a seniority-based reward system are all closely related to the traditional Confucian values. (Lee, 1998, pp. 27-28)

Program planners held similar views regarding internalized Confucian values within

organizational culture, and believed that organizational culture as shared meanings and

understandings leads to the planners' actions, fitting into the larger cultural landscapes.

In summary, Confucian values are embedded in organizational culture, and the shared

values are manifested in attitudes and behavior by organizational members.

Conclusion 2: Group orientation and the value placed upon the maintenance of harmony

are emphasized and shape the way in which Korean program planners construct

educational programs

The second conclusion drawn from this study is that group orientation and the

value placed upon the maintenance of harmony are emphasized and reflected in program

planning. Group harmony is one of the major components of Confucian values, as

observed by a number of studies (Alston, 1989; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Kim,

Triandis, Kagitcbasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Ornatowski, 1996; Song & Meek, 1998;

Wang, Wang, Ruona, & Rojewski, 2005; Yang, 2006; Yum, 1988). For example,

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) described Korean culture as one of high collectivism (as

opposed to individualism), and Korean culture promotes group harmony as one way to

reach stability in the society. In this study, this key Confucian value was discussed by all

of the planners, as they define themselves as members of the group and consider common

goals and the group's interests most important (Adler, 2008).

The emphasis on group harmony is reflected in the fact that group harmony is

emphasized over individuals' ability. As Yoon and several other planners discussed,

individuals' performance is not important as long as the individuals will not break group

harmony within their organizations. This finding is consistent with Song and Meek's

(1998) study in which they examined the impact of culture on the management values and beliefs of Korean firms. Song and Meek identified that the talented and aggressive individual who does not put aside personal interests for the sake of collective interest is not well accepted because their actions break the harmony. This group orientation of the Korean people emphasizes and reinforces teams, teamwork, and team players within organizations (Wang et al., 2005). This was evident in this study as well, as the planners stressed the importance of teamwork and team players. As Joo indicated, working alone is undesirable, and any non-team players are discouraged and considered as "selfish," or "individualistic." Indeed, the term "individualistic" largely has a negative connotation that is used to describe someone who only cares about him or herself in Korea. Similarly, Rosen, Digh, Singer, and Phillips (2000) argue that the Chinese word for "self" "carries a negative connotation because the group always comes first" (p. 118).

Based on the findings of this study, it was evident that planners' internalized sense of group harmony is reflected in program planning. For example, the principle of group harmony affects how planners design and manage educational programs. In order to make adult learners comfortable, Cho utilized the principle of group harmony by providing a proper class size in which the learners felt comfortable while hiding themselves within the group. Since Korean people are more comfortable with the situation that "we" are doing some things than "I" am doing some things, it is important for them to have a sense of "we." The planners were well aware of the we-consciousness that is permeated through collectivistic culture in Korea, and took into account this principle when they planned programs.

Additionally, Korean planners tend to avoid direct confrontations at the planning table. As Cho and Han clearly indicated, planners avoid direct confrontations and do not raise their voices at the planning table, even when there is a disagreement. For Korean planners, maintaining harmony is more important than "winning." Maintaining harmony is one way to reach stability in societies in which the group orientation and hierarchical relationships exist within a Confucian-influenced culture (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

Efforts to maintain harmony are also reflected in the emotional dimension. The "bond of affection" (정, *jeong*) is one of the crucial factors in Korea, where proper and long-term human relationships are considered an important part of program planning. The findings of this study provide a clear indication of the role of *jeong* in daily planning practices of the thirteen planners. Indeed, when asked about the most unique aspect of Korean culture, most planners addressed *jeong*. There is no equivalent word in English, but *jeong* generally refers to "a bond of affection or feelings of empathy to others" (Yang, 2006, p. 285), or "a special interpersonal bond of trust and closeness" (Kim, 1993, p. 349). Thus, a special interpersonal bond of trust and closeness is strengthened by close-knit and personal human relationships between parent-children, teacher-student, boss-subordinate, friends, and co-workers (Kim, 1993). This emotional aspect of *jeong* is critical in collective and hierarchical Korean culture where maintaining harmonious human relationships is important.

For the planners, the concept of *jeong* was loosely used to describe an overarching concept of human relations, a personal human network, or networking. Data in Chapter Four show that these planners relied primarily on their personal human network in decision-making. Each of these planners has a trusted human network that is built upon

jeong between the planners and others, and uses their human network to help solve problems. Several planners shared details and experiences. For example, Yoon noted that he has a list of names of "his people" to call whenever he needs help. When he needed to gather information and resources for a program, he consulted with people with whom he has informal and personal relationships that are built primary on *jeong*.

Human networking is regarded as a universal concept, but Korean *jeong* is an important dimension for forming the sense of "one-ness" or "we-ness" (Yang, 2006). Korean *jeong* appears stronger among in-group members such as family, relatives, alumni, people from the same region, and co-workers than the members of the out-group (Song & Meek, 1998). The feeling of "we-ness" endemic to Korean *jeong* is an extremely critical factor in maintaining strong and long-lasting relationships. As Jang, Yim, and Sung asserted, *jeong* based on close-knit and bonding relationships is one of the most critical factors in decision-making.

Apparently, *jeong* is highly emphasized in Korea and appears to be an essential factor of the planners in this study. *Jeong* tends to be crucial in program planning because having a personal network of acquaintances is vital in Korea, because proper and long-term human relationships are considered as one of the most important dimensions. It was made clear by the planners in the study that *jeong* is reflected in the planners' actions and influence their decision-making. The planners believed that *jeong* is beneficial to program planning because it promotes cooperation and helps the planners have somewhere to turn for information and problem solving.

Conclusion 3: Korean program planners construct educational programs by negotiating personal, social, and organizational interests in socially and culturally structured power relations marked by the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships

The third conclusion drawn from this study is that Korean program planners construct educational programs by negotiating personal, social, and organizational interests in socially and culturally structured power relations marked by the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships. The findings support that the tradition of hierarchical Confucian human relationships is embedded in organizational culture and reflected in program planning. Under the Confucian tradition, human relationships are regulated by the five cardinal human relationships (오륜) "between father and son, there should be affection; between ruler and subject, righteousness; between husband and wife, affection to their separate functions; between older brother and younger brother, a proper order; and between friends, friendship" (Hwang, 2001, p. 188). Although the principle of the five cardinal human relationships is no longer literally practiced, its legacy remains and shapes daily interactions and relations.

In organizational contexts, the tradition of hierarchical human relationships has widely permeated and is reinforced by organizational members, and is reflected in organizational structure as a pre-existing foundational design component that leads to organizational members' actions being echoed by cultural values of organizations. In this study, among thirteen planners, nine planners' organizations (Hyun, Koh, Han, Yim, Joo, Yoon, Choi, Sung, and Jang) can be described as highly centralized. Their bureaucratic organizational structures are characterized by formalized rules and regulations, centralized authority, and a chain of command. The Confucian ideal of great respect for

hierarchy is reflected in a rigid organizational structure in most Korean organizational

contexts (Katsioloudes & Hadjidakis, 2007).

Much evidence in this study shows that Confucian hierarchical human

relationships reinforce unequal power relations among people at the planning table. This,

as Cervero and Wilson (1994a, 2006) observed, suggests that educational programs can

be largely determined by structural forces such as, the social, cultural, and political

dimensions of the context. For Cervero and Wilson program planning is essentially a

social activity in which adult educators "always plan programs in contexts defined by a

concrete set of power relationships and associated interests" (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a, p.

119). The Cervero and Wilson theory stresses that a planner's power is rooted in social

conditions and that it results from certain enduring social relationships. This is also true

among the Korean planners as they interact with all the various people involved in

program planning processes and inevitably work within asymmetrical power

relationships. The findings further show that the Korean planners' power is rooted in the

Confucian tradition of hierarchical human relationships that is profoundly infused and

reinforced by the organizational culture shared by organizational members.

This finding is congruent with part of Kim's (2006) study on how power relations

in Korean organizations influence the way that people learn in organizations, where he

found that hierarchical relations there were determined by variables such as age,

organizational rank, and gender. This finding is also consistent with Hofstede and

Hofstede's (2005) study when they examined dimensions of national cultures and power

distance in the workplace. The dimension of power distance refers to "the extent to which

the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and

accept that power is distributed unequally" (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 46). The study shows that the Confucian-influenced regions including Korea scored high or medium-high in the index. Hofstede and Hofstede maintain that in the large-power distance situation, respect for parents and older people is seen as a basic human virtue, which is acquired when children are very young, lasts through adulthood, and is extended in their social life.

First, the most frequently reported dimension of Confucian human relationships was the principle of *Jang yu yu seo* (장유유서, a hierarchical order between older and young people). In this study, the importance of age was illustrated by all of the planners, and it was widely believed that "the older the person, the more powerful they are." Indeed, the age factor among Confucian values is the single most critical issue in determining planners' actions and decisions in program planning. Such findings parallel what is described in the literature as the age-conscious mindset of Korean people (Dix, 1977; Jandit, 2007; Song & Meek, 1998). For example, when he examined Confucian perspectives on communication, Jandit (2007) found that in Korea "it is quite common for strangers to find out each other's age in the first few minutes of conversation and adjust their language to show respect" (p. 29). Identifying one's age is important, because the use of honorific language and courteous manners are expected of all people at all times. As the Korean planners indicated, Koreans feel comfortable in social interactions once they identify age and organizational rank (Song & Meek, 1998).

Clearly, the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships remain and shape daily interactions and human relationships for the Korean planners. Indeed, the Korean planners indicated that power relations in the Korean context are signified by the

hierarchy-conscious mindset of Korean people. More specifically, respect for the aged is the most distinctive Confucian value that remains important in Korea. The principle of *Jang yu yu seo* determines who has a more capacity to influence their surroundings. The findings clearly revealed that "the older the person, the more powerful they are." In this study, the planners had to know the age of people who were involved in program planning and where people fit in there based on their age. Knowing one's age is critical for Korean people, because it determines who is above and who is below, and who should be served first and who should be served second. In other words, the principle of *Jang yu yu seo* determines what planners can and cannot do, and what they should and must do.

Second, in addition to *Jang yu yu seo*, the principle of hierarchical Confucian human relationships is reflected in the boss-subordinate relationship. Although any boss-subordinate relationship is typically unequal, the degree of concern about inequalities between them is much larger in a Confucian context. For example, while explaining the vertical nature of human relationships, Yoon described the boss-subordinate relationship as the relationship between parents and children. This vertical nature of boss-subordinate relationship is also reflected in decision-making styles. In this study, Hyun shared, "Once my boss tells me what to do, I must do it. Questioning his decision is not recommended." When asked about decision-making styles, several planners discussed the process of *kyul jae* (결재), or getting approval from upper levels. The planners argued that decision-making in planners' organizations is concentrated at a single point, which is executed by the *kyul jae* procedure. It is evident that the *kyul jae* procedure is closely related to the vertical and bureaucratic organizational structure that is influenced by the Confucian

hierarchical boss-subordinate relationship. The decision-making process is considered a means for exercising authority and control over subordinates (Chung, Lee, & Jung, 1997).

This finding is consistent with Hofstede and Hofstede's (2005) study. Hofstede and Hofstede explain the key characteristics of the workplace in the larger power-distance situation are that "superiors and subordinates consider each other as existentially unequal; the hierarchical system is based on this existential inequality. Organizations centralize power as much as possible in a few hands. Subordinates expect to be told what to do" (p. 55). In this study, again, the degree of concern about the capacity to act and influence others based on one's position and seniority in an organization is directly related to Confucian influences on human relationships. Thus, being a person who is in a high-level position in Korean organizations means that the person has a certain capacity to act rooted in specific socio-culturally structured human relationships that are derived from Confucian values, while continuously reinforcing the vertical boss-subordinate relationship.

Third, such traditions of Confucian hierarchical human relationships inevitably lead to traditions addressing social behaviors and expectations (Yum, 1988). The principle of propriety (예, *li*), one of the Confucian ethical values, which refers to rites, propriety, and a fundamental code of conduct within a society, is closely related to Confucian hierarchal human relationships (Wang et al., 2005). This aspect of the Confucian tradition of propriety was strongly supported by the findings of the study. Korean planners firmly believed that the proper code of conduct related to human relationships played an important role in program planning. In fact, the planners paid special attention to behaving properly in accordance with the Confucian principle of

propriety at the planning table. In particular, as several planners indicated, showing propriety in one's behavior to others, especially to older people, is one of the critical factors that contribute to maintaining positive interpersonal relationships. For example, whenever Joo has a planning meeting with his stakeholders, he first shows his respect for them in order to please and better convince those who are mostly older than he is. If a person fails to possess or show propriety in interaction with others, relationships will suffer, and, as a result, it could affect program planning.

Fourth, with regard to the influence of Confucian hierarchical human relationships, the findings support that women planners face challenges in a male-centric Confucian society. Historically Confucianism has been criticized as being sexist. Although the original teachings of Confucius may not be intent on oppressing women, it is widely believed that Confucianism has limited women's lives (Chung, 1994; Hampson, 2000; Jang & Merriam, 2004; Li, 2000). Examining the status of Korean women, Hampson (2000) argues, "The status of South Korean women has improved dramatically over the last thirty years and yet gender inequality is still a distinguishing feature of modern South Korean society" (p. 170). Similarly, investigating gender issues in higher educational settings in Korea, Jang and Merriam (2004) found that despite recent social changes in Korea, "Confucianism still strongly dominates Koreans' ways of thinking and limits women's lives" (p. 274). This study's findings, consistent with the findings of the previous studies, suggest that there is still an adherence to Confucian-influenced gender roles within organizational culture, and women planners encounter barriers to their work.

Apparently, the Confucian tradition of hierarchical human relationships reinforces unequal power relations between women and men. The socio-culturally structured gender

relations diminish the women planners' capacity to act directly. As a result, women planners face significant challenges and barriers in Confucian society. In fact, the challenges and barriers of the women planners double, if they are young, because they believe that a combination of their age and gender causes twice the problems at work. They felt that being a young *and* female program planner makes them less powerful. They did not like the fact that they looked young for their age. In fact, they wanted to look older than they actually were. Women planners shared their stories about how difficult it is to convince people as a young female planner. It was evident that the young women planners experienced disadvantage or handicap in exercising power at the planning table. Apparently, a combination of male-centric Confucian culture and the principle of *Jang yu yu seo* shapes women planners' capacity to act, while reinforcing the cultural hegemony of Korea.

Fifth, the notion of face is closely related to Confucian hierarchical human relationships. The issue of face in a Confucian context is closely related to the development of Confucian *junzi* (군자, a virtuous or superior person). Confucius emphasized the development of a *junzi* who takes care to cultivate his or her sublime moral character by pursuing Confucian ethical values such as *jen* (인, benevolence or humanity), *yi* (의, justice or righteousness), *li* (예, propriety or rite), *chih* (지, wisdom), and *xin* (신, faithfulness) which enable him to become fully human (Zhang, 2000). Thus, under the Confucian tradition, having face means that people act as a *junzi* within the principles of Confucian human relationships (Tian, 2007). Losing face, on the other hand, means that people have a sense of being shamed, humiliated, or embarrassed as a result

of unsuccessful social performance and interactions, or of losing social status, reputation, prestige, dignity, and honor (Ho, 1976; Tian, 2007).

Findings of this study provide empirical support for the role of face in program planning practices. Clearly, the principle of face is a big part of making decisions in program planning. People in a high-level position within organizations always pay special attention to saving face. In a similar way, older people do not want to lose face in front of younger people. For example, even though Joo tried to convince his manager of a better idea, his manager did not listen to Joo's idea. The manager did not like being shown up by Joo who was young and in a low-level position. In other words, the manager did not want to lose face in front of his subordinate. In a similar logic, people who are young or in a low-level position help people who are older or in a high-level position to maintain the latter's face. For instance, Koh had to change the way she showed information at a planning meeting. She knew that older people would not ask her questions about a topic that she presented at the meeting, because she realized that the older people would not want to lose face by addressing questions to a young woman planner.

The efforts not to lose face are also reflected in many ways including showing-off behavior that illustrates excessive concern for how they are portrayed by other people. Several planners noted that people are extremely mindful of seeing themselves through others' eyes. For example, Jang shared a story about selecting an instructor and training facility. Because of the presence of the CEO of the company, he decided to hold the workshop at a fancy hotel. He also decided to bring a big-name star instructor to the workshop. For Jang, it was important to not only plan and conduct the workshop, but also

to maintain the CEO's status, dignity, and organizational rank. It is evident that although the concept of face is regarded as a universal human characteristic (Wang et al, 2005), the degree of concern is particularly high in the Korean context and its manifestations shape program planning practices.

These findings of this study are reflective of Cervero and Wilson's (2001) power relations and adult education in practice. Cervero and Wilson (2001) suggest that program planners enter the educational practice "in larger systems of power and privilege, and their actions are both enabled and constrained by their place in these systems" (p. 11). In this study, Confucian-influenced power relations that structure planners' action in Korea are played out in educational planning. The power relations derived from Confucian hierarchical human relationships are asymmetrical, enhancing some people's power and reducing that of others, while the power relations are being continually reinforced by the cultural traditions.

This study expands upon the idea of exercising power by further elaborating on how people's interests play out at the planning table, using the lens of the Cervero and Wilson theory. Cervero and Wilson (2006) note that interests are "the motivations and purposes that lead people to act in certain ways when confronted with situations in which they must take a judgment about what to do or say" (p. 88). Cervero and Wilson maintain that it is crucial for program planners to decide whose interests are represented. Analysis of the study findings reveals that Confucian values determine whose interests to be served. For example, Kwon chose to sacrifice the interests of his organization, so that two other organizations could bring and represent their interests to the planning table. For Kwon, while being the host city and group of a big conference, maintaining harmony

between three different organizations was important. Similarly, Cho also chose to forgo her interests for those of other people. As a young female planner, she had to act within the cultural frame of reference of Korean Confucian cultural traditions.

Cervero and Wilson (2006) identified that the complex sets of interests that people represent at the planning table are related to educational outcomes as well as social and political outcomes. The study also found that people's political interests influence decision-making in conjunction with Confucian values. For example, when Yim and her supervisor had competing interests for determining the number of participants for the training program, the supervisor's political outcomes and the Confucian principle of face played the key role in making decisions.

These findings are generally congruent with Morgan's (1997) description of interests, which is "predispositions, embracing goals, values, desires, and other orientations and inclinations that lead a person to act in one direction or another" (p. 161). However, because the aspects of values, people's desires, orientations, and inclinations often exist as an integrated body of interests, it is difficult to discern Confucian values within contexts in which the complex sets of interests of various people are represented in various forms and degrees.

Conclusion 4: The interwoven values of the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships and maintenance of group harmony shape negotiation behaviors of Korean planners

The fourth conclusion drawn from this study is that the interwoven values of the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships and maintenance of group harmony shape negotiation behaviors of Korean planners. According to Cervero and

Wilson (1994a), negotiation is "the central form of action that planners undertake in constructing programs" (p. 29). Because program planning is a social activity where people exercise power to represent their own and other's interests, negotiation can be understood as a form of practical and political action (Cervero & Wilson, 2006). Findings of this study suggest that the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships significantly influence Korean planners' negotiation behavior and the outcomes of the program. For example, Cho shared a story about Confucian values, power relationships, and negotiation approaches. It was evident that the asymmetrical power relationships that are derived from the Confucian traditions of respect of hierarchy were manifested in the negotiation process, discouraging people who have less power to engage in constructive debate, brainstorming of new ideas, and making suggestions.

This finding supports literature in that the Confucian respect for the aspects of hierarchy such as the principle of *Jang yu yu seo*, organizational rank, and gender is one of the critical factors influencing negotiation (Elashmawi, 2001; Fang, 1999; Lee, 2005). For example, examining negotiating styles of Korean managers, Lee (2005) describes the negotiation style of Koreans as follows:

> In negotiating with the Koreans, one must understand that the decisions are made at the top and any changes in the decision made by the Korean negotiator must first have the approval of the senior people. This is consistent with the authoritarian nature of the society and the workplace. (p. 13)

Similarly, Elashmawi (2001) describes the negotiation styles of Korean managers as militarism. He noted that subordinates strictly adhere to their boss's requests, which is reflected in the military nature of the Korean management style. Elashmawi (2001)

observed that "militarism is a part of Korean culture, so it is pervasive in all areas of Korean life" (p. 94).

In this study, although the asymmetrical power relationships that are rooted in the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships were reflected in negotiating situations, and these power relations were relatively stable, some planners counteracted power relationships to negotiate their interests. For example, when Choi had a hard time getting contents for company-wide training sessions from the subject-matter experts, he utilized the hierarchy-conscious mindset of the SMEs. By maneuvering the authority of the vice president's position, he was able to get the content for the training sessions. As Cervero and Wilson (1994a) point out, even in asymmetrical power relationships, planners undertake some form of negotiation in performing the activity at hand. The important point here is that although power is always reciprocal – "the actual construction of the program depended on the negotiation of many key points by those involved" (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a, p. 122), the socio-culturally structured power relationships remain relatively strong.

In addition to the Confucian traditions of hierarchical human relationships in negotiating situations, the study found that Korean planners value maintaining harmony and saving face in negotiating situations. The analysis of interview data revealed that Korean planners shared experiences about how people approach conflict and negotiation at planning tables. For example, Cho and Han mentioned that people at planning meetings avoid direct confrontations, because they believe that confrontations and conflicts may spoil harmony and cause loss of face. Instead of showing direct

disagreements with a person who has a different point of view, people prefer speaking to the person in a one-to-one basis.

This finding supports literature on efforts to maintaining harmony and saving face in negotiating situations in Confucian contexts (Fang, 1999; Gesteland & Seyk, 2002; Hodgson, Sano, & Graham, 2008; Kim, Wang, Kondo, & Kim, 2007). For example, examining business negotiating style in Korea, Gesteland and Seyk (2002) explain, "Causing loss of face, even unintentionally, can destroy harmony and disrupt a promising business negotiation" (p. 111). Similarly, examining Chinese business negotiating style, Fang (1999) explains, "The Chinese avoidance of conflict and the need for harmony is a product of the Confucian notion of *Zhung Yong* (literally, "moderation," "compromise," "harmonization," and "Mean")" (p. 139). This finding is also consistent with Kim, Wang, Kondo, and Kim's (2007) study of conflict management styles. They found that Koreans have strong preferences for avoiding, accommodating, compromising, and collaborating in strategies to handle interpersonal conflicts in organizational contexts. Korean negotiating behavior is also related to the Korean indirect communication style. Koreans avoid strong negative responses (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Instead of saying "No," "I disagree with you," or "I cannot do it," Koreans like to use indirect expressions such as "[I] kind of agree with you in principle; however please understand my difficulties…" (Ting-Toomey, 1999, p. 105).

This indirect style of communication is also related to the fact that the emotional dimension of human relationships such as *jeong* (정) was manifested in negotiating situations. This emotional aspect of *jeong* is critical in collective and hierarchical Korean culture where maintaining harmonious human relationships is important, and helps to

form a sense of "one-ness" or "we-ness." This was evident in the numerous stories from the Korean planners. For instance, Cho explained how *jeong* influences decision-making in negotiating situations. Because she had a *jeong*-influenced personal and informal relationship with a person at a planning meeting, she spoke up and supported the person's idea. Again, as a tool for maintaining relational harmony with indirect or non-verbal communication, *jeong* plays a crucial role in negotiation.

<div align="center">Implications for Research, Theory, and Practice</div>

This qualitative study on the impact of Confucian values on educational planning in Korea adds to the understanding of how cultural values influence and shape program planning. Moreover, this study uncovers Confucian values associated with the power relations, interests, and negotiation behaviors of Korean planners. Findings in this research illuminate numerous implications for research and practice for the fields of adult education and human resource and organizational development.

There are several implications for theory and research. First, the study advances program planning theory by illuminating how cultural values shape the way in which program planners construct educational programs. Although the social and political aspects of program planning emphasize the importance of the contexts that are embedded in the society and the organization and inevitably determine planners' actions, culture as a contextual variable has not received much attention from researchers and practitioners. Most planning theory has acknowledged the importance of context, but has been unable to say how planners act within a specific cultural context. This study provides a better understanding of the critical role of culture in program planning based on the fundamental assumption that "culture is central to shaping and molding the adult

education process" (Guy, 1999, p. 1). Ultimately, it helps promote scholarly discussions related to culture issues in program planning, by expanding the current body of knowledge in adult education and human resource and organizational development.

Second, this study also advances the theoretical base of Cervero and Wilson's (1994a, 1996, 2006) program planning theory. This study expands the fundamental assumption of the Cervero and Wilson theory that the larger systems in society, the culture and organizations, and the associated structural and historical dimensions, influence and shape program planning with relation to power by pointing out the socio-political and socio-cultural nature of program planning. This study, in particular, adds further knowledge and understanding about how existing organizational and societal culture that are closely allied with culturally specific power relationships among people and negotiation behaviors are affected by cultural values. This study suggests that cultural values brought by planners and other people who negotiate interests in relations of power, and cultural values within an organization and society in which educational programs are largely determined by structural forces, need to be critically examined. The Cervero and Wilson theory will benefit from the perspective that program planning activities are not culturally neutral, but replete with various cultural values and significantly affected by them. Furthermore, this perspective suggests that power and culture are interwoven so that power relationships that are rooted in a particular cultural context matter for the shaping of program planners' actions.

Third, this study benefits theories of human resource and organizational development as it broadens research areas in organizational studies by focusing on not only the role of culture in organizations, but also organizational behavior concepts such

as leadership, motivation, group processes and teamwork, communication, decision-making, interpersonal behavior, power, and politics in the cross-cultural context. Moreover, this study may benefit cross-cultural HRD researchers who want to use and adopt parts of its findings and approach in their own research.

Fourth, this study provides an opportunity to examine the cultural traditions of Confucianism in Korea, which has been understudied in the field of adult education and human resource and organizational development. Hahm (2003) points out "the average Korean probably knows more about what Kant or Marx said than what Confucius or Mencius [one of the early influential thinkers of Confucianism] taught" (p. 270). Confucianism in Korea is somewhat unarticulated and mostly unacknowledged. The study may help not only bring up discussions and debates, but also promote a cross-cultural study on the various adult education and HRD issues.

This study highlights practical implications for program planners as they engage in planning and providing educational programs in adult education and human resource and organizational development. The practical implications of this study are twofold. First, when planning educational programs, the lack of understanding and critical examination of the socio-political and socio-cultural dimensions inevitably lead to an inability to construct politically and socially sound, and practically effective, programs. Program planners need to thoroughly and critically examine their cultural contexts, and understand how cultural values are represented at the planning table and what that means to planners' actions and judgments.

Second, the findings of this study may help program planners who develop educational programs for adult students from Confucian-influenced culture to be more

effective in the face of increasing cultural diversity as well as complexity. Understanding Confucian values and how the values play out in the process of program planning may also help to diminish conflicts among different cultural views. As Adler (2008) argues, what is true for people from a certain cultural origin is not always true for people from other cultural backgrounds.

Recommendations for Future Research

Several recommendations for future research are made based on findings from this study. First, this study focused on Korean program planners and Confucian values that are embedded in their organizations. Even though related literature on Korean culture and the findings of the study indicate that Confucianism is the most dominant thought system in Korea, there are many other thought systems, beliefs, religions, and philosophies such as Buddhism, Taoism, Korean Shamanism, and Christianity that have influenced Korean culture. An investigation of these thought systems and how the thought systems influence the society and organizations and play out in program planning would provide valuable insight to organizational studies as well as the field of adult education and human resource and organizational development.

Second, this study focused on six major Confucian values that influence program planning activities in the Korean Confucian context. It would be worthwhile to conduct a comparative study with other Confucian-influenced regions such as China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Vietnam and Japan. The comparative study would provide valuable findings on similarities and differences between countries.

Third, I also recommend a study of program planners who work at multinational or foreign-owned companies that are operated in Korea. What kind of culture do they

have? What is the difference between Korean organizations and multinational

organizations? How are Confucian values reflected in the multinational corporation

settings? How do Korean planners develop programs? It would be valuable to investigate

whether and how parent company's culture (e.g., American culture, German culture)

impacts on Confucian culture.

Fourth, this qualitative study relied primarily on interviewing for gathering data.

Future studies need to use observation in conjunction with interviewing and document

analysis. Observing how program planners interact, communicate, negotiate, and make

decisions with regard to constructing educational programs in natural settings would

assist in understanding the complex nature of program planning processes.

Fifth, this study is the first to apply the Cervero and Wilson program planning

theory to explore the role of culture for understanding and interpreting planning practices

in a Confucian cultural context. Future studies should test and reexamine the findings

from this study, while further developing adult education program planning theory.

A Concluding Note

As I reflect on this study, I find myself thinking on the questions I had raised in

the early stage of developing research questions for the present study. It was while

reading a case study of the Phoenix Company from the Cervero and Wilson's book,

Working the Planning Table: Negotiating Democratically for Adult, Continuing, and

Workplace Education (2006), when Pete and Joan, primary planners of the Phoenix

Company case, planned an annual management retreat. How would *Korean* Pete and Joan

construct the annual retreat? How would the *Korean* Pete and Joan negotiate their power

and interests in the program planning? What would be the similarities and differences in

discussing the Phoenix Company case (American) and the *Korean* Phoenix Company case? What significance does culture have for understanding planning practices in a Korean context? These questions intrigued me to want to find out more about "the collective programming of Koreans' mind" and their program planning practices.

As Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) point out, "theories, models, and practices are basically culture-specific; they may apply across borders, but this should be always be proven" (p. 276). In developing theoretical bases for program planning and implementing practices, we must reject the naïve assumption of cultural universality and dogmatism. Each cultural context has a unique way of seeing and doing things, based on its "the collective programming of the mind" or "unstated rules" (Hall & Hall, 1990; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Again, program planning activities are not done in isolation, but are instead replete with various cultural values and significantly affected by them. Much work remains to be done in developing various socio-cultural aspects of program planning.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Tell me about your work experience as related to program planning/training design.

2. Describe a program you have recently planned and developed.

   - Please outline the planning activities and process you have undertaken?

     o How did it get started?

     o What was the purpose of the program?

     o How long did the entire process take?

     o What was the outcome?

   - What was the most difficult part about the planning process?

   - How would you evaluate the overall success of the program planning? Why?

3. Describe the planning process in terms of the actors' relationships and actions.

   - How many people were involved?

   - What were their roles and titles?

   - What were the power relations between actors?

   - What were their interests?

   - How did they negotiate?

   - What was the most challenging part of planning? Why?

4. Describe how the actor's relationships and actions reflect the cultural beliefs and values of a society and organization.

   - Tell me about the culture of your organization including norms, values, communication styles, management styles, conflict resolution styles, cooperation, teamwork…etc.).

   - How are Confucian values as listed below viewed in your organizational culture?

     o Harmony

     o Group orientation

     o Respect of hierarchy

- o Propriety
- o Saving face
- o Bond of affection
- o Distinctive gender roles
- How did Confucian values as listed below affect the actors' power relations, interests, and negotiation in the planning process?
  - o Harmony
  - o Group orientation
  - o Respect of hierarchy
  - o Propriety
  - o Saving face
  - o Bond of affection
  - o Distinctive gender roles

5. Is the planning process you describe above representative of other experiences you have had?

- Is the above planning process common? Uncommon?
- What other experiences have you had with Confucian values affecting the planning process in similar ways or in ways that did not come up in your story above?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE (KOREAN)

면담 조사지

1. 교육 프로그램 개발/트레이닝 디자인과 관련된 귀하의 경험에 대해서 말씀해 주십시요.

2. 귀하께서 최근에 기획하고 개발한 프로그램에 대해서 말씀해 주십시요.

   - 귀하께서 하신 프로그램 개발 활동과 과정에 대해서 간략하게 말씀해 주십시요.

     o 어떻게 시작되었습니까?

     o 프로그램의 목적은 무엇이었습니까?

     o 프로그램 개발 전 과정이 얼마나 걸렸습니까?

     o 결과는 무엇이었습니까?

   - 프로그램 개발 과정에 있어서 가장 어려웠던 부분은 무엇이었습니까?

   - 전반적으로 볼 때 프로그램 개발이 잘 되었는지를 어떻게 평가하십니까? 이유도 말씀해 주십시요.

3. 프로그램 개발 과정에서 프로그램 개발에 관련된 사람들의 관계와 활동에 대해서 말씀해 주십시요.

   - 몇 명의 사람들이 관여했습니까?

   - 그들의 역할과 직함은 무엇이었습니까?

   - 관련자들간에 파워관계에 대해서 말씀해 주십시요.

   - 관련자들의 이해관계는 무엇이었습니까?

   - 관련자들은 어떻게 협상했습니까?

   - 프로그램 개발에 있어서 가장 힘들었던 부분은 무엇이었습니까? 이유도 말씀해 주십시요.

4. 프로그램 개발에 관여한 사람들의 관계와 활동이 어떻게 사회와 조직 문화적 이념과 가치를 반영하는지에 대해서 말씀해 주십시요.

   - 귀하의 조직문화 (조직내 규범, 가치, 의사소통 방법, 경영 스타일, 갈등 해소 방법, 협동, 팀워크 등등) 에 대해서 말씀해 주십시요.

- 아래에 열거된 유교적 문화 가치들이 귀하의 조직문화에서 어떻게 보여지고 있는지 말씀해 주십시요.
    - 화합 (인화, 융화)
    - 집단 (단체) 의식
    - 위계질서에 대한 존중
    - 예의바름
    - 체면
    - 정
    - 남녀유별 의식
- 프로그램 개발 과정에 있어서 아래에 열거된 유교적 문화 가치들이 어떻게 프로그램 개발 관련자들 사이의 파워관계, 이해관계, 그리고 협상에 영향을 끼쳤습니까?
    - 화합 (인화, 융화)
    - 집단 (단체) 의식
    - 위계질서에 대한 존중
    - 예의바름
    - 체면
    - 정
    - 남녀유별 의식

5. 귀하께서 위에서 말씀해주신 내용이 전형적인 프로그램 개발 과정입니까?
- 평상시 프로그램 개발 과정입니까? 아니면 흔치 않은 경우입니까?
- 귀하께서 위에서 말씀은 안하셨거나 비슷하게 유교적 문화 가치들이 프로그램 개발 과정에 영향을 끼쳤던 다른 경험에 대해서 말씀해주십시요.

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in a research study titled "The Impact of Confucian Values on Educational Planning" conducted by Kiung Ryu from the Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy at the University of Georgia (706-542-3343) under the direction of Dr. Ronald M. Cervero, Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy, University of Georgia (706-542-2221). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have all of the information that can be identified as mine returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The following points have been explained to me:

1)   The reason for the research is to examine how Confucian values play out in educational planning in terms of negotiating power and interests.

2)   The procedures are as follows. I will be expected to meet with the researcher at a mutually agreed upon time and location and discuss semi-structured questions pertaining to the above stated research for approximately two hours. With my permission, the interview will be recorded on audio tape. I will be asked to provide some planning documents and curriculum plans if available.

3)   No discomforts or stresses are foreseen. The benefits for me are that I may gain a more in-depth understanding of program planning that may be beneficial for my future program planning for adult learners. Furthermore, I will have the opportunity to share stories that may contribute and extend theoretical knowledge and practical applications of program planning and the role of culture in society and organization.

4)   No risks are foreseen. The tapes will be transcribed by the researcher with all personally identifying information replaced by pseudonyms. I will review the researcher's transcription to ensure the accuracy of the data.

5)   Any information obtained in this study that can be connected with me will remain confidential. My name as a participant will be coded and will not be revealed in any publication of results of the research without my permission. Only my interviewer will know the transcript is mine. The tapes will be stored securely and used for transcription and data analysis purposes. The tapes will be destroyed no later than December 31, 2008.

6)   The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now and during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at (706)-543-1240 or via email: kryu@uga.edu.

Please sign both copies of this form. Keep one and return the other to the investigator.

I understand that I am agreeing by my signature on this form to take part in this research project and understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form for my records.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Researcher   Signature   Date

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Signature   Date

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

APPENDIX D

CATEGORIES OF CODES WITH EMERGING THEMES

Research Question #1: Confucian Values (10000)

10000 Confucian Values

    11000 Group harmony

        11100 Teamwork

        11200 A strong preference for a team player

        11300 A sense of we-consciousness

        11400 After-work gathering

        11500 In-group/out-group consciousness

        11600 Building group spirit

    12000 Respect of hierarchy

        12100 Age

        12200 Job Title/Rank

        12300 Courtesy protocol for high ranking officials and positions

    13000 Propriety

    14000 Face

    15000 Bond of affection

    16000 Distinctive gender role

Research Question #2: Confucian Values and Social and Political Relations (20000)

20000 Interaction of Key Dimensions of the Planning Table with Confucian Values

        21000 Power relations and Confucian values

        21100 *Jang yu yu seo*

        21200 Job Title/Rank

        21300 Gender

    22000 Exercise of power in a Confucian context

    23000 People's interests and Confucian values

    24000 Negotiation within a Confucian context

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE DATA IN TABLE FORMAT

Code	ID	Q#	Turn #	Data	Notes
10000	603	5	35	유교의식은 우리의 origin 같은거 같애요. 우리가 거기에서부터 생겨왔다고 그래야하나. 토양같은거지 토양. 우리 토양이 미국 토양과 다르잖아요. 미국의 토양에서 나고 자란 식물과 우라나라에서 나고 자란 식물이 다르잖아.고구마를 예를들어보자 이거야. 같은 고구마이지만, 맛이 틀리다닌깐 토양이 틀리니깐. Confucianism is like our origin. Korean people grow out of Confucian values. It can be described as our soil. Our soil is different from the soil in America. Plants that grow in the Korean soil should be different from the plants that grown in America. For example, although both Korean and American have the same seeds of sweet potatoes, when they are planted, the taste is different, because of the two different soils. (Turn #35)	Confucianism
10000	616	5	38	개인주의, 편하잖아. 미국 문화가 쉬워, 한국 유교 문화보다. 예를들어 술자리를 보자. 미국에서 누가 술을 강요하냐? 자기 맘대로 결정하는거지. 내가 마시기 싫으면, 내가 No 하면 No 야. Individualism is convenient. American culture is easier than Korean Confucian culture. For instance, nobody forces you to drink at the after-work-gathering in America; people decide to do that all on their own. If I say I don't want to drink, that's all. No is no! (Turn #38)	
11300	627	4-2	26	한국 사람들은 나, 나의 것, 너, 너의 것 보다는, 우리, 우리것이라고 흔히 하지. 우리과, 우리나라, 우리 아들이라고 부르지. 그게 무의식에 내재화되어 있는거지. 항상 우리과라고 부르지. 우스운걸로 wife 도, 우리 wife 라고, my wife 가 아니고. 이 공문서 보면 알겠지만, 우리부으로 나간다고 my 가 아니고. 우리라는 개념이 한국이 가족주의 문화에 박혀있는거지. Koreans more often use "we" or "our" rather than "I," "mine," "you," or "yours." Our department, our county, our son…etc. It's internalized into our unconscious. People in here always call it "our department." The funny thing is that a man often calls his wife as "our wife" rather than "my wife." If you look at this official document that I've created, it reads, "our division…," not "my division." We-consciousness is permeated	Group harmony (we-consciousness) - internalized

Code	ID	Q#	Turn #	Data	Notes
				through Korean family culture. (Turn #26)	
11100	627	4-2	22	튀는걸 싫어하죠. 한국사회는 그 사람이 들어왔을때 내가 저 사람하고 20-30 년을 잘 지낼수 있냐를 먼저 중요시 여긴다고. 그 사람의 실적, 역량이 중요한게 아니고. 아무리 실적, 역량이 중요하더라도, 그 사람이 들어와서 이 조직 분위기를 깨친다, 그러면 절대 안뽑는다고. 한국 문화는 팀웍, 팀플레이어를 중시여겨. Star players are not welcomed by the organization. The organization highly values its employees who can work together for another 20-30 years. Although his or her performance is outstanding, if he or she is the person who would break group harmony, the organization would not hire the person. Most Korean organizations highly value teamwork and team players. (Turn #22)	Group harmony – team players
11200	602	4-2	14	능력보다는 화합이 중요하게 생각이 되요. 실제적으로는 고시 패스해서 들어온 사람들은 다 비슷비슷하다. 능력은 다 비슷비슷하게 있다고 보는거죠. 그렇다면 나머지는 이 사람이 다른 사람하고 조화롭게 일을 잘 해나갈 수 있느냐, 팀 플레이어냐. Group harmony is emphasized over each individual's ability. In fact, individuals' abilities are not much different, because they have passed the national test required for working here. Therefore, what is really important is if he or she can harmoniously work together with others, and is a team player. (Turn #14)	
11000	624	4-2	23	화합, 매우 강조하죠. 매우 강조해요. 지금 과장님의 모토는 일을 잘하는 사람도 좋지만 직원들끼리 화합하는거 그걸 제일 첫번째로쳐요. 그래서 그것을 매우 강조를 하구요. 그리고 여기는 너무 지나쳐서 회식을 한다거니 체육대회를 한다거나 이 빠지는걸 못해요. 그런데 꼭 같이해야되요. 매우 강조해요. 인화단결! 무지 강조하구요. Group harmony (화합) is very, very important within the organization. That's our manager's motto. Because that's his number one priority, he strongly emphasizes it. Everybody must attend after-work gatherings or sporting events. We have to do such activities together. Group harmony (화합) or a spirit of harmony and solidarity (인화단결) is extremely emphasized. (Turn #23)	After-work gathering
12100	630	4-2	15	저는 그거에 대해서 할말 진짜 많아요. 저는 나이를 절대 안밝힙니다. 제가 나이가 유난히 어리거든요. 그래서 일을 하다보면 박사과정에 들어간게, 무시 안당할려면. 그래서 나이를 왠만하면 얘기를 안해요. 나이를 얘기하면 그때부터 말이 짧아지면서,니가 아직 어려서 몰라서 그래.	Age

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				I have much to talk about age. I never reveal my age to anyone, because I'm very young in this field. I need a doctoral degree, so people can't look down on me. That's why I don't tell my age. If people know how old I am, they stop using honorific language. Then, people treat me like a child who knows nothing. (Turn #15)	
12000	627	4-1	17	central government 차원에서의 조직문화는 굉장히, 어차피 관료조직이니깐 bureaucracy 에서의 hierarchy 가 엄청나게 심하죠., 철저한 명령체계. 인간 과정 분위기로 표현하면 부모하고 자녀관계 그 관계하고, 상사하고 부하직원들의 관계는 그 정도의 수직적 관계가 있는거죠. The central government is a huge bureaucracy, and hierarchy is very much respected. The chain of command is critical here. The boss-subordinates relationship can be compared to the relationship between parents and children. Their relationship is vertical. (Turn #17)	Organizational culture/structure – vertical also 21000
23000	624	4-3	38	의전문제죠. 어디에 누가 앉으면 어떠냐구요. 여기에 윗분이 앉으면 여기에 누구 앉아야되고, 여기는 누구 앉아야되고. 과잉충성이죠. 어떨때 화가 나면 사람들이 그것만 신경쓸때. 프로그램이나 학습자 관리안하고. 윗분한테 어떻게 잘 보일까. 그게 중요한게 아니라, 그날 학습자들을 관리하는게 더 중요한데. It's all about the courtesy protocol for our big boss. Why do we have to worry so much about who's going to sit where? If the boss sits here, who's going to sit next to him? I think that's excessive loyalty to him. I am upset when our staff only cares about the courtesy protocol for the boss, not the program and learners. They only care what the boss thinks about the program. But, I think it is more important to care about the learners who come and learn. (Turn #38)	Political interests + Courtesy protocol for high ranking officials and positions also 12300
14000	625	4-2	32	이 사업의 담당자로서 방향이 분명히 이쪽 분야를 전공한 제가 봤을때도 과장님 생각대로 하면 사업이 엉뚱한데로 가는거예요. 그걸 알고 설득을 해도 자기 체면때문에 그냥 밀어부치는. 내가 생각한게, 내가 윗사람이 얘기하는건데. 제가 얘기를 하는 과정에서 자기한테 뭘 가르칠려고 그런다거나, 나이도 어리고, 직급도 낮은 사람이 그러니깐 싫어하죠, 자기 체면때문에라도 그냥 무시하고 해보고 얘기를 안들을려고. As a program planner who has a higher degree in adult education, I don't think that the plan is going to work the way he decided it should. Even though I talked to him and tried to convince him about this, he won't change because of face. The manager thinks that he is the person who is in a high-level position, and makes the decision. He doesn't like being taught by a young and low-level position person like me. Because of	

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				saving his face, he won't listen to my advice. (Turn #32)	
16000	601	4	33	회의할때 저처럼 나이가 젊은 여자인 경우 불쑥불쑥 자기 얘기를 하면 약간 다른 분들이 가끔가다 난감해하는 경우도 좀 봤구요. 내가 먼저 손을 내밀면 좀 어색해하시는 분들이 계세요. 그 정도로 아직은 젊은 여자분들이 사회에서 일하는 데 좀 난감해하는 경우들이 있죠. When a young woman like me speaks up at a meeting, I've seen some people act uncomfortable. When I am the first to initiate a handshake, I recognize that my behavior can make some men feel awkward. To some degree, working young women still have difficulties to deal with. (Turn #33)	Young female planners
21300	624	4-3	36	지금 나이보다는 약간 어리게 보이는게 사실이예요. 강의를 하러 들어가거나, 안내를 하러 들어가면, 이게 이 사람들이 어리잖아? 약간 경시하는 부분이 없지 않아있어요. 그래서 저는 일부러 들어가자마자 제 나이를 얘기하고 시작하곤해요. 그러고 나면, 시작을 해요. 특히 어르신들이 많을 경우에는 저는 제 나름대로 강한 이미지를 가지고 가는 스타일이거든요. 그렇게 내가 안하면 할 수가 없어요. 학습자들을 아울를수가 없어요. 아까 파워얘기 하셨는데, 당연히 존중은 하지만 파워게임에서 지면 여기서 일하기 힘들죠. 그 중심은 반듯이 잡야할것은 잡고 가는데, 나머지것은 절대 양보를 안하고 가는 스타일이거든요. When you look at me, I look young for my age. When I entered a classroom to conduct a workshop or to announce something, people in the class recognized that I am young, and seemed to look down on me. Thus, now, I intentionally tell people how old I am as soon as I enter a classroom. Then, I start teaching. Especially, if there are many older learners in a classroom, I want to build a strong image of myself to them. If I am not doing this, I can't manage my class. As you talked about power a minute ago, of course, I respect learners, but if I don't have power over them, I don't think I can work here. I am a person who sets my own standards and never gives up on what I want. (Turn #36)	Power relations – gender, age
21000	621	4-2	22	위계질서라는게 회사는 짬밥, 입사년도가 언제냐, 나이, 직위, 이 3 가지가 공존을 해서, 입사일자, 나이, 직위. 입사일자가 빠르다고해서 직위가 높은거는 아니니깐. 그래서 그 3 개가 같이 가. 그래서 내가 직급상으로 봤을때 중간이지만, 과장이라서, 근데 내 밑에 대리가 있어. 근데 나보다 7 살이 많아. 그래서 그런건데, 내가 할때는 지시를 못해, 나는 하라고. 아직까지는 나는 지시를 못해. 이것을 좀 해주시면 안돼요하고 요청을 해. 사내에서는 그렇게 대하고, 그 다음에 사적인 일 있잖아,	

Code	ID	Q#	Turn #	Data	Notes
				밖에 나가서 점심이나 커피 타임이나 회식이나 그럴때, 그럴땐 내가 막내가 되버리는거야. Hierarchical order in organizations consists of combinations of seniority, age, and organizational rank - date you started employment here, age, and rank. Seniority doesn't mean an employee has a high ranking in the organization. Therefore, these three factors act together in some way. My organizational rank is around the middle level. I am the manager of the department, and there is a senior assistant who is my subordinate. But, he is seven years older than me. So, I can't tell him to do something as I tell my other subordinates. I still can't say, "Do it." I say, "Can you do this for me?" I kindly ask him to do something. I treat him this way within the organization. If we see each other outside of company, for example, during teatime, lunch, or other social gatherings, I am like the youngest brother. (Turn #22)	