PROFESSIONALS' DOUBLE LIFE: LIFE HISTORIES OF KOREAN PROFESSIONALS INVOLVED IN SOCIAL ACTIVISM FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

by

HYERYUNG JUNG

(Under the Direction of Ronald M. Cervero)

ABSTRACT

Some scholars in the field of adult education assert that adult educators, as professionals, should contribute to social justice. However, there is little empirical research on individual professionals who are involved in social justice. The purpose of this qualitative life history study was to explore how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. The research questions guiding this study were as follows: 1) what motivates professionals to be activists in Korean society 2) what struggles do professionals encounter as they attempt to connect professionalism and activism in social movements and 3) how do professionals negotiate these struggles? The primary means of data collection were semi-structured interviews with four physicians and five lawyers who joined progressive professional organizations in Korea. Some of the professionals shared artifacts from their lives. Data were analyzed on two levels. First, on the level of a descriptive analysis method, a life history for each participant was constructed. Then on the level of a thematic analysis method, common themes across the nine professionals' histories were identified.

The findings indicated that the participants' motivations for becoming physicians or lawyers were affected by the patriarchal Korean culture and that they come to be involved in

social activism because of the impact of the atmosphere of the time, significant others, student activism, and personal characteristics. However, their involvement in professionalism and social activism caused different conflicts in their lives. First, the professionals identify themselves as social activists, professionals, or employees. The process of identification is not smooth and decisive but in conflict and under change. Second, the professionals struggle for survival in professional training institutes are dominated by mainstream culture and values of Korea. Third, the professionals struggle with relationships with other professionals, full-time activists in social movement organizations, and clients from underprivileged groups. Nonetheless, they make efforts to negotiate the struggles by finding an appropriate specialty and workplace, conducting self-reflection and self-regulation, making communities, and learning from role models and mentors.

Four major conclusions were derived from the findings of this study: First, professional identity can be constructed through social activism. Second, the positionality of professionals can be in conflict through social activism. Third, professionals can find intersections of professionalism and social activism. Finally, professionals' commitment to social justice can be maintained and articulated through cognitive praxis.

INDEX WORDS: Adult education, Professionalism, Social activism, Qualitative research, Life history, Professional education, Social justice, Social movements, Adult educators, Korean professionals

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> *At the heart of practice, we must clearly understand that every adult educator is a social activist, regardless of his or her particular vision of society.* (Cervero & Wilson, 2001, p. 13)

This dissertation arose from my critical mind regarding professionalization of adult educators in progress in South Korea. When I entered an adult education master's program in Korea in 1997, there was no certificate specifically required to work in the adult education field. However, the certificate of "Lifelong Educator" was created by law in 2000, and people who want to obtain the certificate now have to take relevant classes in the university. At that time, I was skeptical about that situation, because although historically Korean adult education has been oriented toward social justice and has served the oppressed, courses required for the "Lifelong Educator" certificate rarely dealt with the socially responsible mission of adult education.

My critical worldviews originated from my experiences in student movements in the university. I am from Korea. My parents are conservative like many parents in Korea, so I was naturally affected by my parents' viewpoints until high school. I had taken for granted the ways of the society where I had lived, and I had thought that the content of textbooks was always right. But since I entered the university, my philosophy and viewpoints have changed. When I was an undergraduate student, I served on the staff of a student weekly newspaper. Having studied critical theory, such as Marxism, and having reported the unjust situations of underprivileged

people, I was shocked and even felt that I had been blind all of my life to what was going on around me. The experiences played a critical role in opening my eyes toward social justice. Given the critical perspective, I hope to become an adult educator who is a professional and an activist for social justice. To this end, it is necessary to ask these questions: How have some people managed to be professionals and also stay involved in social activism? What do they experience as professionals and social activists?

Background of the Problem

Professionalization in today's society is a dominant phenomenon in the field of occupations (Freidson, 2001). Workers who deal with specialized knowledge and skills tend to argue that they are professionals, and more and more occupational workers strive to become professionals. Adult educators are no exception to this tendency. Scholars and practitioners in the field of adult education have endeavored to establish professional identity in the U. S. since the 1920s when an association was formed and universities began to deal with adult education (Imel, Brokett, & James, 2000; Wilson, 2001). Accordingly, the debates of who professionals are and what they really do have affected the debate of who adult educators are and what they really do.

Until the 1960s, there had rarely been a critical view of professionals in sociology. Rather, professionals were considered as a group of people who were honorable by contributing to maintaining a society through mediating and applying complex and scientific knowledge and skills to particular cases (Parsons, 1954). Accordingly, it was believed that professionals, as a disinterested group, deserved to be highly rewarded with status as well as prestige (Parsons, 1954). Given this thought, scholars paid attention on one hand to essential traits of professionals which were distinguished from other workers (Flexner, 1915; Millerson, 1964), and on the other

hand to professionalization as the process of development of all occupations (Vollmer & Mills, 1966).

A favorable view of professionals still dominantly affects phenomena related to professionals. As shown in the case of Korea, many policy-makers and professional associations control the quality and practices of professionals, based on this view (Tobias, 2003). In adult education, many practitioners in continuing professional education also tend to focus on professionals' development, competence, and learning in order to teach professionals to be more professionalized. They emphasize the necessity of learning new technology and new information in contemporary society where scientific techniques develop rapidly and the amount of information increases tremendously (King & Lawler, 2003). In addition, for professionals to develop their competence, they stress the need to learn continuously through their professional practice as well as through professional education (Houle, 1980; Schön, 1983, 1987).

Despite efforts of incessant learning, contemporary professional competence fails to gain the complete trust of people, and even the legitimacy of the profession is in doubt (Frost, 2001). Actually, "the reflective practitioner," which Schön proposed in 1983, was a response to the critique of the legitimacy of professionals' expertise. As Cervero notes (2001b, p. 212), since then, "anyone writing about continuing professional education since the mid-1980s has not been able to do so without reference to Schön's themes of reflective practice" as if the reflective practitioner is the only alternative model able to defend against the increasing attacks of professionals.

However, the distrust of professionals has expanded to their status and rewards as well as to their expertise. The idea of the disinterestedness of professionals has been criticized for several decades. Sociologists affected by the writing of Marx, Weber, or the Chicago School of

Sociology do not think that the linear link among specialized knowledge and skills, public service, and social and economical prestige is natural; rather, they believe that it operates as a "monopoly" mechanism (Brante, 1988; Freidson, 1986; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977). In other words, sectors of the labor market of professional groups are monopolized by self-protecting systems, such as extensive education and credentials. They criticize the way that the favorable approach describes professionals as having ideal-type traits, and points out that this approach functions as an ideology of the profession used in order for professionals to maintain and justify their privilege in a society. In addition, professionals are understood as relatively privileged middle class and knowledge-based workers who try to maintain their social and economic privilege in the labor market in a capitalist economy, following the dominant social and economic order in society.

Researchers and practitioners (Cervero, 2001b; Collins, 1991; Cunningham, 1992; Edwards, 1997; Wilson, 1993; Woll, 1984) in the field of adult education who take up the critical viewpoint of professionals have pointed out the limits of "continuing learning" suggested by Houle (1980) and "reflective practice" asserted by Schön (1983; 1987), as well as the technical rationality by virtue of the functionalist assumption of each of them. That is, the discussion of technical rationality, continuing learning, and reflective practice in adult education has overlooked the aspect of professionals' control in the labor market for their status and prestige and of the social and political forces surrounding professionals.

This critique has often been linked to the rejection of professionalization of adult education. To researchers and practitioners who believe that adult education should contribute to social change for social justice, the professionalization of adult educators is a phenomenon they have to reject. Collins (1991) described professionalization of adult education as the current

crisis in adult education because the emphasis on technical rationality made adult education serve the neo-conservative political ideology (p. xi). In addition, according to Collins, professionalization of adult education contrasts with "the meaning of adult education" that was suggested by Lindeman in the 1920s and the emancipatory pedagogy asserted by Freire. A code of ethics, one of the crucial characteristics of professionals, also came to be criticized by scholars in adult education for the reason that it can prevent democratic negotiation in real contexts (Cunningham, 1992). Calderwood (2003), who agrees with Cunningham's argument, also noted that for the pursuit of social justice it is not enough to use an abstract notion embedded in a code of ethics; rather, this pursuit needs to be actualized in every activity and decision of professional life (p. 305). Although, in principle, a code of ethics of professionals and social activism for social justice are not mutually exclusive but connected, the declaration of the former is not always linked to the latter in reality.

However, professionalization of adult education has become an unstoppable phenomenon (Cervero, 1992). Although there are differences among professionals, they belong to relatively privileged groups in a market-oriented society by utilizing the mechanism of monopoly, as the critical approach points out. Most of them also intend to maintain the privilege. If so, is it impossible to negotiate adult education which has a vision of emancipation of the oppressed with a profession which is in a privileged position in society? Some researchers (Carlson, 1977; Cervero, 1988; Murphy, 1986; Ohliger, 1974; Wilson, 2001) in the field of adult education have answered "no" to the question. They have argued that it is necessary to seek a different approach to professional practice which can contribute to social justice.

Cervero (1988; 1992; 2000) is one of the influential scholars who argue for a different approach to professional practice. According to Cervero (1992), because adult education cannot

create a new model through resisting professionalization, it is necessary that adult educators "shift our attention away from what professionals have in common as a result of the professionalization process to how they use these common characteristics for different social purposes" (p. 48). He suggested that a model of adult education could be found in professionals who work for social justice and marginalized people. Since Cervero's suggestion, researchers (Imel et al., 2000; Wilson, 2001) in the field of adult education have argued that adult educators as professionals should exert political power. That is, it is necessary that professionals, including adult educators, consider the goal of their practices and whose interests they serve. Although the idea of a different approach to professional practice is significant by addressing the possibility of negotiation between adult education and profession, the idea has not gone beyond the theoretical and normative stage yet.

Murphy's (1986) research is noteworthy in terms of an empirical study. He interviewed 22 professionals in order to explain the professionals' involvement in progressive social movements. *Resistant professionals* was the term given by Murphy to refer to those who found the meaning of their lives as personal rewards in their practice, attempted to overturn consciously the assumptions of professional practice, and spoke of themselves as empowering clients and contributing to social change. Murphy's research showed how professionals resisted the traditional assumptions of professionalism. Although Murphy's research is significant in that it began the empirical exploration of professionals who are involved in social movements, he did not pay attention to how they had formed their individual commitment to social movements, what conflicts they encountered, and how they negotiated the conflicts.

Since Murphy's research, there has been little empirical research on professionals who are involved in social movements in the field of adult education. Most of the discussion on

professionals who are involved in social movements is found in the literature of social movements. The body of literature primarily deals with middle class rather than professionals itself. However, according to class theory, professionals belong to the middle class, or more precisely speaking, to the new middle class whose occupation is in the production and distribution of symbolic knowledge (Burris, 1986). The new middle class's motivation to participate and their activities in social movements have been differently understood in social movement theories.

Resource Mobilization (RM) theorists (Bagguley, 1992; Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zald, 1977, 1987), who believed that social movements arise and succeed by social movement organizations mobilizing effectively resources, argued that the new middle class was competent to lead contemporary social movements and to become entrepreneurs in social movement organizations because they were highly educated. Focusing more on examining the new middle class than the RM theorists, the New Social Movement (NSM) theorists (Eder, 1995; Inglehart, 1990; Touraine, 1988) considered the new middle class as a key actor in NSM, unlike Old Social Movements in which laborers and farmers had been key actors. Through the examination of the post-material society, NSM theorists believed that only the new middle class could seek post-materialist values, equality, democracy, a clean environment, and a more communicative culture (Eder, 1995; Inglehart, 1977), because the relatively high education level and economic security of the new middle class in comparison with those of the working class made the new middle class interested in qualitative matters.

Sociological writings have very recently begun to discuss Convergence Activism (CA), which pays attention to globalization. Above all, this new activism pays much attention to globalization (Shepard & Hayduk, 2002a). Supporters of CA point out that today's social

movements have attempted to converge their own issues with multiple issues of social justice. Accordingly, in CA, the new middle class is neither the leader nor the key actor (Cleveland, 2003), and it is just one of various "knots" linked to building social justice (Shepard & Hayduk, 2002b).

Despite the insight that they offer, the studies of the new middle class in social movements offer only a limited explanation of the new middle class by focusing on the new middle class as a "group" on the macro level. Those theories do not explore how individuals in the new middle class come to participate in social movement activism and what they experience in the activism on the micro level. Furthermore, Vahazadeh's (2001) critique of parochialism of NSMs can be applied to other social movement theories. Those theories have mainly dealt with the new middle class in Western society. The practice of professionals as the new middle class in social movements cannot avoid the influence of the history and culture of a society, and thus the different social and historical context can generate different stories. In this sense, professionals involved in social movements in South Korea, an Asian country, can have different stories from those in Western society. It is the only divided country in the world and has experienced rapid economic growth under a dictatorship of over 40 years, beginning with the 1945 Liberation from Japan's occupation. Under long oppression, some professionals continue to be individually and organizationally involved in social movements for democratization and human rights.

Statement of the Problem

Practitioners and researchers in the field of adult education have attempted to professionalize themselves. Although their viewpoints of professionals have been distinguished between affirmative thoughts and negative thoughts, some researchers seek a different approach to professional practice by negotiating between adult education's historic mission and

professionals' privileged power. They pay attention to professionals who devote themselves to using their power to build social justice.

The model of professionals in the field of adult education has been studied just theoretically and normatively, and yet, little data-based research in either nonwestern or western context focuses on the professionals' positionality on the new middle class and their activities in progressive social movements. In addition, research on professionals contributing to social justice in non-western society is lacking. The problem that is addressed in this research is the lack of attention to the engagement of professionals in social justice movements in non-western society.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative life history study was to explore how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. In this study, I interviewed five lawyers and four physicians who are involved in two progressive professional organizations in South Korea. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What motivates professionals to be activists in Korean society?
2. What struggles do professionals encounter as they attempt to connect professionalism and activism in social movements?
3. How do professionals negotiate these struggles?

Significance of the Study

This study can offer a number of significant theoretical and practical contributions, by exploring lives and experiences of professionals who are involved in social and political activism in South Korea. Theoretically, it can contribute to expanding the understanding of different approaches to the identity and practice of professionals. In the field of adult education,

discussion has occurred only in the abstract theoretical stage and in normative dimension which assumes that adult educators as professionals should think and act ethically and politically. There have been few empirical studies examining the lives and experiences of professionals participating in social and political activism. This empirical study can help to crystallize an different identity and practice of professionals.

This study can also expand the understanding of participation of social and political activism. Prior social movement theories have mainly paid attention to the new middle class as a group. In this study, individual participants' stories that will be explored through this study can show how and why they, as the new middle class that have privilege and power, participated in social and political activism, and what they, as professionals and activists, do in progressive social movements. In addition, this study can avoid the pitfall of parochialism that alternate explanations of professionals may have. Prior studies of professionals and social movements have been conducted in the context of western society. This study can expand the understanding of professionals participating in progressive social movements by looking at them in South Korea, a non-western society.

This study offers practical significance as well, such as the insight of alternatives of identity and practice of professionals that will help adult educators to aspire to identify themselves as professionals who maintain the historical mission of adult education. More specifically, this study can be significant in that it will encourage Korean adult educators to identify themselves as professionals who contribute to social justice. Currently, their elaboration of professionalization tends to follow the functionalist approach and to ignore the political aspects of professional practices. Accordingly, the results of this study can help those

practitioners and researchers in the field of adult education rethink their identity and provide different insights of professional practices.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this qualitative life history study was to explore how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. The study was guided by the following research questions: 1) what motivates professionals to be activists in Korean society 2) what struggles do professionals encounter as they attempt to connect professionalism and activism in social movements and 3) How do professionals negotiate these struggles? Given that purpose and those questions, the purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant literature on professionals. The chapter is divided into four major topical sections.

The first section addresses the traditional analysis of professionals in sociology. Who professionals are and what they do have mainly been covered in the sociological literature. The understanding of professionals in sociology is divided into two approaches: the functionalist approach and the socio-economic approach. A review of the two major approaches reveals each approach's influence on the real situation of professionals and the limits of the accounts of professional identity and practice in each approach.

The second section presents the research on professionals in the field of adult education. While some practitioners and scholars are affected by the two major sociological approaches, others seek a different model in looking for the identity of adult educators as professionals. Proponents of the different model argue that adult educators as professionals should act ethically and politically for social justice. These discussions provide the necessity of this study.

The third section examines the literature on social movements for social justice related to views on the new middle class to which professionals belong. The major theories of social movements explain the meaning of the new middle class in social movements, in other words why the new middle class has been involved in progressive social movements and what are its roles are in social movement activism. This section is important for the framing of this study.

The fourth section explores what professionals have done in the history of Korean social movements. This section covers the political history of Korea, the history of Korean social movements, and the role of professionals since the Liberation from Japanese Occupation in 1945. The historical review can help to understand the lives and experiences of the participants of this study.

Overview of Professions in Sociology

Nowadays, most people are affected by professional practice. We come to professionals in order to ask them to teach our children, to heal our sickness, to manage our property, and to settle our disputes. Especially in times of trouble, we need to consult professionals. Although professionals' authority and our trust in them have recently been diminished, we still depend on their knowledge and information, and we depend upon their advice.

In academia as well as in our daily life, professions also have been the objects of study. In particular, systematic analysis of professions came in the 20th century. The definition of professions has mainly been the work of sociologists, and sociology even has a specific field, "the sociology of professions." In that field, professions have been examined by two major approaches: the first is the functionalist approach and the second is the socio-economic approach. Professional practice has been examined differently depending on each approach.

The Functionalist Approach

The functionalist approach of professions was dominant in sociology until the late 1960s when functionalist theory flourished (MacDonald, 1995). Given the assumption of the functionalist theory that each part in society functions appropriately in order to maintain a society, the functionalist approach of professions also considered professions as the part that functioned to maintain a society. Its function was to mediate and apply abstract and complex scientific knowledge to particular cases.

The work of Talcott Parsons, called the "father" of studies of the professions, is regarded as the first systematic study concerning the function of professions in society (Barber, 1985). There were a few writings on professions before Parsons published *The Profession and Social Structure* in 1939. They focused on what the traits of professions were and how they were distinguished from other occupations. For example, Flexner (1915) led the way of studying attributes of professions. He suggested six criteria: (1) intellectual operations with large individual responsibility, (2) derivation of raw material from science and learning, (3) a practical and definite end, (4) possession of an educationally communicable technique, (5) self-organization, and (6) altruistic motivation. The trait-based approach is based on the functionalist theory. Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) whose writing suggested several traits of professions understood professions who "engender modes of life, habits of thought and standards of judgment which render them centers of resistance to crude forces which threaten steady and peaceful evolution" (p. 497).

Parsons (1954) regards the professions as the major bearers and transmitters of rational values, and also of new technological knowledge that impels the economy forward. He recognizes that the development of scientific technology results in making knowledge

increasingly complex and then in “asymmetry of expertise” (Abbott, 1988). Professions are needed to distribute to and benefit lay people with such knowledge. Thus, for Parsons, the development of professions is natural, and they play an important role in developing the industrial society based on scientific and technological knowledge.

The reason that Parsons (1954) paid attention to professions was that he believed professional men were marked by “disinterestedness,” unlike businessmen who pursued self-interest (p. 35). For Parsons, the professions were “atypical” in the modern economic system. In addition, according to Parsons, the professionals had “normative authority” by gaining “the superior technical competence” through institutions (pp. 37-38).

The trait-based approach began to be criticized by the process approach in the 1960s (MacDonald, 1995). Proponents of the process approach recognized that it is difficult to find a clear-cut demarcation between professions and other occupations. According to them, the trait-based definition of professions suggests an ideal type that does not exist in the real world and pays attention to professionalization instead of professions. That is, “professions” means the process by which occupations are professionalized (Vollmer & Mills, 1966). For example, Etzioni (1969) classified occupations into “professions,” “semi-professions,” and “non-professions.” Although the process approach has as the merit of recognizing the dynamic conditions of contemporary occupational structures, it is still based on functionalism because it acknowledges that professions are necessary to the smooth and orderly functioning of society (Cervero, 1988).

As Brante (1988) pointed out, the functional assumption influences professionals’ regulation systems, their training systems, their relationship with clients and their reward systems. Based on the functional assumptions, professionals regulate their own activities. Professionals

have built their own organizations with codes of ethics and training systems in order to protect against incompetence, or carelessness. They argue that because of complex knowledge and scientific rationality, their practices have to be controlled by themselves or by their colleagues rather than by lay people (Rueschemeyer, 1983). In the same vein, the functionalist position necessarily led to an emphasis on the socialization of professional trainees (Akinson, 1983); those who want to be professionals need to pass through extensive and burdensome training. In doing so, professionals presume that they can work for the common good in the most effective way.

"Asymmetry of expertise," a basis for conduct of professionals in the functional perspective, also influences the relationship between professionals and their clients. Because professional practices are considered as application from their "higher knowledge," it comes to be natural that they "help" client's problems and clients "trust" professionals. The functional account of professionals connects them to the reward system of society. As mentioned above, because professional activities are crucial for the welfare society, valued, difficult, and require individual responsibility, "good" people are encouraged to take on these jobs. Thus professionals must be highly rewarded, with status as well as prestige (Parsons, 1954). However, the socio-economic approach examines critically the formation of professions and professionals' practice, and even considers the functionalist approach as "mythology" (Brante, 1988).

The Socio-economic Approach

In the 1970s, more critical attitudes toward the established professions as well as toward the theoretical interpretation of their position in society came up with political and ideological concerns, drawing from Marx, Weber, and the Chicago School of Sociology (MacDonald, 1995). Unlike the honorable description of professions in society in the functional approach, the

professions in the socio-economic approach were no longer disinterested nor desirable. That approach understands the historical formation of professions in the real situation as a "monopoly." That is, professional groups sought to become the elite of a society and to prevent others from becoming professionals by a rigorous educational and credential system. In doing so, it tried to disclose that professions have struggled to maintain their high status and high income in society (Freidson, 1970, 1986; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977).

Freidson, Larson, and Johnson are representative proponents of the socio-economic approach. Freidson in *The Profession of Medicine* (1970) revealed how doctors in the U.S. gained their autonomy, how they exert their power of autonomy over patients, and further how their exercise of autonomy prevents outside supervision. Freidson (1986) also examined the knowledge of professions. He assumed that "knowledge cannot be connected to power without becoming embodied in concrete human beings who in turn must be sustained by organized institutions" (p. xi). Thus, for him, professions played a crucial role in transmitting formal knowledge whose "basis was not democratic, not open to the active participation of all" (Freidson, 1986). This is opposite to Parsons's explanation that professions contribute to developing the society by applying complex knowledge to solving the problems of lay people. Freidson's work became an important model for the sociology of the professions in the U.S., and strongly influenced Larson's work (MacDonald, 1995).

Larson (1977), paying attention to professionals' historical practice in the labor market in the U.S. and England, defined professionalization as "the process by which producers of special services sought to constitute and control a market for their expertise" (p. xvi). She argued that the model of professions, as the salaried occupations of the middle class in a large organization, has

become “an ideology” that justified “the linkage between education and the marketplace and “inequality of status and closure of access in the occupational order” (p. xviii).

Johnson (1972) examined the relationship between professionals and clients in the light of the relationship between producers and consumers in Britain, pointing out that in order to understand the professions, one must consider “their sources of power and authority and the ways in which they use them” (p. 18). For him, a profession is “a means of controlling an occupation” (p. 45). Accordingly, professionals justify their power in order to control the relationship and further benefit from it. In short, the socio-economic approach considers that the rise of professions is not a natural and smooth growth but results from a desire to gain and maintain their own dominance or power in society and labor market.

In the light of this approach, the functional approach to professional practice is regarded as an ideology of monopolizing the occupational market. First of all, whereas functionalists believe that the scientific and technocratic rationality and knowledge of professionals practice are politically neutral and the professionals themselves can supervise a largely self-developing technology in the most effective way, the socio-economic approach argues that this is myth. It is said that professionals justify closures of public debates by insisting that their conduct is grounded in complex and esoteric knowledge. In turn, this myth influences the understanding of the self-regulation system, and the relationship between professionals and clients (Abbott, 1988; Dingwall & Lewis, 1983; Rueschemeyer, 1983).

Unlike proponents of the functional approach in which professionals’ self-regulation, such as credential and extensive education, is the most effective way to control their activities, socio-economic theorists point out that self-regulation is just a means of monopolizing their social position of prestige and high income. Freidson (1986) pointed out that credentials, an

occupational cartel, gain and preserve monopolistic control over the supply of a good or service in order to enhance the income of its members by protecting them from competition by others. Rueschemyer (1983) mentioned that when the recipients of expert services are economically, socially, and politically weak, they are protected neither by their own control resources nor by professional self-restraint interventions. In addition, extensive training of professionals is not incremental qualification but occupational socialization. For example, Granfield (1992) showed that how Harvard Law students come to be separated from their initial commitment to use the law to help people and from their social justice agenda.

Proponents of the socio-economic approach also point out how professionals with power control clients in the name of the knowledge gap. Illich (1977) argued that professionals determine clients' needs and hand the client a prescription. Lipsky (1980) also pointed out that professionals could control clients in part by restricting information on how to work the system and by keeping them dependent. In sum, professions and professionals, described as the honored servants of client needs and the spearhead for the development of modern society in the functional approach, are no longer in such a prestigious place in society in the socio-economic approach. In that approach, rather, they are identified as an oppressive group who exploit lay people in order to maintain their social and economic privilege.

Professionals in the Field of Adult Education

It is not surprising that the two major approaches toward professionals in sociology have affected the debate on the identification of adult educators, and on the process and program of professional education during the last several decades. The debate on professionals has been one of key issues in the field of adult education since the 1920s when adult education began to be taught at the university level and the associate of adult education was established in the U.S.

(Imel et al., 2000; Wilson, 2001). Like other occupations in contemporary society, adult education also has sought to professionalize (Wilson, 1993). The literature on professionals in the field of adult education has been influenced by the two approaches of professionals in sociology mentioned above, and some scholars in adult education have addressed a different approach to professional practice that pays attention to contributing to social justice. Table 1 shows three approaches to professional groups. This section explores how practitioners and researchers in the field of adult education have applied the two main sociological approaches and the different approach to the debate of professionals in the field of adult education.

Table 1.

Three Approaches to Professional Groups

Aspect	The Functionalist Approach	The Socio-Economic Approach	The Different Approach
Theorists	Parsons, Houle	Larson, Johnson, Freidson, Illich, Collins	Cervero, Wilson
Assumption of professionals	People who focus on disinterestedness	People who focus on self-interestedness	People who focus on social justice and social responsibility
Purpose of professional practice	Transmit scientific knowledge and skills	Monopolize their social position of prestige and high income	Exert their power for social justice
Relationship with clients	Be politically neutral	Control clients	Empower clients
Manifestation in adult education	Continuing professional education for developing knowledge and skills	Reject professionalization of adult education	Question who benefits from professional practice

The Functionalist Approach of Professionals in Adult Education

It is the functionalist approach that has been predominantly taken up, and, at the same time, been constantly criticized by practitioners and researchers in the field of adult education. Literature drawing on the functionalist approach focuses on professional development related to professionals' learning of knowledge and skills. Policy makers and practitioners tend to emphasize technical rationality, as Tobias (2003) mentioned. Policy-makers and practitioners tend to believe that only the knowledge and skills standardized by institutions can grant professionals' competence. According to Tobias (2003), this tendency is not surprising because policy-makers and practitioners pick up technicism and instrumentalism as the tools that are most readily available and that have acquired social status and recognition.

However, pointing out the limits of technical rationality, many researchers have addressed the importance of professionalization in terms of practical knowledge (Houle, 1980; Schön, 1983). In *Continuing Learning in the Professions* published 1980, Houle emphasized the process approach toward professions instead of the traditional or trait-based approach. According to him, because the trait-based approach was a static concept, it failed to explain the tremendously increasing variety and complexity of professional and technical workers in the era of rapid social change. And thus, it would be necessary for the process approach, a dynamic concept to consider that many occupations were on the continuum of professionalization. Give that idea, Houle suggested the necessity of "lifelong learning" to professionals, that is, they need to learn continuously not only through theories established but also through their professional practice in order to be more professionalized in rapid and complex social change.

Technical rationality was more clearly criticized by Schön (1983). He attributed the crisis of confidence in the professions to the limits of technical rationality, the dominant model of

professional knowledge. For him, technical rationality was not effective in the real world, "a swampy lowland" (Schön, 1987) where problems are not well-defined but are more complex.

Schön (1983; 1987) proposed that professionals pursue "reflective practice" as the alternative model of technical rationality. Unlike the model of technical rationality, which understands practice as the application of knowledge, the assumption of the reflective practitioner is that "one can think about doing something while doing it" (Schön, 1983, p. 54). In addition Schön believed that the reflective practice could contribute to restoring professionals' accountability. For him, through reflective practice, the relationship between professionals and their clients can be improved, and the reflective practitioners are "neither the heroic avant-garde of the technological program nor a villainous elite who prevent the people from taking control of their lives" (Schön, 1983, p. 346).

The issues of professional development, lifelong learning, and reflective practice are still a dominant influence on literature on professionals in the field of adult education today (King & Lawler, 2003; Queeney, 2000). Given the belief that the features of contemporary society are rapid social change, the proliferation of information, and innovation of technology from the functionalist approach in sociology, adult educators and researchers have sought to answer the question of what the role of adult educators as professionals is and how the process of Continuing Professional Education (CPE) contributes to training professionals in order to adjust themselves to this social condition (Jackson, 2000). However, the functionalist approach has been criticized by researchers who draw on the socio-economic approach toward professions in sociology.

The Socio-economic Approach of Professionals in Adult Education

Researchers who have taken up the socio-economic approach not only have criticized the functionalist approach (Edwards, 1997; Wilson, 1993; Woll, 1984) but also have disagreed with the professionalization of adult education (Collins, 1992; Cunningham, 1992). Woll (1984) pointed out the limits of the writing of Houle from sociologist Johnson's (1972)'s examination of professions. Woll (1984) in particular paid attention to Johnson's definition of professions as "a means of controlling an occupation." According to Woll (1984), the fourteen characteristics of the professionalization process suggested by Houle (1980) are nothing more than controlling mechanisms. In addition, "self-enhancement," a goal of CPE proposed by Houle, also fell ultimately into the control of occupations.

Using Larson's (1977) economic analysis of professionalization, Wilson (1993) examined professionalization of adult education as revealed through analysis of adult education handbooks. He found that in order for professions to control their market in a service economy, they standardize their body of knowledge and their professional practice. Given that idea, the assumption of Wilson's work is that "the discourse in the adult education handbooks represents the interests of those wishing to professionalize the practice of adult education" (p. 12). As a result of his analysis, Wilson found that scientific knowledge had been essential in the development of adult education as a profession. In addition, Wilson (1993) pointed out the limits of Schön's analysis: "while carefully articulating the epistemological relation between empirical analytic knowledge and professionalization" (p. 13), Schön's analysis did not explicitly deal with the issue of control revealed in the process of professionalization.

The critique of Schön's analysis also appears in other researchers (Cervero, 2001b; Edwards, 1997). Focusing on the limit of Schön's understanding of "reflection," Edwards (1997)

pointed out that "reflection is not a neutral process in professional practice but can serve a range of interests and have a variety of ambivalent and contradictory consequences" (p. 152). In this sense, according to Edwards (1997), the term *reflective practitioner*, who is a model of professional practice for Schön, "cannot be taken simply as a universal description of professional practice and professional identity" (p. 153).

Indeed, Schön did not seriously analyze the political contexts in which professionals, professionals' knowledge and practices, and clients exist. For him, the relations among professionals, professional practice, and clients were described as phenomena occurring on an island isolated from society. Although he briefly mentioned the critical roles of "counterprofessionals" in social reform to empower the relatively powerless in his initial book (Schön, 1983), in his other writings since then, Schön did not consider the role of the reflective practitioners in social change. In this regard, Cervero's critique of Schön is insightful (2001b):

> Perhaps the most interesting contradiction in Schön's work is that he was able to study processes of practice and change without reference to an explicit socio-political theory of events… If we are to build on his ideas, we need to do so with a clear-headed understanding of the asymmetrical social and political contexts in which learning takes place and to know whose interests reflective practice is serving. (p. 216).

While the researchers mentioned above argued for the necessity of a different way of approaching professionalization, criticizing the functionalist approach in the field of adult education, some researchers (Collins, 1991, 1992; Cunningham, 1992) have more strongly rejected the professionalization of adult education. Although Collins (1991; 1992) did not deny the achievement of competent performance of professionals, he resisted professionalization as a monopoly and social closure in labor market. Collins (1991) noted, "when adult educators allow

themselves a preoccupation with the professionalization of their own endeavors, they become very much part of the problem and abandon any real prospect of achieving an emancipatory, critical practice of adult education" (p. 16). In this sense, Collins (1992) asked the question "Are we so pathetically eager to be recognized by established profession?" pointing out that "analysis of the status of modern adult education practice inevitably leads to the conclusion that ambitions toward further professionalization of the field are both pretentious and dysfunctional" (p. 42).

Cunnningham (1992) also agrees with the socio-economic approach to professions. She argues that adult education does not need a code of ethics, which is one of characteristics of professions. According to her, a code of ethics is likely to work for groups with power and can prevent democratic negotiation. For her, it is necessary that normative behavior justified by a code of ethics "must be contextualized to prevent the concepts of the good, the true, and the beautiful from becoming so abstract that they lost all meaning" (p. 110). Cunningham (1992) concluded, "professionalization is not about social change and never will be" (p. 111).

Researchers and practitioners who took up the socio-economic approach toward professionals in the field of adult education have concerned themselves with the professionalization of adult education, and further, some of them have disagreed with professionalization itself. However, some practitioners and researchers in the field of adult education have made an effort to find a different way of seeing professional practice rather than rejecting professionalization.

A Different Approach to Professional Practice

While researchers and practitioners (Cervero, 1988; Murphy, 1986) who have attempted a different approach to professional practice have agreed with the socio-economic approach, they have not rejected the professionalization of adult education. They acknowledge the

professionalization of adult education as an inevitable phenomenon, and at the same time, have sought to find a new model of professionalism. Although the attempt had appeared in literature on adult education in the 1970s (Carlson, 1977; Ohliger, 1974), it began to be explored more concretely in the 1980s.

Murphy (1986) suggested the term of *resistant professionals* to describe professionals who commit themselves to creating and structuring social change, opposing traditional, dominant approach to professional groups (pp. 166-169). In his study, Murphy interviewed 22 professionals who were involved in professional organizations related to progressive social movements. The research participants were engaged in ministry, medicine, law, and adult education. Through the study, Murphy found that *resistant professionals* made meaning in their lives by attempting to consciously overturn the assumptions of professional practice, empowering clients, and contributing to social change.

Murphy's idea was more explicitly and systematically examined from the critical viewpoint of professionals by Cervero (1988; 1992). Noting that professionals were not homogeneous communities, Cervero (1988) pointed out the limits of the functionalist approach and the socio-economic approach. That is, the functionalist approach considers that "professional groups share a common set of knowledge and a code of ethics for the purpose of providing high-quality services to people and of working toward the betterment of society," and the socio-economic approach believes that "members of a professional community band together to constitute and control a market for their services" (p 33).

Given that thought, Cervero (1988) suggested different professionals who were involved in progressive social movements as examples of the different practice of professionals. The examples were the critical legal studies movement, liberation theology, and "critical pedagogy"

in the field of education (pp. 33-34). He concluded that effective practice of professionals required that "educators understand the ends of their work and the best means to reach those ends" (p. 37). Finally, According to Cervero, adult educators need to focus on how they use their power and to what ends (1992), and the process of CPE need to ask the questions "what is it for," "who benefits from it," and "who will provide it" (2001a).

Literature on the different approach to professional identity and practice reveals the importance of the ethical and political dimensions of professional practice, while acknowledging the professionalization of adult education as an undeniable situation. Practitioners and researchers, who have attempted to find the different approach in the field of adult education from Cervero's view, argue that it is more significant to ask the questions of "who benefits?" and "in whose interests?" rather than the question of "how?" in order to claim the ethical and political dimensions of professional work in the field (Imel et al., 2000; Jackson, 2000; Wilson, 2001).

However, the discussion of the different approach to professional practice in adult education is still in the theoretical and normative stage. How professionals who are interested in ethical and political dimensions began to ask the political questions, and how they struggle to answer the questions in their practice have rarely been empirically examined. Such an empirical exploration can contribute to crystallizing the different approach beyond the normative stage.

In addition, what should not be overlooked in exploring professionals involved in ethical and political dimensions understands their practice in the light of their social position beyond viewing their practice as their individual commitment. As Tobias (2003) pointed out, the latter can be embedded in liberal functionalism. Examining the positionality of professionals can help us to understand their ethical and political actions in wider economic, social, political, and

cultural contexts. The debate on professionals in literature of social movements shows the politics of positionality of professionals.

Professionals as the New Middle Class in Social Movements

The debate on the ethical and political dimension of professionals has been explored in the literature of social movements. Professionals in the literature of social movements have received as a group of the middle class, or more specifically speaking, new middle class rather than professionals themselves. While the old middle class is defined as the petit bourgeoisie by its salaried position in the production and distribution of material goods and services, the new middle class's occupation is in the production and distribution of symbolic knowledge (Burris, 1986). The new middle class had not received much attention in the literature of social movements until the 1960s when social movements were active (Burris, 1986). After the new middle class's participation in social movements, researchers began to study why they were involved in social movements and what they did in social movements. This section explores how the new middle class, including professionals, has been examined in dominant theories of social movements: Resource Mobilization (RM) theory, New Social Movement (NSM) theory, and recent Convergence Activism (CA) theory. Table 2 briefly shows three theories of social movements.

The New Middle Class in RM Theory

Resource Mobilization (RM) theory was proposed by sociologists in the United States, as a way to confront the traditional approach to social movements based on the social psychology of collective behavior (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The traditional approach understood collective behavior in social movements as irrational behavior arising from grievance or relative deprivation. RM theorists considered that the traditional theory was inadequate for analyzing

Table 2.

Three Theories of Social Movements

Aspect	Resource mobilization	New Social Movement	Convergence Activism
Theorists	Jenkins, McCarthy, Zald, Olson	Touraine, Melucci, Inglehart	Shepard, Hayduk, Cleveland
Locus of social movements	• Effective mobilization of resources	• Objection to materialist and economic values • Realization of identity	• Objection to economic globalization and neoliberal ideology
Manifestation	Development of social movement organization	Environmental movements, women movements	Globalization from below, glocalism, global civil society
Role of new middle class	Entrepreneurs, leaders	A key actor	One part among different areas

turmoil in largely democratic, affluent politics in the 1960s, such as the Civil Right Movements and student movements. That is, according to such theorists (Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; M. Olson, 1965), social movements arise from organizing the grievance rather than the grievance itself.

Olson (1965), who studied collective action, a cornerstone to RM theorists, noted that rational individuals would join an effort to provide a collective good only if the individual cost of participation did not outweigh individual benefits. McCarthy and Zald (1977), who are key writers of RM theory, have tried to apply the rational choice model of Olson to understanding social movement organizations. According to them, in order to be successful, social movement organizations should make efforts to decrease the cost of the participation and to increase the benefit. In addition, these organizations emphasized labor, money and materials as resources for mobilization (p. 1216).

In RM theory, the new middle class was explained in terms of organizations rather than in terms of the organizations' members. RM theorists considered the new middle class as "entrepreneurs," "leaders" who had ability to mobilize resources and "a key social resource" in social movement organizations (Bagguley, 1992; McCarthy & Zald, 1987).
McCarthy and Zald (1987) believed that in order for social movements to succeed is the leadership of social movement organizations to be able to mobilize people, their time, their money, and even their grievances (p. 379). According to them, the new middle class is competent to have such characteristics of entrepreneurs.

Bagguley (1992) considered the new middle class as "the key social resources for mobilization of NSMs" (p. 26), criticizing the NSM theory that believed that the new middle class was the central causal factor of NSM. According to him, the most important feature of the powers of the new middle class is "the increased growth of structures of education and knowledge for the expanded means of mental production" (p. 38). The new middle class has contributed to the emergence of NSMs through the application of their knowledge and skills. In short, the knowledge and skills of the new middle class are the social resources for mobilization of social movements.

Although RM theory has helped to understand the actual process of collective mobilization by describing how participants in social movements are mobilized, NSM theorists (Cohen, 1985; Kitschelt, 1991; Klandermans, 1991; Melucci, 1994) have pointed out several limits of RM theory. Criticizing the utilitarian approach of RM theory, Klandermans (1991) pointed out that Olson did not explain, "why individuals sometimes participate, even in the absence of selective incentives" (p. 25). Kitschelt (1991) argued that instrumental rationality in RM theory has limits because "when the movements' objectives are ambiguous, it is impossible

to determine how instrumentally 'rational' a movement acts" (p. 333). In addition, RM theory has been even criticized as being apolitical because it appears indifferent to the political or ideological content of a movement (Dalton, Kuechler, & Burklin, 1990).

The critiques mentioned above can also be applied to the understanding of the new middle class in RM theory. The role of the new middle class, including professionals, is rarely different from the function of professionals in the functionalist approach. According to RM theorists, the new middle class plays a role as leaders with technical rationality in social movements, as they generally have done. NSM theory has examined the new middle class with different view.

The New Middle Class in NSM Theory

New Social Movement (NSM) theory, which attempts to explain different social movements other than labor movements, emerged in Western Europe in the 1970s and has increasingly been a growing field of interest in the United States (Holst, 2002). Unlike the Old Social Movement (OSM), which presumed that laborers and farmers were the only class that could change society based on Marxism, NSMs comprehend different issues and various people, such as environmental issues, peace issues, women, gays and lesbians, and students. In this sense, NSM theorists have focused on "the collective search for identity" (Larana, Johnston, & Gusfield, 1994) of those thwarted by the dominant system. Dalton, Kuechler, and Burklin's (1990) study pointed out that in OSM laborers and farmers focused on improvement of their economic position, even if other social groups must pay the cost. (p. 12).

Touraine (1988), one of the most prolific advocates of the NSM theory, argued that other social cleavages rather than labor-capital conflict became more salient and generated new identities, and the exercise of power was less in the realm of work and more in "the setting of a

way of life, forms of behavior, and needs" (p. 25). For Touraine, social movements are struggles that seek to affect the relations dominating characteristics of the "way of life."

Given the critique of OSM, NSMs theorists also confront "development," the dominant goal of Western industrial society. Inglehart (1990) considered that post-material society was the social condition to explain NSM. According to Inglehart, "the post-materialists who have become increasingly numerous in recent decades place less emphasis on economic growth and more emphasis on the non-economic quality of life (p. 45). Melucci (1989), influenced by Habermas, pointed to how the system (the state and market) invaded the private sphere. According to Melucci (1985), social conflicts affect personal identity, the time and the space in everyday life, the motivation, and the cultural patterns of individual action. Accordingly, NSM theorists have argued that NSMs aroused from new grievances resulting from new conflicts in postindustrial and post-material society.

In this sense, in NSM theory, the new middle class is a key actor. According to NSM theorists, the social change to a post-material society made people interested in post-materialist values, such as equality, democracy, a clean environment, and a more permissive, tolerant culture (Inglehart, 1977). While laborers and bourgeoisies were still interested in materialist and economic value, the new middle class has sought the post-materialist values due to their higher education level and economic affluence (Inglehart, 1977; Lipset, 1981). That is, through college education, the new middle class had the potential to be aware of liberal and radical perspectives, and to have high self-esteem. In addition, their economic security freed them from materialistic worries and made them pay attention to qualitative matters.

More recently, Eder (1993; 1995) emphasized the importance of the new middle class, following the understanding of the new middle class in NSMs. He claimed that the new middle

class has experiences of "exclusion from the social means of realizing identity" by the traditional class theory, and has a history of radicalism in NSMs. Furthermore, the new middle class has "cultural opportunity structure" that can defend their life-world. Therefore, for him, "the new middle class is an element of a new type of class relationship" (Eder, 1993, p. 182). It is significant that NSM theory has shed light on considering different marginalized people other than laborers as agents of social movements and dealing with different social issues in social movements. However, such emphasis of "difference" in NSM theory has been criticized by some scholars and some activists who note that NSM theory has overlooked the structural relations of power that affect the formation of different identities (Ebert, 1991; Vahabzadeh, 2001).

As shown above, in NSM theory, the new middle class is the only potential group that can be aware of various social problems. Accordingly, they are regarded as the actors in social movements. However, as revealed in critique of NSM theory, awareness of the new middle class could not be expanded toward understanding the structural relations of power.

The New Middle Class in CA Theory

Given the critique of existing social movement theories, new social movement theories have very recently been suggested by sociologists. They have tried to explain a new situation – convergence of multiple issues of social justice – appearing in the field of social movements. The new activism grows from and responded to "four key factors – globalization, shifting boundaries between public and private space, demographic change, and income inequality" (Shepard & Hayduk, 2002a, p. 1).

Among these four factors, globalization is a crucial factor affecting others. The process of globalization is primarily described as the systematic expansion of corporate capitalism across national borders in perpetual search of markets, raw materials, low-cost labor, and technological

advantage. International institutes such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Trade Organization (WTO) rationalize investment, production, and trade of transnational corporations with a neoliberal ideology that argues that markets are efficient and that government intervention in them is almost always bad (Brecher, Costello, & Smith, 2000). However, over time, such economic globalization has negatively affected the daily lives of millions of people and generated new conflicts. Brecher, Costello and Smith (2000) pointed out that global capitalism has given rise to impoverishment, growing inequality, economic volatility, the degradation of democracy, and destruction of the environment (pp. 6-9).

Convergence Activism (CA) has arisen in order to confront such new global conflicts. Some scholars call these new social movements "globalization from below" (Brecher et al., 2000), "global civil society" (de Oliveira & Tandon, 1995), "the global social justice movement" and "a Rainbow Movement" (Cleveland, 2003), and "glocalism" with the meaning of political activism based on the insight that every local action has a global component (Shepard & Hayduk, 2002a).

For CA theorists, the struggles in Seattle in November 1999, when more than 800 groups from around the world gathered to protest the WTO, are conceived as a water-shed event of convergence movements (Shepard, 2002). At that time, groups gathering in Seattle identified with non-governmental organizations in North and South, labor, community organizations, and varied social movements. The so-called "the Battle of Seattle" has made social movements transform the structure of organizations and strategies. Activists in CA have no entrepreneurs, nor do they have the bureaucratic organization insisted upon in the RM paradigm; furthermore, they do not focus on the "difference" between identities argued in NSM theory. As Klein (2002) described, "There is an emerging consensus that building community-based decision-making

power — whether through unions, neighborhoods, farms, villages, anarchist collectives, or aboriginal self-government — is essential to countering the might of multinational corporations" (p. 266).

In that view of CA theory, the new middle class has not been received as well in CA theory as in RM theory and NSM theory. Cleveland (2003) explored NSMs as well as the global social justice movements with CA theory and reported the following:

> The new social movements are not the result of a shift from working class goals and leadership to new middle class goals and leadership. They are the result of the integration of the majority of the mass in all classes and social groups in affluent countries into support for the capitalist social system and imperialist world system. (p. 165)

In this sense, Cleveland noted that social movements arise because of class exploitation, status group oppression, and policy-based collective hurt derived from "inequalities of power, wealth and privilege between social groups" (p. 166). Accordingly, for him, the reason of participation of the new middle class in social movements has been not that they are the leaders or the only actors in social movements, but that they are one of the social groups experiencing or being aware of exploitation, oppression, and hurt. In addition, Cleveland (2003) believed that even when the new middle class played a temporary role as a leader in social movements, their power derived not from their knowledge but from their experience and awareness of exploitation, oppression, and hurt like the "organic intellectual" of Gramsci (1971).

However, whether such characteristics of convergence movements are strengths or weaknesses is still controversial. Boggs (2001) pointed out that anti-globalization movements have shown political atrophy, although they were successful in reframing the character of debates around globalization. He claimed that anti-globalization movements have "undercut a

politics of vision needed to frame *long-term* alternatives to economic globalization in its present catastrophic form" (p. 315).

Responding to this critique, Vahabzadeh (2001) argues that the global character of new social movements is understood as "not a normative categorization and universal grounding but the translation of experiences from one local context and language into those of another" That is, the convergence of social movements has to be approached "contextually rather than referentially" (p. 630). In this sense, Klein (2002) noted that true challenge perhaps "is not finding a vision but rather resisting the urge to settle on one too quickly" (p. 273).

The discussion of the new middle class in CA theory is not as lively as that in RM theory or in NSM theory because of the recentness and the meaning of CA theory. However, CA theory reveals that the new middle class is no longer the leaders or the actors in social movements. According to the views of the social movement theories mentioned above, the new middle class could play a role of the leader, the actors, or one part of social movements with their knowledge, their interest of post-materialist values, or their experience and awareness of exploitation, oppression, and hurt. However, we do not yet know why individuals in the new middle class participate in social movements or what they do in social movements because the social movement theories have just focused on the new middle class as a group.

Furthermore, as Vahazadeh (2001) criticized NSM theory as parochialism, the social movement theories mentioned above could not avoid such a critique because they have explored the new middle class in Western society. The practices of individual professionals as the new middle class and social movements have close relations with the history and culture of a society, and thus can be different from those of nonwestern society. Professionals in South Korea, as an Asian country that has a different history and culture from Western society can have different

stories. It is to the history of Korean social movements and the professionals involved in such movements that we now turn.

Professionals and Social Movements in South Korea

Historically, social movements in South Korea have played a crucial role in building democratization in spite of forceful repression by the state. The popular uprising in June 1987 was the turning point that made the characteristics of social movements change in South Korea. Since then, Korean social movement organizations have begun to make their voices heard about various problems in addition to the problems the working class in Korea. Throughout the history of social movements in South Korea, professionals, such as scholars, clergymen, journalists, teachers, and lawyers have participated in social movements with university students and workers in order to bring about democratization and promote human rights. This section explores the history and central characteristics of social movements in South Korea during the twentieth century up to the current time, and examines the meaning and the role of professionals in progressive social movements in South Korea.

The History and Characteristics of Social Movements in South Korea

The history of Korean social movements has to be examined along with the change of the government because most Korean social movements resisted long-haul dictatorship. In the twentieth century the first social movement was the March uprising of 1919, which resisted Japanese colonization. Korea had been under Japanese colonial domination for 36 years, and at that time, most social movements were national liberation movements (Kim, 1999). Although Korea was liberated in 1945 as a result of the defeat of Japan in World War II, the Korean peninsula was partitioned into North Korea, which was pro-communist, and South Korea, which

was pro-capitalist. The Rhee Synman regime, as the first government of the modern nation state, was established in 1948 after the military government put in place by the U.S was dissolved.

The Rhee regime carried out an illegal presidential election in March 1960 in order to extend Rhee' sovereign power. Disagreeing with this, a revolution led by university students arose in April 1960 with the enthusiastic support and participation of a broad spectrum of people, including intellectuals and religious leaders. As the result of that, President Rhee stepped down and a new government was launched in August 1960 by a general election. Thus, the April Revolution of 1960 is regarded as the first large-scale social movement for democracy during the period of a stable system in the divided nation (Choi, 2000, p. 35).

However, the new government was soon crushed by a military coup d'etat in May 1961. The Park Chung-hee regime, established by the coup, lasted eighteen years. During that time, the Park regime, as a typical military authoritarian state system, constrained the activities of opposition parties in institutional politics, controlled the media, and suppressed all social movements seeking democratization in the name of "modernizing nationalism." The Park government regarded all anti-government voices as "pro-communist sympathizers" and "spies sent from the North Korea," and arrested and tortured them on the basis of the Anti-communism Law and the National Security Law. Accordingly, most progressive social movement organizations went underground.

The Park government tried to make up for its lack of political legitimacy with efficient economic development politics in order to garner popular support. As a result of that, South Korea achieved rapid economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s. Although high rates of economic growth were recorded for several years, industrialization led by the state brought about serious

social problems, such as growing inflation, deteriorating balance of payments and increasing number of urban poor (Kim, 1998, p. 228).

At that time, most of the urban poor were factory laborers. In 1970, Chun Tai-il, a factory laborer, killed himself by setting himself afire, asserting the importance of labor rights and of better working conditions. This incident attracted the attention of university students and progressive intellectuals. As a result of that, activists in social movements, which had focused on democratization and unification of North Korea and South Korean, also began to be interested in labor movements, which then began to develop and to be more radical (Cho, 1990, p. 92).

When the "Yushin [Revitalizing] Constitution," which enabled virtually permanent possession of power and institutional reinforcement of the authoritarian system, was proclaimed by the Park regime in 1972, anti-Yushin sentiment grew among the people. From all over the country, anti-Yushin movements arose despite unprecedented repression. In addition, farmers, who had been excluded due to the focus on industrialization by the Park regime, started to form their own movement organizations supported by religious leaders. These anti-Yushin movements provided the pretext for the assassination of President Park by Kim Chae-kyu, the Director of the Korea Central Intelligence Agency in 1979 (Lim, 2000).

After the assassination of President Park, an interim government was established in December 1979. The Korean press dubbed this period the "Spring of Seoul." University students formed independent organizations instead of the Student National Defense established by the Park regime in order to control universities. Democratic Trade Unions gathered 80,000 new members, in objection to the government-patronized trade unions.

However, this democratic spell did not last long. Under severe pressure from the so-called "new military," the interim government proclaimed martial law on May 17, 1980.

Alarmed over the possibility of the reemergence of a military regime, university students and the residents in Kwangju city waged street demonstrations calling for the withdrawal of martial law. The martial law enforcement army suppressed them with force, creating a large number of casualties, including several hundred deaths (Lim, 2000, p. 12). After the Kwangju Massacre, the new military led by Chun Doo-hwan moved soldiers to Seoul and took over power through a virtual coup. The military authoritarian political system lasted for another seven years until 1987.

The Chun regime, like the previous Park regime, constrained the political activities of opposition parties, controlled the media, and thoroughly suppressed the democratization movements in the name of "national security from North Korea." However, social movements became increasingly more radical in their philosophy and activities. As a result of the experience of the Kwangju Massacre, university students and intellectuals began to recognize that imperialism of the U.S. because at that time the Korean Armed Force could not move without the order of U.S. forces, and that the logic of capitalism controlled the Korean government. Student activists and progressive intellectuals who had paid attention to the working class in the light of humanism addressed anti-imperialism and anti- capitalism. On the basis of Marxism, they attempted to mobilize laborers, as the pivotal class for social transformation, not only for the economic struggle, but also for a political and ideological movement (Han, 1995).

In 1987, its last year of office, the Chun government unilaterally halted a constitutional revision demanded by the opposition parties that would have made direct voting for president possible. The given reason was to maintain the political stability necessary for the 1988 Olympics in Seoul. Chun's unilateral decision to refuse liberal reforms ignited a series of massive demonstrations throughout May and June of 1987. Many middle class people, including university students, intellectuals, and laborers assailed the Chun leadership as undemocratic and

demanded a system of direct presidential election. At that time, the agenda of progressive social movements was switched from anti-American struggles to anti-government and democratization movements (Kim, 1998, p. 233). These events are usually called the June Uprising of 1987.

As the result of this uprising, a constitutional reform was enacted and a direct presidential election system was established. Roh Tae-woo, a former army general, was elected president in 1987. During his regime, various progressive social movements obtained social space in which they could engage in activities relatively freely. Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung, who had participated in the democratization movements as leaders of opposition parties under the military authoritarian government, were elected as president in 1992 and in 1997, respectively. In addition, tension derived from ideological conflicts was mitigated to some degree because the cold war ended in the 1990s. This political climate enabled progressive social movements to begin reflecting the problems of different social groups as well as democratization issues. These new social movements are called "civil social movements" (Choi, 2000; Kim, 1998; Lim, 2000).

During this period, progressive social movement organizations developed rapidly. The number of national progressive social movement organizations grew from about 3,500 in 1997 to around 6,000 in 2000. If regional branch offices of these organizations are included, the number is estimated to have increased from 10,000 to 20,000 during the same period (Cho, 1999). In particular, two organizations initiated by teachers, lawyers and environmentalists played a crucial role in activating progressive social movements: the Citizens' Coalition for economic justice and the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy. Members of both organizations were college educated, urban, and middle-class people. Their activities were not limited to a single issue, but extended to various major problem areas related to social justice in Korean

society, such as issues affecting the environment, education, national unification, women, and laborers (Yu, 1995).

In addition to the interest in various political issues occurring in everyday life, progressive social movements in South Korea were still interested in politics because politicians' corruption was one of the serious problems (Choi, 2000). Accordingly, progressive social movement organizations developed the Citizens' Alliance for the 2000 General Elections to prevent the political parties from nominating "unfit" candidates, and then to defeat those who were nonetheless nominated to run in the elections. More recently progressive social movements in South Korea united their power in the presidential election in 2002 (Hong, 2002).

As discussed, it is difficult to clearly define the characteristics of social movements in South Korea because they have historically changed in complex ways. However, in general two characteristics can be stated. First, activities of social movements in South Korea tend to converge into bringing about a change of the government and governmental policy. Both the democratization movement before 1987 and the civil social movements after 1987 mainly addressed innovation of Korean governments. In this sense, the RM, NSM, and CA theories do not explain the characteristics of social movements in Korea, which has a long dictatorship history and strong centralization of power by the government. From the first government established in 1948 to the government of President Chun who ended his term of office in 1987, the long-standing dictatorship made social activists recognize the government as the key cause of social problems (Choi, 2000; Kim, 1999). The area of the economy had no hegemony because of the powerful control of the state. Accordingly, even labor movements and farmers' movements in South Korea confronted the government, not the capital class. After the dictatorship was ended by the June Upspring of 1987, progressive social movements continued unfolding activities for

change of the politicians, for instance, the Citizens' Alliance for the 2000 General Elections, because the political corruption was still not cleansed. Although social movements arose in various areas, such as feminism, consumerism, and environmentalism, they, too, sometimes have converged into bringing about a change of government.

Second, university students and intellectuals, such as professors, journalists, and lawyers, played an important role in developing social movements in South Korea. Kim (Kim, 1999, p. 99) identified social movements in South Korea as cohesion of rageful grassroots and critical intellectuals. Under the long-standing dictatorship, university students participated as a front-line vanguard in social movements, and since the June Upspring of 1987, they have played a role as key supporters in social movements (Han, 2001). Intellectuals and professionals directly and indirectly have supported social movements, as a means of demonstrating their social responsibility (Kang, 2001). The following explores in detail how intellectuals are involved in social movements

Professionals in Social Movements in South Korea

As mentioned above, the activities of intellectuals and professionals, including university students who are considered as prospective intellectuals, have been examined significantly in the history of social movements in South Korea. Their activism has different characteristics before and after the dictatorships. At first, many scholars in South Korea acknowledged the role played by leaders of student movements during the dictatorship (Cho, 1990; Han, 1995; Kim, 1999). Most activities of student movements had been to enlighten people, such as laborers, farmers, and the urban poor, in order to make them aware of their terrible economic conditions related to structural limits of Korea, and to help them express their needs. Although the number of

intellectuals involved in democratization movements was few, they had actively supported the views and the activities of student movements by trying to build a counter-hegemony.

Despite the crucial role of intellectuals, their activism was criticized because of the characteristic of their elitism (Han, 1995; Kang, 2001). Intellectuals, especially university students in social movements, had identified themselves as leaders and vanguards in social movements. Drawing on Freire's thoughts, Kang (2001) noted that if progressive intellectuals did not trust people, the result would be to make people the object of the process of social change, not the agents. Han (1995) also pointed out that the intellectuals' activism tended toward "enlightenment" deriving from modernism.

After the end of the long-standing dictatorship in 1987, intellectuals, including university students, started to reflect on their elitism (Kang, 2001). Social movements have been diversified, dealing with the new issues of women, environment, education, and consumers as well as the old issues of democratization, laborers, and farmers, and the middle class began to participate actively in social movements (Kim, 1998). In the change of social movements, student movements came to no longer play a role as vanguards, but as one part of social movements. Ex-student activists became intellectuals or professionals after graduation from university, and they became involved in social movements as professionals. Existing intellectuals who had been involved in social movements also formed their professional organization related to social movements beyond the level of individual participation.

Organizations established by professors, lawyers, and physicians are representative examples of the professional movement organizations. "Minkyohyup – National Association of Professors for Democratic Society (NAPDS)" was established by professors who had been involved in anti-dictatorship movements in 1987 (NAPDS, 2000). The purpose for which this

organization was formed was to perform professional practice and to operate social activism for democratization of education and society. Despite the suppression of the Korean government and university authorities, professors in NAPDS have criticized various social problems as well as educational problems through their writings and direct practices.

It is lawyers who form one of the professional groups involved in progressive social movements. Some lawyers, who had defended activists under the despotic regimes, established "Minbyun – the Lawyers for a Democratic Society (LDS)" in 1988. Under the military authoritarian regime, most lawyers, especially older lawyers, assumed conniving attitudes to the despotic measure of the government or even support them (Cohen, 1975). Progressive lawyers, consisting mainly of younger lawyers, disagreed with such prevalent situations in their own field as well as with the dictatorship of the government. In addition, they struggled against undemocratic interpretations, application, and execution of laws and advocated revision and abolishment of laws that repress the human rights (Cho, 1989). Today the lawyers of LDS are actively involved in different social movements, and study and analyze alternative policies on human rights violations as well as defend human rights activists (LDS, 2004).

In addition to the above two examples, medical doctors also are involved in social movements. "Inyuihyup – The Association of Physicians for Humanism (APH)" is the representative organization in the physicians' movement. It was established by a small group of medical doctors who signed a petition against the military dictatorship in 1987. Although their activity has been less conspicuous than that of professors' and lawyers' social movements, it has recently emphasized coalition activities with other social movement organizations. In addition, APH criticizes the problems of the medical system of South Korea (APH, 2003).

As described above, the roles and activities of intellectuals and professionals have been changed historically in social movements in South Korea. Today their activities are considered as one of the diversified social movements. Professionals themselves also think that their professional practice and social activism have to be in close relationship with other social movements. The professionals who are practicing with their expertise and with relative privileges in society and who are making efforts within their practice to connect with social activism can provide valuable and concrete information for adult educators who want to connect professionalism and social activism.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In contemporary society, adult educators and practitioners often identify themselves as professionals. Some practitioners and researchers among them have made efforts to find a different approach to professional practice, hoping that their professional practice could serve marginalized people in society and contribute to building social justice. Little research has been conducted on the experiences of professionals who are active for social justice. In addition, there is little research substantially exploring these professionals' lives and experiences in the context of a non-western society.

The purpose of this qualitative life history study was to explore how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. The study was guided by the following research questions: 1) what motivates professionals to be activists in Korean society 2) what struggles do professionals encounter as they attempt to connect professionalism and activism in social movements and 3) how do professionals negotiate these struggles? This chapter is a description of the design of the study. Included are discussions about sample selection, methods of data collection, data analysis, and ethics and politics.

Design of the Study

Methodology: Qualitative Research

This study used the life history method, a kind of qualitative research. Qualitative research attempts to understand how people make meaning of their lives and can be distinguished from quantitative research in several ways. First of all, whereas quantitative

research admits the existence of objective reality, qualitative research assumes that "social realities are constructed by the participants in those social settings" (Glesne, 1998). Whereas quantitative research is interested in "testing" a reality, qualitative research pays attention to "interpreting" meaning constructed by people (Merriam, 1998). Qualitative researchers are concerned about the "meanings" people bring with them to a study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). As Denzin and Lincoln (2000) mentioned, meanings "are not experimentally examined and measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency" (p. 8) as researchers measure in quantitative research.

The second characteristic is that qualitative researchers are interested in studying phenomena in natural settings in order to understand more deeply the life world of research participants and the meanings that they give to their life world (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Quantitative research tends to detach participants from their context in the name of making clear the influence of a variable while the activities of qualitative researchers are situated in a context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). Researchers enter the research setting and spend considerable time listening to research participants and/or observing their behaviors in their life world, such as the workplace, school, family, and the cafeteria.

The third characteristic is that the researchers are the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, unlike in quantitative research in which questionnaires, inventories, or computers are used as the main instruments (Merriam, 1998). It is assumed that knowledge can be produced in the interaction between the researcher and the research participants, so the considerations, subjectivity, and positionality of the researcher are important.

A final distinguishing characteristic of qualitative research is that it produces description. Data collected take the form of and are represented most often in words rather than numbers.

Very recently, representation has taken many forms, for example, pictures, poetry, drama, and song. Representations of qualitative research include reports that aim for thick, rich description of the context in which research participants spend considerable time and often narratives using their own words.

Accordingly, qualitative research was suitable for my study where the purpose was to explore how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. In a general sense, today's professionals, such as lawyers and physicians, are considered to be those who have a relatively secure social and economic position in society because of their specialized knowledge and skills, and thus they belong to the new middle class as a relatively privileged group in society.

Although professionals tend to be conservative generally, some have been involved in social movements that critique and make efforts to change the existing social order in past and present society, including South Korea. They have walked a different road in their life from that followed by ordinary professionals. My study, then, began with an interest in their life experience: How did they come to walk this different road? How have their beliefs, thoughts, and perspectives been formed? How do they make sense of their lives? Using qualitative research in my study was appropriate because my inquiry sought to understand the meaning of their life and practices.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) pointed out, "Throughout the history of qualitative research, investigators have always defined their work in terms of hopes and values" (p. 11). My hope is that if professionals, including adult educators, as privileged and influential people, are concerned about social justice, and if their professional practices are driven by social justice, the

possibility of social change for social justice could be increased. This study was a starting point to actualize my hope.

Method: Life History Research

In this study, I used the life history research method in qualitative research. The life history method and other biographical approaches originate from the 1920s and 1930s when University of Chicago sociologists were trained in the qualitative approach (Denzin, 1989a). The life history method has been used in research in education since the 1980s.

Bogdan and Biklen (1998) define life history as study with the intent "to capture one person's interpretation of his or her life (p. 3). Armstrong (1998) stated that "the life history is a research method that allows people to reintegrate the fragments of their lives and their selves through critical reflection on their lived experiences, restoring a sense of wholeness." Rubin and Rubin (1995) state:

> Life histories focus more on the experiences of an individual and what he or she felt as he or she passed through the different states of life. Life histories can tell us about life's passages; they can also provide a window on social change. (p. 27)

The definitions mentioned above show that the life history method can give a longitudinal view of research participants' lives. Life history researchers are concerned about *how* something happened in the life of a person, or a group rather than *what* happened (Denzin, 1989b). Researchers can understand participants' present lives and interpretation of their experiences in relation to their past (Bertaux-Wiame, 1981). Researchers can look for the cause-and-effect relations between participants' past experiences and their present lives.

Given those general definitions, the term "life history" has sometimes been confused with that of "life story" and "narrative." However, some scholars distinguish "life history" from "life

story" and "narrative." Goodson (1995) wrote that the life story is "a personal reconstruction of experience" and although life history begins with the life story, life history researchers are concerned in developing "a broad intertextual and intercontextual mode of analysis" (p. 97). Cole and Knowles (2001) stated that "whereas narrative research focuses on making meaning of individuals' experiences, life history research draws on individuals' experiences to make broader contextual meaning" (p. 20).

As shown above, 'contexts' around individuals are considered the most distinctive characteristic in life history research. Cole and Knowles (2001) noted that "the slogan 'Context is everything' could well be the hallmark of life history inquiry" (p. 22). Goodson (1995) also identifies life history as "stories of action within theories of context" (p. 97). Although the context itself is not the unit of analysis, it is "a reference point, an essential backdrop that helps us to understand an individual's life and experience" (Cole & Knowles, 2001, p. 79). Life history researchers focus on gathering contextual information as well as making meaning of research participants' lives and experiences through the stories they tell.

The fact that the life history method emphasizes context means that the life history method helps researchers to understand how political, economic, and cultural situations influence their interviewees' lives and how the interviewees interpret experience. The life history method has been used in research on marginalized people's lives in terms of social power. Denzin (1992) explained that life story "celebrates the importance of the individual under the conservative politics of late postmodernism" (p. 9). Agreeing with Denzin's (1992) critique of life story, Goodson (1995) also pointed out that life story had tended to serve conservative politics by emphasizing the importance of individuals without considering the political and cultural context

surrounding them. Accordingly, researchers using the life history method listen and analyze research participants' stories considering their class, gender, race, sexuality, and so on.

Denzin (1989a) describes life history as "an account of a life based on interviews and conversations" (p. 48). Thus, life history is based on interviews. In qualitative research, according to Kvale (1996), an interview is "literally an inter-view, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest" (p. 14). An interview is also "necessary when we cannot observe behavior, feelings, or how people observe the world around them" (Merriam, 1998, p. 72). Through interviews, researchers play a role as "miners" in retrieving interviewees' deep knowledge (Kvale, 1996). In a similar vein, because researchers cannot see individuals' lives, "interviewing in life history is the chief method of data collection" (Glesne, 1998, p. 69).

Life history researchers need to have an in-depth understanding of the cultural and political context of the lives of their participants (Glesne, 1998; Goodson, 1995). Accordingly, life history researchers tend to ask interviewees "contextual questions." As a "guided conversation" (Cole & Knowles, 2001), a semi-structured interview in the life history method allows for changing the questions and their sequence, responding to the interview situation in response to the purpose of the study.

Accordingly, the life history method was suitable for research on the life and the works of professionals involved in progressive social movement activism in South Korea. The process of making sense of their life and work did not occur in a vacuum but was affected by Korean history and culture. Since liberation from Japan in 1945, Korean politics, society, and culture have changed rapidly and dynamically. The participants in this study have been particularly influenced by the dynamic political change in Korean society because they were interested in

social issues in addition to individual issues. Therefore, it was important to describe the historical and social context of Korea, while exploring participants' stories. In addition, their past experiences had influence on their future plans as well as their present experiences.

I used interviews as the chief method to collect participants' stories, expecting to understand these progressive professionals' lives better through interviews than through other data collection methods. Because I was also interested in the context surrounding the research participants, I particularly used life history interviewing. In this study, I assumed that contexts, such as Korean historical change, socioeconomic condition of family, and the culture of the progressive professional organizations could influence their thoughts and activism.

Sample Selection

I visited Korea from May to August 2004 for sample selection and data collection. I selected nine professionals who belong to progressive professional organizations through purposeful sampling in South Korea. Purposeful sampling is a strategy used to select information-rich participants on the basis of the research questions (Merriam, 1998). In this study, the meaning of "progressive" and "profession" were quite vague, so I used several criteria to guide sample selection. The first important criterion was that the participants be professionals. Nowadays, people with many different occupations expect to be acknowledged as professionals, and they tend to argue that their occupations are professions. However, in this study, professions were limited to occupations that are generally seen as professions in contemporary Korean society by requiring appropriate educational preparation, appropriate certification for occupational practice, and the ability to earn a high income. Professionals' power in society is generated from their specialized knowledge and skills, and through them they can gather wealth. Based on these criteria, two professional groups were chosen: lawyers and physicians. These

people have been recognized as representative and established professional groups. Furthermore, their income is relatively high in Korea, as it is in other societies. Therefore, they were appropriate professional groups for this study.

The second criterion was that the participants be progressive. In this study, I selected professionals who were members of progressive professional organizations whose goal is to improve human rights and social justice and who were involved in social and political activism for the purpose of accomplishing these aims in Korea. Thus, two organizations were selected: "Minbyun - Lawyers for a Democratic Society (LDS)" and "Inyuihyup - The Association of Physicians for Humanism (APH)." The former organization was established in 1988 by lawyers who had resisted Chun Doo-hwan's military dictatorship. The organization has recently been involved in research, on-site investigations, and legal activities for human rights and democracy. About 450 lawyers, 8% of lawyers in South Korea, are involved in the organization (LDS, 2004). The latter organization, APH, was established in 1987 by physicians who signed a petition against the military dictatorship. The organization pursues the goal of putting the spirit of humanism into action as doctors. In particular, it focuses on coalition activity with health and social movement organizations. About 700 physicians, 1% of physicians in South Korea, belong to this organization (APH, 2003).

In addition to those criteria, I considered length of involvement in the organizations, age, and gender. I attempted to select the same numbers of lawyers and physicians, aiming for as diverse a sample as possible. The research participants for the study also had to have worked as lawyers or physicians for at least three years and to have been active in the progressive professional organizations for at least three years. This criterion would ensure that they were committed to their professions.

In order to find participants, when I was in Korea in May 2004, I first used my informal networks and then expanded the number of interviewees through snowball sampling. Although I did not know the progressive professionals personally, I was introduced to them by three friends: a first-year lawyer, a staff member of the Ministry of Justice in Korea, and a member of "Solidarity for Workers' Health," which was one of the progressive physicians' organizations. They introduced me to two lawyers and three physicians who were appropriate participants for this study. I interviewed those five and then asked them to recommend other people who were appropriate for the study.

Finally, five lawyers and four physicians, including three females, agreed to take part in this study. The participants' length of involvement in the two organizations ranged from four years to seventeen years. The age of the participants was from 31 through 58. There were six participants in their thirties, two participants in their forties, and one participant in his fifties. I tried to consider different age groups as much as I could, because Korean political history has changed rapidly since 1945 when Korea was liberated from Japan. Korean political history significantly affected the participants' thoughts and experiences in social and political activism. This study included three women, two lawyers and one physician. Korean society is still strongly influenced by patriarchal culture, and the legal and medical fields are still male-dominated. In Table 3, I provide information about each participant in addition to their pseudonyms.

Data Collection

Data collection is the gathering of information during the process of conducting research (Kvale, 1996). Data in this study were mainly collected through individual interviews, as in most other life history research. In South Korea, I conducted two interviews with each participant from May 2004 through August 2004. Each interview lasted from one to two hours. All of the

Table 3.

Information about Participants

Pseudonym	Profession	Age	Sex	Affiliation	Activities
Yoosun	Physician (The chief of the family medicine department	33	Female	APH	Caring for industrial disaster victims
Minho	Physician (Being an army surgeon)	34	Male	APH	Executive secretary of APH
Jongjin	Physician (The director of a regional hospital)	46	Male	APH	Representative of a community movement organization
Seungho	Physician (The director of a general hospital)	58	Male	APH	Caring for industrial disaster victims
Sunjoo	Lawyer (Working in a law firm)	32	Female	LDS	Legal consultant in a human rights movement organization
Heejung	Lawyer (Working in a law firm)	35	Female	LDS	Legal consultant in the Labor Party Legal consultant in feminist movement organizations
Hyunsoo	Lawyer (The vice-director of a legal center)	31	Male	LDS	Participant in an environmental movement organization
Jihoon	Lawyer (Working in a law firm)	35	Male	LDS	Legal consultant in the Labor Party
Doehyun	Lawyer (Working in a law firm)	45	Male	LDS	Chairperson of the executive committee of a social movement organization

interviews except one were conducted in the participants' offices at their requests. I interviewed the lawyers in their offices in law firms in which they worked, and the physicians in their offices in hospitals. Although I tried to interview Minho who was an executive secretary of APH in his office in APH at first, it was so noisy that we moved to a quiet coffee shop. I audiotaped the interviews and then transcribed them. Because I interviewed the participants in Korean, a bilingual translator translated some of the direct quotations in the dissertation into English. In Table 4, I provide the process of data collection.

I used a semi-structured interview format that entailed a "sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested question" (Kvale, 1996, p. 124). The content of the first round of interviews focused on the period up until the participants joined each organization, using the questions outlined in the interview guide (Appendix A). The interview questions were designed to be as open-ended as possible. The first interview dealt with three areas: (1) participants' motivation for becoming a lawyer/a physician and an activist, (2) their experiences in initial professional education in a university, and (3) their family and friends' responses to their choice of profession.

In the second interview, I focused on the period after the participants joined each organization and asked questions outlined in the interview guide (Appendix B). The second interview dealt with (1) participants' work, (2) their learning experience as activists, (3) any difficult experiences as professionals and as activists, and (4) their meaning of activism and professionalism. The second interview was also conducted as a follow-up interview – not only to supplement the first interview but also to negotiate between my primary interpretation and the participants' own interpretation of what they had said in the first interview. I tried to finish transcribing the first interview before conducting the second interview. If this was not possible, I

Table 4.

The Process of Data Collection

Interview date	Participants	Interview place	Interview length	Data collected
June 1, 2004	Yoosun's 1st interview	Her office	One hour	Interview transcripts
June 3, 2004	Jihoon's 1st interview	His office	One and half hour	Interview transcripts
June 7, 2004	Minho's 1st interview	A coffee shop	One hour and ten minutes	Interview transcripts Newsletters published by APH
June 8, 2004	Hyunsoo's 1st interview	His office	One hour and twenty minutes	Interview transcripts
June 15, 2004	Minho's 2nd interview	A coffee shop	Two hours	Interview transcripts
June 17, 2004	Heejung's 1st interview	Her office	One hour and fifty minutes	Interview transcripts
June 28, 2004	Sunjoo's 1st interview	Her office	One and half hour	Interview transcripts
June 29, 2004	Seungho's 1st interview	His office	One and twenty minutes	Interview transcripts Articles published a newsletter and a newspaper His writing in a magazine
July 1, 2004	Doehyun's 1st interview	His office	One and half hour	Interview transcripts His writing in a newspaper
July 8, 2004	Jongjin's 1st interview	His office	One hour and forty minutes	Interview transcripts
July 9, 2004	Yoosun's 2nd interview	Her office	One and half hours	Interview transcripts A newsletter printing her article
July 15, 2004	Hyunsoo's 2nd interview	His office	One hour and twenty minutes	Interview transcripts
July 17, 2004	Heejung's 2nd interview	Her office	One hour and thirty five minutes	Interview transcripts
July 20, 2004	Jihoon's 2nd interview	His office	One hour and forty minutes	Interview transcripts
July 21, 2004	Sunjoo's 2nd interview	Her office	One hour and forty minutes	Interview transcripts
July 26, 2004	Senungho's 2nd interview	His office	Two hours and ten minutes	Interview transcripts
July 03, 2004	Doehyun's 2nd interview	His office	One hour and twenty minutes	Interview transcripts
August 5, 2004	Jongjun's 2nd interview	His office	One hour and fifty minutes	Interview transcripts His writing in a newsletter

constructed the follow-up questions and developed my primary interpretation by repeatedly listening to the first interview audiotape.

The participants were very busy and that was one of the difficulties in data collection. Although the participants agreed to participate in the study, they at first were reluctant to schedule an interview that would last an hour or longer. In addition, it was hard to arrange appointments, and even scheduled interviews were often changed. All of the participants told their stories in one- to two-hour interviews.

I was also concerned about how candid the participants would be. I had thought that it would be difficult to tell personal stories to a stranger. In order to encourage them, I conducted interviews using two strategies. The first strategy was to examine the participants' interest in the topic of this study. Kvale (1996) says that an interview is "an inter view, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest" (p. 14). I asked them what they thought about my topic, at the beginning of the interview. All of the participants said that they were interested in the topic. One participant said that she had been interested in how people change since her college student days and that she had thought about her life the night before her interview.

The second strategy was to share my own stories. When I interviewed the participants in their thirties, which is my age, they sometimes said "as you know." The participants in their forties and fifties said that they would feel comfortable because I had had experiences in student activism. They regarded me as a like-minded person. In addition, the interviews seemed to be counseling for me. When I asked them "how could you be involved in social activism for such a long time? I hope to do that like you," they gave me good advice about how to accomplish that.

The interviews with the participants proceeded in a much friendlier atmosphere when they were sharing their stories. Some of the participants gave just a rough outline of their lives in the initial parts of the interviews, and one participant was a rather quiet person. For these reasons, I could not avoid asking questions at frequent intervals in order to get more detailed information. However, as time went on, the participants began to tell their stories in detail and eagerly without my questions.

What I heard in the interviews was very exciting to me. Stories concerning something happening in the past which I had not experienced were like old tales, and talks about various problems which the participants faced showed me problems that I could face in the future. The interviews with the participants made me realize once again how much and how fast Korean society has changed since the Liberation from Japanese Occupation in 1945. The dynamic life histories of the participants reflected the dynamic Korean history.

During interviewing and data analysis, I continued to conduct member checks in order to increase trustworthiness. According to Glesne (1998), member checking is sharing "interview transcripts, analytical thoughts, and/or drafts of the final report with research participants to make sure" (p. 32) researchers represent them and their ideas accurately. Because life history research deals with participants' personal and private lives, member checking was especially important. In the first interview, I conducted a member check. I asked whether one participant agreed with what another had said. The second interview also took the form of a member check. In addition, after I returned to the United States, I often sent the participants emails to check and clarify the meaning of their comments.

In addition to interviewing, I tried to collect documents that might help me understand their words and their lives. According to Glesne (1998), documents provide both historical and

contextual dimensions to interviews. Historical documents also help researchers understand the broader context, and documents make the findings more trustworthy (Glesne, 1998). In this study, I used newspaper articles that dealt with the events the participants mentioned and newsletters published by the two progressive professional organizations. In addition, some participants shared with me articles that they had published in newsletters, newspapers, or magazines at one time. The articles showed the participants' thoughts and experiences. One participant provided me with an electronic version of an article in which a reporter interviewed him about his life.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the organizing process of what researchers have seen, heard, and read so that they can make sense of what they have learned (Glesne, 1998). The process of data analysis involves systematically "searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials that you accumulate to increase your own understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have discovered to others" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 157).

In discussing preliminary understanding of information gathered, Cole and Knowles (2001) emphasize the following:

> Understandings of participants' lives in context can never be truly whole or complete; however, we must strive to honor the richness and complexity of lives lived. We do so not by talking information and slicing it into discrete bits and storing the pieces in separate containers, but by trying to understand, in a holistic way, the connectedness and interrelatedness of human experience within complex social systems. The analysis process is not one of dissection but one of immersion. (p. 101)

Keeping Cole and Knowles' words in mind, I conducted data analysis. As Glesne (1998) points out, the process of data analysis included interviewing and transcribing as well as formal data

analysis. Through interviewing the participants and transcribing the data, I identified several categories and themes, and I put these in my research journal. When I formally analyzed the data after finishing transcribing, I referred to the journal.

In this study, formal data analysis had two levels: the level of a descriptive analysis and the level of a thematic analysis, keeping in mind the research questions. According to Cole and Knowles (2001), a descriptive analysis is the process of learning who the individuals are – "like being introduced to and coming to know characters in a compelling literary work" (p. 117). The descriptive analysis may reveal insights that help to sketch a profile of an individual (Cole & Knowles, 2001). Before reading the stories, I first determined the order in which to read them. I grouped their stories by professions, age and sex to understand the particular contexts. In this way, I first divided the physicians' stories from the lawyers' stories and then arranged the stories by age and sex. The arrangement of the stories in Chapter Four presents the order in which I read the stories.

While reading each participant's transcript in the set order, I recorded in my research journal the events each person told and then chronologically rearranged them. After doing so, I constructed the person's story, considering Coffey and Atkinson's words (1996): "The story (as do all good stories) has a beginning, a middle, and an end, as well as a logic that (at least) makes sense to the narrator" (p. 55). I repeated the same procedure in constructing each story.

Although the interviews were conducted using an interview guide, the participants' life histories were beyond the interview guide. So the participants' individual stories described in Chapter Four include content meaningful to the participants as well as content related to the research focus. For example, for a considerable time in the interviews, several participants told me that they suffered from conflicts with their parents who did not want their daughters/sons to

be involved in social activism. Although I thought those stories were not relevant to the research focus, I included them in the representation of their stories because those stories were meaningful to the participants.

In the second level of data analysis, I used a thematic analysis, which is a general approach to making sense of data obtained through qualitative research (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Wolcott, 1994). According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996), a thematic analysis is identifying key themes and patterns through processes of coding data. In this level, the first step is to read and reread the transcripts deeply and carefully, putting notes in the right margins of the statements. Through doing so, I created codes, which were informed by my theoretical framework, conceptual framework, and research questions. I also created codes based on intuition and hunches. I could not use any computer-based analysis programs, because the interviews were recorded in Korean. In addition, I agreed with Cole and Knowles's opinion (2001):

> The stronger the commitment to the intersubjective nature of the researcher-participant relationship, the less likely it is that a researcher will invite a computer program into that relationship. In contrast, the stronger the claims of objectivity, the more likely it is that a researcher will see significant advantages in using computer-assisted analysis. (p. 99)

Through this life history study, I tried to explore the intersubjective nature of the relationship with the participants rather than strive for objectivity. I used the function of "comment" of the MS Word program for code labels. While typing the code labels in each transcript, I marked which research question each code label was related to, for example, *Q1* – motive of entering the law school, *Q2* – struggles with activists or *Q3* – self-reflection.

In the next step of the thematic analysis, I organized the codes into larger themes. First, I gathered codes with the mark of *Q1*, *Q2* and *Q3* from all transcripts. Code labels were categorized with similar contents. In doing so, I sometimes read the original data excerpt in order not to lose the participants' voices. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996) point out, this process was a strategy to "expand, transform, and reconceptualize data, opening up more diverse analytical possibilities" (p. 29). Finally, through decontextualizing and recontextualizing data, I created three different computer files with categories and subcategories under each research question such as *Q1– Motivation*, *Q2 – Struggles*, and *Q3 – Negotiating*. During the category construction process, I attended to the connections and relations between particular categories, which eventually helped me to identify themes. Appendix C shows the codes, categories, and themes I identified in the data.

The artifacts shared by the participants augmented the life stories they told in their interviews. When I first read the transcripts, I coded the artifacts and connected them to their life history data. Although I mainly used the interview data, the coded artifacts supported my interpretation of the interview data for a coherent representation.

Trustworthiness and Ethics

As I mentioned earlier, the life history method was introduced by sociologists in the 1920s and the 1930s. However, for several decades, it was largely abandoned by social scientists (Goodson, 2001) and was criticized in terms of validity, reliability, and generalizability, which were the traditional factors used to evaluate research quality. It came to be seen as having serious methodological flaws. In the 1980s, however, researchers, such as Denzin (1989a), and Guba and Lincoln (1989), began to question the appropriateness of using positivist concepts of validity, reliability and generalizability. Applying the criterion of objectivity when evaluating qualitative

research including the life history method has limited value. Goodson (2001) states that life stories "are, in their nature, already removed from life experiences – they are lives interpreted and made textual. They represent a partial, selective commentary on lived experience" (p. 138). In addition, the stories the participants told are reconstructed by a researcher through the process of interpretation and representation.

In a sense, scholars (Glesne, 1998; Merriam, 1998) have offered different ways of thinking about traditional validity, reliability, and generalizability in qualitative research. These strategies include a long-term relationship between a researcher and research participants, triangulation, member checking, a statement of the researcher' subjectivity, rich description, and so on. In order to ensure trustworthiness in this study, I used the following strategies. First, I conducted member checks during interviews and interpretation. My second interview was also a member check, and after returning to the US, I often sent emails to the participants with my tentative interpretation. The second strategy was triangulation, which may involve the use of multiple data collection methods. Although I mainly collected data by interviews, relevant artifacts were shared by the participants. Third, the beginning part of Chapter One shows my subjectivity. As Peshkin (1988) pointed out, "subjectivity operates during the entire research process" (p. 17). By putting my subjectivity in the forefront of this dissertation, I attempted to show how my subjectivity influenced the whole process of conducting this study. Fourth, I used peer examination by asking my advisor and committee members to comment on the findings that emerged.

This study has a unique issue in terms of trustworthiness: translation. All of the interviews were conducted in Korean. I contacted a bilingual person for help with translation because English is my second language. The bilingual person was a Korean and a second year

law student who had lived in the US since he was about six or seven years old. He had had experiences in translating Korean to English. I gave him the excerpts that would be used in this dissertation. He translated them from Korean to English. When I thought that the words translated were not appropriate or where the bilingual person wanted to know the overall contents of an interview, I summarized the contents for him.

Ethics in the life history method is one of the most important issues as in other qualitative research methods. Before conducting this study, I received approval to conduct the study from the Institutional Review Board at the University of Georgia. In addition, I asked the participants to sign a consent form (Appendix D) in Korean. However, above all, I was concerned about the confidentiality issue. Some of the participants were well known in South Korea. Before conducting the interviews, I said that it was possible that their identity could be inferred through this study, even though I would use pseudonyms. They said that they were not concerned about that. Plummer (1983) mentioned that although "confidentiality may appear to be a prerequisite of life history research; it frequently becomes an impossibility" (p. 142). In this study, for the confidentiality of the participants, I used pseudonyms, and some information which could identify the participants was not included in this study.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the qualitative design as research methodology and the life history as research method used in the study of purpose of exploring how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. Interviews and documents were used as primarily data collection methods. The descriptive analysis and the thematic analysis were the methods of data analysis used in this study. Finally, issues of trustworthiness and ethics were presented as they related to this research.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPANTS' PROFILES

The purpose of this qualitative life history study was to explore how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. This issue was explored through the construction of life histories of nine Korean participants (three female and six male) whom I interviewed. The interviews were conducted in Korea between May and August 2004. Participants had to meet the following criteria: (1) must be a lawyer or physician of a representative and high income professional group (2) must be a member of a progressive professional organization and (3) must have been involved in the organization for at least three years.

Five lawyers and four physicians in this study were recruited through my personal networks or through snowball sampling. At the time of the interviews, the participants ranged in age from 31 to 58 years old. They had been involved in progressive professional organizations between four and twenty-seven years. All had studied in law schools or medical schools at the undergraduate level except one, whose major was economics. All of the participants had experience in student movements although their degree of involvement varied. The life histories were constructed using data from two interviews and artifacts shared by the participants. Each interview lasted one hour to two and a half hours. According to the participants' preferences, most of the interviews were conducted at their workplaces and the interviews with two participants were held in coffee shops. In this chapter, I briefly present each participant's life history as the results of the descriptive analysis. The life histories center on the participants'

family, educational, and professional experiences which have affected their professionalism and social activism for social justice.

The Physicians' Stories

Four physicians – Yoosun, Minho, Jongjin, and Seungho – participated in this study. This section provides the overview of the Korean social context for the physicians, and then presents each physician's life history.

Social Context

First of all, it is necessary to understand the social situations around the physicians in this study. First, the official process of becoming a physician in South Korea is different from that in the United States. In order to be a physician, the first requirement is to graduate from a medical school at the undergraduate level of a university. Although since 2003 the graduate-level medical school system has been introduced for students who did not major in medicine in undergraduate schools, all of the physicians in this study entered medical schools before then. Therefore, the physicians entered medical school after graduation from high school.

Medical schools are comprised of two years of premedical courses and four years of regular medical study. Students who graduate from medical schools receive the degree of Medical Doctor. When they are in medical schools or graduate from them, they can apply for the National Medical Licensing Examination. If they pass the examination, they can become general practitioners. Although they can work in hospitals, most of the doctors prefer to become medical specialists. For that, they have to intern for a year at a hospital. After finishing their internship, they decide on their specialty and receive special training as a resident for four years at a hospital. When they decide on their specialty, if they wish to major in popular medical specializations,

such as plastic surgery, ophthalmology, or dermatology, they have to have had excellent school achievement in regular medical schools.

Another social context that must be considered is "Inyuihyup - The Association of Physicians for Humanism (APH)," of which all of the physicians in this study were members. APH disagreed with and did not participate in the physicians' strikes in 2000. The first strike occurred because of the government's new policy requiring the separation of pharmacies from clinics in February 2000, and four more physicians' strikes occurred in the same year. At the beginning, the strikes lasted for a day. A later strike, however, lasted for over one week during which even emergency rooms were closed. Criticizing the physicians' strike as an expression of selfishness of the group and a threat of people's lives, several progressive social movement organizations demanded the cessation of the physicians' strike. Although that policy has been in force, most clauses of the policy were finally altered at the physicians' requests.

During this period, APH officially announced that it would not participate in the strike. After the announcement, the members of APH suffered from many threatening calls and other terrorizing threats by other physicians. The number of members also decreased to one-third. Many members withdrew from APH, blaming APH for insisting on socialistic medical policies. At that time, the physicians in this study were in the center of the storm.

Yoosun's Story

Yoosun works as the chief of the family medicine department in a hospital for industrial disaster victims and is a member of APH. She has worked in the hospital for four years and has a husband and two children.

The eldest daughter in her family, Yoosun, was born in 1971 in Seoul. She was brought up in an affluent home background because her father had a profitable business. Yoosun's

parents wanted her to study hard and do well in school, and she had made the effort to meet their expectations until she entered a medical school in 1991. Yoosun had not lived her own life with her own interests and choices until she was involved in student movements in college:

> I was undecided in choosing my profession before college because I was a quiet student who excelled in academics with little difficulty. Instead, I had not decided what kind of life I should live until I was in my early 20s. Before then, I had always been told to do this and that and I did it without having to choose. It is embarrassing to have your parents or guardian choose your life's path, but that's how it was for me. Hahahaha.

Yoosun's high school experiences critically influenced her decision to become involved in student movements in college. When she was a freshman in high school, the junior and the senior students uncovered the principal's financial corruption and demanded the reassignment of the principal. In the next year, the principal fired 23 teachers who were members of "Chunkyojo – the Korean Teachers and Educational Workers' Union" in the high school for reasons of instigating the students' demands. Most students, including Yoosun, liked the teachers. Even though the students demonstrated against firing the teachers, their efforts were in vain. Though Yoosun was just a bystander, this event shocked Yoosun.

Entering medical school in 1991 as her father suggested, Yoosun joined a study group whose members were involved in student movements and a musical group playing Korean traditional musical instruments, which was also involved in student movements. In 1997, Yoosun married a man who was a student in the same medical school and a member of the musical group. Her parents did not realize that Yoosun had participated in student movements for two years. When, by chance, they found out, they were very afraid she would be expelled from medical school. Therefore, they asked her to come back home early and asked her boyfriend (now her

husband) to sign a written oath that he would not let her join the groups any longer. In spite of her parents' opposition, Yoosun continued secretly to be actively or sometimes passively involved in student movements in medical school.

After graduating from medical school and finishing her internship in 1998, Yoosun chose family medicine as her specialty because she agreed with the basic idea of family medicine which originated from criticizing the problems of the contemporary medical system, such as excessive specialization, excessive fees for medical treatment, and treatment-centered work. Family medicine focuses on the comprehensive and constant role of physicians working with various problems of patients. However, family medicine was considered a minor specialty:

> I had a lot of thoughts and feelings about practicing family medicine. Having anxiety over this particular specialty was minor; it is not a specialty that is particularly lucrative like cosmetic surgery, ear and throat medicine, and general practice, etc. Family medicine was not as prestigious as the other specialties and medical professors purposely did not want to train residents to specialize in it. Of course, this was not always the case, but generally it was and antipathy towards such training was strong. I appreciated that the professors in family medicine gave me a clear guide line of what family medicine required. However, other professors practicing internal medicine and pediatrics told me that I would be in direct competition with them. They also considered that family medicine was one of the least prestigious specialties that a doctor can practice.

At the time that Yoosun received special clinical training as a resident doctor at a university hospital in 2000, many physicians went on strike against the new medical policy of the Korean government – the separation of the dispensary from the doctor's office. At first, Yoosun also disagreed with the policy. However, as time went by, she came to think the strike focused

not on improving the medical system, but on maintaining physicians' vested rights. Around that time, APH opposed being involved in the strike, even though many other physician groups participated in the strike. Yoosun agreed with the opinion of the APH and joined that organization in 2001.

In 2001, she started to work in the hospital for industrial disaster victims. She had looked for a hospital in which she could actualize her thoughts of social justice. The hospital opportunely opened at that time and recruited physicians. At first, there were many patients who suffered from industrial disasters, especially chemical disasters in the hospital, and they had no choice but death. Yoosun was quite concerned about this situation. However, Yoosun believed that physicians could play the role of the patients' companion until their death.

Yoosun is now thinking about what to do in the future: to become a full-time activist, study abroad, or to do something else. She knows that there are many things to do in the field of medicine. Having regretted not being able to conduct research with lots of cases in the hospital, she deplores that there are few physicians who are involved in social activism:

> While an advanced and prosperous industrialized nation has the ability to research, discover, and create new types or forms of medicine through state of the art technology, knowledge, and equipment involving trial and error procedures, we have few people to do so. There isn't a structure or the funding to accomplish such research and I wish something could be done about it to raise the level of our medical schools and research institutions.

Minho's Story

Minho joined the APH in 1999 and is now the executive secretary of the organization. As Korea has compulsory military service for a limited number of years, Minho served in the

Korean army as an army surgeon. He was born in 1970 and raised in a middle-class as the second of three children. He is unmarried and lives with his parents in Seoul.

As a child and teenager, Minho spent most of his time in schools and churches. He studied hard and his school achievements were good. He spent his free time in church. Minho started to go to church when he was in kindergarten, although his family was not Christian, because his kindergarten was attached to a church. At that time, he used to go to church to meet and play with his friends rather than to worship God. Since middle school, he has been a serious Christian. At one time Minho hoped to become a missionary. What he did before anything else upon entering medical school was to join a Christian group.

Minho entered medical school in 1991 after failing the college entrance exam twice. He was interested in biology and applied to study biochemistry and pharmacy in the first and second trials to enter a university. In the third trial, he passed the exam. It happened that a college student who had participated in demonstrations was beaten and killed by police officers in April 1991. In that year, demonstrations happened frequently. Minho, a member of the conservative Christian group, began to think that something very wrong was happening in Korean society, and he finally moved from his group to a more progressive Christian group when he was in the second year of the premedical course. Although he was still a sincere Christian, he came to think that it could be the “right” aspect of being a Christian to be involved in progressive social activism.

As a result, Minho became actively involved in student movements. He studied critical social science as well as the Bible alone or with the Christian group members, and also frequently joined demonstrations. In the next year when he was in the regular medical course, he was active in the medical students’ association. At that time, most of the student associations

were involved in student movements. Although it was difficult for him to do two things – the activities of student movements and the study of medicine – he enjoyed both:

> We [student activists] were often pressured to perform well in school because it was believed that doing well could affect organizing students. While I was not at the top of my class, I did pretty well. Although it was not easy to study, I studied very hard …. Anyway, part of the reason why I survived these years was that I enjoyed participating in student activism and I had a lot of good people around me who helped to motivate me during these times.

Around the time of graduation from medical school, Minho decided to specialize in industrial medicine for laborers in factories. After finishing the internship at a general hospital, he became a resident in the general hospital. Minho had no time to be involved in social activism during his first two years, because he was very busy. Although he did not like the mainstream culture of the hospital and the medical system and spent this period unhappily, he had no choice but to study his specialty area:

> The hospital atmosphere is very structured, and it was not a carefree place. There were levels of respect and social status within the hospital, and the atmosphere was very aggressive and competitive. For example, when you go out to eat with your co-workers from the hospital, it is similar like the things you do at your typical company. You might also attend a "room salon," a type of bar in Korea with bar girls to entertain you. You also didn't pay for these events; you used the credit card of a pharmaceutical company and spend a good amount of money from it. This is at a time when there were patients at our hospital who could not receive any treatment from us because they didn't have any money. These events were the hardest for me to endure.

This kind of life lasted for two years. However, Minho had time to spare, doing research from the third year. He joined APH in 1999. Due to the IMF (International Monetary Fund) financial crisis in Korea, the number of homeless and jobless people had increased since 1998. Minho, as a member of APH, was in charge of the investigation of the actual health condition of the homeless. About the time he finished his work in 2000, the physicians' strike took place. Disagreeing with the strike, APH became a focus of criticism for most physicians. At that time, Minho, an executive director of the APH, was shocked that physicians could take collective action and suffer from ostracism by their colleagues. At the general hospital when he was a resident doctor, his colleagues didn't even want to eat lunch with Minho.

After finishing the training course in 2002, Minho began serving in the Korean army as an army surgeon. He now works as an army surgeon during office hours and is active in APH after work. Minho is thinking about what to do after his honorable discharge from the military service in 2005. He could become a full-time activist, work as a director of the department for industrial disaster victims in a hospital, or be active in an institute of labor policies of the Labor Party or the Korean Confederation of Trade Union. Above all, Minho hopes to contribute to constructing a society in which people can receive treatment without money.

Jongjin's Story

Jongjin is the director of a regional hospital, is active in community movements as a representative of a social movement organization in a local area of Seoul, and has been a member since the founding of APH. He has worked as a medical specialist of internal medicine in a hospital for twelve years. He lives with his wife and two children.

Jongjin was born in 1958 and raised in a southern rural area of Korea. Jongjin was successful in school. His parents, especially his father, expected much of Jongjin, the eldest son

of three children. Since Jongjin's father was separated from his parents and siblings during the Korean War in 1950, he was deeply attached to his wife and children, and he particularly had a desire for Jongjin to succeed in society. Jongjin's father made the family move to Seoul, where his children could receive a better education. Working as a professional soldier frequently living apart from his family, Jongjin's father had sometimes told Jongjin "Become a physician" from the time when he was just a child. In addition, Jongjin's mother had sometimes emphasized an altruistic life to Jongjin. He naturally came to think that he should become a physician and entered medical school in 1978.

He participated in providing a volunteer medical service for people who lived in a rural area without physicians during a summer break two years after entering medical school because of his friends' suggestion. At that time, such volunteer medical service was a widespread activity of medical students because there were many villages without physicians in Korea. Observing and meeting poor people through these activities, Jongjin realized that he had lived only for himself until then. After the break, returning to school, he started to provide a volunteer medical service with his friends for people in a poor area of Seoul. They visited this area every weekend until the area was demolished in 1982, because of a redevelopment program.

Around that time, Jongjin met an ex-girlfriend who was actively involved in student movements. She introduced him to a study group in which Jongjin learned philosophy and sociology related to social criticism until graduation from medical school. Learning the limits of capitalism and structural problems of Korean society, Jongjin decided to devote his life to social activism.

After graduation from medical school, Jongjin was an intern and a resident doctor at a university hospital. At one time he thought that he would not become an intern and a resident

because this was not necessary to be involved in social activism. However, he changed his mind for two reasons. One reason was that the people in the area in which he provided the volunteer medical service deplored the medical students' tendency not to visit them any more after they became medical specialists. The other reason was the encouraging comments of a nun. Providing the volunteer medical service, he used to bring patients who were seriously ill to a hospital which was managed by a Catholic church. Jongjin wished to work in the hospital because the hospital served the poor. A sister in the hospital welcomed his help:

> The head sister at the hospital would tell me that this is a hospital that has a lot of poor patients. She'd like to have a lot of highly trained specialists to work at the hospital. So I decided to work hard at another hospital and learn my field of choice, so that I can, someday, work at a hospital like this, taking care of poor patients.

Jongjin thought that the two years when he worked as an intern and a resident doctor was his most devoted period as a physician. At that time, he practically lived in the hospital to care for patients and frequently stayed up all night helping with serious cases. He decided to become an internist because he thought that comprehensive medicine such as internal medicine would be helpful to a community. In 1986 when he was a second-year resident, he started again to provide the volunteer medical service in an area where he is active with his friends even today. They set up a weekend clinic there.

When the June Upspring occurred the next year, some physicians, including Jongjin, joined the Upspring. They signed a petition against the military dictatorship and their names were reported in newspapers. Jongjin's father found his son's name in a newspaper. Although Jongjin's father realized that Jongjin had been involved in student movements since he was in medical school, his father did not say anything about that because Jongjin's school achievements

were good in medical school. However, the report of his name in the newspaper made his father very angry and his father even expelled Jongjin from his home. His father was unwilling to meet him again until Jongjin got married and had a son, and until Jongjin's activities were evaluated affirmatively in the society. However, the relationship between Jongjin and his father is still not close as is the relationship between Jongjin's father and his other siblings.

Upon finishing his work as a resident doctor in 1988, Jongjin had to serve in the army for about three years. After his discharge from the army, he opened a hospital with twenty physicians in 1992 in the area where he had managed the weekend clinic. At first, he intended to communicate with patients for as long as possible so he could understand their overall situation. He believed that doing that was helpful for treatment. With the number of patients increasing, he began using a questionnaire.

When the physicians' strike occurred in 2000, of all the hospitals in the area, only the regional hospital was open. Jongjin not only disagreed with the strike as a member of APH but also could not ignore patients in the area. Since then, his colleagues' attitude toward him has become unfriendly. Thus, he has rarely met with the alumni of the medical school.

In 2001, Jongjin formed a social movement organization in the area, which then merged with several other small social movement organizations in the same area. Jongjin originally wished to become a full-time activist, so he planned to leave the hospital one year after opening it. However, the situation at the hospital was initially unstable. Although now many patients come to the hospital, the number of physicians is not adequate. That is why he still cannot leave the hospital. He works as a physician during the day and is active as a representative of the social movement organization during the evening. He plans to leave the hospital and work as a full-

time activist in the organization sooner or later because he feels that his experiences as an activist are more exciting and more meaningful than those as a physician.

Seungho's Story

Seungho is the director of the hospital for industrial disaster victims and has been a member since APH was established. He lives with his wife, who is involved in feminist movements, and two children.

Seungho was born in 1946 in a village in the southern area of Korea. He is the youngest of ten children. His father ran a factory and was raised in affluent circumstances. After graduation from an elementary school in the village, he went to a middle school in Seoul, living with his sisters. At that time, he saw physicians in a hospital for the first time. The village where he had lived had no physicians. He remembered that when he was sick his parents brought him to a shaman in the village. Observing the physicians, he thought that their activities could be helpful for others. However, he did not decide to become a physician.

He entered a college to specialize in mathematics in 1967. However, he realized that mathematics was not suitable for him, so he dropped out of the college. In 1969 he entered a medical school. At that time, students' meetings and demonstrations against unfair policies of colleges as well as the military dictatorship were frequently held on campus. Listening to speeches in the meetings and demonstrations, Seungho became quite curious. Although he had not been interested in social issues previously, he gradually began to believe that the speeches were correct. Seungho studied philosophy and sociology, which analyzed critical social structures, with his friends from other colleges as well as the medical school and read books prohibited by the government when he was a premedical student in the medical school.

Becoming a regular medical student, Seungho participated in organizing the first medical students' group whose members were not only involved in student movements but also studied the sociology of medicine together. The group published reports about the actual conditions of people and also provided volunteer medical services for people in rural communities and slums of Seoul. Seungho decided to devote his own life to social activism, experiencing actual and concrete situations through the activities. The words of a farmer especially encouraged Seungho's decision:

> During that time when I was a medical student, I heard rumors that there was a house in Seoul that had an elevator. Now there were lots of places we visited where people were so poor that they could not feed their children. Seeing that this is the reality, how could one go home at night and sleep soundly? Another incident that made me realize how harsh the real world was was when I volunteered at a farm for a few weeks down in the countryside. I thought that many of the farmers were happy to have extra help for a few weeks, but I was wrong. One farmer exclaimed, "Leave and go back where you came from, if you were there just to show off and look down on them for farming all their lives." So I realized that what they wanted was not self-satisfaction of elites, but more fundamental help.

Seungho was finally put in jail on the charge of leading demonstrations in the medical school in 1974 when he was in the last year of the regular medical course. After the "Yushin [Revitalizing] Constitution," which enabled virtually permanent possession of power and institutional reinforcement of the authoritarian system, was proclaimed by the Park regime in 1972, all of the assemblies and demonstrations against the regime on the streets as well as on campuses became illegal. Seungho was in jail for a year, and tortured. Although he was released

from jail after a year, he was not allowed to return to medical school. He got along by running a bookstore next to a university until he was allowed to return to medical school in 1980 after President Park's assassination. While running the bookstore, he married a student who was involved in student movements.

A couple of months after returning to medical school, the medical school administrators expelled Seungho again because he was marked as one of the students who organized demonstrations against the Kwangju Massacre of the government in May 1980. He and his wife went to Germany with the help of a minister in 1982 in order to escape from the police, and in the next year, Seungho went to Ireland and enrolled in a medical school. After acquiring the medical license in Ireland, he returned to South Korea in 1985. He passed the national examination for medical practitioners in South Korea in the next year, and opened a small hospital in an industrial complex of Seoul in order to focus on treatment of industrial disaster victims.

Participating in the physicians' signing of a petition against the military dictatorship in 1987, Seungho played a leading role in the formation of the APH with his companions. When physicians closed their hospital and participated in the strike in 2000, Seungho declared that he would open his hospital. He mentioned the reason for not being involved in the strike:

> I believe that the reason why physicians' strike is a result of group selfishness based on desire for maintaining their elite status in society. Of course, it is wrong for these doctors who have power in a society and belong to high class in a society to go on strike with the wrong motivation.

Because of that, he used to suffer from many threatening telephone calls. He still deplored the fact that even physicians who had supported his social activism for a long time criticized his conduct.

Seungho opened the general hospital in 2003 and has managed it since then, after turning his small hospital, which he had managed over for ten years, over to his friends. Most of the patients in the small hospital were industrial disaster victims. It happened that a fifteen-year-old boy who worked in a manufacturing company for fluorescent lamps died in 1988 because of mercurial poisoning. During that year, it was reported in a newspaper that laborers who worked in a chemical fiber factory were poisoned by chemicals. At that time, the government as well as the companies did not acknowledge that they were industrial disaster victims. Giving treatment to the laborers, Seungho, as a specialist, was willing to testify why they were considered as industrial disaster victims. Finally, the government acknowledged that they were indeed industrial disaster victims. In addition, their request to establish a special hospital for industrial disaster victims was granted in 1997. At that time, it was proposed that Seungho take on the role of director of the hospital and he accepted the position.

Seungho tried to find new ways of treating Korean society not as an individual physician, but as the director of the general hospital:

> After a while, I began having tasks that required cooperation from a lot of different people. It was hard to complete such tasks alone. In this hospital where I work, there are twenty doctors. If these physicians did not do anything, nothing will be accomplished. Yet, if these twenty workers are doing something, they can do what needs 20 times the amount of effort and time. When I run the small hospital, I did not have the power to change what the Korean society has evolved into. Although I just supported unprivileged

people in individual level at that time, I was unable to change the policies the culture or the trend in terms of medicine. It was hard for me to look to the future and change things all by myself.

The Lawyers' Stories

Five lawyers – Sunjoo, Heejung, Hyunsoo, Jihoon, and Doehyun – participated in this study. This section provides the overview of the Korean social context for the lawyers, and then presents each lawyer's life history.

Social Context

The procedure of becoming a lawyer in South Korea is different from that in the U.S. First, South Korea has no law school system although introduction of such a system is in discussion. In this paper, the phrase "law school" is used for convenience sake. The first step in becoming a lawyer is to take the state law examination. Whoever wants to be a lawyer can apply for the exam. It is not necessary to graduate from a college of law or even to legally graduate from a high school. However, most lawyers are actually university graduates or college of law graduates. A college of law is on the same level as undergraduate school, and thus people can enter a college of law after graduating from high school. The state law examination, administered three times annually, allows only applicants successful on the primary exam to apply for the secondary exam and only applicants successful on the secondary exam to apply for the third exam. After a couple of months following the examination dates, the Korea Ministry of Justice announces successful applicants of each exam. Thus, it takes at least two years to complete the examination process.

The second step in becoming a lawyer is to graduate from a two-year course at the Judicial Research and Training Institute. People who pass the state law exam can enter the

institute. After completing the training course, they can obtain certification as a lawyer. They can become then judges, public prosecutors, or lawyers. Although lawyers can open their own law offices or be employed in a law firm, at present lawyers tend to be employed in a law firm.

Judicial apprentices in the institute tend to hope to be judges or prosecutors rather than lawyers. The reason is twofold: first, judges and prosecutors politically have more power and have more secure jobs than lawyers in Korean society, partly because judges are public officials. Second, at present, apprentices in the institute enter into keener competition because of an increase in the fixed number of successful applicants of the state law exam. Apprentices in the institute face keener competition because the Korea Ministry of Justice has increased the fixed number of applicants successful on the state law exam from 100 to 500 and more recently to 1,000. Because the number of judges and prosecutors is limited, the number of lawyers has increased. Thus, it is naturally more and more competitive for lawyers to be employed in a law firm. All of the lawyers in this study were unwilling to be judges or prosecutors; they did not want to be officials as they had a negative image of government officials who historically have been related to dictatorship and corruption in South Korea.

All of the lawyers in this study were employed in law firms or have had experience working in law firms. Members of the law firms belong to *Minbyun* – Lawyers for a Democratic Society (LDS). The lawyers intentionally looked for law firms affiliated with LDS. They were in charge of several gratuitous lawsuits related to the public good. However, at present, an increase in the number of lawyers and law firms makes it much more difficult to sustain law firms.

Sunjoo's Story

Since 1999, Sunjoo has worked for a law firm whose lawyers are members of Minbyun. She is also a member of LDS. She has been involved in human rights movements. She lives alone in Seoul.

Sunjoo was born in a city of a central region of South Korea in 1972 and raised in a middle-class family. She is the youngest of three children. When she was in school, she was an earnest student and her school achievements were excellent. Her parents had cherished expectations for the future of their daughter, Sunjoo. She entered a law school in 1991, even though she was interested in becoming a teacher. Her teachers as well as her parents forced her to apply to a law school when she was in high school and she became a law student without interest in the law.

Student movements were active in 1991 and some college students were killed by riot police in demonstrations. Sunjoo participated in the demonstrations several times. When she was a high school student, she decided to be involved in college student movements due to her sister. At that time, her sister was a college student involved in student movements in Seoul. Coming back home during breaks, Sunjoo's sister used to tell her about such things as the history of Russia and problems of Korean society. Since then, Sunjoo has been interested in student movements. However, she was sorry for not being actively involved:

> I was a restless college student, worrying and stressing over private plans and goals that I was never able to accomplish. I was focused on myself, my thoughts, and my feelings, which prevented me from doing anything meaningful in society. This became a burden in my heart. It was like a debt that was never repaid. I paid attention to student activisms during the beginning of my college years, but as time went on, I was left with things yet

to be done. I felt guilty about not doing anything for the community or the society during this time.

When Sunjoo was a sophomore, she told her parents that she wished to transfer to the department of special education. She had to give up her plan once again because of her father's strong opposition. Sunjoo started to prepare for the examination for lawyers, and passed it in 1996. At that time, she told her parents again that she wanted to study special education and not to enter the Judicial Training Institute. Her father still disagreed with her idea, and she finally entered the training institute in Seoul in 1997 in order to become economically independent of her parents. She also considered the fact that it was more difficult for female students to get a job in Korean society than for males. This time was not only a time for the greatest trouble between her and her parents but also for her frustration concerning her own future.

While preparing for the state law examination, Sunjoo thought that she would do something socially meaningful after passing the examination because she felt almost guilty for not being actively involved in student movements. She joined a study group that did research about the law system to prepare for unification of South and North Korea – at that time, the study group of laws for unification and that of labor laws in the Judicial Training Institute was the representative study group whose members had experience in participating in student movements in colleges. Sunjoo made up her mind to devote herself to social activism through studies and discussions in the study group.

Around that time, she came to be interested in issues of prisons:

"These days' people want to lead happy lives. Why some people would choose to be in jail instead of being free." That was beyond my comprehension. But at the time, I thought that individuals had a *choice* in choosing to spend their lives in jail. I was not curious that

> they lived in an environment where they had no choice but to live a life of crime and jail; I was more interested in finding out why these prisoners would choose an option to stay locked up in jail or prison. I tried finding an answer through biology to see if mental illness caused them to select such an option. That was what I used to think before I met an individual who would periodically get locked up in jail or prison. He had an unfortunate experience that caused him to follow this path and I used to study him in a biological way. I am very apologetic that I studied him in this way. When he was young he was rejected by society and he had no choice to but to lead the life of crime. I had thoughts about experiencing the rejection he faced so that I could understand what he was going through.

After graduation from the training institute, Sunjoo joined the law firm to which a lawyer who understood Sunjoo's thoughts and interests introduced her in 1999. In the same year, she also joined the LDS. A lawyer in the law firm introduced her to a human rights movement organization which made efforts to make an issue of prisoners' rights at that time. Sunjoo studied with activists in the organization, reading Michel Foucault's book, *Discipline and Punish* and examining various cases at issue. She and the activists have made efforts to abolish a law which violates the human rights of prisoners.

Five years after she became a lawyer, Sunjoo thought about whether she would continue working as a lawyer or quit the job and become a full-time activist. She needed to help support her parents. Although she lived with her parents, she lived in the most affluent circumstances among her siblings. That was why it was difficult for her to decide to quit the job. However, she felt exhausted while doing the work of a lawyer and activist at the same time. Although other lawyers in the law firm understood that Sunjoo spent much time on social activism, she felt

uncomfortable that she, as an employed lawyer, did not contribute enough to making money to manage the law firm. Sunjoo kept talking with other lawyers who were also involved in social activism and hoped to make her decision as soon as possible.

Heejung's Story

Heejung has worked for a law firm since 2000, and she and other members of the law firm are members of LDS. She gives legal consultation to the Labor Party and to feminist movement organizations. She married a lawyer in 2004.

Heejung was born in a rural area in 1969. She is the second of three children. Her family was relatively affluent in the village due to her father, who owned a jewelry shop. Her parents especially loved Heejung, who was not only their only daughter but also a good student unlike her brothers. Although her father was nice to Heejung, she did not like him because he often had affairs and also hit her mother. In spite of her father's unfair attitude, her mother lived in patience. Heejung felt compassion for her mother and had a very close relationship with her mother among her family members. Heejung grew up listening to regrettable life stories of her mother. Heejung came to think that she had to succeed in a society so she would not be ignored by men. When she watched a female lawyer on TV in her teens, she decided to become a lawyer.

Heejung entered a law school in Seoul in 1989. At the beginning, she was not interested in student movements. After one month, she joined a group that studied the relations between law and society. After joining the group, she realized that the group was involved in student movements. However, she did not withdraw from the group because not only were the members of the group really nice but she was also deeply impressed by their passion and devotion for social justice. Around the end of her freshman year, she finally decided to devote herself to social activism and to give up becoming a lawyer.

Heejung's parents did not know that she was involved in student movements until she was a sophomore in 1990. At that time, the law school students were in the middle of demonstrations against the corruption of professors in the law school. Heejung played a leading role in the demonstration. A professor called Heejung's parents and told them what Heejung had done in the law school. On the next day, her father forcibly took Heejung to her hometown and confined her to the house. She sneaked away and went to her friends in Seoul. After a month when she was informed of her father's illness, she went back home. Her father finally allowed her to be involved in student movements.

In the next year, Heejung was arrested by the police. At that time, student movements became increasingly active since a college student was killed by the police in a demonstration. Heejung joined the illegal occupation of the headquarters of a party with other college students. She was released after two months.

However, this event made her anguished. When she was in jail, the police told her and other students that if they wrote a paper repenting their actions, they could be released. She refused to write the paper, and the student association to which she belonged strongly supported her doing that. Furthermore, her father, who needed an emergency operation at that time, said that he would not have the operation until Heejung was released. She reluctantly wrote the paper, because she thought that her action was "right." Since then, the time of her suffering began:

> I realized that when you did inevitably something against your conscience, it had a huge impact on life on an individual. It was hard for me to go back to school, after coming out from the jail. I could not see my friends in student activisms. Although they considered that I was brave and self-sacrificing, I felt a sense of humiliation because of the fact I released from the jail due to writing the repenting paper. I was only able to talk about this

> to those who had experienced similar thoughts and emotions in the jail. Because of this, I cried a lot during those days. I swore that I would never do something against my conscience. I also swore that I did not want to have others do the work I had to do at the jail.

Heejung was absent from the school for about six months and spent the time in her hometown. In the next year, she returned to the school and participated in student movements again. Although she still held a grievance against the student association's proposal of her repenting paper, she thought that student movement itself was "right."

Heejung graduated from the law school in 1993, and two years later she began to prepare for the state law examination in order to become a lawyer. At that time, she was too old to enter a company, her grades in the college were not good, and in addition, she was female. She thought that it was difficult to enter a company for those reasons. At that time, to her, becoming a lawyer was just a means in order to live independently, not a symbol of high position in a society. Heejung passed the exam in 1997.

After receiving the training in the Judicial Training Institute for two years, Heejung joined a law firm. From the time that she was in the second year in the institute until now, she has been a consultant to the Labor Party and a feminist movement organization. Among all the cases, the case of refusal of military service especially remains in her memory. Male believers of Jehovah's Witness refuse compulsory military service in South Korea because their doctrines do not allow the believers to serve in the military and to use guns. Some of these conscientious objectors filed lawsuits, and Heejung came to be in charge of advocating for them. She thought that the issue was not about the duty of the people or a religion but about consciousness. She deplored that the final decree of the Supreme Court was that they were guilty.

Hyunsoo's Story

Hyunsoo is a lawyer who works in a legal center attached to an environmental movement organization. He is also a graduate student who majors in the laws of environment in a master's degree program. He lives with his family in Seoul.

Hyunsoo, born in 1973 in southern area of South Korea, was raised in a middle-class and Catholic family. In his school days, he was a quiet and excellent student, and faithful believer. He entered a law school in Seoul in 1991. His father, who is authority-oriented and success-oriented, suggested that Hyunsoo enter a law school, and Hyunsoo also had an interest in majoring in law.

When he was in high school, he contemplated what the "right" way of living would be in college. In law school, a senior student introduced Hyunsoo to a book, *A Critical Biography of Chun Tai-il*, a factory laborer who killed himself by setting himself afire, asserting the importance of labor rights and of better working conditions in 1970. The book was very impressive to Hyunsoo, who felt repulsion toward his father's tendency:

> I read a book in college where an individual sacrificed his life for the less fortunate members of our society. I thought it was beautiful for someone to do this and I would reflect on it and remark that "this can be one way one person can live their lives, by sacrificing himself for other people." After reading this book, I realized how important it was to live *together* in society.

Then, reading some academic books and novels dealing with Korean history, he came to think that the "right" way of living was to devote oneself to a people and a country. Furthermore, he wished to become a lawyer like Cho Young-Rae, who was a lawyer and an author of *A*

Critical Biography of Chun Tai-il. He had participated in student activism until being conscripted into the army when he was a junior.

For several months after he joined student activism, his father still did not realize that, because his father did not live in Seoul. One day, Hyunsoo was arrested by the police in a demonstration, and his father was informed. Since then, Hyunsoo, who had lived alone, had to live with his aunt in Seoul. His father had his aunt report to him what he was doing. Fortunately, his aunt agreed with Hyunsoo's thoughts and student activism, and she sometimes connived at hiding Hyunsoo's activities. His father did not like that Hyunsoo worked in the environmental movement organization. However, Hyunsoo persuaded his father that the experience in the organization required knowledge of the laws of environment.

After an honorable discharge, Hyunsoo began to prepare for the state law examination. He passed the exam after three years' preparation, graduating from the law school. Entering the Judicial Research and Training Institute in 1999, he joined an informal group comprised of people who had been involved in student activism and a formal study group who studied the laws of environment. Because the training of the institute focused on the training for would-be judges and would-be public prosecutors, Hyunsoo spent a great deal of time reading books relevant to the laws of environment and meeting activists in an environmental movement organization rather than studying the assigned texts in the institute. Through doing so, he came to have a firm faith that studying the laws of environment and joining environmental movements were worthwhile.

After completing the training course, Hyunsoo joined a law firm in 2001. At that time, he planned to work in the law firm in order to gain practical experience as a lawyer for three years, and after that, to move to work in the legal center attached to the environmental movement

organization. However, he quit the law firm after the lapse of only two years, even though the law firm consisted of members of LDS:

> To tell you the truth, the work I did in the law firm wasn't something I really wanted to do. I was a member of the law firm and I had my responsibilities. Yet, these tasks wore me down. I was quite tired of what I did. I could not be happy with what I did because the stress of this job was incredible. Having to consider that the kind of cases you dealt with is something that an individual has only one chance to succeed in is very hard. What if you screw up and mess their lives up? No matter how the lawyers in the law firm were members of LDS, they are not always in charge of lawsuits for public good. I was not able to handle this, and I left the law firm one year earlier than I intended.

Since 2003, Hyunsoo has worked as a full-time lawyer with two other full-time lawyers in the legal center. They provide legal consultations and are in charge of lawsuits regarding environmental problems. Hyunsoo feels comfortable even though his income has diminished. He entered the graduate school in a master's program in order to study the laws of environment in 2004. He plans to study abroad the laws of environment after finishing the master's program. Then, he wishes to devote himself to being involved in environmental movements with his professional knowledge.

Jihoon's Story

Jihoon has worked in a law firm for four years, providing legal consultation to the Labor Party and a labor movement organization. He also is a member of LDS. He lives with his wife in Seoul, who is also a lawyer involved in social activism.

Jihoon was born in the southern area of South Korea in 1969. He is the eldest of three children: one son and two daughters. Although he was raised in a poor family background,

because his father was a taxi driver, his parents had enthusiasm for education for their son and daughters. Being interested in literature and politics, Jihoon read many relevant books when he was in high school. Due to this interest, he entered a university in 1986. His major was economics. The situation of universities as well as Jihoon's personal interest made him become involved in student activism:

> One of the reasons why I was involved in student activism might have the sign of the times. During my youth, many of college students were involved in student activisms. When I was in [the law school], I heard that there were usually 48 out of 50 students who would go out to demonstrate in [a particular major]. I was also interested in student activisms and the upperclassmen would encourage me to attend. I did attend some of these study groups to criticize the wrongs in our society.

Jihoon was imprisoned in his junior year, 1989, because he and some students tried to illegally occupy a building of the government. After two years, he was released from the jail. His parents, who had not realized the fact that Jihoon was involved in student activism, were informed about his arrest on TV news. At first, his parents suggested that he write words repenting his actions and told him to meet a policeman who was one of his relatives. However, his parents gradually changed their mind and thoughts, meeting with parents of other students who were in the prison:

> Fortunately, when I was arrested for participating in the demonstration, there were 22 others who went to jail along with me. During that time, meeting together, their parents would tell my parents that what we were doing wasn't bad. It was consciousness-raising for my parents. My parents did not believe that I did anything wrong and they left it at that. They must have had pride in who I was and as a result, they trusted me.

After being released, Jihoon planned to work as a laborer in a factory in order to contribute to raising consciousness of laborers. However, his friends dissuaded Jihoon from doing that, suggesting his joining in student activism again. He participated in student activism until his graduation in 1992. Graduating from the university, he thought that in order to keep being involved in social activism he needed to have professional knowledge. He entered graduate school, majoring in economics. However, he dropped out after one month because he thought that economics in the graduate school was too ideal rather than practical. In addition, he felt that the graduate school seemed to be the Mafia. He did not like that he had to maintain good relations with professors and to flatter to professors in order to become a faculty member in the future. In addition, he was separated from his girlfriend who wanted to enter the graduate school. After that, Jihoon decided to become a lawyer. He thought about what kinds of jobs he could have to make a living and at the same time could contribute to social activism with a professional license. Jihoon prepared for the state law examination with his friends who had been involved in student activism. He finally passed the examination in 1998. He still remembered that he had an acute wish to pass the exam:

> My family was not well off, but they did what they could to put be through college and graduate school. Sometimes, my younger sister would work and help me. Thus, I was afraid that I wouldn't pass the state law exam on the first try. It would be the most unfortunate experience to fail the bar and have my family to suffer again to support me, hahaha. I would have to take the law exam again in two years. I started studying for the law exam when I was 29. This was late in studying for the law exam because most people, by this time, give up studying for it.

In the Judicial Research and Training Institute, Jihoon was unwilling to follow the formal course because the course was for prospective judges and public prosecutors. He hoped to be an attorney. A general election took place in his second year in the Judicial Research and Training Institute. He volunteered to help the Labor Party in the general election. He joined in designing policies in different areas as well as in a legal area. Jihoon went to the institute during the daytime and worked for the Labor Party during the nighttime.

This schedule also did not change when Jihoon worked in a law firm. After graduation from the institute, he joined LDS and a law firm whose lawyers also belonged to LDS. He thought that it was lucky for him to work in the law firm because his colleagues in the law firm acknowledged his activities for the Labor Party and some lawyers even encouraged his activities. In the future, Jihoon planned to become a lawyer belonging to the Labor Party, quitting the law firm.

Doehyun's Story

Doehyun, a member of LDS, has worked in a law firm for about ten years. He also was a chairperson of the executive committee of a social movement organization and provided legal consultation for a human rights movement organization and different nongovernmental organizations. He lives with his family in Seoul.

Doehyun was born in the southern area of South Korea in 1959. He was raised in a middle-class family background because of his father was a teacher in a secondary school. Ever since Doehyun, their eldest son, was a child, his parents had tended to believe in his choices and decisions. When he was a high school student, his decision to enter a law school was his own decision, not his parents' suggestion. At that time, Doehyun thought that if he graduated from a

law school, he could become whatever he wanted. He did not intend to become a lawyer, and also had no job which he was particularly interested in.

He was unhappy in his school days:

> As you may well know, high schools in South Korea are like prisons where students come day in and day out to study and go home. All we worried about was going to college and we would go to school and go back home each and every day thinking about it. This was like a prison and I forced myself to go to school and study. It was the same thing in middle school. I only had thoughts about going to high school. It was all about filling my hours, days, months, and years, until I can be finished with school.

And thus, Doehyun was not interested in social issues in his high school. After entering a law school in 1978, his seniors recommended that he join student activism several times. However, he did not join because of his disposition to be reluctant to join an organization. Doehyun pursued living free. He entered a master's program of law in 1982 with the wish to become a professor. However, he changed his mind: He thought that becoming a lawyer would be the fastest way to become a professor in order to live economically independent. He passed the state law examination when he was in the graduate school. Completing his graduate school course, Doehyun entered the Judicial Research and Training Institute. He spent a happy time in the institute:

> During that time, the training institute for potential lawyers was run the same way it is today. The practical courses were also taught in the same way. However, there was a lack of fierce competition like there is now in the institute. In those two years in the institute, potential lawyers studied what they needed to study, and in addition, classes like music,

> arts, etc. were offered in abundance. I actually liked those extracurricular courses, but these days, it is hard to imagine that the training institute would have such courses today.

Finishing the training of the institute, Doehyun opened his own law office in 1989. He practiced like ordinary lawyers for a couple of years. However, he was informed about a lawyer and an activist who devoted himself to social activism, especially human right movements. Although Doehyun had learned about human rights and the dignity of man in the law school, he had not perceived that human rights could be actualized by people's actions. After that time, Doehyun began to be interested in social activism, including human right movements. He joined LDS in 1992 and a social movement organization in 1994. The lawyer who had made an impression on Doehyun played a leading role in establishing the social movement organization. In addition, he was in charge of defense of the activist who affected Doehyun's activism a couple of times. Around that time, Doehyun was talked into joining a law firm, closing his law office. All of the lawyers of the law firm were members of LDS. Although he still did not like to be a member of an organization, he liked the character of the law firm.

At first, he joined the social movement organization in order to help activists and lawyers who devoted themselves to human rights and social justice. At that time, he was a committee member for watching prosecution's corruption. As time went by, Doehyun felt excited and came to think that activities in the organization were worthwhile to do. His participation lasted for ten years, and he has undertaken the role of chairman of a standing committee since 2003. However, he disagrees that people regard him as a self-sacrificing person for social justice:

> When people see me as a "good" person, I feel sorry for that. It seems that they think I am sacrificing something very important to help our society and community. However, I haven't done much. Also, for me, not participating in social activisms does not mean that

as a lawyer, I would earn a lot of money. Really, I don't care about making a lot of money. Also, I do not think I will do other kinds of activities besides this for social service. Hahahaha.

Doehyun considers quitting his activities in the social movement organization because he believes that it is not good that one person has taken a leading part in any organization for too long. Continuing to work as a lawyer, he will plan what he should do in the future.

Chapter Summary

This chapter briefly looked at each participant' life history found through the descriptive analysis. First, an overview of the social context surrounding the physicians and the lawyers was provided to better understand their histories. Their histories illuminate that their family, educational, and professional experiences have significantly influenced them to form and maintain their professionalism and social activism for social justice. In the following chapter, I look across their nine life histories to explore their motivation of becoming professionals and social activists and their experiences as both professionals and social activists.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

The purpose of this qualitative life history study was to explore how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. Three research questions guided this study: 1) what motivates professionals to be activists in Korean society 2) what struggles do professionals encounter as they attempt to connect professionalism and activism in social movements and 3) how do professionals negotiate these struggles? To answer these research questions, the life histories were subjected to thematic analysis (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996), the findings of which are presented in this chapter. This chapter is comprised of four sections: motivation for becoming physicians/lawyers, motivation for being involved in social activism, struggling with connecting professionalism and activism, and negotiating the struggles. Table 5 provides the overviews of the key themes.

Motivation for Becoming Physicians/Lawyers

The first section presented why and how the physicians and lawyers in this study became professionals.

Reasons for Entering Medical/Law Schools

As previously mentioned, the procedure for becoming a lawyer and a physician in South Korea is different from that in the U.S. In South Korea, people can enter a law school or a medical school in the undergraduate level of the university by passing a college entrance examination. While a person who wants to become a physician must graduate from a medical school, a person who wants to become a lawyer does not have to graduate from a law school.

Table 5.

Struggles and Negotiation of Professionals Involved in Social Activism

I. Motivation for becoming physicians/lawyers
A. Reasons for entering medical/law schools
B. Reasons for becoming physicians/lawyers
II. Motivation for being involved in social activism
A. The atmosphere of the times
B. Meeting with significant others
C. Learning experiences in student activism
D. Personal characteristics
III. Struggling with connecting professionalism and activism
A. Struggles with identity
B. Struggles in training institutes
C. Struggles with relationships
IV. Negotiating the struggles
A. Finding an appropriate specialty and place to work
B. Self-reflection and self-regulation
C. Making communities
D. Learning from role models and mentors

All of the physicians graduated from medical school, and all of the lawyers except one, Jihoon, graduated from law school. Although reasons for entering medical school or law school were different, they can be identified with two kinds of reasons: suggestions of parents and

personal preference. Four participants, Yoosun, Hyunsoo, Jongjin, and Sunjoo mentioned that they had entered medical school/law school because of their teachers' or parents' suggestion. Yoosun's, Hyunsoo's, and Jongjin's parents had asked each of them to become a physician or a lawyer since their childhood. For this reason, they said that it was natural for them to decide to become a physician or a lawyer. Jongjin expressed what his parents had done:

> I decided to go to medical school when I was in middle school. I did not think of going anywhere else after I made that decision. I thought it was inevitable that I become a doctor. My father used to tell me when I was really young that I should become a doctor. Although he did not force me into making that choice, now I think he indoctrinated me, Hahaha.

The participants thought that a reason for their parents' suggestion to become a physician or a lawyer was to encourage their sons and daughters to aspire to high social position. Yoosun said that her parents had considered their daughter's becoming a physician as "an ascendance of social status." Hyunsoo identified his father as "an authority-oriented and success-oriented person." Hyunsoo thought that his father's characteristics were why his father had recommended Hyunsoo to become a lawyer. Jongjin's father also wanted Jongjin to obtain an economically secure job, namely that of a physician.

Yoosun, Hyunsoo, and Jongjin willingly accepted their parents' suggestions because they did not dislike becoming a lawyer and a physician and did not also find any other particular field in which they were interested. Sunjoo's case was different from theirs. Sunjoo hoped to be a teacher. However, Sunjoo's teacher in high school, as well as her parents, asked her to apply to a law school. Finally, Sunjoo was obliged to follow their suggestion. Because majoring in law was not Sunjoo's decision, she was unhappy in her college student days.

The other three participants' chose to apply to law school or medical school. However, they made their decisions for different reasons. Although Jongjin's decision to apply to a medical school was influenced by his father, Jongjin's interest of altruism also made him choose to become a physician. He said that a physician was a suitable job in terms of altruism. Like Jongjin, Seungho chose to attend a medical school in order to live a helpful life for others. At first, Seungho majored in mathematics in a university. However, he dropped out because he thought mathematics was not suitable for him. Going back to his hometown and helping his father to do farming, Seungho, who was fifty eight years old, the oldest participant in this study, recalled an experience in his childhood. He described the experience as follows:

> I lived in the country. I have never been to a hospital until graduation from elementary school. When someone among family members was sick, we'd invite the local shaman to treat the illness. I also did not know what a doctor was. Since I did not know, I had no ambitions to become a doctor. However, I moved to Seoul when I entered middle school. At that time I was starving because our family could not afford to eat. I began suffering from "night blindness" and went to the ophthalmology department at the hospital. Also, when I was in high school, my brother had tuberculosis and we had to go to the public health center. Because of these visits, I realized how important it was to study medicine. Also, I remember knowing and seeing a lot of sick people around me and I began to have thoughts of becoming a doctor to help these people suffering from illness. These were the memories of my youth.

Minho's decision to enter a medical school originated from his own academic interest. He was interested in dealing with life. Having applied to biochemistry and pharmacy in the first and

second trial, he failed the college entrance examination. However, in the third trial, he was allowed to enter a medical school.

Doehyun entered a law school for somewhat practical reasons. Although he was not interested in law, he explained his reason:

> After having attended college, you realize that in Korea, unlike the natural sciences, the cultural sciences and the social sciences are geared towards finding jobs that are often not connected with the majors they studied in college. It is rare that a college student would continue to focus his or her occupation on her major and study to get advanced degrees in them to become a professional. Seeing this, I could see that a person graduating with a law degree can be employed anywhere, as well as the law field. To be honest, I didn't have the definite goal of becoming a lawyer.

Heejung, a female lawyer, also had a practical reason why she entered a law school. She said that she had dreamed of becoming a lawyer in high school. One day, watching a female lawyer among male lawyers on TV, Heejung felt that the female lawyer was great. Since then, she said that she has thought that if a woman becomes a lawyer, the woman could live with confidence. Heejung mentioned that she had a grievance against her father who used to look down on her mother.

Reasons for Becoming Physicians/Lawyers

Even though a person graduates from a medical school or a law school, s/he may not become a physician or a lawyer. It is possible that s/he will not want to be the professional anymore and cannot become the professional for various reasons. In particular, a person who wants to be a lawyer needs a firm resolution in comparison with one who wants to be a physician because the state law exam was highly competitive: According to the Korean Ministry of Justice,

the ratio of successful applicants for the state law exam in 2004 was about 5.3%, whereas according to the National Health Personnel Licensing Examination Board, the ratio of successful applicants to the National Medical Licensing Examination in 2004 was about 97%. The lawyers in this study explained several reasons why they had made up their mind to challenge the state law exam: to get an economically secure job, to avoid difficult in finding a job, and to follow the strong suggestion of their parents.

Jihoon was the only lawyer among the participants not to graduate from a law school. His private life and social situation made him determined to be a lawyer. When graduating from his university, his girlfriend wanted him to be a professor in order to have a secure job. Jihoon also thought he needed an economically secure job. He thought that being a professor could be helpful for social movements. Jihoon entered a graduate school, majoring in economics. However, his girlfriend took leave of him. In addition, Jihoon hated the unfair power relationship between graduate students and professors, and he realized it would take a longer time than he had expected to become a professor. He dropped out of the graduate school and then prepared for the state law exam. Jihoon offered the following explanation:

> After breaking up with my girlfriend and wasting time, I began refocusing and getting my life together. I realized that the most comfortable jobs required professional licenses. I wanted to have a well paying job that allowed me to help society and being a lawyer allowed me to do that. If I became a lawyer I knew that I will be paid well and will have opportunities to better our society.

Like Jihoon, the lawyers in this study had determined to become lawyers for economic reasons. Doehyun emphasized the economic reasons why he had hoped to be a lawyer:

> In our country, you had to pass the bar exam to become a lawyer. I wanted to take the bar because I wanted to first have a stable and reliable job. To be honest, I was thinking about becoming a lawyer more on financial terms rather than any social activist goals.

Heejung also referred to an economic reason. Although she had entered a law school with a plan to become a lawyer, she gave up, being involved in student activism. When she was in a university, she thought that to hope to be a lawyer who belonged to a high social position was "a breach of faith" of student activism. For her, a lawyer was not a desirable job anymore. However, after graduating from a law school, she prepared for the state law exam. She described how difficult it was for her to find a job after graduating from the law school:

> If I wanted to rely on myself financially, I knew that studying hard was the only way to get there. Unfortunately, my grades were not good because I was involved in student activism during college, I was too old, and I was a woman. I felt that I had little chance of doing anything else so I started studying for the bar exam. At the time, I did not think that being a lawyer was about helping society. The only thing I thought about was that this was the only thing I could do. I studied for the bar solely for the purpose of attaining a stable job.

Sunjoo, a female lawyer, also said that she realized how difficult it was for women to find a job in Korean society and that it was one of the reasons why she was determined to be a lawyer. However, above all, Sunjoo said that she could not avoid the stubborn demand of her parents to become a lawyer:

> At first I was really interested in special education. Because of this interest, I told my family and we had a lot of arguments over it. Hahahaha. When I was in my 2nd or 3rd year of college, I decided to declare special education as my major. My parents tried to

convince me to do something else. They also were angry over my choice. Because of the uproar, I decided to take the bar exam. I passed that exam, but I told my parents I did not want to enter into the Judicial Research and Training Institute. They got angry with me again. In the end, I did go to the Judicial Research and Training Institute because of my parents. At the time, I decided to become a lawyer first and then decide that I would rather work to help society rather than to earn a lot of money.

Although the reasons that the participants in this study entered law schools or medical schools and became lawyers or physicians varied, the patriarchal Korean culture, significantly affected their motivation for becoming physicians or lawyers. Most of the participants followed their parents' strong suggestion that they become physicians or lawyers, and the female participants wanted to become physicians or lawyers in order to have more power in the male-dominated Korean society. In sum, the participants and their parents considered being a physician or lawyer as a powerful job in terms of economic and political aspects.

Motivation for Being Involved in Social Activists

The second section presented how the participants came to be involved in social activism. All of the participants began hearing and seeing what social activism was when they were in high school or in college. The atmosphere of the times, meeting with significant others, experiences in student activism, and propensity of the participants influenced the participants to be involved in social activism.

The Atmosphere of the Times

Some of the participants attributed one of the motivations for being involved in social activism to the atmosphere of the times around them. Doehyun, who devoted himself to social

activism after becoming a lawyer, explained his motivation for participating in social activism, generally analyzing the political situations of Korea:

> The reason why I decided to work for social movements is because of the political peculiarity of Korean society which everyone can't avoid being interested in. Whether in the past or the present, the Korean political structure is very unstable. Because of the instability in the Korean political structure, you have problems in the North and South Korean relations as well as a lot of problems inside of the South Korea. As a result of the political instability, it was natural that citizen protests occurred frequently. These protests really need the help of a lawyer and I wanted to get involved in helping these protests.

Other participants described their personal experiences as well. Heejung recalled the '87 June Upspring, which she saw when she was a high school student. The '87 June Upspring was a nationwide social movement rising against Chun Doo-Hwan's dictatorship in South Korea. She described the situation:

> When I was in high school in June of 1987, there was a protest. I was in [city name] at the time and I witnessed this protest. For a month in the month of June, the streets were filled with people. The protesters were not only composed of students but working citizens. The high school students stayed in school, but the teachers informed us of what was going on. We saw a lot of people gathered in the streets protesting. After the protests, President Chun Do Hwan resigned. I was young, but I began to realize how powerful these protests were. Because I witnessed the power of citizen protests, I began to have a lot of interest in them.

Some participants explained the atmosphere of universities when they were university students. Jihoon who entered a university in 1986 said, "Over two-thirds of the college students

participated in student activism at that time." He added, "It was natural that I came to be interested in student activism in that situation." Minho, who entered a university in 1991, also expressed 1991 as "a hot year in the coldhearted times." 1991 was the year when student activism was heated because a college student who participated in a demonstration was killed by riot policemen. Minho said, "I naturally came to think that I should help change the Korean society at that time."

Seungho, who entered a university in 1969, also remembered that his college student days were the period when student activism was truly active. He described the atmosphere of the university at that time:

> You had to understand what the college atmosphere was like in 1970. There were many student protest meetings within the campus. We had a variety of dynamic problems that we've discussed in these meetings, and when one student has finished his preaching, a bunch of other students would go around campus to spread the word. Some would go out into the streets or around the college to preach or demonstrate, and some of them would come back to the college when they were overwhelmed by the riot police. Because this was the first time I ever attended these meetings, I listened intently when I had the time and sometimes when I felt compelled to join their demonstrations, I would go with them to protest. When you participate in these activities, you get to spend a lot of time with your peers all throughout the night to listen to their protests. As a result of these experiences, I opened my eyes towards problems in our society. I became aware of what was going on in our country. Before this experience, I really had not interest in societal issues.

Meeting with Significant Others

Some of the participants talked about people who had been a significant influence on their becoming involved in social activism. Those who had influenced the participants included a sister, teachers, friends, a girlfriend, a professional, and an activist.

Sunjoo was first informed by her sister about student activism. When Sunjoo was a junior in high school, her sister was a freshman in a university in Seoul. She remembered that her sister used to come back home during every break and told Sunjoo about the problems in Korean society, the history of Russia, and her involvement in student activism. Listening to what her sister said, Sunjoo said that she decided that she would be involved in student activism in the university.

Yoosun began to be interested in social problems and social justice due to her high school teachers and friends. There were many young teachers in her high school because it was a new school. Most of the young teachers were members of Chunkyojo – the Korean Teachers and Educational Workers' Union (KTEWU) – which started to prepare to be organized in 1987 and was organized in 1989. The Ministry of Education considered the organization as illegal and fired about 1,500 teachers, members of KTEWU. This situation also affected Yoosun's high school. A principal of the high school fired twenty three teachers who were members of KTEWU. She remembered the teachers as follows:

> Those teachers were critical towards the Korean education system that only concentrated on college entrance exams. And unlike other teachers, they were very humanistic. My math teacher would read poetry from time to time and I still remember them. My national history teacher held many discussions during his class. We would discuss about our country's admiration and usage of products and brands made outside of Korea. My fine

> arts teacher would tell us that "what we've learned in this class is the fact that we do not know how to do fine arts and that is the reality of our education system." So our fine arts teacher helped us to pursue arts that we liked best. I and my fellow classmates loved the teachers for being this way. Unfortunately, our principal would fire or transfer these teachers to other schools by force. The teachers who replaced them only concentrated in helping us do well on our college entrance exams and we hated it.

Yoosun also recalled what her friends in the high school did. They uncovered the principals' corruption and gained the system of a direct election for the president of the student council. Yoosun was not involved in the activism because her parents disagreed with her participating in the activism. However, Yoosun emphasized that the influence of the teachers and her friends was great in leading her to be involved in student activism when she was in the university. She said, "I came to participate in student activism in the university in order that I could do what I had never done in high school."

Jongjin stated that his ex-girlfriend whom he had met at the university "played a crucial role in leading me to live as an activist throughout my life." He remembered her in this way:

> When I was a college student I had a girlfriend who was a student activist. I like her but she liked me a great deal. So she wondered how she can make me into a human being. And because she liked me a lot and she put a lot of effort to put me on the right path in life. It was hard for me to accept new things because I had my own thoughts. At first, there was a lot of resistance. Even with that resistance, she tirelessly made the effort for two to three years discussing and fighting with me. These experiences were critical in having me involved in fighting for social justice.

While in the cases of Sunjoo, Yoosun, and Jongjin, their thoughts and interest of social justice were affected by people whom they had known and liked before in their private life, Doehyun and Hyunsoo were significantly affected by people who were famous in public. Doehyun said that he was deeply impressed by two people who devoted themselves to human rights movements. One was a lawyer and the other was an activist. Doehyun explained the process of his becoming involved in social activism:

> Going from college to graduate school in law, I did not think that human rights which I learned in theory could be applied reality in our present society. But after I became a lawyer, I realized human rights which I learned in theory can be applied in reality in our present society. I realized that some of these lawyers worked hard to better our people and society and I was ashamed. Because of this feeling, I began to help society and began attending these social movements.

Hyunsoo was indirectly impressed by one person, Chun Tae-il, who committed suicide by fire, insisting on the rights of labors. When Hyunsoo was a university student, he read *A Critical Biography of Chun Tai-il*. Hyunsoo noted, "I thought it was beautiful for someone to do this, and I would reflect on it and remark that this can be one way one person can live his life, by sacrificing himself for other people." Hyunsoo also said that the experience of being brought up by an authority-oriented father strongly affected his becoming interested in "living together in society."

Learning Experiences in Student Activism

All of the participants except two, Sunjoo and Doehyun, had participated in student activism when they were in the university. For the participants, student activism significantly affected them in their participation of social activism after their graduation from law school or

medical school. The participants described their experiences in student activism as having two dimensions: learning through university discussion groups and learning the different characteristics of the six participants. The discussion groups read and discussed books and articles dealing with different theories in terms of critical analysis of societies as well as the pending problems of Korea. The participants said that they spontaneously joined for further study and for more knowledge about actual social problems. For example, Yoosun, who had not been involved in her friends' demonstration in high school because of her parents' disagreement, said, "I joined a discussion group with the thought 'Let's do what I didn't do in high school'." Minho, a Christian, also said that he joined a discussion group consisting of "progressive Christians." When he was a freshman at the university, he joined a "conservative Christian group." However, after seeing active student activism for one year, he moved to the "progressive Christian group" in his sophomore year.

The studies and discussions theoretically justified and intensified the participants' thoughts about social justice. Jongjin emphasized, "Unless I had intellectually armed myself in a discussion group, it would have been hard for me to be involved in social activism for over twenty years now." Seungho also identified a discussion group he joined as "one kind of academic movement." He recalled:

> I wanted to know more about the kinds of things discussed in these student meetings. So, when I joined the discussion group I came into contact with books that I have not seen or read before. I read a lot of books. One of them was about the relations between the Chaebol – huge family owned conglomerate – and poverty. The book discussed how the Chaebol system created poverty and inequality among the classes. I still remember the

> contents of this book. It opened my eyes to a world I've never seen and it was a significant factor of me being involved in social activism.

Some discussion groups dealt with problems of special areas as well as general problems of societies. According to Yoosun, her discussion group used to critically examine problems of the medical system of South Korea, and according to Heejung, her discussion group often explored the relationship between law and society in terms of social justice. The studying in discussion groups provided a kind of foundation for those who attempted to connect their specialties with social activism.

Three of the participants – Heejung, Jongjin, and Seungho – identified their learning experiences through practices as important incidents which made them become involved in social activism. The practices were mainly participation in demonstrations against unfair policies of the Korean government and voluntary services provided for poor people, laborers, and farmers. The participants said that they came to realize reality through the practices. Heejung said that she really liked her discussion group not only because members of the group seriously deliberated what the truth was but also because they expressed their thoughts through actions. She stated that "practices in the field" as well as studies in a discussion group "made her open her eyes to realities."

Jongjin explained the process of his being involved in social activism by his participating in volunteer medical service in villages without doctors:

> When I was in college, there were many villages in the country that had no doctors. So, when there was a break from school, I would go with the medical and nursing students to these villages to volunteer. I went there once when I was in the first year of medical school and received a new shock. When we go there, we not only give medical treatment,

> but also visit the houses of these villagers. I would walk the mountain roads and see how they live. I was also from the country, but I left the country when I was in 5th grade of elementary school, and I forgot all about country life. I forgot how difficult it was to live in the country. I did not know how selfish I was because these people needed help from people like me who had something to give. I felt like I was struck in the back of the head. That was what was so shocking to me. I realized how selfish I was and have become.

Jongjin added:

> At the time, I came back to Seoul and I began thinking that I should bring my friends to help these people. I was not satisfied that we should just go and help them during vacation. We called what we had did as "spreading medicines" To make this work, we decided to go somewhere near where we were to help out. So we went to [area name] where a lot of poor people lived in these shack houses. We would visit these people and provide medical treatment. As a social activist, that was where I got my start.

Seungho believed that various volunteer activities, including medical service in farm villages and poor villages, "made his activism be activism worthy of the name." He explained the complementary relation between studies in a discussion group and practices in the field.

> My social activism became stronger when I faced concrete issues, in other words, when I started going to the farm to meet the farmers and the poor neighborhoods to meet poor people. I began confronting and solving the problems that each group had. When I was living in the countryside, I did not realize that there were any problems. However, when I studied the problems that people had in the country in a discussion group, I became more sensitive and critical to the problems that occurred in that particular segment of society. Then I realized that these people had problems that needed to be solved. A combination

of hitting the books and experiencing the problems first hand out in society provided my motivation to become involved in social activism.

The other two participants who had not been involved in student activism were Sunjoo and Doehyun. Sunjoo had joined demonstrations a couple of times during her university student days. However, she disclosed that she had not joined any activities regarding student activism, because at that time she was severely suffering from personal problems. She explained that she came to be actively involved in social activism after becoming a lawyer because her not participating in student activism had remained in her mind as "debt of mind," or regret.

Doehyun identified himself as "a freedom-oriented person," so he didn't like the idea of joining an organization when he was a university student. That is the reason that he did not participate in student activism, even though he acknowledged the problems of Korean society. At that time, he considered that the culture of organizations of student activists tended to encroach upon the freedom of individuals. However, being impressed by a lawyer and a social activist, he worked in a law firm and joined a social movement organization for about fifteen years. He said that he began to think that he "could tolerate being involved in such an organization when doing something challenging or meaningful."

Personal Characteristics

Several participants described their personal characteristics when they explained the reasons why they became involved in social activism. Characteristics the participants noted were different. First, Yoosun identified herself as "an experience-based and challenge-oriented person," and she believed that she could become "a social participation-oriented person" due to those characteristics. As evidence of this, she provided an example:

> Once, I asked my other classmates why they did not attend student activism. They responded that they did not trust these student activists. With that they asked me "how can you believe if what these student activists are preaching about is true." They said that it is hard for them to believe them. Then I told them that you should listen, participate, and experience what they are going through first before saying that what they say are false.

Jihoon described himself as "a person who rarely changed his opinion once he had made up his mind," and "a person who had strong sense of responsibility." He also applied his characteristic to that of social activists in general:

> Personally, I think that people who have been involved in solving society's problems and could not give up on these activities have a particular characteristic about them. So, whatever I say, I cannot change them. I could not ignore whatever I have said or did during those student demonstrations. I could not do this and move on with my life. It has been difficult. Thus, I continue to be involved in social activism.

Minho paid attention to his spirituality as a Christian. He believed that a socially participatory life was "the right way of living as a Christian." He described the process of linking his spirituality to concerns to social activism as follows:

> When I was in my second year in college, there was a presidential election. During that time, all of the social activist groups, along with the student activist groups directly participated in electing a progressive president. The participation of these activist groups made the political climate very heated and tense. While looking that situation, I finally withdrew from a conservative Christian student group and joined a more progressive and

> liberal group. I thought the right way of living as a Christian was to participate in our worldly society and to make it better.

Hyunsoo, a Catholic, also noted that his spirituality made him interested in altruistic ways of living. In addition to mentioning his spirituality, he identified himself as "a person with a keen sense of morality." Hyunsoo said that "my strong sense of morality rather than my progressive thoughts seemed to make me become involved in social activism." In addition, he noted that he was "an emotional person." These characteristics motivated him to become interested in social activism. He described characteristics as follows:

> My mother was a Catholic and taught me to live and work for other people and not just for one's self. As a Catholic, I thought it was mandatory that I should live life the way my mother taught me. Thus, my sense of morality was very strong. I was also very sensitive and emotional. When I saw poor and pitiful people on TV, I would often cry. Because I was a sensitive and caring person, it was natural for me to be involved in social activism. Honestly, a lawyer needs to be detached and emotionless of the task at hand in order to win a case in court. Now, being a sensitive lawyer who gets too attached to the task at hand is one of my weaknesses. Hahahaha.

Heejung stated that she had a "stubborn and greedy character" when she was as child. She thought that her character might affect her becoming involved in social activism, although her personality changed considerably as she grew up. She described her character in this way:

> When I was young, I was quite stubborn. My older brother and younger brother would ask me to talk to my parents when they wanted something. Because I was so stubborn and steadfast, my parents would often do what I wished them to do. I would conduct hunger strikes when I importuned my parents to gain what I wanted. Yet, I am no longer

like that. Hahaha. Also, I was very greedy when I was young. But when I grew up, I'd asked myself why I was so greedy. I was stressed over this and tried very hard to change myself. But now that I think of this, I realized that there was a party of me that is still stubborn and greedy. Using this in a different context, one of the reasons why I decided to continue working as a social activist was because I still had some stubbornness in me. To be able to argue and stick up for the different social issues in our society still seem to portray a part of my personality that is still very stubborn.

The participants in this study became interested in social activism because of the impact of a variety of influences. Perhaps the broadest influence was the impact of the atmosphere of the times that surrounded them. The participants spent their youthful times under undemocratic governments and during the times when social movements, including student activism, was active. The second broadest influence was the impact of others, such as friends or teachers, who were significant in their lives. They introduced social justice and social activism to the participants. The third broadest influence was the impact of learning experiences through discussion groups and through practices in the field. The learning experiences made the participants internalize their thoughts of social justice and social activism. The narrowed influence was the impact of personal characteristics. An experience-oriented characteristic, a sense of morality, a sense of responsibility, or spirituality led them to become involved in social activism.

Struggles with Connecting Professionalism and Activism

The third section explained what kinds of struggles the participants had encountered while attempting to connect professionalism and social activism. The participants experienced struggles with their identity, struggles in training institutes, and struggles with relationships.

Struggles with Identity

The participants identified themselves as professionals and at the same time as activists. However, the process of identifying themselves in that way was not a simple task. To identify themselves, some participants located the identity of an activist in the foreground, some participants located the identity of a professional in the foreground, and some of them were struggling with a new identity. The participants were satisfied or were not satisfied with their present identity for various reasons.

Activist identity in the foreground. Jongjin, Jihoon, and Sunjoo defined themselves as social activists rather than physicians or lawyers. While Jongjin was satisfied with his identity, Jihoon and Sunjoo mentioned that he needed to more pay attention to his identity as a lawyer.

Although Jongjin presented clearly in the interview that he was an activist, he said that previously he had sometimes felt torn between the aspiration of experiencing more professional activities of a physician and the dream of being a full-time activist. He had been a director of a regional hospital for over ten years and a representative of a social movement organization in the area for three years. Upon finishing receiving training as a resident doctor in a university hospital, Jongjin opened the regional hospital with his friends. At that time, because he wanted to be a full-time activist, he was supposed to leave the hospital after one year. However, he could not leave. He explained that it had taken more time for the hospital to become stable than he expected initially and the hospital needed more physicians to increase the number of patients after being stable. He said, “Even while I was working as a physician, I kept the dream of becoming a full-time activist in my mind.”

On the one hand, Jongjin hoped to be a full-time activist. On the other hand, Jongjin said that he had also aspired to become a physician who deals with patients' lives. He described his feelings as follows:

> In recent years, I have, as a doctor, had to deal with lingering inner conflicts within myself. Although treating a patient with a cold has a deep meaning to a doctor in keeping a patient healthy, it is more meaningful to a doctor to treat a dying patient using his medical knowledge, training, and talent, saving the patient from death. A doctor admires another doctor because of that accomplishment and we describe this feat as "treating the vital." I also wanted to save a patient from death and the instant gratification that it brings. However, there were no patients like that in the hospitals I worked in. As a result, it was hard for me to give up my dream to save dying patients from death until recently. Last year, I wanted to move to a big or general hospital. Every few years I would suffer from these lingering inner conflicts just as if I was suffering from a fever. I constantly wanted to be a specialist in medical science, but I have come to terms with my ambitions to do so.

Having felt anguish for several years over what to do about his future, Jongjin reached the conclusion that he would become a full-time activist, quitting the hospital. According to him, he realized that "activities as an activist had given me more satisfaction than those as a physician." He decided that he would completely devote himself to social activism beginning the next year, finishing his present oscillating between the life of a physician during office hours and that of an activist after office hours.

Like Jongjin, Jihoon identified himself as an activist rather than as a lawyer. He declared that "I prefer to be called an activist than a lawyer," and that "I will become a full-time activist in

the future." Jihoon mentioned that he had chosen the job of a lawyer in order to meet the needs of "making a livelihood" and at the same time of "becoming a professional who was helpful for social movements." He has worked in a law firm and for the Labor party. Three years after becoming a lawyer, he now feels sorry about his "lack of professionalism." He explained:

> This was what I was worried about. My worries were not about embracing professionalism and activism as a single entity; it was about letting professionalism go, while embracing activism. As a lawyer in the Labor Party, I worked to defend and release people from jail systematically. Among those lawyers working for the common good, there were many lawyers with specialist skills. Some of the lawyers specialized in cases involving conscientious objectors, and others dealt with sex crimes. I do not specialize in anything at this point. Although I had a license to practice law, I regret that I was not able to specialize in anything like the other lawyers.

Sunjoo was involved in social activism for about six years after becoming a lawyer. Like Jihoon, Sunjoo felt that she needed to develop her professionalism. She described her difficulties as follows:

> Although we are all lawyers, there are limits to our abilities as activist lawyers, unlike those lawyers who do a lot of legal work and research in specialized fields of law. When I compare myself to other lawyers, I am not able to polish and better my legal skills. Although I know a lot about the problems that occur in society, there is a lot conflict that occurs from this knowledge. Unlike others, we do not have the opportunity to polish and improve our legal skills and focus on our professionalism and social activist lawyers like us are criticized for our unprofessionalism. To those who criticize us, I would sometimes have the urge to ask them what they have done for society. But I would not say it and I

> would keep it to myself. This causes a lot of conflict within myself, and I would wonder why I need to continue being a lawyer.

Although Sunjoo had these difficulties, she said that she could not be willing to quit a law firm and to become a full-time activist. The reasons were not only her financial problems but also her fear of the way of living as an activist:

> A few months ago, I had seriously considering leaving the law firm I was in, in order to join a social activist group. But when I thought further, I realized that I was not prepared to enter into social activism. If I meet these social activists, I knew that I would be able to make this decision to become a social activist lawyer. But I was not confident in making this my permanent job. In the end, it was all about earning less and spending less. But it was really hard to make a decision whether to take a lower paying job. If I wanted to be a social activist lawyer, I wanted to work for people in the country. But the laughable part about my potential decision was that I was thinking about whether I could find a place to buy cosmetics. I was full of these unnecessary and useless thoughts. Thus, I understood that there was still a lot about me that I needed to change.

Professional identity in the foreground. Hyunsoo, Doehyun, Minho, Yoosun, and Heejung defined themselves as professionals rather than activists. Whereas some of them described their professional identity in a positive way, the others described it in a negative way. In addition, some of them were distressed by the conflict between an identity which the participant defined and another which other people defined.

Hyunsoo, Minho, and Doehyun were quite willing to identify themselves as professionals. Hyunsoo said that he had hoped to be a lawyer since his childhood and that he would keep

working as a lawyer in the future. He was really proud of lawyers' roles in environmental movements:

> Even today, I still feel that I made the right decision in becoming a lawyer. I am satisfied with my decision. Being a lawyer is a useful occupation. People tend to react differently to a lawyer than to a regular social activist without a lawyer's license, even if what I say as a lawyer, and what the other persons says, as a social activist, is the same. This could reflect the power that a lawyer has that an average social activist doesn't have. Also, social activism must be solved within the existing political system. In this area, a lawyer has great impact in effecting change. In the future, the participation of lawyers within the social activism will have a greater impact. Social activism requires a lot of action, and policies constructed to effect change are what all this is about. These are the things only the lawyers have the ability to do.

Minho, who was an executive secretary of APH, serving as the army surgeon, also said, "I had never thought about giving up becoming a physician throughout my life although I could be an activist in that my activities were based on social movements." At one time, he was confronted with the problem of "what kind of physician should I be?" He described this problem as follows:

> Usually, when you are in the 3rd or 4th year of the regular medical study, you decide whether you want to practice public service medicine, or to enter into private practice as a nice petit bourgeois. Like other medical students, I was stressed and worried in making a decision. It was a huge decision in my life and there was a lot of conflict within myself. I also cried stressing over this decision.

Like Hyunsoo and Minho, Doehyun defined himself as a lawyer rather than an activist. He said, “As a professional, I was involved in social activism in my spare time. That’s why I think of myself more as a professional than an activist.” However, what distressed him was that other people identified him as an activist because of his activities in a social movement organization for ten years, although he had not been a full-time activist. He expressed his thoughts in this way:

> Privately, it was very difficult for me to leave the law firm I was in and to become a full-time activist in the social activist group I was in. A lot of activists in the social movement organization I was involved in wanted me to work for them specifically, but it was a very difficult decision. There was once a reporter who interviewed me working in this organization and he wrote at the end of his article that "Under the eaves, for the quest of freedom, is briefly soaked in the rain, out in the backyard." Hahahaha. I believe that was an appropriate interpretation on what I was doing. I do not believe that this work I am doing will be permanent and all encompassing. Of course, if I feel that appropriate help is needed, I will help those who are in need of it. I believe that is the most prudent thing to do. I do have a lot of interest in solving problems in our society; but I also have personal and selfish interests that I wish to satisfy.

Doehyun stated that he would resign as chairperson of the executive committee of the social movement organization sooner or later “for renewal of the organization.”

Yoosun and Heejung also identified themselves as professionals. Unlike Hyunsoo, Minho, and Doehyun, Yoosun did not have positive feelings about her identification. She had worked as a medical specialist in a hospital for industrial disaster victims for about four years after completing training as a resident doctor. Although she, as a member of APH, had taken an active

part in various activities related to social activism, she thought that it could not be said that her activities were those of a social activist. She explained the reason as follows:

> Actually, I don't know if the activist work I am doing is really social activism. In reality, I do not believe that doctors can participate in such activism. The very first thing that crosses my mind and conscience is that wages one receives. Although the doctors in our hospital earn less than doctors from other hospitals, I do not believe that our wages are small, if I spend less. I can believe that this hospital can be a good place to work with meaning and purpose. However, we earn a lot more than those who are full time activists and so I feel a bit guilty over that. With those full time social activists, how can a doctor say that they are doing the same thing in this case?

Because of this reason, Yoosun identified herself as a physician rather than an activist. However, she negatively answered her own question of "Do I really perform well as a physician and as a professional?" Defining a physician as "a professional who is a scientist," Yoosun expressed her distress:

> For me, the most bothersome question would be when someone asks me who and what a professional is? If doctors are professionals, they should have their own area of specialization. When you are specializing in hygienic enterprise, many people think I am a specialist and they expect something more from me. They expect two things from me. One is to offer medical treatment, which I feel I am doing well in. I do not feel that I am doing well with the other expectation. Doctors are like scientists. For example, when physicians wish to identify and treatment the sickness, they have to have an explanation and solution to that sickness. Unfortunately, I have not researched it and come up with a solution on my own. I realized that I need the ability to research sicknesses and be able to

> understand and cure them. My personal experience is that poor people are often unhealthy and I would like to scientifically be able to look over the problem and solve them.

Yoosun added:

> Truthfully, it's the same thing in this hospital. To explain it in a simple way, there are 500 patients who were in industrial accidents in this country. If it was another country, there will be a lot of research and studies done on this subject of industrial accident victims. Though there are lots of materials on this matter in this country, I have not written a single research paper on this type and I feel ashamed of it. I told this to my husband that I feel like I am committing a sin by this non-reaction.

Heejung most strongly disagreed that she was called an activist among the participants. She did not think that she was an activist. The reason was that activities as full-time social activists could be "incomparable" with those as lawyers involved in social activism. Heejung explained, "Activists completely devote their time and efforts to social activism even though they were in needy circumstances, whereas lawyers just devote their spare time and efforts to social activism." In a sense, Heejung stated, "It cannot be said that lawyers' activities related to social activism are actually social activism, as long as they did not give up the profession."

Even though Heejung clearly defined herself as a lawyer as mentioned above, she did not positively describe her identity of a lawyer. Whereas Yoosun regretted the lack of effort to do research as a medical specialist, Heejung had a critical view of her identity as a lawyer, itself. She even expressed, "I feel shameful in front of social activists." She explained her reason:

> Those social activists have nothing to be embarrassed about. They can be embarrassed about some of the mistakes they made, but they are insignificant mistakes. Also, even if

> the work is hard, this is what they want to do and they feel what they did was right, deriving satisfaction from what they do. When I began thinking of these things, I became really embarrassed. When these social activists call me lawyer this and lawyer that, I wonder if I really deserve that honor and distinction. So I feel embarrassed. I think of it in this way as a compromise with society.

Heejung was distressed by identity defined by other people as well as her own sense of identity. On one hand, she suffered from criticism from her friends who had been active in student activism with her. Although Heejung acknowledged that her choosing to become a lawyer for a living could mean "compromising with a society which has unjust power relations," she argued that she had still been involved in social activism. Because of that, Heejung noted that she had suffered when several friends who had been involved in student activism with her considered her as a person compromising with society.

On the other hand, she suffered from excessive high estimation by ordinary people. She remembered her experiences as follows:

> Truthfully, when I entered into the Judicial Research and Training Institute, the hardest thing for me was the fact that we were looked upon so highly, and this being done in a way that was unpleasant for me. This was hard for me to deal with. Wherever I go, whatever age they were, people would call you lawyer this, and lawyer that, always sitting at the most honored place, as if I am part of the high class society. I underestimated how revered the position and power a lawyer had in this society when I decided to become a lawyer. Those things were hard for me to accept.

The third identity – Identity in the employment relationship. Five participants were struggling with identity related to their position of workplace. These struggles with identity were

related to their interest in social justice and their passion for social activism. A participant was in the middle of thinking the role as a leader in his workplace, another participant struggled with middle status in her workplace, and the other three participants struggled with identity as employees.

First, Seungho had worked as the director of the hospital for industrial disaster victims since 2003. Throughout his life, his identity was changed several times. He entered a medical school, hoping to become a physician. Participating in student activism, he thought about becoming a social activist. After being expelled from a medical school, he enrolled in a medical school in Ireland. Returning to Korea, Seungho opened his own small clinic for laborers who were injured in the workplace, and he came to play a leading role in medical movements as well as to be involved in social activism of various fields. He said, “I’m a specialist and activist in medical movements at that time.”

However, Seungho noted, “It is hard to say I’m the specialist and activist since becoming the director of the big hospital” because he just gave some consultation to some social movement organizations rather than being fully involved in social activism. He added, “I make efforts to find ways of making the hospital contribute to improvement of the medical culture and the medical system of Korea.”

Yoosun is the chief of the family medicine department in a hospital. She described her status as “a middle status” between top leaders of the hospital and members of the labor union of the hospital. She expressed her distress as a physician of middle status as follows:

> Since I began working in this hospital, I began to realize that a doctor's job wasn't just to give medical treatment to their patients. Because I am the chief doctor at this hospital, the blue collared workers would look me as a hospital manager, but to the director at the

> hospital, I was just one of those employees of the hospital. Truthfully, I felt that both the hospital and the labor union had problems. Whenever I tried to point them out to both parties, they would criticize me for it. Somebody calls me as a rightist or as a waverer, Hahahaha. I stress whether I ought to be criticized for not taking sides.

The lawyers, Jihoon, Sunjoo, and Heejung, who worked in law firms, were distressed by the fact that they were employees. Because the law firms consisted of lawyers who belonged to LDS, other lawyers in law firms tend to consider their activities as related to social activism. Despite this fact, all three of them felt pressure that they should contribute more energy to work in law firms than activities in social activism. Jihoon noted that he wanted to quit his law firm as soon as possible, complaining that he had to devote "80% of his energy" to work in a law firm. Sunjoo said, "It is a burden for me to have to accept as many cases as possible because the law firm is a profit organization." Heejung explained her conflict situation:

> In reality, the law firm stresses that your responsibilities at work come first. This is because you had to finish the work given by your firm even if you have to spend the night at the law firm on top of the pro bono work you do for society. If I wanted to consider pro bono work first, I would have to leave the law firm and go join a social movement organization because I would not be able to work at my current law firm by ignoring the work given to me at the firm. This is the basic rule of a law firm. As a result, there are plenty of conflicts when your law firm work get in the way of your pro bono work.

Struggles in Training Institutes

Training institutes were also an important arena for the participants to struggle in order to connect professionalism and activism. Although training institutes for physicians or lawyers usually include medical schools or law schools, the participants in this study mainly mentioned

training for an intern and a resident doctor at a hospital for prospective medical specialists, and the Judicial Research and Training Institute for prospective lawyers. In Korea, the participants first had to face the challenge of attending the training institute and courses after graduating from medical schools or law schools of the undergraduate school level. Receiving the training is a requirement to get the qualification of a medical specialist or a lawyer in Korea. The participants who had been interested in or involved in social justice through various influences had struggled for survival during the training, which reflected unjust power relations within the society.

Survival of the physicians. Some physicians experienced an unjust medical system as well as an unfair society, while being trained in hospitals. People who graduate from medical schools receive the training in a general hospital or a university hospital. Whereas the period of being an intern and resident doctor was positively appraised by Jongjin and Seungho, who were relatively older than other physicians in this study, this experience was negatively remembered by Yoosun and Minho.

Yoosun, who was trained in a university hospital, realized that specialties in the field of medicine were identified by power relations. Medicine with power meant earning lots of money and not having to work hard, such as cosmetic surgery, ear and throat medicine, and ophthalmology. Because many intern doctors desired to become medical specialists in these fields, becoming a resident doctor in these fields was very competitive. Yoosun, who chose family medicine as her specialty, said that she did not have to and did not want to take part in the keen competition. However, she expressed anger that her friends and senior physicians in other departments neglected her in this way:

> There are people who choose a major because they have an interest and like the subject they are studying. But the majority of the people usually choose a major that would give

> them an opportunity to comfortably earn a lot of money. I don't want to fall into the group that chooses a major just because it will earn them a lot of money. I chose family medicine over other majors because it was the closest thing to helping out society. My other classmates and professors would tell me that this is not a good subject to major in because this isn't considered a specialty major. I was angry over this. My other professors did not feel like they wanted to teach us either because it wasn't very important.

Yoosun remembered that she had not expressed any complaint in the training course for intern and resident doctors even though she had been treated with contempt. She explained, "The reason was that I was afraid that senior physicians in other medicines would be unwilling to teach medical knowledge and skills."

Minho, who was trained in a general hospital, criticized the system and culture of a hospital in Korean society. He claimed that the time when he was trained in a hospital was the hardest time mentally as well as physically. Minho remembered that time as follows:

> When I was a resident at the hospital, I realized that there was a difference between my sense of value or philosophy, and my practice at the hospital. The difference experiences I've had with the two made it quite difficult for me to accept. Truthfully, I have seen people who did not receive treatment because they had no money. I've also seen people who have been treated, but have not been treated properly. I have also seen patients who shouldn't have died, but because they had no money, they died anyway. It bothered me a great deal that I, as an individual, had no control or power to help these unfortunate people.

He said that all he could do for survival for five years in that painful situation was to do his best in order to be called "a physician of conscience" and "a physician of kindness" from patients. To

do this, he noted that he had spent his time with patients rather than physicians in hospital at that time.

Survival of the lawyers. Like the physicians, the lawyers faced unjust power relations in the Judicial Research and Training Institute. In Korea, people who passed the bar exam have to receive training in the institute for two years to attain the license of lawyer. The institute has a schedule similar to that of high school, and existing judges and prosecutors are in charge of teachers.

First, the lawyers criticized the curriculum of the training institute. The lawyers argued that the curriculum focused only on training for people who hoped to become judges or prosecutors, neglecting training for people who hoped to become lawyers. They noted that it could not be said any more that if people only passed the bar exam all of them could be employed. They explained the present situation for lawyers: The number of judicial apprentices in the training institute increased as the Ministry of Justice of Korea increased the number of successful applicants for the bar exam. However, of the number of existing law firms were not able to accommodate the increased number of judicial apprentices. In addition to the economic reason, a political reason influenced this phenomenon. Hyunsoo explained the reason why judicial apprentices hoped to become judges or prosecutors in terms of power relations:

> It seems cool when you are the judge or the prosecutor, hahaha. Although they do not earn as much money as an attorney, judges and prosecutors are powerful elite bureaucrats within the legal system of the state. Also, after these people serve the state as judges and prosecutors, they can enter into private practice and be granted the privileges of their former posts. Of course there are people who like being judges and prosecutors because

> of what they do. However, most people seem to want to become judges and prosecutors to attain power and prestige.

Even though the lawyers acknowledged this condition, they especially criticized that the curriculum excessively concentrated on training for judges and prosecutors. Heejung expressed the training courses as “the training without interest,” remembering that the training was “terrible.”

Second, the lawyers pointed out that the judicial apprentices were more and more competitive in the training institute and were unwilling to be involved in social issues. Because the selection for judges or prosecutors depended on the judicial apprentices’ achievement in the training institute, judicial apprentices should have studied very hard. According to Doehyun, who had been trained in the institute in the late 1980s, “At that time, the curriculum of the institute included various subject areas, such as like liberal arts, and the atmosphere was not competitive as it is today.” However the rest of the lawyers who were trained in the institute in the late 1990s pointed out that the keen competitive atmosphere among judicial apprentices was one of the problems.

For example, expressing that the training institute had a “warlike atmosphere,” Jihoon said, “I really disliked memorizing content which I was not interested in and taking examinations about them every day.” For this reason, he said that he had studied “just to the extent that I would not stay one more year in the training institute, looking forward to the graduation date.” Sunjoo pointed out that the judicial apprentices could have a “legal mind” but could lack a “social mind.” She explained that as follows:

> Judicial apprentices memorize all the statutes. They do not think about women's rights or disability rights because often, they don't care and/or they don't have time to care. This is

> because they have to attain achievement as good as possible. But how can you memorize a bunch of statutes and be expected to solve the complex problems of modern society? There are so many cases that deal with so many different issues.

Third, the lawyers criticized the relationship between the teachers and the judicial apprentices. For example, Jihoon discussed, "The hierarchal relationship is inevitable as long as the teachers are senior judges and senior prosecutors and many judicial apprentices hope to become judges and prosecutors." Even expressing the training institute as "a hotbed of vice in the field of law," Heejung complained that general human relations prevailed in the training institute:

> You can say that there is a clique making culture among judicial apprentices at the training institute. They try very hard to become friendly and close to the various judges and prosecutors. And people from the same college or the same hometown form their own cliques. This is because when these apprentices become judges and lawyers, they can receive the benefits of being a part of a clique. It also helps them find jobs after they decide to enter private practice. These cliques share their cases and legal experiences among themselves.

She remembered, "I went to the training institute, thinking that it would be blessed unless I would be contaminated by the culture before graduating from the institute."

Struggles with Relationships

The participants struggled with relationships with different people. The group of people with whom the participants had relationships and had struggled is divided into three groups: professionals, activists, and clients.

Struggles with professionals. The participants had often had uncomfortable relationships with their colleagues. Some participants were blamed by their colleagues because of their activities and opinions, and some participants felt anguish concerning their friends who had no passion for social activism and social justice anymore.

The physicians experienced cultural suicide when they entered into a protest strike against the policy of the separation of pharmacy and clinic in 2000. According to Brookfield (1995), "Cultural suicide happens when people who make public their questioning of taken-for-granted assumption and expectations find themselves excluded from the culture that has defined and sustained them up to that point in their lives" (p. 235). At that time, APH, which the physicians had joined publicly, announced that it would not participate in the strike because it agreed with the policy. One of the main reasons that the physicians who participated in the strike had disagreed with the policy was that the policy of the separation of pharmacy and clinic meant an invasion of professionals' autonomy, whereas APH had argued that the policy was needed to sever the degenerate connection between physicians and pharmaceutical companies and to decrease physicians' corruption. Throughout that event, the number of members of APH decreased to one-third and members staying in APH were severely blamed by other physicians. The physicians in this study were also no exception.

Minho, Jongjin, Seungho, and Yoosun expressed that it was very painful to be ostracized by a group to which they belonged and to be shunned by colleagues with whom they had been familiar for a long time. Minho, who was an executive director in APH and had worked as a resident doctor in a hospital at that time, described the unfavorable circumstances which other members as well as he were under:

> Using real names, certain people on the internet would personally threaten certain doctors. Some of these doctors would receive actually have these threats carried out in real life. There were doctors who were physically battered. The society of doctors is very closed. From college until residency, these future doctors have to face and interact with one another for 10 years. However, at a certain moment when physicians' strike happened, some of these medical students or doctors become enemies or rivals. Sometimes emotions are involved and people can't get over it. I was fine because I thought that I could make friends who were not doctors, if I lost friends who were doctors. However, other doctors faced a lot of dilemmas because of the fact that they had to fight with friends who were doctors.

Minho also explained the process of "labeling" by other physicians:

> At that time, the medical society was debating what type of pragmatic solution there can be to resolve problems that boil within the medical community. They formed a group called APH to determine what kind of organization or system that needs to be put in place, whether to decide if doctors ought to have more autonomy in the responsibilities that they have in their occupation, or to allow them to have more autonomy in the market economy. There has been much support towards minimizing the achievement and control that these doctors have on the medical system. When this happened, people began labeling the doctors as socialists. However, in reality, these doctors were not socialists. There were a few socialists within the group, but this was not a group holding socialist ideals. Four years passed since that time and there is still some conflict and bad blood between different groups today.

Jongjin said that he had rarely attended the party of the alumni of medical school after that time because his friends' attitude toward him was changed from being favorable to being hostile. Seungho, who had played a leading role in forming APH, had experiences similar to those of Jongjin, and Seungho analyzed the change of attitudes of physicians in this way:

> Those medical school friends who helped the APH when it was formed turned our back on us. When I thought about this, this was how I interpreted it. First, it required a lot of devotion to do this kind of work for public service, which was very difficult to do. Secondly, you had to lower your class and rank, and to give up profiting off your career to devote yourself to social activism. That was the most difficult of all things to do. Furthermore, it was difficult to come to a new realization and understanding about the society we live in. If we just say that we are doing public service, that is easy to do. But when we have to give up more than just doing public service like the APH wanted them to, they started opposing this because they took something away from them that they valued, namely, their rank and class in society, along with earning lots of money. They started turning their backs on us because of these reasons.

Doehyun, a lawyer, had the same opinion as Seungho's. Doehyun noted, "If lawyers in LDS officially announced that they need to increase the number of lawyers, many lawyers would blame LDS, because increasing the number of lawyers means their being deprived of their own rice bowls."

Although the lawyers in this study did not discuss experiences concerning cultural suicide as did the physicians, they expressed being sorry that their friends who had been involved in student activism were not interested in social activism anymore. Jihoon remembered two friends as follows:

> Last year, there was an incident where a [labor movement organization]'s leaders were taken to jail. When I went to help them out, I met a prosecutor whom I knew. At one time she was in the labor movement with me. The court ruled against the labor movement in favor of the corporations. After the court session ended, I met the upperclassmen from the college I graduated from. He used to be involved in the railroad workers labor movement before becoming a lawyer. These days, he just works as an every day lawyer. I felt a bit strange over all of this. Meeting those people who used to be involved in the labor movement made me think for a long time. I can't blame them because they chose their way of living. But I felt discouraged for a while when these former labor activists would give up and choose to live ordinary lives. I sometimes wonder why they chose to give up being involved in social activism.

Heejung also remembered some friends who worked in a big law firm:

> They who was student activists believed that their faith and thoughts would not change, even though they would work for a big law firm. But they had to change because those law firms strictly controlled over their lawyers. Some law firms dislike that their lawyers join LDS as well as to be involved in social activism. I feel at a loss when they think they won't change as they go to these firms. But when they are there for about two months, they completely change. I do not believe in believing in yourself too much because, as a person, it is really hard to completely believed in yourself and know that you aren't being fooled.

Struggles with activists. The participants maintained close relationships with social activists in the field of social movements in which the participants were active. Although the participants and social activists had participated in social activism together, and shared similar

interests and thoughts concerning social justice, the relationships between them were not always friendly.

First, the activists often did not trust the professionals who were involved in social activism. Yoosun's experience shows an example of this situation. Yoosun has been active in arranging health care for runaway girls with several physicians since 2001. At that time, the activists in the organization had not been favorable to the physicians until one year after the physicians started being involved in the shelter. Yoosun recalled those days as follows:

> At first, the activists in the shelter did not believe that we would be there for long. They thought that we [the physicians] would treat the girls for a while before becoming tired of it and pursuing their own interests. For a year, we tried to dispel these stereotypes about us by calling them constantly and helping them. It was three long hard years in gaining the trust of the activists.

Second, unlike the first case, the excessively humble attitudes of activists towards professionals often gave rise to problems in the relationships between activists and professionals. For example, Jihoon, a lawyer, described the attitudes of activists in this way:

> I wish the activists would have some confidence in dealing with professionals like lawyers. The activists always seem too humble. I believe these activists know more about activism than the lawyers do. The only thing they do not know is the legal mumbo jumbo that these lawyers deal with on a daily basis to get things cranking in the legal system. The activists do not have any reason to put the lawyer on a pedestal. To put it simply, these activists need to use these professionals to their full advantage. I think they allow these professionals too much leeway and autonomy to do whatever they want to do. They also depend on them too much. When these lawyers go join a activist group, they often

> take the most important positions of that group. Pretty soon, there is a talk of making the lawyer the chairman of the group. This is a problem.

Jihoon pointed out that the humble attitudes of activists could be bad for both professionals and activists in the long run because the attitude could form a mechanism to easily make professionals arrogant toward and cause them to neglect activists.

Third, the uncomfortable relationships between the participants and activists were often caused not only by the attitudes of activists but also by those of the participants. Although the participants were involved in social activism, the ways that they participated in social activism often created problems in their understanding each other. For example, Sunjoo, a lawyer, explained this kind of experience:

> For the professionals, most of them tend to give advice as outside counsel and not as an in house counsel. As a result, there isn't much of a chance to get to know one another closely. The lawyer does not know what kind of problems that these activists are suffering from. Social activists talk with underprivileged people, and make efforts to improve their problems. We, as lawyers, tend to just provide the activists with legal knowledge related to cases they bring. In other words, we tend to be in the rear, and we think that it is natural. But the lawyers can't sometimes understand what these activists suffer from. I was like that in the beginning.

Sunjoo added that this kind of way of professionals' participating in social activism meant "lowering themselves to be technicians."

Struggles with clients. The participants reported that there were difficulties in the relationships between the participants and clients. They in particular talked about their underprivileged clients. The participants had passionately and heartily served these

underprivileged clients more than anyone else, for these people were the oppressed and the discriminated against. Despite this, some participants said that they had occasionally uncomfortable relationships with individual clients who were underprivileged. Minho, Sunjoo, Yoosun, and Jongjin talked about several episodes with the clients and their thoughts about them.

Minho, Sunjoo, and Yoosun stated that the underprivileged as a group were in conflict with the underprivileged person as an individual, and the conflict made the participants disappointed. Minho specialized in industrial medicine for laborers in factories. He generally explained the conflict between people such as laborers in theory and those in reality:

> As a college student, when we think about laborers, we have these images of them being leaders and fighters for freedom, honor, etc. who are the core class of our society. I was like that as well. But when you meet these laborers, they are not like the people we envision in our imaginations. They are people who are just like us; they cry when they hurt, they laugh when they are happy, and they have the same blood and bones. Even though we ought to have known this, I was a bit disappointed that these people were the same like us.

Sunjoo and Yoosun described relevant episodes in detail. Sunjoo had been involved in social activism for the rights of prisoners since she became a lawyer. However, she noted that when those whom she had defended and released were imprisoned again later, she felt frustrated. Sunjoo said, “I often wondered if it was necessary that I serve that kind of people, although I realized that crimes were caused by the social system rather than by the character of the individual.”

Yoosun had worked in a hospital for industrial disaster victims for three years. Most patients suffered from chemical disasters in factories. Yoosun remembered several patients suffering from chemical disasters:

> At this hospital, we have a lot of people addicted to carbon disulfide. These people are not supposed to drink alcohol. But there are patients who drink alcohol and are hospitalized daily. At first, I tried to understand where they were coming from. This was people the government did not recognize the problem they were suffering from and they were given small support from the government, which made it hard for them to survive economically. But because they would continue to drink two or three years later, even after telling them many times not to drink, I got tired of them.

Jongjin remembered uncomfortable relationships with patients at the time when he opened the regional hospital. At that time, he had believed that it would be a good idea to persuade many patients who came to the hospital to participate in "desirable activism for the regional community." However, he said that the thought had made his relationships with patients awkward:

> When I am doing this work, I realize that reality was very different from what I planed and expected. The people who come to the hospital just want to be treated for their illness rather than to hear anything about social activism. For those patients I became close with, I would sometimes talk to them about the various social activist issues I am dealing with. Some of them didn't like me talking about it and others didn't have time to participate in it. I was so disappointed. I had this thought that they'd be interested in the social activist issues I was involved in. But all they wanted to do at the hospital was receive medical

> treatment. And because they declined to participate in these social activist issues, some of them stopped coming to the hospital.

Jongjin added that he had often thought that he had better form a community movement organization separated from the hospital.

In summary of the third section, the participants struggled with identity, survival in training institutes and relationships with other professionals, activists, and clients. First, although the participants identified themselves as activists, professionals, or employees in the workplace, those identities were not established and independent of each other, but were interlocking and constantly changing. Second, the participants struggled for survival in training institutes, which were governed by the culture of the mainstream of the Korean society. Third, the participants also struggled with relationships with those whom they had met in attempting to connect professionalism and activism. The participants often experienced cultural suicide or felt disappointed with their professional friends who were not interested in social justice anymore. Occasionally, social activists distrusted the participants and had an excessively humble attitude toward the participants. The participants' technical participation in social activism often created problems in communication between the participants and activists.

Negotiating the Struggles

As mentioned above, the participants had some trouble in connecting between professionalism and activism. In spite of these problems, the participants have been involved in social activism and at the same time they continued their professional works for several years. They used various strategies in order to negotiate the struggles.

Finding an Appropriate Specialty and Place to Work

As the participants decided to become professionals and came to be interested in social activism, the first problems that they confronted were choosing the appropriate specialty and workplace. In their choices, the participants considered social activism and social justice. The participants made an effort to find an appropriate specialty and place to work for crystallizing their thoughts and interests of social justice. The participants did not want that their specialties and their workplaces to be isolated from their thoughts and faith.

Specialties. Physicians chose specialties in the field of medicine when they were trained as interns and resident doctors. Unlike physicians, lawyers do not have an official specialty, generally speaking. While the physicians in this study, except Seungho, had an official specialty, only Hyunsoo among the lawyers had a formal specialty. Seungho could not be trained as an intern and resident doctor. Although he attempted to apply to a university hospital to receive training as an intern and resident doctor, the hospital asked him not to apply to the hospital and he gave it up. He said that in the 1980s most hospitals were unwilling to train people who had ever been involved in student activism like him, considering them as “trouble makers.” That is why Seungho has no official medical specialty. When the physicians in this study chose what they would specialize in, they considered which specialty would contribute to their social activism and what their own personal preference was.

Yoosun is a medical specialist of family medicine. She decided to specialize in family medicine when she was taking a regular medical course in medical school. She spoke about two reasons why she chose the specialty:

> When I was taking classes for medical school, there were a tendency to think that whoever choosing a "money making field" is a betrayer among my classmates. I of

> course, thought the same way too. Also, the other reason was that I thought it [family medicine] is crucial to understand patients in general. Internal medicine was in that line, but I did not like the fact that you are required to stay in the hospital most of the time. Therefore, I chose family medicine.

Although Yoosun was turned down by physicians in other areas of medical practice because of her specialty when she was trained as a resident doctor, she was proud of the fact that she had specialized in family medicine. She explained the merits of family medicine related to social activism as follows:

> Among the doctors who are involved in social movement organizations, there are quite a few numbers of doctors who's in the family medical field. The pediatrists in my hospital do also volunteer for social movement organizations, but they talk of the different mindset of family medical doctors. They told me that even when they work for these organizations, they never thought about public health system. For us, from the text book, we [family medicine doctors] learned about the regional health system, and then the first medical prevention system academically and we move on to think about various problems that the patients have, and the job as doctors to provide help for these sorts of problems for the public consistently.

Jongjin chose internal medicine as his specialty for a reason similar to Yoosun's. He believed that "a comprehensive medicine" would be necessary to contribute to community activism. Although he thought about family medicine and internal medicine, the latter was Jongjin's "personal preference."

Minho specialized in industrial medicine. He stated, "I wanted to become a physician who would be active in society." His choice of specialty was also affected by his thought that he

was willing to reject prevailing market-oriented and authoritative culture of the hospital. He explained in more detail the reason why he had chosen industrial medicine:

> Industrial medicine is not a field that doctors normally specialize in. It's about meeting the workers, preventing accidents from workplace, or changing the work environments. I wanted to be a doctor who consistently interacts with the society and be involved in social activities. Of course the doctors who treat patients at the hospital do have significant meanings but I thought I wouldn't be good at it. It also seemed boring, and most of all, I didn't think that I would fit in to the whole hospital culture. That is why I decided to major in Industrial medicine. In my department, it is rare to work in the hospital even if you are hired by the hospital.

The lawyers in this study, except Hyunsoo, had been in charge not only of various cases related to social movements but also of ordinary cases. Hyunsoo specializes in environmental law in a graduate school and works in a legal center connected with an environmental movement organization. He also plans to study environmental law abroad after completing the master's program. He decided to specialize in environmental law when he was in the Judicial Research and Training Institute. He explained the reason as follows:

> I think I always had the sensitivity for nature. That is probably the most significant reason why I decided to major in Environmental Law. I have had some opportunities to meet with the environmental activists when I was in training and we had talked about various environmental problems. From these discussions, I came to realize that while it is necessary to have active movements by these activists, what is really needed is somebody who will link these actions into words, who will institutionalize these movements. So I thought being a lawyer who specializes in Environmental Law is worthwhile.

Place to work. The participants found workplaces which fit their beliefs and which were interested in social activism. All of the physicians, except Minho, work for hospitals related to social activism. Minho had no workplace as a professional because he served in the Korean Army as an army surgeon. However, he mentioned that he planned to find work in special hospitals for industrial disaster victims or in institutes of labor policies.

Seungho and Yoosun have already worked in hospitals for industrial disaster victims. After attaining a medical license, Seungho with his friends intentionally opened a small hospital which was in a region near an industrial complex, and he managed the hospital for eighteen years. In 2003, he was employed as the director of a big hospital for industrial disaster victims. At that time, his family and friends dissuaded him from accepting the position for the reason that it would require hard work, and he also worried about people criticizing him: “Seungho likes a high position and power, too.” However, he decided to work as a director in the hospital because he believed, “A big hospital can do what a small hospital can’t do.”

Seungho’s small hospital was famous among medical students who were interested in social justice and social activism. Yoosun also hoped to work in the hospital, when she was in a regular medical course in of a medical school. She remembered that at that time, not only Yoosun but also other medical students who were interested in social activism discussed what kind of hospital they would work in. She described the situation in this way:

> As long as I am working, I thought I might as well work for a place where it is socially active. To be frank, there aren't many except for few. A few upper classmen who were student activists while they were in medical school also went through deep soul searching and were afflicted at what kind of doctors will they become and how will they affront their thirties. So they were searching for hospitals related to social activism even when

> they were in medical school. They searched high and low, and place to place. We just followed the steps they already made. What's amazing about these guys is that whenever they need to prepare for something new, they would always meet up and talked about it. Thus, the "Graduation Preparation Committee" was born. I came across with this hospital for industrial disaster victims via one of those committee members.

After completing the training, Jongjin with his friends opened a small hospital in a region where poor people lived. Like Seungho, Jongjin stated that he intentionally selected that region "to much more understand their life and to consistently provide medical service for them."

All of the lawyers except Doehyun attempted to find employment with a pro-LDS law firm upon finishing the training in the Judicial Research and Training Institute. At first, Doehyun opened his own law firm because he did not like to work as a member of an organization. However, opening his eyes to social movements, he came to join a social movement organization and to move to a pro-LDS law firm. He explained the reason:

> I moved my workplace to here at this firm because of a strong persuasion to have me on board by a member of this firm's starting partners. There are 27 lawyers now, but when we started there were only 7 of us including me. Their philosophies were quite similar and right now all of us are under LDS so I gladly joined them. Basically I didn't like to join an organization but I thought, "This place won't be too bad."

Now, Doehyun has worked in the law firm for over ten years, and he says, "That was a good decision."

For Heejung, Jihoon, Sunjoo, and Hyunsoo, their first workplace was a pro-LDS law firm. Although Hyunsoo moved to a legal center connected with an environmental movement organization, the other three lawyers still stay in their first workplace. Hyunsoo said that when

completing the training of the Judicial Research and Training Institute, he planned to work in a law firm to learn general and practical knowledge of law for a couple of years and then move to work in an environmental movement organization. He believed that he "should learn in the field where problems happen in order to solve those problems." That was why Hyunsoo moved to the legal center.

Heejung, Jihoon, and Sunjoo said that they were struggling with identity as employees of law firms. Indeed, no matter how much pro-LDS law firms were interested in social activism, they were not non-profit, but profit organizations. For that reason, those law firms had to deal with various cases as well as cases relevant to social activism. Although these three lawyers expressed suffering from the duty and responsibility as employees in the law firms, they also acknowledged that their law firms gave consideration to their activities in social activism. For example, Sunjoo stated, "A senior lawyer in this law firm encouraged me, saying that this law firm to some degree contributed to public interests due to my activities." Sunjoo was also proud of her law firm which made various efforts to keep being involved in social activism. She described the efforts as follows:

> My office is divided into departments according to their related business such as Business Finance, Litigation, and Intellectual Property Rights. Recently, we made a new department for Public Affairs. This team is made up with individuals who are especially interested in this particular field. We gather them around and made it clear that we will share information for what is happening in the Public Affairs department even when they work for their own departments. Moreover, recently we made a Fund for Public Affairs. There are times when we receive funds unexpectedly or we get compensated extra for lawsuits. We thought that we need to give back to community so from time to time we

> support for research programs and if there is a good cause, we invite people for seminars and help them financially. These are some activities we administer in order to attract people to get involved more in public affairs. So that we can share problems together and hopefully come up with some solutions. I think this is what makes us proud to work here. Now isn't this sound good?

Self-Reflection and Self-Regulation

The participants who chose specialties and places to work in order to contribute to social activism negotiated the struggles in attempting to connect between professionalism and activism through self-reflection and self-regulation. These factors of self-reflection and self-regulation kept the participants involved in social activism.

Self-reflection. The participants kept being involved in social activism even though they were confronted with various problems throughout their life. Self-reflection was an important factor in the participants' on-going participation in social activism. Heejung and Jongjin attempted to clarify their identity through self-reflection. Heejung expressed her "suffering from coming to belong to the mainstream in society." She argued that it was important to contemplate her social position in this way:

> I finally became a lawyer, and now I am married so generally speaking, I no longer belong to a minority except the fact that I am a female. I became a member of majority in society. One's being defines their consciousness. Because now I am a part of majority, I fear that I am at a point in my life where my consciousness can be altered at any moment. I fear that it will happen so I am nervous all the time. I think that unless I think, try and act on it consistently, I am in a position where I can be change easily. I believe that it is necessary to be stricter at the way you think and act when everything is well.

For Jongjin, like Heejung, self-reflection played an important role in his deciding to identify himself as an activist when he was in conflict with the aspiration to be a physician or an activist. Jongjin said that in the last two or three years he had seriously asked himself questions such as “For what do I live?” and “How should I live?” Through those questions, he came to realize that he was more satisfied with his identity as an activist than that of a physician. In addition, through the process of self-reflection, he clarified the focus of his future activities as a social activist. He stated that he would focus on the issues of “community” and “poverty.” He described the process of his self-reflection as follows:

> Many people who were involved in the social activism in my generation had the goal in socialism. When it was collapsed, they were lost and confused. I do not totally agree with the ideas related to socialism, but even I was a little disturbed. So, I tried to read books on philosophy and ventured out to religions to find a more fundamental answer. And the answer after this exhausting search, for me was in the “Community.” And I realized that the works I've done at [name of his community movement organization] was that a community was all about. So that leaded me to examine if my works in this region contributed on building a better community. The answer was “no.” I've tried to incorporate many different kinds of program for different kind of people but as it turns out only the people who were living a decent life were participating and the poor people didn’t even had the room to listen to what are available for them. So I came to a conclusion that in order to build a better community, we need to concentrate on bettering the life of poor people.

Self-reflection was an important factor not only in the participants’ contemplating their own identity but also in the participants’ staying involved in social activism. Seungho has had

many problems while participating in social activism: being arrested and tortured by police, being expelled from a medical school, being rejected for training to become a medical specialist, being ostracized from colleagues after physicians' strike, and so on. Despite those hardships, Seungho has been active in social activism for over 30 years. He noted that his motto was "Shindok (愼獨), which means that even though I am alone, I don't stray from the path of righteousness. He said that he sometimes asked himself the question "Am I really doing the right things?" He said that through the self-reflection, he came to have more and more confidence of his activities. Seungho also thought about "What is the power which has driven me until now?" He explained the power as follows:

> I did not come this far as one great power, but at first, I started out of pure curiosity as college student. I started with the question, "what is this all about?" then I became anger. "This can't be right." The next step that moved me was conviction and responsibility. The feeling of responsibility when you hold a patient who is in great pain or when you see people who face such despair moves you immensely. I think being involved in social movements became my second nature. Then I started a vision on the "dream of better future." Now I truly believe that my life is worthwhile because I am actively involved in social movements. Looking back in time, I can proudly say that my life was valuable and I tell myself that I will continue what I do now until the day I die.

Minho also stated that he asked himself the question "Are my activities right for me?" Minho was especially familiar with religious self-reflection in that, according to him, he sometimes thought about "What is the life which God wants for me? Do I live a life which pleases God?" He said, "I can answer 'yes' to the question. That's why I can go on this way even though my physician friends turned their backs on me."

Self-regulation. The participants not only mentally controlled themselves through self-reflection but also physically controlled themselves through self-regulation in negotiating various struggles. The ways of self-regulation were different between relatively young and relatively old generation among the participants. Six participants in their thirties told me that they had made efforts "not to associate with" ordinary physicians or lawyers as much as possible. For example, Jihoon discussed the reason:

> I told myself not to fall into the trap of thinking or justifying things in the same manner as this group. Surely, every group has their ways of justification and this group [lawyers] in particular has their own way of justification. If I am not to fall into that trap, I needed to not mingle with them... A few colleagues from Judicial Research and Training Institute are playing golf together these days and asked me to join them. But I never went. I was afraid that if I hang out with these lawyers and spend time with them, I might start to think like them who call themselves as the "social elites."

Three participants in their forties or fifties spoke about their thorough time management and control of their own energy as the ways of self-regulation. Doehyun said that he advised young lawyers who were involved in social activism in this way: "It is important for you to be enthusiastically active in social activism when you are young. But in order not to be exhausted, you should control your energy." He added, "There is nothing which you can maintain if you work so hard that you want to quit it." He said that for that reason, he, as a lawyer, could have been involved in social activism for over ten years.

Seungho and Jongjin said that thorough time management was important to live healthy with a tight schedule. Jongjin noted that he came to realize that since his health was not good a couple of years ago. He described his schedule as follows:

> I consider myself to be very organized when it comes to scheduling. Some people think that maybe I am a little over the top. But I have quite a few businesses that I am in charge so in order to handle them responsibly, I need to be extremely organized. There just isn't other way... I try to schedule things that I can keep up with. I wasn't feeling well this year so I only see patients in the morning these days. Instead, I start my day at 7am. I start at 7am and finish work before noon and come over here [his community movement organization] and stay until around 6pm and then unless something's up, I go home and work out everyday. But afternoons are the busiest time in this kind of work [related to social activism]. Even the meetings are in the afternoon. In days like that, I try to go home at least by 9pm. For exercising, I don't smoke nor do I drink. On weekends, I normally kick back and relax at home.

Making Communities

The participants negotiated various struggles they confronted within relationships with colleagues, activists, and underprivileged clients. On the one hand, being involved in these communities gave rise to trouble for the participants; on the other hand, it was the communities that sustained their doing two things at the same time throughout the participants' life: activities as a professional and activities as an activist.

Communities with activists and underprivileged clients. The participants said that they often had trouble in their relationships with activists and underprivileged clients. Despite this, the participants said that the close and consistent relationships with them was the force for maintaining their activities in their professional field and those of social activism.

Heejung was in the Labor Party and several feminism movement organizations for several years. She had suffered from her identity as just a member of mainstream society.

Regarding this situation, she said, “the Labor Party and feminism movement organizations are the field of salvation of my depraved condition.” She explained the meaning of social movement organizations in this way:

> Even though LDS is a group with lawyers who share similar thoughts, it is a group with only the lawyers. Unless we work closely with several social movement organizations, I am not sure if we could have done all these good works throughout these years. In that sense, I think it is crucial to work with these organizations closely even for each individuals. I believe that these organizations are giving me the opportunities to use my knowledge to help people. I am grateful and can't thank them enough for just being there.

In addition, for Heejung, the conversation with the social minority is a path to understanding their unfavorable situations and at the same time a device for self-reflection. She argued the significance of conversations with women in feminism movement organizations in this way:

> Talking with people who visit this feminism movement organization, I learn a lot from listening to their difficult everyday life and their harsh reality. As a female, I can relate myself to these stories that I never experienced before and I can feel their pain. Sometimes I cry with them and get even angry from the stories that I hear. Also talking with them makes me realize that there are things that are problematic which I have not noticed before; things that I just took in without any doubts or reasoning.

Like Heejung, Sunjoo emphasized solidarity with activists in social movement organizations. She, who was interested in problems of prisons, had been involved in a human rights movement organization since she became a lawyer. Discussing and taking actions on issues relevant to prisons with the activists gave her the energy to continue and not be exhausted. Sunjoo described her solidarity with the activists in the organization as follows:

> In the beginning, I was just interested in the issues related to prison and that's when an activist asked me to take a case. So after taking the case, I started to take a closer look at these issues with other activists. Many people do get discouraged often not only because of the theoretical aspect of it but because of the question they ask themselves such as “Do I really need to help this person out? Is this person worth saving?” We face many problems so we discuss in length for how to overcome those obstacles and how to develop a more positive view in general not only related to a person but to a whole system. Those people who engaged in the discussion back then give me much strength so I won’t give up. Last year, some of us carried out an abrogation on [name of a law]. In the beginning, we were skeptical if we will make any difference but not I think about it, we certainly did. The Justice departments although they did not completely abort it; they did promise that they will come up with a legislation that will replace it.

Hyunsoo works in a legal center connected with an environmental movement organization, and his office is located in the building of the organization. Thus, Hyunsoo could more frequently communicate with activists than any of the other participants. He emphasized the importance of on-going discussion between professionals and activists in establishing a system:

> As you can see, I am hired by [name of an environmental movement organization], and work here full time which in a way, makes it easier for me to discuss about various issues more effectively with the activists. The point of view as lawyers and as activists can be quite different. There are numbers of limitations in reality, so sometimes we feel it's better to back off at certain degree, or we have different approaches to ideas given as to the ways to institutionalize it. So I am actually discussing these matters from inside with

> the activists consistently. After several discussions, we start to understand more about the real problems that the activists face and they get to know more about the legal limitations that we have to deal with.

In addition, Hyunsoo argued that it was important to have an informal close relationship with the activists. He said that when he started to work at the legal center, he decided "not to act like a person in high status to the activists." He described the relationship with the activists in this way:

> I told myself when I began working here that I will not expect to receive a special hospitality as "the lawyer." Also, if you don't meet with the activists often, they of course, feel distant but I see them and mingle with them everyday so they take me in as just one of them. And of course, because of my age, they just treat me as a youngster. So now they perceive me as just a person with a law degree.

Informal close relations with activists have also made Doehyun participate in a social movement organization for ten years. He said that he could not leave the organization "because of full-time activists who worked hard" and "because of the friendly relations with the activists."

Communities with professionals. Communities with professionals who shared thoughts about social activism were an important factor in the participants' negotiating various problems which they encountered to attempt to connect professionalism with activism. The participants shared their interests in social activism and talked about their difficulties in formal and informal communities with other professionals.

Above all, the participants thought that it was natural for them to join in progressive professional organizations such as APH and LDS. Seungho participated in building APH in 1987. He said, "I thought that it needed to collect the power of physicians who were interested in social justice at that time." Joinjin joined APH in 1987, and Minho joined APH immediately on

attaining the license for physicians in 1999. Interestingly, Yoosun joined APH in 2000 when many physicians blamed the organization because it announced that it disagreed with the physicians' strike. She explained the reason in this way:

> In the year 2000, when the strike by the doctors occurred, I thought as many young doctors did at that time, this is a beginning of a "medical revolution" due to the wrongful criticisms by the government on medical policy. However, I started to wonder who exactly was this strike for after reading the demands made by the medical professions and watching the scene where not being able to arouse enough sympathy of the patients or the public made me start to regret about the whole thing. Fundamentally, I thought the medical professions lacked in self-examination. Around that time, I believe APH was raising their voices on self-examination. The medical professions around this time almost madly was throwing the list of doctors at APH open to the public with madness of McCarthyism and started to neglect and leave people out. What pushed me to make the decision to join APH was that it seemed important to preserve a party who brings up an issue like this to surface.

She added, "I thought I could do better work when I joined a group in which good people get together rather than working alone."

All of the lawyers except Doehyun also entered LDS immediately on attaining the license for lawyers. Being interested in human rights movements after becoming a lawyer a couple of years later, Doehyun became a member of LDS. The lawyers stated that it was reasonable for professionals who were interested in social activism to join communities of progressive professionals. For example, Heejung explained the power of LDS in this way:

> In the eye of the public, we are the majority but in the lawyers' world, we are the minority. Therefore, unless we gather up and become one, we cannot show our ability. There are certain limitations on what you can do as an individual. When each individual gathers around and joins in on raising a voice together, that's when the society notices us and we help each other. Also people perceive me as a member of LDS so I tried to keep up to act and talk likes one. So joining LDS was only natural next step for me to make.

The informal relationships with other lawyers or physicians with whom the participants shared the same interest in social activism were also an important factor in negotiating the struggles for the participants. When Minho struggled to survive in the hospital in which he was trained as an intern and a resident doctor, his sole support was the other physicians who had participated in student activism with him. At that time, the physicians also received the training for interns and resident doctors. Minho explained how he had made a special effort to survive in the training as follows:

> Back then [while I was an intern and resident] I did not have many routes to outside contact because I was in the hospital all the time. So I tried very hard to stay in touch with outside world. What I could do at that time was to keep in touch with my classmates and upper classmen with the medical school. It seemed almost impossible to have a close contact with any particular social movement organization back then so we met up and discussed on what was going on in our heads to maintain our interests of social activism.

Jihoon also emphasized the relationships with old friends who had participated with him in student activism. He was disappointed by friends who had participated in student activism with him but who did nothing related to social activism anymore. However, Jihoon believed that

it was important to maintain the relationship with friends who had been active in student activism together. He explained the importance of the relationship in this way:

> I tell my friends in law and even people who is not in law that it is crucial to keep the close tie with people who were involved in student movements in the past. Once you let go of the tie, they become so distant that you can't go back to what it used to be. Even if you are not involved in social movements, I tell people that it's important to meet up with them at least once a month so when you do want to go back, then you can easily do so. Also doing so, they can inspire you. In my case, right after I passed the bar exam I tried to rekindle the close relationship with them.

Sunjoo noted that the informal community with several female lawyers in LDS and the consistent support of colleagues in the law firm were important sources of support to keep her involved in social activism. She said that the female lawyers shared their own experiences and thoughts with each other, and this was quite helpful for one another. In addition, Sunjoo described the support of colleagues in the law firm as follows:

> For me, peer support is a crucial element. Like I already mentioned it earlier, my work place is great. The lawyers in my office help me out in various way; mentally, physically and financially. I think that support was a key factor for me to continue with what I do. I believe in making peace and at first, I felt like I couldn't continue if I get hurt while dealing with people. The same rule applies to the relationship with the activists and with my colleague lawyers. I believe that I could go on because of all of these people who shared a common goal and us working together.

Learning from Role Models and Mentors

The participants learned what kind of professionals and activists they should become from role models and mentors. Because the participants struggled with their identity as professionals and activists, they found their role models and mentors among professionals and among activists. A characteristic of the professionals that the participants considered as their role models and mentors was the consonance between professionalism and activism. Yoosun thought of Seungho and a chief director of APH as her role models. She talked about Seungho as follows:

> Dr. Seungho Kim always made a place to work for people like me who are interested in social movements and as a doctor; he demonstrates what a doctor can do for the society. He opened [name of hospital] and was very much involved in building the APH so that younger doctors could actively involve in the social movement. Even after he became the director at [name of hospital] he continues to provide a place to younger doctors. I always hope that when I get old, I would be more like him.

She also talked about a chief director of APH as follows:

> Doctor [name] is a famous author in the medical field, a chief director at APH. He's quite well known among medical doctors. One of his greatest achievements is making separate children's hospital in Korea. He also introduced family medicine and marked several corner stones in medical field in Korea. When I first saw him at APH, I did not know that he was involved in social activism at all and that's when I thought "Ah, Doc. [name] is the role model as a doctor what people and I dream of."

Heejung and Jihoon also spoke about their role models: senior lawyers who had been active in social activism under long dictatorships. Heejung said, "Those lawyers' indomitable activities under coercible dictatorship were worthy of looking up to." Jihoon also thought of

those lawyers as "courageous lawyers" who asserted social justice and democracy when most lawyers acquiesced in oppressive dictatorship. Heejung and Jihoon hoped to become lawyers who would not give up their passion for social justice and social change no matter how unfavorable the circumstances might be.

Hyunsoo and Doehyun considered as their role models lawyers who were a crucial influence on their becoming involved in social activism. When Hyunsoo was in law school, he was deeply impressed by a book, *A Critical Biography of Chun Tai-il*, the life of a factory laborer who killed himself by setting himself afire, asserting the importance of labor rights and of better working conditions in 1970, and who started to be interested in a lawyer who was the author of the book. Hyunsoo said that he read different books and articles which the lawyer wrote and articles on the lawyer in law school, and the lawyer has been a role model for Hyunsoo ever since. He said, "I want to be a lawyer who lives altruistically like him."

Doehyun started to be interested in social activism after being deeply impressed by a lawyer who was enthusiastically active in social activism. Doehyun joined a social movement organization after the lawyer's solicitation and has been involved in the social movement organization with the lawyer for about ten years. The lawyer was a role model and a mentor of Doehyun. Doehyun explained the reason why he respected the lawyer as follows:

> [name of a lawyer] invested his entire asset to start [name of a social movement organization] and was involved in it very much. Once this organization settled down and its foundation solid, he resigned his position here and moved on to a next social movement project. His last words before leaving were that it's not good for an organization to be operated by a single individual for a long time. As you already know, the new organization he started is booming and operating actively. He demonstrates an

> ideal way of carrying out the social movements. He does not stop at thinking but actually bring his ideas out to action. He is a man of action and I always envy his power of execution.

Sunjoo considered a senior lawyer in her law firm as her role model and mentor. Identifying the lawyer as "a multi-player," she described him in this way:

> He has more than 20 years of experience in practicing law. However, even after those long 20 years of practicing, I do not think that he ever became stereotyped. People with those kind of experiences tend to avoid on taking small cases; cases where there won't make much profit, or cases with public affairs. I can't really tell you why. Maybe they think that they've done enough so that now it's time for younger generation to take over or they might be just plain exhausted. But he still is very passionate like a rookie and he also makes money, Hahaha... And I think he has an eye for looking into the deepest part of people's hearts. When I became a lawyer he was the one encourage me not to overlook people's any complaints or to fail to notice small cases every way possible.

She said that his encouragement became an inspiration to her whenever she was mentally and physically exhausted by both of the activities of lawyer and those of activist.

Several participants identified various activists as their role models or mentors. The activists as mentors taught the participants about what social activism really is. Heejung's mentor is a male senior whom she came to know in law school. He is active in ecology movements in a rural area, and has given up being a lawyer. She described him as follows:

> This upper classman I know entered law school and kept on studying until he experience the '87 June upspring then completely changed as a new person. Now he is a very active social activist. To put it in one sentence, he is a person who moves people through words

> and actions. Whatever he does, everywhere he goes, he forms families. Although these are not blood related, while doing something right or being involved in social activism he always forms a community. Some years ago, he moved to country with some labors who he had met in labor movements and now he is involved in ecology movement. He is my mental pillar. His life is an inspiration for me as well as an encouragement.

Sunjoo and Doehyun identified activists in a human right movement organization as their mentors. Sunjoo described activists who were her mentors as "people who always showed new models of activists with flexible thoughts." She said that through the communication with the activists she could reflect what kind of attitude to take in social activism. Doehyun talked about an activist who is a representative of a human rights movement. According to Doehyun, the activist is "a principle-oriented person" and "a person who put everything into actions." Because of this activist, Doehyun started being interested in social activism and has defended the activist in prison in several times. Doehyun said, "Activities of the activist always stimulated my thoughts and actions in social activism."

In summary, although the participants encountered various problems in connecting professionalism with activism, they negotiated these problems, using different strategies. The first strategy was to find a professional specialty and a place to work in which the participants could actualize their thoughts about social justice. The second strategy was to use self-reflection and self-regulation in order to maintain their interest of social justice and social activism and to properly control their mental and physical energy. The third strategy was to make and maintain communities with activists, clients in the underprivileged, and professionals who shared the interest of social justice. The last strategy was to directly or indirectly learn not only the ways of

negotiating the struggles but also general attitudes toward life and social activism from professionals and activists who were role models or mentors.

Chapter Summary

This chapter looked at the findings for three research questions. The questions were about the motivation for becoming professionals and activists, struggles in connecting professionalism with activism, and negotiation of those struggles. The findings showed four themes related to the research questions. First, the patriarchal Korean culture influenced the participants' motivation for becoming professionals. Second, the atmosphere of the times, significant others, experiences of student activism and personal characteristics made the participants be involved in social activism. Third, the main struggles which the participants encountered in connecting professionalism with activism were about their identity, life in the training institute where dominant norms and values prevailed, and relationships with other professionals, activists, and clients in underprivileged groups. Fourth, the participants negotiated the struggles through finding relevant specialties and places to work in social activism; consistently conducting self-reflection and self-regulation; making and maintaining communities with professionals, activists, and clients in the underprivileged group; and learning from role models and mentors who were professionals or activists.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

The experiences of the professionals in this study support previous findings from the literature on professionals, adult education, and social movements. At the same time, they also challenge some previous notions about learning and activities of professionals. This chapter presents a summary of the research design and the findings, the major conclusion of the study and a discussion of the conclusion, and implications for practices and research.

Summary of the Study

The debate on professionals has been one of the key issues in the field of adult education. Continuing professional education, which has become one area of adult education, focuses on improving the competence of professionals (Houle, 1980; Queeney, 2000). The debate on adult educators as professionals has continued since the 1970s in the U.S. (Carlson, 1977; Ohliger, 1974). Scholars and practitioners, as professionals in the field of adult education, hope to contribute to build social justice (Cervero, 1992; Wilson, 1993). The literature on social movements shows that professionals in the middle class play important roles in social movements (Bagguley, 1992; Eder, 1995; Inglehart, 1990). However, little research has been conducted on the experiences of professionals who are involved in social activism for social justice.

For adult educators as professionals to contribute to improving social justice, it is important to explore the experiences of other professionals who are involved in social activism. In particular, adult educators in countries such as South Korea, where attempts to identify adult

educators as professionals have just started, need to explore what other professionals experience between their professional activities and activities for social justice. In this view, the purpose of this qualitative life history study was to explore how professionals learn to become activists in Korean progressive social movements. To accomplish this purpose, this study was guided by three research questions: 1) what motivates professionals to be activists in Korean society 2) what struggles do professionals encounter as they attempt to connect professionalism and activism in social movements and 3) how do professionals negotiate these struggles?

A life history research design was used as a vehicle for exploring life and experiences of professionals who were involved in social activism and for understanding various contexts surrounding the professionals (Cole & Knowles, 2001). Nine participants – four physicians and five lawyers – who joined two progressive professional organizations in Korea were selected in this study. Two life history interviews were conducted with each participant in Korea, and some of the participants shared artifacts such as articles published in newsletters, newspapers, or magazines. The collected data were analyzed by two methods. First, the descriptive analysis method was used to reveal insights that help to sketch a profile of an individual (Cole & Knowles, 2001). Second, the thematic analysis method was used to identify key themes and patterns related to the research questions through processes of coding data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

Through the descriptive analysis, the life histories of the nine participants showed that their lives, which had sought to connect professionalism and social activism, were the process of continuous struggles and negotiation in home, schools, workplaces, and society. Through the thematic analysis, the findings have four main themes related to the research questions. The first finding concerns the motivation for becoming physicians or lawyers. The study reveals that this

motivation was influenced by the patriarchal Korean culture and by the social status of physicians or lawyers. Most participants became professionals to follow their parents' suggestion that they become physicians or lawyers, and the female participants became professionals to gain more power in the male-dominated Korean society. The participants and their parents considered physicians and lawyers as powerful professions, both economically and politically.

The second finding is about motivation for being involved in social activism. The study shows that the main factors which affected the motivation were the atmosphere of the times, significant others, experiences in student activism, and personal characteristics. The participants spent their adolescence and their college school years during the time when social movements for social justice and democracy were active in Korea. The participants' family members or friends introduced social activism to the participants. Experiences in student activism at universities led the participants to continue to be involved in social activism after graduating. The professionals' strong sense of morality, strong sense of responsibility, or spirituality stimulated their participation in social activism.

The third finding concerns the struggles which the participants encountered when connecting professionalism and activism. The participants had conflicts about their identity. Although the participants identified themselves as activists, professionals, or employees, those identities were interlocked with one another and were under change. In addition, survival in training institutes in which the participants had receive training before entering regular workplaces was one of the hardest struggles for the participants because the culture of mainstream Korean society prevailed in the training institutes. The last main struggle which the participants encountered was problems in relationships with other professionals, activists, and clients.

Finally, the fourth finding concerns the participants' negotiation of those struggles. The study presented various strategies which they used in negotiating those struggles. First, the participants attempted to find specialties and places to work which would allow them to be involved in social activism. Second, they used self-reflection and self-regulation as the devices to control themselves to maintain their interest and participation in social activism. Third, they made efforts to make or maintain formal and informal communities with friends and colleagues who shared thoughts of social activism. Fourth, they learned ways of living as professionals or activists from role models and mentors who were professionals or activists.

Conclusions and Discussion

In this section, I will present four primary conclusions and discuss the conclusions in the context of the relevant body of literature in adult education and the broader social science. The four conclusions are as follows: First, professional identity can be constructed through social activism. Second, the positionality of professionals can be in conflict with social activism. Third, professionals can make intersections of professionalism and social activism. Fourth, professionals' commitment to social justice can be maintained and articulated through cognitive praxis.

Constructing Professional Identity

The first conclusion of this study is that professional identity can be constructed through social activism. In the previous literature on professionals, professional identity was examined with two aspects: specialized knowledge and skills, and mechanisms which organize and maintain groups known as professionals. As shown in Chapter 2, while the functionalist approach positively examines professional identity in two aspects, the socio-economic approach negatively examines it. However, there are limits to explaining professional identity with the

extreme approaches. The professional identity mentioned by the professionals in this study was not fixed nor decisive but continuously constructed, and being involved in social activism was an important factor in professional identity construction.

According to the functionalist approach, including the trait-based approach (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933; Flexner, 1915) and process-based approach (Etzioni, 1969), professionals are identified as people who solve lay people's problems with complex technological knowledge and skills (Parsons, 1954). Thus, it is considered that it is reasonable that professionals have autonomy, high reward, and prestige in a society (Parsons, 1954). However, according to the socio-economic approach, professionals are described as people who seek to gain and maintain power in the name of autonomy based on specialized knowledge and skills in society and the labor market (Freidson, 1970, 1983; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977), and who turn specialized knowledge and skills into formal knowledge using their power (Freidson, 1986, 2001).

However, according to the professionals in this study, professional identity was not clear or decisive, unlike the explanation of professionals in two approaches. On one hand, the participants recognized physicians or lawyers as people who had economical and political power and had high status in society. Their recognition was linked to motivation for becoming those professionals. Their parents and teachers also proposed that the participants should become physicians or lawyers for that reason. For the participants, as well as for their parents and teachers, the understanding of professional identity is related to the socio-economic approach. On the other hand, the participants decided to become physicians or lawyers for the reason those professionals could help other people. The understanding of professional identity is related to the functionalist approach in that the stories of participants showed that professional identities

presented in two approaches were mixed within their motivation for becoming physicians or lawyers.

The mixed professional identity was constructed while different attributes were added as time went on. The professionals in this study presented the identity of employees, after being hired in hospitals or law firms. The physicians working for hospitals paid attention to their role of staff in the organization of the hospital. Two physicians identified themselves as a director employed in their respective hospitals, and another physician identified herself as a middle manager between managers and union workers in a hospital. Those physicians recognized that their professional practices should contribute to increasing profits of their hospitals to some degree. The lawyers working for law firms identified themselves as employees who had the duty and responsibility of complying with their law firms' orders and of serving for increasing profits of their law firms. Furthermore, the participants acknowledged the reality that hospitals or law firms could not avoid seeking profit to some degree in a capital society.

Professional identity as employees supports the proletarianization thesis of professions. Scholars point out that professionals are losing control and power over their own work as a result of the economic requirements of advanced capitalism (McKinlay & Arches, 1985; Rosen, 1999). Whether autonomy of professionals is understood positively or negatively, stories of the professionals in this study show that the identity of employees who are subject to market-oriented workplaces significantly affects the process of professional identity construction.

The professionals in this study have newly constructed their professional identity through social activism. The meaning of economic, political, and altruistic attributes of professionals which motivated the participants to become physicians or lawyers differently changed through social activism. Before they were involved in social activism, including student activism, the

participants had considered medical or legal professions as profitable and powerful occupations in society and at the same time as helpful occupations for other people. However, participating in social activism, the professionals came to consider that the professions were not profitable occupations anymore, but just stable occupations in the aspect of the economic attribute of professionals. They considered their professions as a means of making a living. The participants rejected rather than naturally accepted the privileged status of professionals as the political attribute. They also focused on serving underprivileged people rather than the general public, in relation to the altruistic attribute.

In addition, the process of their identifying themselves as employees was not smooth. Even though they recognized that they were employees who must contribute to increasing profit of hospitals or law firms, they identified themselves as professionals who disagree with unjust power relations in capital society through social activism. They utilized their legal or medical knowledge and skills not only for increasing the profit of hospitals or law firms but also for building social justice.

In short, professional identity can be changed and constructed through experiences of social activism, and the identity can be redefined as the identity of social activists who take action for social change to build social justice. Although there were several participants who disagreed that their identity was that of social activists because of their relatively high income in comparison with that of full-time activists, their activities in social activism were hardly differentiated from social activists' activities. The professionals made efforts to build social justice as social activists did.

The social activist identity of professionals is not new. The identity in the previous body of literature has been presented as "resistant professionals" (Murphy, 1986), "civic

professionals" (Sullivan, 1995), or "democratic professionals" (Olson & Dzur, 2004). Although those scholars used different terms to professionals who are involved in the social activist identity, all of them argued that professionals should be engaged in public affairs with social responsibility. This study shows that the professionals reconfigured their identity to resistant, civic, or democratic professionals by participating in social activism.

In the field of adult education, it seems to prevail that professional identity is seen as being fixed and homogenous. On one hand, professionals are considered as transmitters of complex knowledge and skills in a rapid changing society (King & Lawler, 2003). On the other hand, professionals are conceived as people who exercise power to maintain their privilege in the labor market (Collins, 1991, 1992). Although there are debates of professional identity construction (Cervero, 1992, 2001a; Wilson, 2001), they are still in the stage of theoretical and normative. The findings of this study show that professional identity can be dynamically constructed throughout professionals' life experiences and suggest that participation in social activism can significantly affect identifying themselves as politically and ethically responsible professionals in society. Being involved in social activism can imply entering sites in which professionals can reconstruct their identity in the light of a politically and ethically sensitive dimension.

Conflict of Positionality of Professionals

The second conclusion in this study is that the positionality of professionals can be in conflict with social activism. The findings show that the professionals were differently positioned in society, professional groups, and the field of social activism. Their positionality was shifting through each situation and in conflicts in each situation.

Professionals belong to the new middle class who are in charge of production and distribution of symbolic knowledge, as Burris (1986) points out. The professionals in this study make a good living by using legal or medical knowledge and skills. Furthermore, they are legal professionals or medical professionals who have relatively high status among professionals. Thus, they belong to the powerful elite groups of Korean society. The professionals in this study were aware that social position and the awareness caused conflicts with their social activist identity in that it was an uncomfortable circumstance for the professionals that people who belong to privileged groups work for underprivileged groups. That conflict reflects Wright's (1985) argument that professionals are a contradictory location within class relations sharing characteristics with the exploited and the exploiters. The words of a lawyer in this study manifestly show conflicts of professionals who belong to the privileged: "I know that I'm in a risky position in which I can easily lose my concerns for social justice."

Although the professionals in this study were in the privileged group in Korean society, they were marginalized in their respective professional groups. As they rejected the dominant culture and norms in the world of legal professionals or that of medical professionals, they came to be marginalized professionals. Brookfield (1995) has discussed cultural suicide as one of the risks of critical reflection. According to his view, critically reflective teachers' "raising challenging questions can lose them friends, harm their career, and turn them into institutional pariahs" (Brookfield, 1995, p. 235). The professionals in this study experienced cultural suicide. In particular, the physicians who employed insistences and actions against collective interests of physicians were severely left alone inside the physician group.

However, there are differences in understanding cultural suicide of the professionals and Brookfield. To Brookfield, cultural suicide is the object to minimize or avoid. Brookfield (1995)

suggested seven rules for avoiding cultural suicide. Nevertheless, the professionals in this study intentionally committed cultural suicide. The professionals made an effort not to adjust to dominant physician or lawyer culture. For example, they did not make a success in competitive situations of the training institutes, did not choose profitable specialties, and did not attempt to build networks with other physicians or lawyers in high positions. For them, cultural suicide was inevitable and necessary. Unless they conducted cultural suicide in the existing professional culture, physicians and lawyers are likely to adjust to dominant physician or lawyer culture. Heejung spoke about one lawyer who entered a big law firm: Although the lawyer at first had passion for social justice, he was not able to maintain his passion while working for the law firm. This finding shows that for professionals who suffer from the marginalized position which they spontaneously chose within their own professional group, what matters can be not how they avoid cultural suicide, but how they can be resurrected in a new culture after committing cultural suicide. The participants in this study formed or joined in communities, such as APH and LDS, which consisted of like-minded professionals, and they chose workplaces which were oriented toward social justice. In the communities, they attempted to create a culture and values different from those of existing professional groups. It was this different professional culture that made the participants maintain their enthusiasm and activities for social justice.

As mentioned above, the professionals were in a privileged position in society and were in a marginalized position in their own professional groups. In the field of social activism, the findings of this study present that the professionals were in a state of flux between insider and outsider, and that the fluctuating position generated conflicts in relationships with full-time social activists and underprivileged people.

The professionals of this study can be considered as insiders in the field of social activism in terms of attempting to engage in their professional activities in social activism for social justice. They participated in social movements against long-standing military dictatorships in Korea, and they were involved in labor movements, environmental movements, feminist movements, and human right movements. As shown in Chapter 2, Resource Mobilization theorists have considered that professionals as the new middle class are leaders who have the ability to mobilize resources and are a key social resource in social movement organizations (Bagguley, 1992; McCarthy & Zald, 1987). The New Social Movement theorists have conceived that the new middle class, including professionals, are a key actor in the New Social Movements by seeking the post-materialist values due to their higher education level and economic affluence (Eder, 1995; Inglehart, 1977; Lipset, 1981). The stories of the professionals of this study support the argument of Korean scholars that intellectual and professionals have significantly contributed to developing social movements in Korean society (Kang, 2001; Kim, 1998). Therefore, the professionals can be positioned as insiders in Korean social movements.

However, the professionals can be considered as outsiders in the field of social activism in terms of their privileged social position. As Cleveland (2003) argues, the professionals' power in being involved in social activism was derived from their experience and awareness of exploitation, oppression, and hurt in Korea. However, the experience and awareness mainly happened when they were university students. After becoming physicians or lawyers, the experiences of exploitation, oppression, and hurt dwindled because they were in a privileged social position. They were not full-time activists, and they had more economically stable jobs and socially higher status than full-time activists and underprivileged people. In this sense, they are seen as outsiders in social activism. The findings of this study show that their socially

privileged position sometimes caused conflicts in relationships with activists and underprivileged people.

Sociologists have argued that it is more effective to develop social movements that the new middle class, including professionals, participate in social movements and that it can be a smooth process by which the middle class becomes interested in diverse values. Their discussion on relations between professionals and social movements is confined to exploration on a macro level. It does not cover the explanation of the relations on a micro level. Examined on the micro level, the findings of this study present what the professionals who are involved in social activism experience in their daily lives by attempting to connect professionalism and social activism. They experienced the shift of the positionality in their daily lives and this shift provoked conflicts in their mind, their own professional groups, and the field of social activism. Furthermore, the conflicts often discouraged the professionals from being involved in social activism.

Finding Intersections of Professionalism and Social Activism

The third conclusion of this study is that professionals can find intersections of professionalism and social activism. The findings of this study show that the professionals stand on the intersection between professional world and social activist world. Their identity and positionality affect their finding intersections at which professionalism and social activism can merge.

The term *intersectionality* was introduced by the American lawyer Kimlerle Crenshaw (1991) for dealing with the specific problems of black women in the U.S., whose position was different from that of other women or black men (McCall, 2005). Since then, intersectionality has mainly been discussed by feminist researchers. While exploring identity politics, feminist

researchers focusing on intersectionality examine how multiple social forces (such as race, class, gender, age, sexuality, ethnicity, and culture) shape our experiences (Burman, 2004; Mann & Huffman, 2005; McCall, 2005). Burman (2004) points out that approaches which focus on only one category, such as the gender-based or race-based category, have limits in explaining distinct identities oppressed by multiple factors which affect power relationships.

Although the lens of intersectionality has mainly been employed in analyzing identity and social relations of the oppressed, it can be expanded to different groups who cannot be explained using a homogeneous category. In this sense, the lens of intersectionality can be applied to explore the lives of professionals who are involved in social activism. As mentioned earlier, the findings show that the identity of the professionals was constantly reconstructing, and their positionality was continuously shifting between professionalism and social activism.

The intersectionality of the professionals of this study was revealed not only in their identity and positionality but also in the process of negotiating struggles which the professionals encountered as they attempt to connect professionalism with social activism. The findings demonstrate that the professionals made efforts to make intersections by finding relevant specialties and workplace to social activism, by making communities in which they could share their thoughts of social justice, and by learning their ways of living from role models or mentors.

First, the professionals of this study discovered their specialties related to a field of social activism in which they were interested. According to Darley (2002), “how professionals view what they do day to day affects what they choose to learn and how they go about learning it” (p. 82). In order to connect professional practice with social activism, the professionals of this study specialized in family medicine, industrial medicine, environmental law, or human rights law, which was unpopular and marginalized in the respective professional fields, and they made

efforts to produce knowledge which can contribute to social justice. For example, a physician of this study changed the Korean government's restricted view of industrial disaster victims by revealing that a mercury-addicted boy was affected from unhealthy working conditions.

In this sense, those activities of the professionals are similar to those of "specific intellectuals," which Foucault suggested when criticizing "universal intellectuals." Foucault argued that "The role of the intellectual is no longer to place himself a 'little ahead or a bit to the side' so as to speak the silent truth to all" (Foucault & Deleuze, 1973, p. 104). He also stated that the specific intellectual who derives from the expert has a three-fold specificity: "that of his class position, that of his conditions of life and work, linked to his condition as an intellectual, and that of the politics of truth in our societies" (Foucault, 1980, p. 132). The study found that professionals who sought social justice could be understood as the specific intellectuals.

Second, another intersection that the professionals found to connect professionalism and social activism was linked to workplace. The findings of this study demonstrated that when the professionals chose where they would work in the field of law or medicine they regarded whether the conditions of the workplace could support their involvement in social activism. In examining professionals in terms of social justice, professional practice has received the most attention. However, as Daley (2002) points out, professionals in today's society work within a specific organizational context significantly affecting professional practice and learning.

It is impossible for the workplace to be completely free from the increasingly competitive market in a contemporary society. The workplace has become highly corporatized, institutionalized and regulated, and service professionals' workplaces, such as hospitals and law firms, are no exception (Hansen, 2002). Actually, in this context, it can be difficult for

professionals who aspire to be involved in social activism for social justice to find a workplace which supports their aspirations.

However, it is an obligation that corporations as members of society have social responsibility (Bierema & D'Abundo, 2004; Kok, van der Wiele, McKenna, & Brown, 2001). In a similar vein, it is the reasonable argument that service professionals' workplaces should have social responsibility even though they enter a gradually market-oriented environment. Many service professionals' workplaces suggest the pursuit of social responsibility and social justice as their goal or principle, yet some researchers point out that abstract notions embedded in codes of ethics of professionals do not guarantee that the pursuit of social justice in professional activities will be actualized (Calderwood, 2003; Cunningham, 1992). That argument can also be applied to service professionals' organizations. Kok, vander Wiele, McKenna, and Brown (2001) note that the most effective way to actualize social responsibility of organizations is to "obtain the participation of people who are able to contribute to developing social responsibility" (p. 291). Supporting the researchers' argument, this study found that the interplay between the professionals who seek social activism for social justice and the workplaces which pursue social justice could contribute to the improvement of social justice in Korea.

The third intersection that the professionals found to connect professionalism and social activism was community and network. The professionals were aware that their privileged positionality in Korean society made them more likely to give up their passion of social activism. In order not to lose their concern for and belief in social activism for social justice, the professionals joined formal and informal communities in which they could share their perspectives and their activities in terms of professionalism and social activism.

Brookfield (1995) proposed to "try to find a small group of peers who share your convictions" and to "meet with them regularly" to critical reflective teachers as a strategy to avoid cultural suicide (p. 239). The professionals in this study often met with peers who could share their perspectives to survive in training institutes in which socially dominant values and culture prevailed. Their effort to have a network with professionals who sought social justice work did not stop at making and maintaining informal networks. Rather, they spontaneously joined the formal professional communities for social justice, such as APH and LDS. These actions support Calderwood's (2003) belief that a professional community for social justice increases "the effectiveness of their professional work toward social justice" (p. 306). In addition, this study found that the professionals needed to join the professional communities for social justice because they were marginalized in the legal or medical professional group. Marginalized communities of practice can make the members feel that they are not alone and can support and encourage the members' learning and activities (Merriam, Courtenay, & Baumgartner, 2003). Some participants found role models or mentors in the professional communities.

However, the community for social justice, which the professionals joined, was not confined to professional groups; instead, they participated in social movement organizations. This finding bridges the gap in Calderwood's (2003) argument. She was concerned only with the professional community. Goodman (2000) suggests that empathy is a factor in motivating people from privileged groups to support social justice. This kind of empathy can be derived from a personal relationship which people from dominant groups have with people from an oppressed group (Goodman, 2000). Even if the professionals of this study joined the professional communities for social justice, that would not be enough to maintain their faith and activities toward social justice because those communities consist of only lawyers or only physicians who

belong to the privileged group in Korea society. This study demonstrates that a social movement organization could be a community of practice for social justice to the professionals. Through an on-going personal relationship with full-time activists and clients from marginalized groups in social movement organizations, the professionals understood their experiences and also learned how they should live their lives.

Commitment through Cognitive Praxis and Relationships

The fourth conclusion of this study is that professionals' commitment to social justice can be maintained and articulated through cognitive praxis and on-going relationships with underprivileged people, professionals, and social activists who share an interest in social justice. First, praxis refers to the cycle of reflection and action in order to transform world (Freire, 1974). The term *cognitive praxis* was introduced by Eyerman and Jamision (1991) to emphasize the cognitive meaning of identity of social movements. Through historical exploration of social movements, they (1991) criticized that sociologists defined a social movement as one organization or as one particular special interest group. Their definition of social movements in society is "precisely in the creation, articulation, formulation of new thoughts and ideas – new knowledge" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, p. 55). In this sense, they argued that social movements should be considered as cognitive praxis.

Since Eyerman and Jamison proposed the term, *cognitive praxis*, has mainly been used in studies dealing with social movement as a analytical unit (for example, Bostrom, 2004; Holford, 1995). However, the study demonstrates that the individual professionals' commitment to social activism for social justice could be seen as cognitive praxis. First, all of the professionals except two had participated in student activism when they were college students. That experience was influential for their becoming involved in social activism after they became legal or medical

professionals. Although the professionals did not overlook other factors, such as atmosphere of the times, significant others, and personal characteristics in motivating themselves to be concerned about social justice, they said that the experience of student activism was crucial. In particular, the professionals stated that it was important that they learned in study groups with other student activists. Reading and discussing materials of sociology in the study groups, they learned how the systems of Korean society operate and how systemic oppression occurs in Korean society. The other two participants who were not involved in student activism learned this after becoming professionals. Their life histories showed that their interest in social justice starting in that way significantly impacted the formatting of their worldviews and maintaining their involvement in social activism.

The professionals in this study were involved in social activism with legal or medical knowledge and skills and their respective professional licenses. Their commitment to social activism was beyond using existing dominant legal or medical knowledge for social activists and clients from marginalized groups or a social movement organization itself. The lawyers constantly reformed legal knowledge to advocate for them, and the physicians created medical knowledge to prevent and cure their illnesses. The professionals' close relationship with the activists and marginalized people and their active participation in social movement organizations converged into formation and application of new knowledge and skills. The professionals' activism for social justice also included the transformation of the legal or medical system of Korea. Although they often took part in social activism against policies of other areas, such as the dispatch of Korean troops to Iraq, their main commitment to social justice in everyday life was articulated through the process of cognitive praxis. Through cognitive praxis, the professionals of this study hoped to transform the unjust power relationship in Korean society.

The discussion of professional practice and professional development has sometimes been employed with the term *reflective practitioners*, proposed by Schön (1983; 1987). However, as shown in Chapter 2, Schön's argument of professional practice overlooks the social and political aspect of reflection and action (Cervero, 2001b; Edwards, 1997; Wilson, 1993). Paying attention to political aspects of professional practice, this study clearly shows that their professional practice could be more clearly understood not in the apolitical and neutral dimension of the reflection in action but in the political dimension of praxis of the cycle of reflection and action for social change. In addition, while historically exploring their commitment to social justice, the study shows that their praxis had the cognitive characteristic.

Second, the findings in this study agree with Goodman's argument which is important that people from dominant groups be emotionally and physically close to people from marginalized groups to open their eyes to social justice (Goodman, 2000). It is also significant for professionals to have experiences of exploitation, oppression, and hurt (Cleveland, 2003). Those emotional and physical aspects can be a starting point for people from privileged groups to commit to social justice. The participants in this study maintained commitment to social activism for social justice through relationships with underprivileged people and social activists. They indirectly experienced exploitation and oppression, and felt empathy with the painful experience of marginalized people through the relationship. The empathy through the indirect experience contributed to development of professional knowledge and professional activities for marginalized people. Therefore, the findings of this study show that professionals' commitment to social justice can be maintained by the interlocking of emotional and cognitive aspect.

Implications for Practice and Research

Some implications for practice can be developed out of the findings of this study. First, these findings can help adult educators to better understand their identity and practice as professionals in the political and ethical dimension by illuminating life histories and experiences of other professionals who are involved in social activism for social justice. There is some literature on identity and practice of professionals in political and ethical aspects (Cervero, 1988; Murphy, 1986; Wilson, 2001).

However, the existing literature, even the empirical studies, remains in a theoretical and normative stage, and overlooks historical and contextual aspects of professional identity and practice. Proposing the necessity of a different approach to professionalism while opposing traditional and dominant models of professionalism, Cervero (1988) mentioned professionals who were involved in social activism for social justice. Cervero and Wilson (2001) also argued that "every adult educator is a social activist" (p. 13). Yet there was little empirical study on how professionals as social activists participate in social activism for social justice, mainly their experiences. The information developed from this research shows the dynamic experiences of the professionals. They had constantly constructed and reconstructed their identity through social activism, struggled with conflicts around their shifting positionality, attempted to find intersections to negotiate those conflicts, and maintained and articulated their commitment to social justice through cognitive praxis. It is important that adult educators ask "what for" questions about their professional practice and identity (Wilson, 2001). If they answer "for identification of social activists for social justice" and "for marginalized people in society," they need to prepare for conflicts which they may encounter and to think about how to maintain and

articulate their commitment to social justice, negotiating the conflicts. The findings of this study demonstrate the anticipated conflicts and strategies for negotiation.

Second, this study can also be used in adult education graduate programs. Criticizing the programs of the U.S., Imel, Brockett, and James (2000) argued that "it is crucial that students be introduced to and supported in their inquiries into viewpoints that may lie outside mainstream thought" (p. 635). They noted perspectives of critical theory, postmodernism, feminist pedagogy, or Afrocentrism as examples of viewpoints outside mainstream thought (Imel et al., 2000). As this study suggests, cognitive praxis can play an important role in motivating, maintaining, and articulating commitment to social justice for professionals. Although physical activities, such as volunteer work, are important for students in adult education graduate programs to understand life of marginalized people, the necessity of learning knowledge outside the mainstream thought cannot be overlooked.

Imel, Borkett, and James' critique of adult education graduate programs of the U.S. is also applied to adult education graduate programs in South Korea. In addition, there is a specific credential, "Lifelong Educator," for entrance into the adult education field in South Korea. Unlike the U.S., the Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development regulates several core courses in the university for this credential. The courses reflect mainstream thought, and thus the policy of "Lifelong Educator" follows traditional and dominant models of professionalism by closure of access to the adult educational profession. If professors of the program in South Korea consider as a different approach to professionalism a political and ethical dimension of the profession of adult educator and commitment to social justice, they should deal with this dimension in the university courses. It is anticipated that the information

developed out of this study can help them to plan the courses by showing different identity and practice of professionals.

Third, the findings of this study can be used in initial and continuing professional education settings. The settings are political sites as well as educational sites (Cervero, 2001a; Tobias, 2003). Professionals can form their professional identity and can update professional knowledge and skills through initial and continuing professional education. However, the educational process occurs not in a vacuum but in a social context. Today, professional education faces conflicts with various political, economical, and educational issues (Cervero, 2001a). Hence, professional education should attempt to answer questions of "what for."

If initial and continuing professional educators want learners not to be technicians but to be professionals who take responsibility for the political and ethical consequences of their professional practice, this can be an example to motivate learners to be involved in social activism for social justice. The findings of this study emphasize that the professionals' specialty, workplace, and community should be coherent with their faith of social justice. In this sense, it can be necessary for professional education programs to introduce to learners specialties outside the mainstream, workplaces which substantially contribute to social justice, and communities which share thoughts and practice of social justice.

This study also invokes further research in several directions beyond the scope of this study. First, all of the professionals in this study, except one, opened their eyes to social activism for social justice before becoming professionals. Although one participant was interested in student movements, he did not join those movements because he did not like organizational activities. Hence, a direction of further research can be to explore how professionals who were

not interested in social justice are involved in social activism for social justice after becoming professionals. The research can clearly show the transformation of professionals.

Second, this study explores only two professions – the legal profession and the medical profession – which are in a relatively high position and have the most established professional identity and practice among professions. The kinds of professions in today's society are getting more and more varied, and social position and economic income depend on professions. In this sense, another direction of further research can be to study professionals who work in different workplaces. The stories of the professionals can be different from those of lawyers or physicians. For example, the question that might be explored could be how professionals who work in corporate settings struggle with their concerns of social activism for social justice, or how educators who work in university or professional education settings negotiate conflicts between their aspirations toward social justice and the requests of institutions which reflect the mainstream thoughts of society.

Third, this study did not address any issues related to race, or ethnicity. However, gender was addressed, as three female professionals participated. Because professionals of Korea, who are of one ethnicity, were the participants, issues of race and ethnicity could not be explored. Thus, another direction for further research could be a focus on those factors and the resulting different stories of the professionals.

Concluding Note

Being concerned about adult educators' professionalization in South Korea, I began this study with the hope to help adult educators, including myself, to be social activists for social justice. Today, the more powerful the neo-liberalism and economic globalization, the more competitive the people become. I know that no one can be completely free from the

overwhelming power. However, I also know that everybody does not surrender herself or himself to the power. This study was about people who struggle to resist the power in Korea. They were in a social position in which they were likely to lose their passion for social justice, and their passion and activities for social justice were often attacked by other professionals and the government of Korea. Nonetheless, they did not give up the passion and made efforts to maintain their passion using various ways. In particular, their concerns of social justice were not limited to knowledge, but linked to action. Finally, their life histories show us how to live in a society which is severely affected by market and unjust power relations in order to take the responsibility for building social justice.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The First Interview (Before Becoming an Activist)

- What is your name? How old are you? Where did you grow up?
- Tell me about your specific events that make you a lawyer/a physician.
- Could you describe the most important things that stand out in your mind that prepared you for a lawyer/a physician?
- How did your family or friends respond when you decided to be a lawyer/a physician, and when you became a lawyer/a physician?
- Could you describe your experiences in initial professional education in a university?
- Could you describe your certification process of a lawyer/a physician?
- Tell me about the moment when you felt that you, as a lawyer/a physician, were proud of yourself.
- Tell me about the moment when you regretted becoming a lawyer/a physician.
- What is professionalism like for you?
- What are your future plans?

인터뷰 가이드 (Korean Interview Guide)

첫 번째 인터뷰 (전문가가 된 과정에 대해)

- 이름과 나이, 그리고 가족관계에 대해서 간단하게 소개해 주십시오.
- 변호사/의사가 된 특별한 계기가 있다면 말씀해 주십시오.
- 변호사/의사가 되는 것을 준비하면서 가장 중요하게 고려했던 것은 무엇입니까?
- 당신이 변호사/의사가 되겠다고 결심했을 때, 그리고 당신이 변호사/의사가 되었을 때 당신의 가족들과 주변 친구들은 무어라고 말했습니까?
- 대학에서 그리고 사법 연수원/병원에서 인턴과 레지던트로서 훈련받을 때 경험에 대해서 말씀해 주십시오.
- 변호사/의사가 되기를 잘 했다고 생각했던 순간이 있다면 말씀해 주십시오.
- 변호사/의사가 된 것을 후회해 본 적이 있다면 언제인지 말씀해 주십시오.
- 당신에게 전문가란 어떤 사람입니까?
- 앞으로의 계획을 말씀해 주십시오.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The Second Interview (After Being an Activist)

- Tell me about the specific events that made you an activist.
- Tell me about the process of your involvement in the organization.
- How did your family, friend or colleague, react when you became an activist?
- What did you look like activist works before joining the organization?
- Tell me about your work since being a member of the organization.
- Tell me about your most significant work as an activist.
- What do you do in the organization nowadays?
- What do you learn in social activism?
- What are the major troubles you encounter in your activism?
- How do you overcome those troubles?
- How has your involvement in activism impacted your personal life?
- What is activism like for you?

인터뷰 가이드 (Korean Interview Guide)

두 번째 인터뷰 (운동가가 되는 과정에 대해)

- 사회 운동과 관련해서 현재 당신이 하고 있는 일을 소개해 주십시오.
- 당신이 사회 운동에 관심을 갖게 된 특별한 계기가 있다면 말씀해 주십시오.
- 민변/인의협에 가입하게 된 과정에 대해 말씀해 주십시오.
- 당신이 사회운동과 관련된 일을 한다고 했을 때 가족, 친구, 그리고 동료들은 어떤 반응을 보였습니까?
- 사회 운동가로서 당신이 했던 일 중 가장 보람있었던 일을 말씀해 주십시오.
- 사회 운동과 관련된 일을 해 오면서 지금까지 가장 힘들었던 순간은 언제였으며 그것을 어떻게 극복하고 있는지 말씀해 주십시오.
- 사회 운동에 참여하면서 배운 것이 있다면 무엇입니까?
- 사회 운동에 참여하는 것이 당신의 사생활에는 어떻게 영향을 미치고 있습니까?
- 당신은 사회 운동이 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?
- 사회 운동과 관련해서 앞으로의 계획을 말씀해 주십시오.

APPENDIX C

A CODING SHEET

(Q1: Motivation, Q2: Struggles, Q3: Negotiating)

Codes	Categories	Themes
Suggestion of teachers Suggestion of parents Personal preference To help other people To become a woman with power in a society	Reasons for entering a law school/a medical school	Q1 – Motives of becoming lawyers/physicians
Economic reasons For a secure occupation For economic independence Need a job for helping social movements and making a living Parents' forcible demand Difficult to find a job as a woman	Reasons for becoming lawyers/physicians	
Undemocratic government Observing '87 June Upspring Active student activisms	Influences of the times	Q1 – Motives of becoming activists
Student activist friends Older sister Older brother Girl friend Teachers in high school	Meeting with significant others	
Study groups with student activists Medical service in doctorless villages Volunteer service in poor villages Volunteer service in rural villages	Experiences of student activisms	
Spirituality Morality Responsibility Aggressive characteristic Experience-oriented	Personal propensity	

Lack of scientific research on problems Not specific activities	Hard to say I'm a professional	Q2 – Struggles with identity
Because of earning lots of money Because of high social position Need to further devote to activism Not a full-time activist in a social movement organization	Hard to say I'm an activist	
Medical knowledge + focusing on social activism	I'm a professional and an activist.	
Actual recognition of systematic problems Lucrative specialties-centered trainings A process of adaptation to mainstream culture Excessive competition	Critique of pre-service training	Q2 – Struggles in pre-service trainings
Betrayal Isolation Intimidation	Struggles with other professionals	Q2 – Struggles with relationships
Excessive self-humbling Neglecting actual legal logics	Struggles with activists	
Disappointment of prisoners Rejecting a female lawyer	Struggles with clients	
Family medicine Internal medicine Industrial medicine Environmental law	Specialty	Q3 – specialty and workplace
Law firms joined LDS Hospital in active for social activism	Workplace	
Self-reflection of social status as a lawyer For what I live? How should I live? What is right?	self-reflection	Q3 – About self

Controlling time schedule Taking care of health condition Properly distributing energy	Self-regulation	
Joining APH Joining LDS	Formal community	Q3 – Making communities
Maintain informal relationship with critical professionals	Informal community	
Consultant service in the Labor Party Keep communicating with minorities Keep relationship with social activists Need to join a movement organization than individual volunteer Learning in the field Determination	Solidarity with underprivileged clients and activists	
Multi-player Enthusiasm Empathy with painful people Focusing on causes rather than cases Academic achievements + distribution to social activism	Professionals	Q3 – Learning from role models and mentors
Avoiding the pitfalls of mannerism Embracing underprivileged people	Activists	

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled "PROFESSIONALS' BECOMING SOCIAL ACTIVISTS" conducted by Hyeryung Jung Investigator from the Department of Adult Education at the University of Georgia (1-706-542-4011) under the direction of Dr. Ronald M. Cervero, Department of Adult Education, University of Georgia (1-706-542-2221). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop taking part without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The following points have been explained to me:

1. The reason for this study is to explore how professionals became activists in Korean progressive social movements. The benefits that I may expect from this research are that during the interview they come to new understandings and reflection of their experiences and perspectives.

2. The procedures are as follows: The researcher and I will agree on a time and place that is convenient to me for an interview lasting about two hours per each interview. The interview questions will be questions like the following: "What motivated you to become a lawyer/a physician? How did you become an activist? What do you look like activists works? What do you learn in social activism? What do you look like professionalism? The researcher may also call or email me to request a follow-up interview. I may also agree to share any relevant documents or artifacts with the researcher.

3. No discomforts or stress as a result of this study are foreseen.

4. No risks are foreseen.

5. The results of this participation will be confidential and will not be released in any individually identifiable form without my prior consent, unless otherwise required by law. My name and any details that might identify me will be changed in any written reports in order to protect confidentiality, and tapes and transcripts of the interview will be erased by December 31, 2010.

6. The investigator will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project.

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.

HYERYUNG_JUNG _____
Name of ResearcherSignatureDate
Telephone: 1-706-354-4903 E-mail: junglife@uga.edu

_____ _____
Name of ParticipantSignatureDate

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to Chris A. Joseph, Ph.D. Human Subjects Office, University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

인터뷰 동의서(Korean consent form)

나, _____는 미국 조지아 주립대학 성인교육과의 Ronald M Cervero 교수 (1-706-542-2221) 지도아래 정혜령에 의해 수행되는 "전문가들의 사회운동가 되기"라는 제목의 연구에 참여할 것을 동의한다. 나는 나의 참여가 자발적인 것임을 이해한다. 나는 어떤 이유나 불이익 없이 연구에의 참여를 중단할 수 있다. 나는 나에 대한 정보 모두를 가지거나 연구에서 없앨 수 있다.

다음의 것들이 나에게 설명되었다.

1. 이 연구의 목적은 한국의 전문가들이 사회운동을 통해 어떻게 운동가가 되는지를 탐구하는 것이다. 이 연구는 인터뷰를 통해 그들은 자신의 인생에서의 경험과 관점을 새롭게 이해하는데 도움을 줄 수 있다고 나는 기대한다.

2. 연구절차는 다음과 같다. 연구자와 나는 매번 약 2 시간의 인터뷰를 위해 나에게 편리한 시간과 장소를 동의할 것이다. 인터뷰 질문은 이런 것이 될 것이다: 변호사/의사가 된 당신의 동기가 무엇입니까? 당신은 어떻게 운동가가 되었습니까? 당신에게서 운동가로서의 활동은 무엇입니까? 사회운동에서 당신은 무엇을 배웠습니까? 당신에게 전문가란 무엇입니까? 연구자는 또한 나에게 보충 질문을 위해 전화하거나 이메일을 할 수 있다. 나는 또한 연구와 관련된 나의 개인적 자료들을 연구자와 공유할 수도 있다.

3. 이 연구의 결과로서 어떤 불편함이나 스트레스는 없을 것이다.

4. 어떤 위험도 없을 것이다.

5. 연구에의 참여는 비밀이 보장될 것이고, 법에 의하지 않고서는 나의 사전 동의없이 내가 누군지를 드러내지 않을 것이다. 비밀 보장을 위해 논문에서 나를 알 수 있는 나의 이름과 어떤 상세한 정보는 바뀔 것이고, 녹음 테잎과 인터뷰 녹취록은 2010 년 12 월 31 일까지 지워질 것이다.

6. 연구자는 연구기간 동안 연구에 대한 그 이상의 질문에 대답해 줄 것이다.

나는 이 연구에 참여할 것을 이 동의서에 서명함으로써 동의하고 나의 기록을 위해 서명된 복사본 동의서를 받을 것이다.

연구자: 정 혜 령 서명 _____ 날짜 _____
전화번호: 1-706-354-4903 E-mail: junglife@uga.edu

연구참여자: _____ 서명 _____ 날짜 _____

두 장에 서명하고 한 장은 연구자에게 주십시오..

연구 참여자로서 당신의 권리에 관해 어떤 질문이나 문제는 Chris A. Joseph 박사에게 연락하십시오. Human Subjects Office, University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; 전화번호 1-706-542-3199; 이메일 IRB@uga.edu