Learning Habitus of Older Adults From
a Generational Perspective of Lifelong Education

A Focus on the Liberation and Korean War Generation
in Korea and Germany

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades

der Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Fakultät

der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

vorgelegt von

M.A. Dohye Yoon

aus Busan/Südkorea

Tübingen

2023

1. Betreuer	Prof. Dr. Bernhard Schmidt-Hertha
2. Betreuer	Prof. Dr. Annika Goeze

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung	20.09.2023
Dekan	Prof. Dr. Ansgar Thiel
1. Gutachter	Prof. Dr. Bernhard Schmidt-Hertha
2. Gutachter	Prof. Dr. Annika Goeze

Für meine liebe Familie

Acknowledgements

I started my PhD programme with anticipation for when this journey would end and where it would lead. In this amazing and welcoming place, Germany, I have had a fruitful experience with the help of exceptional individuals.

First, I would like to express my greatest gratitude from the bottom of my heart to my supervisor, Prof. Dr Bernhard Schmidt Hertha. I absorbed a great deal from his genuine attitude as an academic and professor through his sincere advice and support for my research anytime, anywhere. Through his consideration, I have learned what kind of attitude, perspective, and values I should have as a scholar and researcher in the future.

I also greatly appreciate the sincere support of my second supervisor, Prof. Dr Annika Goeze. With her heartfelt support and advice, she taught me about life as a professional woman and served as a role model for me.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to all my colleagues, including Prof. Dr Matthias Alke from the Institution for Adult Education at the University of Tübingen. Thanks to them, I was able to complete my successful four-year journey here and have only happy memories and experiences. They have been perhaps my best colleagues. Due to the kindness and sincerity they showed me, I feel very fortunate to have studied here.
I am also very grateful to my good friends and previous colleagues in Tübingen. Thanks to them, I was able to enjoy and appreciate my time here more.

I would like to express my greatest gratitude to my family in Korea. Above all, thanks to my parents, as their sincere and unconditional support and love for the path I chose meant I was able to overcome the long and difficult learning journey. Because they always showed absolute faith in me, I was able to carry out my research with confidence in myself. I also want to express my gratitude to my sister. She has been a proud little sister by living her life to the best of her ability.

I also want to honour my grandparents. Thanks to the prayers and support of my beloved grandparents, I was able to gain great strength and get along well here. I was able to finish the last part of my dissertation, thinking of my grandfather who went to heaven in my last phase. Besides that, I want to dedicate my sincere gratitude to my whole family on this page.

I would like to share this joy with my colleagues, old friends and professors in Korea. Thanks to their warm support, I was able to spend the last four years without being too lonely.

I want to express great respect and gratitude to all of my research participants, who were first-generation German immigrants and Korean participants. As they were willing to open up and share their lives with me, I was able to indirectly experience the moments of sadness, joy, and happiness in their lives. I hope that their stories will gain sympathy from many people through my research and help many elderly learners, including them, in the future.

Finally, I would like to express my infinite gratitude to myself.

At the time of my first arrival in Germany, I experienced many difficulties and loneliness in an unfamiliar place, but thanks to that time, I became very focused on myself and discovered a new me. I was able to face a day like today by overcoming it well by comforting myself countless times. I am sure that the past four years have probably been the most important and meaningful ones in my life. Thanks to my experience, I am no longer afraid of being alone and have gained strong roots in life that are not easily shaken. My dissertation contains all my memories and happiness. With the help of many people, this research was a success.

I think my real research starts now. I sincerely hope that my work will help more people and society develop. To that end, I will focus on society and the voices of many learners, and carry out research that can truly benefit their lives and learning.

I learned the future from my past. I dedicate my dissertation, which was written over the past four years of loneliness and struggle, to everyone I love.

"Man is condemned to be free.(…) because once thrown into the world,
he is responsible for everything he does"
Jean-Paul Sartre (1946)

Abstract

This dissertation is a qualitative study on the formation of the learning habitus of the liberation and Korean War generation who experienced the historical events in which Korea gained independence from Japan as well as the Korean War. The participants are from the generations born during Korea's great historical turbulence, and now form the elderly in Korea. The learning style of the increasing elderly population has been analysed and presented in their generational context by exploring the learning habitus that forms their current perception, attitude, and values in relation to lifelong learning based on their biographical background.

As the theoretical background of this study, a framework was developed by connecting Peter Alheit's biographical learning and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus with Karl Mannheim's generational aspect. Although the subjects of the study were limited to the liberation and Korean War generation, a comparative analysis was conducted between the first-generation German immigrants (German group) who came to Germany to work as nurses through a labour contract between Korea and Germany from 1960 and the Korean generation who did not (Korean group). A total of 17 female participants were selected, of which eight were Korean cases and nine were German. After the pre-interview, six final participants were selected based on the study purposes and research questions. Their interviews were conducted with Schütze's narrative interview technique to understand the overall structure and environment of their lives, and their narratives were analysed through the method of documentary analysis using MAXQDA software.

Afterwards, the data regarding their life environment were divided into two parts – before and after marriage – in order to present their lives as an objective structure based on in-depth analysis. The structure of a total of six people's lives was classified into five themes, and the relationship between the construction of their learning habitus and their lives were identified with two research questions: how did the biographical learning of the liberation and Korean War generation in Korea and Germany affect the construction of their learning habitus? What perspectives related to the learning of the liberation and Korean War generation can be identified based on their learning habitus?

These five themes include: (1) family, (2) school education, (3) profession, (4) expected patterns for internalized gender roles and (5) lifelong learning. The five themes were re-

analysed according to the detailed sub-topics, and finally, three sociogenetic types of learning habits were derived. Learning habitus A, the first result, is a type of 'learning for survival', while the second type B is 'learning for recognition', and the third type C is 'learning for liberation'. The motivation, style, and orientation of learning were different for each learning habitus, but they were not completely independent types. There were some similarities by type, but I identified some differences. The similarity of these types of learning habitus was observed to be due to their generational background based on their common historical/social experiences. On the other hand, the difference in their learning habitus was due to the primary learning habits that reflected the structure and background of each individual's life, especially their parents' perceptions, aspirations, and attitudes toward learning when they were young. However, what is surprising is that their primary learning habitus was formed in their childhood through education at school and still has a large influence on the re-construction secondary learning habitus reshaped after adulthood, and few indications have been found that their primary and second forms of habitus have been changed. Through this conclusion, it was identified that the formation of their learning habitus according to their generational background had a great influence on their primary learning habitus, and that this was greatly influenced by their secondary learning habitus revealed in the current field of lifelong learning.

In addition, this discovery from a generational point of view suggested the possibility of entelechy formation as described in Mannheim's theory of generations, but entelechy, which represents a generational style, did not appear clearly in this generation. This is considered to be due to the difference in the generational position of each participant. Based on these conclusions, at the end of this study, suggestions for academic research for political and lifelong education institutions, lifelong education educators/teachers, and researchers are presented.

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I. Introduction

1 Research Background

Although the understanding and discourse of human learning and education has been developed and changed over time, it continues to be researched due to the complexity of human learning. Jarvis (2018) said that to understand complex human learning, it is necessary to define the operational definition of learning by scholars. By establishing an operational definition, it could be possible to understand the relationship between the self and the other, expanding into the world, and 'me', beyond the observation of how humans learn. There are numerous definitions of learning.

> Human learning is the combination of processes throughout a lifetime whereby the whole person – body (genetic, physical and biological) and mind (knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, beliefs and senses) – experiences social situations, the perceived content of which is then transformed cognitively, emotively or practically (or through any combination) and integrated into the individual person's biography resulting in a continually changing (or more experienced) person. (Jarvis, 2012; 25)

What is important here is that learning is not just a natural phenomenon due to ageing over time; rather, it is a process that leads to a permanent change in ability (Illeris, 2007). Therefore, the concept of learning is very broad, and the process of human learning includes very complex processes and should include all conditions that influence and are influenced by mutual dynamism in the learning process. Based on these findings, I started this study with the following fundamental question: how have the life process and experiences with the learning process of adult learners affected and formed their current learning, and how can these factors be identified? I propose two aspects that could help to answer this question.

The first aspect is the learning theory of adult learners. An important condition for adult learning is to understand the interaction between the learner and their social, cultural, or physical environment regarding the process of elaboration and acquisition (Illeris, 2018). It is worth noting that what is specifically drawn from this premise is the individual's social, cultural, or physical environment – that is, the individual's life world. Lefebvre (1977), while grasping the structure of a person's life world, ultimately showed that people are influenced by all of society and constantly recreate their daily lives. The human life world he proposed includes the concept of time and space, relationships and symbols between people, and various dichotomous contradictions. Further, Habermas conceived of the life world as a public sphere of communication with various subjects, ultimately indicating that it is a field of symbolic or material reproduction (Calhoun, 1993). Lastly, Schütz's (1976) conceived the life world as a world that humans unconsciously accept as natural without question and doubt. However, because this is a world formed in society, it is not personal and private; rather, it is an intersubjective social world. This meaning implies that the world is ultimately formed through experiences and interactions with others. Human beings interpret and give meaning through their own unique subjective meaning structure formed in their biography. In this regard, we can question how humans give meaning to their biographies and construct their own self-identity through subjective meaning. Alheit (2018) presented the perspective of lifelong learning and restricted biography to a process involving education and learning throughout life, and individuals form a social context through introspective activities independently by shaping their life.

Based on various theories and analyses of human beings and the life world, human beings can never be regarded as simply a private realm. In this social world, we can find the importance of learning for adults in that individuals understand and form their own

world with their own special subjective meaning structure because the centre of the life world is the individual him- or herself. Humans internalise and embody the structure through their bodies in the social position and structure in which they are located and expand it into their own world (Merleau-Ponty, 2013). Therefore, in the end, the subject is 'I'. However, as humans grow up they learn more concretely about their life world and establish a sense of self through socialisation. Schütz (1982) considered how individuals form their own subjective meaning structures to be important in this process. In the end, while individuals internalise social values and make them their own, whether individuals internalise them well without rebellion or make efforts to reshape the life world through rebellion or rejection is key to their learning. Therefore, because these processes are formed while growing up and learning life experiences, here we can find the important meaning of learning in the adult learner's interpretation of the life world. The frame for interpreting the unique life world of individuals is constructed as a result of their concrete experiences (*Erlebnis* and *Erfahrung*), and the relationship between these experiences allows them to form and construct meaning. However, at this time, individual life experiences are accumulated under the influence of social structure.

In this context, Bourdieu (1997) discussed the concept of habitus, explaining it as a system of persistent and transferable dispositions, a schema of recognition, perception, and action that unites all past experiences. He suggested that learning is a multifaceted experience that represents embodiment, action, contradiction of collective but individual processes, and complex interactions between the past and present (Stahl, 2005). Habitus is formed and changed through education. According to Bourdieu (1997), the primary habitus is formed first, through education at home, and then the secondary habitus is reconstructed through school education. Some scholars call the overall process of socialisation the

secondary habitus. Based on this view, in this dissertation I analyse the relationship between the individual and the life world in the process of learning while forming a self-identity based on the narratives of adult learners and using the concept of the learning habitus.

The learning style according to the generational group of the learners is also relevant to this dissertation. Humans grow up through the process of socialisation in a generational background. Here, the question arises as to how their generational background as a social structure affects their biographical learning process and what kind of learning tendency or style can be attributed to a generational group.

This study also arose from the assumption that common social, historical, and cultural background and experience form the unique characteristics of each generation. This phenomenon eventually strengthens the bond between members of the same generation. In addition, at the beginning of the study, I expected that these generational characteristics would ultimately be connected with the learning habitus, which is a generational learning disposition. In this regard, I attempt to identify the learning habitus by analysing older learners' biographical learning from a generational perspective.

I selected the Liberation and Korean War generation of Korea, which has undergone marked social changes and transformations, to show that the unique traits of the generation. I chose the Liberation and the Korean War generation[1] because its members have experienced both liberation from Japanese war and the Korean War, which was the basis of Korea's modernisation.

The members of the Liberation and Korean War generation were born between

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[1] I follow the 'a life course perspective' of a generation, which indicates that human development and ageing throughout the life course progress in line with social changes such as historical events as well as changes according to age (Elder, 1994; Mills, 1959).

Korea's liberation from Japan in 1945 and the Korean War between South Korea and North Korea in 1950 (Song, 2022). Most people of this generation are now in their 70s and 80s and form the elderly population in Korea. These events were also the driving force that developed Korea's economy from the late 1960s to the 1980s. During this time, these members were in their 20s and experienced post-war chaos and difficult economic, social, and political situations in Korea. For this reason, they directly or indirectly experienced liberation and war and also spent their childhood and adolescence in absolute poverty (Joo & Kim, 2011). In particular, among this generation, the Korean government, which urgently needed economic recovery after the war in the early 1960s, pursued an inflow of foreign funds and an export-oriented policy for economic development (Jeon, 2022). Accordingly, there was large-scale overseas labour migration from the 1960s to the end of the 1970s; the first example was the dispatch of nurses and miners to Germany. They formed a Korean immigrant society in Germany and became a great root for Korea's economic development, but their labour migration brought great difficulties to them personally as they adapted to Germany.

I approach the Liberation and Korean War generation, who experienced both the colonial liberation and the war, which served as the basis for Korea's modernisation, from the perspective of gerontological research in the field of lifelong education. For this endeavour, I compared the group that emigrated to Germany in the 1960s and the group that did not. I analysed the biography of the two groups and learning habitus such as their learning style, characteristics, and values. As a lifelong education study, the habitus of adult learner, based on their life world, and their generational perspectives are not independent; they have been influenced through continuous interactions in their lives. Therefore, the relationship between the life world and individual learning, formed based on the

generational background of the Liberation and Korean War generation, helps us understand the biographical learning of adult learners from the learning habitus point of view.

Habitus is usually understood as a schema of recognition, perception, and action that operates in all fields of life. However, in this dissertation I have restricted it to the realm of the education field and it (1) includes an individual's unique learning habitus acquired through biographical learning in their whole life span and (2) operates and reveals in the field of education. Bourdieu's analysed habitus in French social classes, but he did not explain how habitus internalises the individual and operates as an individual's unique schema (Herzberg, 2006). In other words, he did not clearly show the individualisation process of habitus. Because learning is formed within one's own life world and is characteristically a social world, it has the meaning of bilateral learning through interaction with others. The points that are fundamentally learned to solve life's tasks and problems require analysing how an individual's life and learning occur and interact. Therefore, this analysis can also be connected with the formation of individual habitus because it is also internalised involves the interaction between the individual and the structure. Note that habitus is unconsciously formed, whereas learning occurs through the learner's consciousness and reflection. Because individual life world conditions generate habitus, different habitus is formed according to each individual's life world and social group. The whole set of practices produced by these different habitus appear as a collective habitus that objectively expresses the inherent difference of groups. In this regard, I investigate the perspective of learning habitus from the view point of biographical learning of a particular generation.

The second aspect is the need for research on the learning style for lifelong education from the perspective of learning style as a frame for a professional and systematic

teaching/learning methods in response to individual and collective expectations and demands for learning generated by the diversity of learners in modern society. This is also an attempt to generate a new or altered paradigm of lifelong education due to demographic changes.

In many countries, the share of the elderly population is increasing due to the low fertility rate and increased life expectancy. Korea is quickly developing into a super-ageing society relative to other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. In 2021, the elderly population accounted for 16.56% of the total population (OECD Data, 2021). Population ageing is a result of socioeconomic development (Lee & Mason, 2010), and an increase in the level of education is one of the causes of a decline in the fertility rate (Bongaarts, 2008). In this respect, as the level of education and health of the generation gradually improves, the strengthening of individual socioeconomic capabilities can be used as a resource to form an active ageing process by utilising social and economic capital. In particular, as the highly educated elderly population increases, they are still faithful to self-development and self-management and engage in productive activities even after retirement, such as volunteering, work, and learning, based on their previous professional vocational ability and high economic capital. The emergence of such 'senior power' suggests that ageing can act as a new 'opportunity' for the elderly and society rather than a social 'problem'. The highly educated elderly population is demanding greater diversity in education available to them. To meet the learning needs according to the life tasks of various senior learners, many kinds of educational programmes are provided via a welfare approach. In accordance with these social changes and educational demands, I have selected the Liberation and Korean War generation and from the perspective of generational learners, I analyse the learning style of senior learners from the

lifelong education perspective.

I selected a representative senior generation, the Liberation and Korean War generation, rather than focusing on showing the characteristics of the entire elderly population in Korea, because they experience significant historical and social events and learned meaningful things from their experiences. Hence, I focus on the learning process and how it came to affect their individual habitus. Research on the learning habitus provides a good opportunity to study how lives have been formed in social interactions and how they have acquired/learned individual subjectivity through education. Furthermore, analysis of learning habitus is beneficial to research on senior learners because it provides insight into senior learners as well as the possibility of analysing various generations of learners. However, research on the learning of senior learners is still based on biological age and a cohort process rather than a sociohistorical perspective that considers the generational background of older learners. The biological and positivist perspectives fail to consider qualitative time for generations and believes that generations can be analysed clearly according to quantitative time – for example, the idea that old is conservative and young is progressive (Callahan et al., 2003; Fishman, 2010; Kimpeleret al., 2007; Oppl & Stary, 2020; Rindskopf & Charles, 1974).

Grouping learners according to biological age assumes that people with similar birth periods/ages are in the same group. However, learners of similar ages can have different needs, meanings, and demands for learning. In other words, even at the same age, the meaning of learning is interpreted differently according to their life experience and background, and the motivation to demand to learn is also different. Based on this view, there are four types of research methods of learner analysis.

First, it is primarily a view of human characteristics. Among them, biological cognitive similarities between learners include perceptual ability, which does not differ significantly from person to person over time, classification according to intelligence, cognitive style, sociopsychological characteristics, gender, ethnicity, and race. Other similarities relate to developmental processes, including developmental tasks required according to age, such as intellectual, linguistic, sociopsychological, ethical, and others of individuals that change over time. Individuals can also be divided into different intellectual, physical, and mental developmental states or degrees of education. According to these four large categories, adult learners are largely divided according to psychological, social, physical, and cognitive characteristics. Each factor has great influence on adult learners' learning, so they should be fully considered. In this study, I consider the generational perspectives according to biological age and birth time as well as historical and social generational perspectives based on common historical events.

I analyse biographical learning derived from individual narratives rather than collective characteristics to examine the ultimate aim of adult learners' learning, from where it was triggered, and how life has progressed due to it. This approach allows identifying learning habitus types to analyse learning trends and styles of learners of a specific generation. It is not simply intended to indicate learners' attitudes and styles towards learning; this approach can indicate their propensities/dispositions for learning that come from their personal biography and social structures. In addition, examining the learning habitus does not end with analysing learners. It goes beyond the various problems we are currently contemplating regarding adult learners, including competency, teaching methods, and cognitive problems.

Although I compare people from the same generation in Korea, they have experienced different social and cultural background since their 20s. This approach is different from other studies in that it is a comparison of different social contexts of the same generation. I expect that this approach can be expanded to learner research, providing a new generation of analysis within pedagogy that represents a convergence of education, sociology, and gerontology from an interdisciplinary perspective. Furthermore, outside the scope of pedagogy, analysis of the learning habitus based on specific individual narratives allows understanding the dynamics and relationships of various generations in the present modern society. Based on these two major research needs, I analyse the narratives of the Liberation and Korean War generation learners to identify biographical learning in some parts of their lives that have had a great impact and suggest the sociogenetic learning habitus types.

2 Research Questions and Dissertation Structure

This study has two research questions based on previous research as well as knowledge gaps. Due to the increasing diversity of learners in lifelong education and the complexity of factors that need to be considered, an essential and qualitative analysis of learners is the basis for proposing professional learning and teaching methods. Because learning is formed and implemented based on a social framework, an institutional structure, and a cultural context, a review of the learning experiences of learners would enable more diverse insights into their characteristics. Moreover, studying learners from the perspective of generational analysis could reveal the autonomous and independent life process through learning by understanding the dynamic relationship between self-formation and the structure of learners' lives due to their generational background and experiences.

The first research question is: how did the biographical learning of the Liberation and Korean War generation in Korea and Germany affect the construction of their learning habitus? Based on the personal life history of this generation of Koreans living in Korea and Germany, I analyse the process of biographical learning from five parts of their life, focusing on how the various experiences of their narratives and their various backgrounds have mutually influenced each other. I investigate how their learning habitus has constantly been constructed and reconstructed.

The second research question is: what perspectives related to the learning of the Liberation and Korean War Generation can be identified based on their learning habitus? Based on the previous analysis of biographical learning, I present the learning habitus types of the Liberation and Korean War generation by identifying the perspectives, attitudes, and values they have regarding learning, and how these factors are related to biographical learning. I expect the concept of learning habitus to facilitate the generation of more

practical and effective teaching/learning methods considering the impact of learners' biographical learning on lifelong learning. Therefore, it is meaningful to reveal the value and orientation of essential and qualitative learning by considering both the structure and the subject that form and recreate human learning, rather than the dichotomy of existentialism and structuralism of human learning proposed by Bourdieu (1977). Finally, based on the learning habitus analysis of the learners of this generation (entelechy), I suggest the possibility of forming a generational unit. Specifically, rather than simply dividing a generation based on the birth period, it could be possible to form several generational units with different tendencies and styles within the same generation.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the analysis of learners' learning style from a social science perspective regarding the influence of the biographical learning process of older adults.

To achieve the purpose of the study, this thesis includes 13 chapters. The remaining chapters are divided into several parts: Chapters 3–5 present the theoretical background, Chapters 6–9 present the empirical research, Chapters 10–11 present the results, and Chapters 12–13 represent the discussion and conclusion.

Chapter 3 presents various perspectives of the generation theory in pedagogy. I discuss Mannheim's generation theory, the generational definitions and perspectives I used for this study, and several perspectives on the analysis of generational learners in adult education. In addition, I introduce the Liberation and Korean War generation. In Chapter 4, I introduce Peter Alheit's conceptual explanation of biographical learning, the theoretical background for the analysis in this study, and aspects of biographical learning related to learning for seniors in pedagogy. In Chapter 5, I discuss Bourdieu's concept of habitus and try to derive the concept of learning habitus used in this study. I also describe entelechy, a

concrete concept for linking the concept of the learning habitus and generation theory. Finally, I derive the learning habitus, the key theoretical suggestion that connects these generational perspectives and the perspectives of habitus.

In Chapter 6, I introduce the research strategies, data collection, and data analysis used to conduct this study. I then discuss the basic biographical backgrounds of the participants and the overall life history context and life world of the Liberation and Korean War generation participants (Chapter 7), including the women who immigrated to Germany (Chapter 8) and the women who stayed in Korea (Chapter 9).

Based on this information, in Chapter 10 I present and analyse five themes regarding their contribution to biographical learning of the research participants. Based on the participants' narratives, in Chapter 11 I discuss the three sociogenetic learning habitus types I found. I then provide an additional discussion in Chapter 12 and suggest policy and research recommendations for lifelong learning in Chapter 13.

II. Theoretical Background

3 The Concept of Generation in Learning

3.1 Concepts and Discourses Regarding Generation

3.1.1 The Concept of Generation

Ancient Greek and Latin terms for generation have a wide range of meanings, from birth and reproduction to age, time of life, life cycle, race, family, and even species. All of these words come from the common Indo-European root 'gen-', and their underlying meaning is 'to come into existence'. Even when it is closely linked to its main meaning, the concept of generation ultimately maintains a relative form: a child forms a generation only for his or her parents, or only when children are born to him or her. So, today generation is a reference point for many concepts in ancient usage, a very metaphor for 'existence' (Nash, 1978). This etymological departure implies that the concept of generation is intended to explain commonalities and differences within groups based on age cohorts. Therefore, it can be said that the metaphor of generation includes a complex interaction of interlinked *(verschachtelt)* succession of generations (Weigel, 2002) that reflects time, age groups, ageing, and social structures over a long period of time.

According to Riedel (1969), generation meant a genealogical and generative sequence in pre-industrial society, and since the French Revolution, the simultaneity of individuals has been expressed in social and historical contexts with the word generation. From this point on, lineage and genealogy were no longer the determining principles of generations, and those born later became politically powerful by becoming one generation (Jureit & Wildt, 2005). In particular, in the discourses of Dilthey (1875), Heidegger (2010), and Mannheim (1952), generation is a concept that represents identity and refers to the

phenomenon of individuals in a 'similar location' (Mannheim, 1952) within the social structure. It is said that they are formed from the same time experience, and not because of differences in class and worldview. Therefore, in genealogy, generation is defined as a community of historical experience and community of memory as an expression that includes the transition to simultaneity and refers to the relationship of simultaneity that individuals have. Based on Dilthey(1875)'s concept of generation, Heidegger and subsequent scholars defined generation as follows. 'A group of more cohesive individuals bound by one homogeneous premise despite the differences of other additional factors by subjecting them to great facts and changes that appeared during a period of impressional time' (Dilthey, 1875; Heidegger, 1998; Weigel, 2005). However, in the field of social science, it is generally divided into three generational discourses.

First, the concept of genealogical generation is an order of genetic family members. It is classified according to biological lineage and age and is divided into generations according to the kinship lineage as well as parent and child generations. There is a similarity between the time structure of individual life and the time structure of social development, mediated genealogically – that is, through shared experiences of the family. In this context, genealogical generation refers to the biological relationships of family members and is related to the concepts of grandparents, parents, and children.

The second is the concept of sociocultural-historical generation, which is deeply related to this study. It means a generation as a social group, which has various political, cultural, and social commonalities. Here, people experience things together, and in the process, they mutually influence each other and show similar characteristics, orientations, and dispositions. Connecting this with Pinder's (1926) concept of generation, it can be expressed as 'simultaneity of the non-simultaneous' (*die Gleichzeitigkeit des*

Ungleichzeitigen). Because real time is experienced time, the different generations all live in a qualitatively completely different inner age.

> Everyone lives in complete contemporaneous possibility with people of the same age and with people of different ages. The same time for each individual is a different time, especially a different era of his own that he shares with people of his own age. (Pinder, 1926; 21)

Based on this view, Mannheim (1952) mentioned 'actual generation' in his paper *The Problem of Generations* (Mannheim, 1952; 303). This phrase means participating in the common destiny of living in the same generation, not just going further and experiencing the same history in the 'generation location' born in the same era (Mannheim, 1952). There is also a 'generational unit', which is a generation that is much more deeply involved in generational movements than the actual generation and forms a much more specific bond (*Verbundheit*) than the actual entire generation(Mannheim, 1952; 304). Each generational unit interprets the same historical event differently and acts differently. Therefore, war, revolution, crisis, natural disaster, economic panic, social transition, and collective trauma correspond to experiences shared by generation locations, and their understand and response varies depending on the actual generation and generational unit.

Finally, the concept of a pedagogical generation has the greatest significance in the transmission and delivery of socially important knowledge and culture. This refers to the included social and family generation, but it has a different meaning than the traditional parents' generation unilaterally conveying knowledge and culture to the children's generation (Bengtson, 1975). In a society formed by constant interaction between the older and younger generations, the children's generation may be the transmitter of knowledge and culture (Kertzer, 1983) and the parents' generation may be the transferee. Likewise, society and schools can also experience a reversal of relationships. In addition, there can

be transmission and receives within the same generation. Therefore, in the educational generation, the generation can be divided according to the flexible role in the transmission of knowledge and culture. The view of generation as a discursive construct arises from narratives that strive to 'make sense of the contemporaneity of and conflicts between, people born at different historical times'(Scherger, 2012; 11). From this view, the concept of generation is based on interpretive processes aimed at understanding the similarities and differences of cohorts (Timonen & Conlon, 2015). Generations are 'live' social constructs, maintained and refreshed by people in and over time.

We cannot separately consider the genealogical generation, sociocultural-historical generation, and pedagogical generation as a frame to explore a generation. None of them can be ignored because they interact with each other to form the concept of generation. Nevertheless, I also emphasise the social-historical generation frame developed by Mannheim, although it does not deviate significantly from the cohort meaning of generation. In other words, I have conducted this study based on the meaning of a generation with a strong sense of solidarity through shared social and historical experiences, not just a generation from the cohort perspective. This integrated understanding of Mannheim's social-historical generation concept is an important starting point to understand one generation as well as mutual learning between generations.

3.1.2. Generation from Karl Mannheim: Stratification of Experience (*Erlebnisschichtung)*

Traditionally, the concept of generation has started from the perspective of a birth cohort; this approach is accompanied by biological limitations such as birth and death, that is, biological principles. However, Mannheim emphasised that humans actively and passively participate in sociocultural changes and recognised that they also have the roots

of biological organisms that live according to biological rhythms. Mannheim asked why the reason for various social phenomena and historical changes of generations is considered from biological factors.

This question is related to the ideas of French positivists about generations. As a representative view, Auguste Comte thought that this would slow down the pace of historical progress, as the average life expectancy would be longer (Mannheim, 1952). This is a rebuttal to the rationale that generations will be replaced by a certain biological cycle, and Mannheim said that these biological factors and physical flow of time are necessary to explain the generation phenomenon, but they only exist as a late way to explain generations. Therefore, based on biological factors, he said that the generation phenomenon proceeds through sociocultural-meditated forces in a specific historical context (Mannheim, 1952). Thus, although his generational studies are based on biological rhythms, they start with social, cultural, and historical categories.

Mannheim's generational research stated from 'the formation of a single generation unit'(Mannheim, 1952; 164), that is, how a biological generation with a biological foundation develops into a social and historical generation in the already accumulated constructed historical sociocultural background. Hence, he compared generation to class as a concept of social location, not a specific group. Generations that share a social position (1) have a certain range of potential experiences, and (2) these differences in experiences cause differences in thinking, emotion, and behaviour, indicating a tendency that this particular thing is suitable.

Among the concepts Mannheim(1952) proposed to explain the formation of the generation, this study focuses on 'the stratification of experience'(Mannheim, 1952; 298). Stratification of experiences means that early adolescent experiences have a decisive

influence on the formation of consciousness of individuals belonging to a specific generation location. In other words, an individual's biography consists of experiences accumulated since childhood, and the arrangement of these experiences varies from generation to generation. For example, people born in the 1930s experienced World War II in their teens, urbanisation in their 30s, and informatisation in their 70s, but those born after or before that event experienced the same historical events in different ways. In other words, their generational positions show differences in the stratification of experiences, that is, the order of the list of experiences. Therefore, it is said that 'the primary stratum of experience' in adolescence plays a major role in giving meaning to and interpreting subsequent experiences. Subsequent experiences are given meaning in relation to primary experiences, which form a certain generational consciousness (Mannheim, 1952). Then, we can question how to distinguish between generations.

The second notable thing about Mannheim's generation study is the 'fresh contact' of the generation:

> (…) the fresh contact is an event in one individual biography, whereas in the case of generations, we may speak of 'fresh contacts' in the sense of the addition of new psychophysical units who are in the literal sense beginning a 'new life.' (…) Whereas the adolescent, peasant, emigrant, and social climber can only in a more or less restricted sense be said to begin a 'new life,' in the case of generations, the 'fresh contact' with the social and cultural heritage is determined not by mere social change, but by fundamental biological factors. (Mannheim, 1952; 171)

Although Mannheim did not directly mention generational differences and their distinctions, it can be said that it is in a similar context birth cohorts begin to have generational characteristics based on the concept of the new contact (Schuman & Scott,

1989). Generations form a stratification of experience according to their birth cohort and based on this, they have a generational attitude towards new cultures or social change. Because culture is constrained, the early generation tries to recognise, adapt, and change a new culture based on the culture with which they are already familiar, so generations recognise differences in their generational culture. By doing so, they coexist with a next generation in the process of understanding.

> We can accordingly differentiate between two types of 'fresh contact': one based on a shift in social relations, and the other on vital factors (the change from one generation to another).The latter type is potentially much more radical, since with the advent of the new participant in the process of culture, the change of attitude takes place in a different individual whose attitude towards the heritage handed down by his predecessors is a novel one. (Mannheim, 1952; 293)

Of note, one generation location creates one generational unit based on their own collective memories, and the historical and cultural experiences experienced in their mid-teens to mid-20s have a decisive influence on the consciousness of a generation. It can be said that the experience of this period is the basis for forming a continuous generational consciousness. However, it is difficult to say that only generation locations form an actual generation.

The third notable thing in Mannheim's theory is the actual generation and the generational unit. In the actual generation there is a certain influence from participation in the social and historical process and a sense of solidarity as a common destiny is formed. This can be expressed by Heidegger's concept of 'common destiny (*Geschick*)', 'being with one another (*Miteinander-Sein*)', or 'togetherness (*Zusammenvorkommen*)' (Heidegger, 2010). In particular, according to Mannheim, the generational unit that constitutes the actual generation refers to a group with a stronger solidarity than the actual

generation. Therefore, people who share the generation location (*Generationslagerung*) have the potential to develop into actual generations and generational units. They are more likely to develop into generational units in a rapidly changing society rather than a stable society. However, it is still important to consider generational phenomena alongside sociocultural dynamics and biological fundamentals.

The final notable characteristic of Mannheim's theory for this study is the concept of entelechy. According to Mannheim, all generational locations have the potential to create a unique entelechy as a generational style. Not all generations create entelechy, but when they form their own entelechy in the generation location, they can go further to the actual generation, and eventually it could be extended to construct generational units. Therefore, even if there is a big difference in the birth period, it is difficult to define it as a generation in a new sociological category based on the birth cohort if the cohort generation does not form a different generational entelechy from the previous cohort. Indeed, Mannheim considered the essence of the generation to be its unique entelechy.

> When as a result of an acceleration in the tempo of social and cultural transformation basic attitudes must change so quickly that the latent, continuous adaptation and modification of traditional patterns of experience, thought, and expression is no longer possible, then the various new phases of experience are consolidated somewhere, forming a clearly distinguishable new impulse, and a new centre of configuration. We speak in such cases of the formation of a new generation style, or of 'a new generation entelechy'. (Mannheim, 1952; 309)

Rapid change in society can be seen as the basis for the formation of entelechy. However, entelechy does not form in all generations. When it does not form, the generation tends to cling to previous or other generations. A generation frustrated by the lack of individual entelechy tends to cling to older generations who may have achieved a form that

is as satisfying as possible, or to younger generations who may develop new forms. The decisive group experience can act as a 'crystallising agent' and it is characteristic of cultural life with incomplete elements are always attracted to completeness, even when the unformed impulses differ in many ways from the attractive composition. In this way, the impulses and tendencies peculiar to one generation can remain concealed because there is a clear form of another generation to which they have become attached (Mannheim, 1952).

A temptation that one could easily fall into when performing generational research is to simply understand the phenomenon of generation as completely related to biological birth period phenomena without considering their qualitative biographical times. This study does not fall into this trap because I also attempt to interpret the learning style of a generation based on social, cultural, and historical perspectives, such as Mannheim, even though the studies generation does not deviate significantly from a birth cohort. I examine people's experiences based on their narratives to suggest the potential generation of entelechy in the generation.

3.1.3 The Concept of Generation in Pedagogy

The most representative view of generational research in pedagogy is that the previous generation inherits and transmits social knowledge and traditional culture, which is essential for the survival of society in accordance with the role of traditional education (Kamper, 1989). This view is emphasised from three main perspectives: (1) humans have sociality, (2) humans produce culture and transmit it to the next generation, and (3) humans are finite (Sünkel, 1996; 283). Because humans are finite in nature, they transfer/transmit their culture and knowledge so that they can continue without being cut off from future generations. Hence, the universal and diverse means of education are critical: the ability to

transmit culture between generations through education is essential for human survival. However, scholars have recently emphasised that aspects related to education for traditional and modern generations do not coincide. Chun (2003) presented a generational view of education from two main perspectives: traditional society and modern society.

The first perspective is that of traditional society. In pedagogy of the traditional society, as mentioned earlier, the transmitter and the recipient coincide with the biological birth order. Specifically, the older person who was born first passes on social knowledge and culture to the younger person who was born later. Likewise, in schools, older teachers play the same role as parents at home, and students receive knowledge and culture. However, because the generational concept in pedagogy no longer equates to these age and intergenerational relationships, the educational relationship should be investigated beyond the school–family connection.

The educational generation includes two dichotomous concepts, namely the basic premise that there are only two generations, one as the transmitter and one as the recipient (Sünkel, 1996; 284). In response to this, Schleimacher (1826; 38) asked the following question: 'What do we, as the older generation, actually want with the younger?(„*Was will denn eigentlich die ältere Generation mit der jüngeren?"*)' He also said that education is the division of two generations or two groups, specifically between older and younger people. Education relates to what the older generation wants from the younger generation. According to him, the older generation believes that the younger generation should transmit and continue social practices, cultures, and customs. Microscopically, this transmission can also include parents' wishes to continue their family traditions or businesses to keep the family's identity (Friesen, 2020). Therefore, the conflict between generations is actually a conflict between parents and children in families and between the elderly and the young.

This is because conflicts related to transfer derived from household inheritance or apprenticeship are representative during this period. In this sense, the above conflict can be said to be defiance from children and disciples to the authority of parents and masters rather than a generational conflict.

The second perspective is that of modern society, specifically a Discrepancy between the educational generation and the cohort sequence. Mannheim's generation study began with the confrontation between the older and younger generations (Mannheim, 1952). Mannheim questioned about how young people form a similar collective identity and spirit even after overcoming the cohort and their milieu.

> Nothing is more false than the usual assumption uncritically shared by most students of generations, that the younger generation is "progressive" and the older generation 'eo ipso' conservative. Recent experiences have shown well enough that the old liberal generation ends to be more politically progressive than certain sections of the youth (e.g. the German Students' Associations— Burschenschaften— etc.). (Mannheim, 1952; 194)

Based on their generational movement, he observed that the younger generation shared a similar sense of generation with time awareness (*Zeitbewusstein*), even though there was a continuous inheritance from their status and milieu. This is what resulted in their collective political movement. Spatial separation between families is also accelerated by urbanisation and modernisation. Family separation eventually leads to separation and resistance between parents who remain in rural areas and children who form a new culture in cities.

In this modernisation process, social fluctuations gradually accelerate and, eventually, the gap between generations increases (Lubbe, 1983). Another factor is the institutionalisation of education: the educated generation became trapped in their own

groups within the space of school. At the same time, they experience a kind of disconnect from the older generation that has maintained traditional culture. Consequently, they form new subcultures. In this respect, Ryder (1965) also claimed that schools are cohort producers. It can be said that the meaning of his cohort is the same as that of the social generation.

> The long time during which individuals are embedded in the lock- step age-hierarchized school system gives the cohort an ample opportunity to identify itself as a historical entity. The school is a cohort creator. (Ryder, 1965; 854)

As a result, the meaning of the transmission of knowledge and culture, the traditional perspective of the previous generation decrease rapidly, and the younger generation tries to destroy and disband the old culture and traditions by creating a new culture and knowledge on their own. Accordingly, they become the transmitter and the older generation becomes the transferee. This creates a new transformation of media, lifestyle, cultural taste, and technical (professional) ability in most areas that make up modern society, and this becomes a new style that leads society. In this view, the transfer of culture and cultural fluctuations is not simply a time problem of the past, present, and future, but rather an internal problem of the same era/period. These are created and led by a new generation, not the previous generation, and as a result, the order of age and the relation between the transmitted generation and receipted generations no longer match. Therefore, each generation eventually forms its own unique disposition and sense of generation.

Another important aspect to this study is the increase in cross-border movement and globalisation, which has made immigration to new cities and countries possible for many people for various reasons. As migrants have settled, the combination of the culture of the country and their own generation have become indigenous to the new place, again showing adaptability to the new generation to which they have given birth. The obsession

of the first generation with traditional culture fades and the younger second generation adapt more quickly to the new culture. As a result, generation is also a concept of disconnection due to the fact that it has experienced different important turning points in history. In addition, a generation confirms its identity through distinction from another generation (Bude, 2000). The meaning of generation relatives to the times and changes in society needs to be defined and studied with increasingly diverse perspectives and educational topics.

3.2 Generational Learner Analysis in Andragogy

Generational learner analysis in andragogy considers the learning styles of specific generations such as Baby Boomers, X, Millennials, etc. (Hendryx, 2008; Holyoke & Larson, 2009; Jauregui et al., 2020; Purwanti et al., 2013; Robinson et al., 2012; Shepherd, 2017); learning situations according to methods, competencies, and sociocultural backgrounds (Sale & Sims, 2008); generational integration in adult education (Lang, 2015, Sutton, 2019); and the relationship between instructors and learners (Hart, 2017).

First, studies on the learning style of various adult learners of a specific generation have been conducted for Millennials and Generation Z, which currently account for a large proportion of adult learners, and for Baby Boomers, who are currently moving to senior learners. These generational competency studies evaluate the adaptation of new learning environments by generational traits (Zhang & Bonk, 2010). There have also been studies about teaching methods according to generational learning styles (Buskirk-Cohen et al., 2016; Cambiano et al., 2001; Fansury et al., 2020; McCurry & Martins, 2010; Pick et al., 2017), and the conditions/situations about participation in adult education programmes

(Ahmad & Tarmudi, 2012). These generational perspective studies commonly have limited flexibility and limited finiteness of the generation. Each generation′s characteristics form a generational bond from their experiences according to their social and cultural contexts. Therefore, generational learners also form a universal generational style for learning, which in turn means that a complete change in style is never easy. Therefore, analysing such diverse generations is an important task for mutual exchange and convergence between various generations that coexist in the space/field of learning.

Studies on intergenerational learning methods, styles, competencies, and learning cognition can be useful for learners and for instructors to provide appropriate teaching/learning methods for each generation. In a social context, however, these studies can also be approached as a perspective for generational integration. This is because the previous concept of lifelong education had been used as a simple meaning of adult education, but it was expanded in the 1990s (Hasan, 1999). Intergenerational learning has become a direction for lifelong learning in the 21st century, as previous perspectives on learning and education have changed, and social capital and cohesion have been prioritised since 2000. The relationship between generations has clearly changed due to the socialisation process of the 19th century and the development of technology in the 20th century. In addition, demographic changes are reflected in all areas of education, and reflections on intergenerational integration and exchange have continued along with questions about the age homogeneity and heterogeneity of learners within lifelong education. Above all, the idea that the transfer of knowledge is not necessarily transmitted from the older generation to the younger generation has spread. Traditional generations have shared or conveyed the knowledge and experiences they have accumulated to the younger generation, narrowly at school, work, or home, through social exchanges with

other generations. The meeting of generations in the learning and educational environment has provided connections between various generations in lifelong learning (Tippelt & Schmidt-Hertha, 2011). Nevertheless, in modern society there is still conflict and tension rather than a harmonious relationship between generations, and generational problems due to rapid ageing are emerging as social issues. Awareness of intergenerational empathy and understanding that could alleviate these problems, but these factors are lacking.

Therefore, a more active response to generational understanding and generational integration is needed, including an environment for lifelong learning where generations can understand and learn from each other's thoughts, lives, and experiences. From this point of view, generational learning enables the transfer of knowledge, skills, competencies, and attitudes between generations beyond the learning of generations (Schmidt-Hertha, 2014). Solving short-term policy prescriptions would have a limited scope or effect, and in the long run, overall social integration and harmony can be achieved when citizenship is raised through lifelong learning of the generation. In other words, lifelong education can play a very important role in promoting generational integration through understanding, communication, and cooperation between generations. Therefore, from the perspective of lifelong education, it is difficult to propose a solution to educational practice and conflict without having an in-depth understanding and approach to the concept of generation.

Education fundamentally pursues the 'process of cultural order' (Flitner, 1997), the pursuit of social maturity required in the transmission of culture and historical living environments is possible only by understanding generations. Accordingly, it is necessary to pay attention to the simultaneity of multiple generations in lifelong education. The generation problem inevitably leads to the problem of sustainability – that is, the problem of coexistence of generations. Therefore, a generation needs to be viewed as a collection

of independent beings, not just a target of education. To this end, it is crucial and beneficial to examine the various potential units of generation and to move towards generational integration in lifelong education.

3.2.1 Generation Research of the Learning Style of Senior Learners

I analyse senior learners from the perspective of the generational learning style (tendency), but I still have a biological view of senior learners as an older generation. Although there is a limitation to this approach, I do not just look at the older generation as biologically old, but as a generation based on their sociohistorical experience. Indeed, the biological context can never be ignored when classifying generations because generations are social phenomena formed at the point where the biological period and history meet in the dynamic process of social change. I still consider senior learners as a cohort generation and define them as a group that has experienced history, social changes, or events at a specific time/age. Hence, I explore senior learners as a generation from the biological, historical, and social generation perspectives.

My focus on senior learners is due to the development of modern society: as life expectancy has increased, the proportion of the senior population has gradually increased. A number of studies have been conducted by focusing on seniors (learners). In andragogy, the previous research on the senior generation was relatively narrow. Previous studies on senior learners had called old age a failures phase (Moody, 2001). Therefore, senior learners were initially considered from the perspective of providing welfare services, but since the 1970s, researchers have claimed that old age is a time with infinite possibilities. Previous studies had largely been divided into the categories of career development related to retirement, research on the needs for and participation of senior learners in lifelong

education, and policy analysis research on the generation of senior learners. However, due to globalisation and the increase in diversity, studies are now focused on various aspects of the learning situation of senior learners due to differences between countries, cultures, and societies.

In particular, early generational studies related to the senior generation examined intergenerational learning and knowledge transfer within the family (Gadsden & Hall, 1996; Herzberg, 2006). However, intergenerational learning also occurs outside the family. Many European researchers have addressed this fact in recent years (Schmidt-Hertha, 2014). Recent empirical studies have focused primarily on the interest and preparation of senior adults for intergenerational learning. Researchers have found a high level of openness and willingness among seniors to gather with the younger generation and participate in intergenerational learning. Older people with higher levels of activity and civic engagement are more likely to be interested in intergenerational learning. The same applies to seniors with more positive images of ageing and more contact with younger generations (Schmidt-Hertha & Thalhammer, 2012). The specific context here is the field of lifelong education, where senior and young learners voluntarily gather to learn. Here, previous research points to some problems arising from differences in the learning purpose pursued by older and younger learners (Siebert & Seidel, 1990). However, as the academic ability of the senior generation has gradually increased and interest in learning increases, seniors have independently developed a second life after retirement through learning.

Learning in old age can consist of personal reflection and life reviews that occur in unexpected ways, and it can lead to greater self-understanding and personal insight (Withnall, 2000). The heterogeneity of the post-retirement population and the diversity of experiences of various senior groups suggest that we should understand the effects of

various events and beliefs in the life course of seniors and find ways to consider their experiences as learners (Withnall, 2000). Therefore, unlike the old generation in the past, the senior learner generation in modern society is enjoying their own developed and diverse lives

For example, as Baby Boomers continue to age around the world, they are relatively more autonomous and independent based on relatively high cultural, social, and economic capital compared with previous generations. Due to increased life expectancy due to the development of modern technology but unchanged retirement ages, retirement for them means more than finishing their career: it means reclaiming the time and leeway that they lost in their youth due to working. Therefore, learning is one of the prerequisites for living a new life for seniors (Formosa, 2012).

The learning required by this new senior generation should be for their personal self-realisation and social development (Wood, 2008). In addition, the senior generation has infinite potential to contribute to the education of the younger generation. However, there is still a negative social view of the intellectual ability and experience of seniors, so their abilities are not socially and culturally preferred. Therefore, we must acknowledge that seniors in general are active and useful citizens who want to live as fulfilling a life as possible.

From the perspective of Moody (2001), Park (2009), Lövdén et al (2020), and Stine-Morrow (2022), the social construction of old age in which intellectual challenges are limited (often implicitly and sometimes explicitly) fosters the very conditions that may not favour intellectual growth. However, there are more and more opportunities for educational experiences in old age. These senior learners have different preferences for how and what they want to learn given the availability of more and more diverse

educational experiences. Some want structured courses and activities. Others want one-on-one lessons or to learn on their own. Some want a formal course, while others want an informal activity. One of the most important ways women can reinvent themselves in ageing is through education. However, education systems do not necessarily welcome older people. In these circumstances, 'lifelong learning' has become a catchphrase in education, but little research has been done to explain what older people say they want and should learn. Nevertheless, there are statements about what other people believe they need. Health professionals are concerned about how and why we need to learn about health care (Kerschner & Pegues, 1998; Crane, 2001), and various studies suggest that health behaviours affect cognition during ageing. An example of this is the suggestion of the need for older adults to learn new skills to maintain a relationship between skill development and cognitive health by using the benefits provided by the skills. However, their attempts at this endeavour may not be easy because of their lack of sufficient early experience.

In this way, it can be seen that previous learning experiences have a great influence on continuous learning among older adults. To make it possible, processes such as remaking, making new, and making sense are necessary so that their life experiences, knowledge, values, and attitudes can be reflected in their later lives. Therefore, for older learners, the foundations of learning and knowledge laid down from an early age are critical to their learning. This foundation should not be limited to developing skills related to the ability to work; it should also ensure people have the skills and attitude to continue learning.

Withnall (2000) suggested that shifting the current emphasis from education to learning and examining what meaning older people actually attach to learning is a possible

way to approach the Third Age[2]. By using this approach, we can move towards new and more comprehensive theories of lifelong learning that are relevant to societies experiencing demographic change at unprecedented rates. Therefore, we need to gather data from older adults themselves on their attitudes towards learning and why, how, and what they want to learn. This research in lifelong education could also show whether such learning has measurable positive benefits.

3.3 The Liberation and Korean War Generation

The word 'generation' is familiar to society and individuals and it is easy to contemplate. In the family, it is divided into the parents' and children's generations, and in society, it is divided into the older and younger generations. People are also divided into historical generations based on historical events. Here, the mutual influence between individuals and the influence of historical events and individuals, including the meaning of experiencing together, is important. In general, the way of digesting intense events varies by generation, and it should be noted that such differences form different generations. Roseman (1995) said that certain peer groups feel unity due to the fact that they experienced certain special historical events similarly. These events include wars, crises, social transitions or transformation, and collective trauma.

I focused on the Liberation and Korean War generation who experienced the major collective trauma of liberation from Japan and the Korean War between South and North Korea. Moreover, I made an international comparison, considering immigrant

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[2] In an analysis of the French scenario, Lenoir (mars-avr. 1979) attributes the emergence of the notion of 'third age' to the new organization of the agents of management of old age. The autonomy of this new category can be seen in the pairs of opposites third age as opposed to old age; active retirement rather than passive retirement (Silvia, 2008; 162).

women who went to Germany to work and women who stayed in Korea to rebuild Korean society beginning in the 1960s. Therefore, I divided the Liberation and Korean War generation into two groups: Korean women who immigrated to Germany and Korean women who stayed in Korea. Women who immigrated to Germany for work formed the first generation of Korean immigrants in Germany.

In this study, the meaning of generation is used in a dual sense as the first generation of Korean immigrants in Germany and the Liberation and Korean War generation refer to the same group, but the generations have different meanings. The first generation of Korean immigrants is an immigrant cohort-type generation concept expressed as the order of their settlement regardless of their biological age, and the Liberation and Korean War generation refers to a generational perspective formed based on their common history and social experience.

3.3.1 Introduction to the Liberation and Korean War Generation

The Liberation and Korean War generation was born between 1945 and 1954, right after Korea's liberation from Japan and during the Korean War. They experienced very dramatic historical events: liberation from Japan, the Korean War, the division of territory, the beginning of the Vietnam War, and democratisation (Lee & Lee, 2018). In particular, they experienced the Korean War directly or indirectly in childhood, lost their families, or suffered separation from their families due to evacuation, and they considered surviving and protecting their families to be most important (Hong, 2003). At the time of their birth, the high fertility rate and the large number of people leaving impoverished rural areas meant that there was a rapid increase in lower-class individuals in cities that had been

devastated by war. They generally worked in the basic service industry or as simple labourers even though the unemployment rate was very high (Hong, 2003).

The Liberation and Korean War generation tends to have trauma related to the Korean War, evacuation, and the division of Korea. They spent their childhood in social turmoil, including the April Revolution and control by a military government. They experienced absolute poverty for a long period after the war, with per capita income of only $67 in 1953, $100 in 1963, and $1,000 in 1976 (Statistics Korea, 2008). They also received little investment in and few benefits from education and devoted their life to economic development from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s.

The parents of the Liberation and Korean War generation, who suffered from previous Japanese rule, tried to release their oppressed desire to learn in their children. In 1944, only 3% of the Korean population was Japanese, but 73% of middle school graduates in Korea were Japanese[3]. Based on this fact, learning after liberation from Japan was only possible for a very small number of privileged Korean people. Japanese rule had systematically prevented Koreans from entering the elite class. However, when the Education Act was enacted by the constitution in 1948, all citizens were given the right to education and accordingly, elementary school was obligatory and offered free of charge. Mandatory education began in 1950, but due to the outbreak of the Korean War, the enrolment rate in elementary schools was 86%, lower than it had been previously. Subsequently, the entrance rate of elementary schools has risen to 96% (*data from Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*[4]*)*. Unlike elementary schools, which were free, higher

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[3] At this time, since there are not many data remaining after Korea's liberation from Japan, it is based on past data issued by the Japanese Government-General of Korea, so there may be some errors.
[4] [Source: School - Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, The Academy of Korean Studies], https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0060773.

education required paying a tuition. Hence, enrollment in higher education lagged behind: it was only 6% in 1965 (*data from Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*[5]*).*

While the formal Korean social status system was legally abolished in 1894, the informal social status system gradually faded during the Korean War. This change led to a great tendency to regard substances such as food, clothing, and shelter as important (Hong, 2003). The norms of life were hard work and frugality to ensure the reconstruction, democratisation, and industrial revival of Korea after the war. Based on historical, social, and economic changes in Korea, the Liberation and Korean War generation experienced the following representative events[6].

Unlike Baby Boomers, this generation does not have a clear name; it has been called 'the industrialised generation', 'the modernised generation', and the pre-generation of Baby Boomers. Hong (2003) divided generations in response to structural changes in Korean society, summarised as industrialisation, democratisation, and informatisation, and they are more conservative than other generations based on their strong ideological education in the 1960s and 1970s. I use Liberation and Korean War generation in this study to highlight the most important events these individuals experienced and because the learning habitus is derived based on these two major historical events in childhood and various biographical experiences during democratisation in adulthood.

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5 [Source: University - Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, The Academy of Korean Studies], https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0014886.

[6] The childhood of these generations grew up along with Korea's democracy and economic development. There were various political and social issues in Korea, but these are the representative events that have been mentioned and remembered the most based on the interview analysis of the interviewees of this study.

Historical events	Date	Information
Liberation from Japanese colonial rule	15 August 1945	It is the day of liberation from the period of colonial rule by the Japanese Empire from 1910 to 1945. Japan's colonial policy was the most tyrannical in that it aimed not only at the social and economic exploitation of Korea, but also at the annihilation of Korean culture and ethnicity, and it was a period of mental reform by distorting history, suppressing of the use of Korean language, and destruction of cultural heritage. However, Korea's sovereignty was liberated on August 15, 1945, which had been lost due to the continuous large-scale independence movement of Koreans for about 30 years, the sacrifice of independence activists, and Japan's defeat in the Pacific War (McCune, 1947).
Korean War	25 June 1950 − 27 July 1953	Korean War, conflict between North Korea and South Korea in which at least 2.5 million persons lost their lives. The war reached international proportions in June 1950 when North Korea, supplied and advised by the Soviet Union, invaded the South. The fighting ended in July 1953 with Korea still divided into two hostile states. Negotiations in 1954 produced no further agreement, and the front line has been accepted ever since as the de facto boundary between North and South Korea (Millett, 2022).
April Revolution	19 April 1960	It was a democratic revolution led by students in April 1960. After liberation from Japan, the Republic of Korea was still in turmoil, which made the government more undemocratic and caused massive rigged elections. Therefore, protests by high school students and ordinary citizens, a group of intellectuals from various cities, began against the dictatorship and rigged election of Seungman Lee, the first president of Korea. The protests resulted in 186 death and more than 6000 injuries, which ended on April 26 with the resignation of president (Pio, 2012).
Gwangju Uprising	18−27 May 1980	The Gwangju Uprising was a popular uprising in the city of Gwangju, South Korea, from May 18 to May 27, 1980, which pitted local, armed citizens against soldiers and police of the South Korean government. At that time, Gwangju citizens protested against the retrogression of constitutional destruction and democratization caused by the May 17 emergency martial law expansion measures implemented by the new military forces, which were trained to suppress protests in advance, and many citizens were sacrificed. Despite the control of the media in Korea, Jürgen Hintspeter, a reporter for Germany's first public broadcaster ARD, announced the May 18 Gwangju Democratization Movement and its devastation to the world for the first time (Min, 2022).
Asia Financial Crisis	1997	In the Asian financial crisis, the expiration of short-term foreign capital debt by domestic companies, which relied on reckless borrowing, and the rapid outflow of foreign capital, which was unstable in the Asian economy, ran out of foreign reserves, and the bankruptcy and mass unemployment of Korean conglomerates occurred in a short period of time (Kim, 2006).To overcome this shock, Korea requested a bailout from the IMF(International Monetary Fund). The Korean financial crisis occurred at the end of 1997 and lasted about four years until August 2001 (Kose et al., 2021).

Table 1 Historical events in (South) Korea

3.3.2 Introduction to the First Generation of Korean Women Immigrants in Germany

'*Man hat Arbeitskräfte gerufen, und es kamen Menschen[7].*' (Frisch, 1965; 7)

In the mid-1950s, Germany experienced an unprecedented economic boom and suffered a severe labour shortage. The government tried to solve this problem through the introduction of foreign guest workers. In particular, as domestic nurses avoided difficult hospital work, there was a noticeable shortage of nursing labour in the medical field. In 1965, more than 30,000 nurses were needed in hospitals and nursing homes; a supply of foreign nurses was urgently needed to solve this problem (Kim, 2007; Choi, 2007). Korean workers flowed into Germany during this period, working in mines, hospitals, and tuberculosis nursing homes.

At the same time, Korean society was recovering poorly after the Korean War, and a military coup took place. Economically, it was a time when foreign currency inflow was needed to achieve state-led economic development. The difficulties with the national economy included high unemployment, and young people were rarely given opportunities for education and employment. Because this unemployment problem was recognised as a factor of social anxiety (Jeon, 2022), the Korean government intended to secure investment funds for economic development through overseas labour exports, which would lead to social stability by reducing the unemployment rate and also introduce foreign currency into the country (Kim, 2018). Educated women chose to move to Germany for several reasons, including higher salaries and advanced lifestyles compared with what they could make as nurses in Korea.

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[7] *'Labor force was called and man came'*

West Germany officially introduced foreign manpower by signing memorandums of understanding (MOU) with eight countries, starting with Italy in 1955. The MOU were based on the circular principle that the person would only work in Germany for the contract period, returning to his or her the home upon the expiration of the contract (Yoon, 2018). Korean women were officially sent to Germany as nurses and Korean men as miners in Germany from the 1960s to 1976. The first large-scale movement for the labour created a Korean community in Germany, and these immigrants are the first generation of Korean immigrants in Germany.

After Koreans settled in Germany beginning in the 1960s, they experiences some similar historical events in the German as Koreans experienced in Korea. Representative examples include the 1973 German mass unemployment due to the oil crisis and the West German student movement in Germany, and the Gwangju democratic movement(April upspring) and protests by foreign workers and women workers in Korea. This generation had received strong anti-communist brainwashing education at school[8] and at home because the social background of their birth was the beginning of the outbreak of the Korean War and the division of Korea (Hong, 2003). However, when Korean workers immigrated to Germany, they experienced protests against the government, protests against the Nazis led by students, and at the same time the Korean government's oppression of Koreans living in Germany, all of which caused great confusion about their social identity (Joung et al., 2017). They also began to form solidarity with foreign workers in Korea because foreign workers were severely excluded and discriminated against in Korea at that

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[8] Due to the Korean War between South and North Korea, which they experienced in their youth period, anti-communism and anti-North Korea were the biggest political ideologies of the country. For them, anti-communist and anti-North Korean ideology was a condition for survival. It also became an important governing tool for the government at the time (Hong, 2003).

time (Kim, 2019). Among the Liberation and Korean War generation, the group that immigrated to Germany as nurses experienced the following representative historical events in Germany and Korea.

Confusion about these various identities was strongly influenced by the pursuit of a stronger Korean identity or rather to break away from the previous one by forming a social and national identity. The same generation in Korea and Germany was subjected to this generational experience, but there was a difference between the places and groups that experienced it after adulthood.

Historical events	Date	Information
Mass unemployment of foreign workers due to the Middle East oil crisis	1973	In 1973, the Arab oil-producing countries' policy of weaponizing oil caused high unemployment and inflation in Europe due to the rise in the world's high oil prices. As the supply of oil decreased, the growth of output and productivity decreased, and the decrease in productivity also caused a decrease in employment (Löschel & Oberendorfer, 2009). With the halt to recruitment of foreign labor brought about by the oil crisis in 1972, the number of gainfully employed foreigners fell (Goldberg et al.,1996). As a result, Korean nurses who had previously come to Germany were no longer allowed to work in Germany to stabilize Germany's domestic unemployment rate.
East Berlin incident	8 July 1967	It was a spy case announced by the Korea Central Intelligence Agency at the time. The South Korean government claimed that as many as 194 Korean students who moved to Germany and France visited the North Korean Embassy in East Berlin and Pyongyang, received espionage training, and engaged in activities to be hostile to South Korea. Among the suspects pointed out by the Central Intelligence Agency as spies, famous Korean composers, painters, and poets working in Europe were tortured for their involvement in the incident. However, no one was convicted, and many musicians working in Europe and the German Federal Republic government protested against the South Korean government and many arrestees were released (Seong, 2005).
6.8. Protest Movement	May 1968	1968 movement in West Germany was the social movement characterized by the protesting students' rejection of traditionalism and of German political authority which included many former Nazi officials. Social movements became disillusioned with the political establishment, worrying it was reminiscent of Germany's Nazi past. West Berlin became a center for these movements since many left leaning people would take residence in West Berlin to avoid the military draft that was in effect in the rest of West Germany (Kurlansky, 2005).
Gwangju Uprising	18–27 May 1980	*Same as previous Korean groups' events*
The Dongil textile factory incident	21 February 1978	The Dongil textile factory incident happened on February 21, 1978, in which the opposition of the female workers of the Dongil Textile Union sprayed poop on the female workers. Most of the workers in the Dongil Textile factory were women. In 1972, there were only 200 men out of 1,300 union members. However, unions were controlled by men and rather acted as a watchdog for workers. Meanwhile, female workers were suffering from long hours of labor, poor treatment, and low wages. The Dongil Textile Women's Labor Union, which had been in dispute since 1976, became the target of the Central Intelligence Agency's maneuver, and the laid-off workers were blacklisted and unable to re-employment (Ahn, 2016)

Table 2 Historical events in Germany

3.3.2.1 Occupational and Sociocultural Aspects

The migration of Korean nurses represented an important opportunity for the formation of Korean communities in Germany. The type of work of dispatched nurses included non-professional labour care as well as professional work. Korean women who migrated to Germany experienced a shift in their perception of women's liberation and minority issues as well as anti-communist ideology. In 1975, Germany declared a suspension of foreign employment, fired foreign nurses, and took measures to send them home. Korean nurses protested and fought for the right to stay and work; the protests were centred in West Berlin. Korean women in Berlin, which was the main venue for the Korean Women's Association in Germany, actively participated in political and social movements and engaged in cultural activities to communicate with the local community (Kim, 2019). Korean nurses worked at all times of the day, lived in dormitories, and worked part-time on vacation. However, there were difficulties such as language barriers and loneliness in adapting to German society. It took a considerable amount of time to communicate, and after work, they learned and studied German and enrolled in German Adult Education Center (Vhs; Volkshochschule) (Nam, 2020).

Korean nurses also had a number of conflicts about the type of work, and problems with adapting to the work arose. At that time, it was not possible for Korean nurses to change their employers due to many legal restrictions. The most serious problem was the lack of information on living and working conditions before arrival in Germany (Yu, 2018). The problems of Korean nurse adaptation were especially pronounced in nursing homes because they were only afforded nonprofessional caring tasks. In Korea, nurses only provided professional medical treatment because other occupations, such as nursing assistants, provided nonprofessional care. In Germany professional and

nonprofessional nursing care (nursing assistant) is mixed. However, Korean nurses were not aware of this difference between Korea and Germany, and when they first moved to Germany, they nurses thought that German hospitals were purposely allocating them to relatively menial cleaning tasks. In addition, Korean nurses were smaller than German nurses and had trouble handling physically demanding tasks, and there were differences in problem-solving methods due to language problems, communication problems, and cultural differences.

3.3.2.2 Married Life

From 1970 to 1981, 1,622 German and Korean couples were married, of which 90% were Korean women and German men. There were 1,427 children born from Korean and German couples, mostly with a Korean mother. Their children represent the second or 1.5 generation in the Korean community in Germany. Because they were born and raised in Germany, they did not speak Korean well and had a hard time adapting to Korean culture. Therefore, they tended to experience identity confusion (Kim, 2021).

Because the meeting of German men and Korean women is a combination of different cultures, it brought about conflicts and the need for adjustment in family relations. In addition, because the degree of development of the two countries was different, there was a difference in the worldview, especially in politics and education. Korean nurses, who were influenced by their thorough anti-communist education, were strongly opposed to critical social voices such as socialism and social organisations, while German men showed a relatively generous tolerance to differences in ideology (Kim, 2019). In terms of children's education, while Korean women generally emphasised the importance of higher education and fierce competition, German men showed a freer attitude. In addition, Korean

women had to adapt their food cultures to match the preferences of their German spouses. Table manners and culture were different, so it was necessary for husbands and wives to adapt and understand each other's cultures.

3.3.2.3 Current

Of the more than 10,000 Korean nurses who visited Germany, about 5,000 are currently living in Germany (Kim, Hong & Choi, 2009). They spent nearly half a century settling and living there. They have had many difficulties but have persevered. For various reasons, they either could not or chose not to return to their home country. Currently, nurses who left for Germany in the early days of the dispatch period are old enough to retire and receive pensions, and about 1,000 of them have emigrated to other countries, including the United States and Canada, and others have returned to Korea. Some of them reside in small German villages in Korea (Kim, 2007).

4 Biographical Learning

4.1 Overview of Biography and Learning

The Greek etymology of biography is a synthesis of *bios* (life) + *graphia* (record, account), which means the record and description of life. Biography is a process of interaction between individuals and life that occurs constantly in human historical and cultural structures, and it means an individual organises his or her life on his or her own (Merrill & West, 2018). Individuals have an experience of interacting with the world in which they live through their biographies, but that experience is influenced by individual psychological history (Jarvis, 2001). Therefore, biographical research explores how an individual develops through social interactions, which is a process of life. It is interested in the process-related composition of an individual's life, but unlike other studies, it examines how identity and fate are shaped in the environment and structure in which the individual is located (Aptiszsch & Siouti, 2007). In this sense, Bourdieu's habitus is also something that individuals unconsciously acquire in the structure of society and it distinguishes individuals into specific groups. Hence, individuals show commonality and uniqueness in life in the biographical context and social structure in which their culture and history are embedded (Alheit & Dausien, 2002)

Jarvis said, 'I am learning to be me'(Jarvis, 2018; 21), it means that humans learn in their biographical context and structure of life. However, to be aware and recognise 'being myself' requires thinking about four questions: who am I? What is society? How do people interact? Why am I trying to learn? (Jarvis, 2018; 21) For this endeavour, the exploration of 'I' becomes important beyond the focus on only learning itself. It can raise the issues of 'being' and 'becoming', which can be dealt with in the fields of phenomenology, psychology, sociology, philosophy, and anthropology (Jarvis, 2012).

Contemporary life courses seem to have become more difficult as the phases of life one normally anticipates – traditional life plans – have lost the clear contours they may have had, and they may even have ceased to exist (Alheit, 1994). Therefore, individuals change and cope by constantly creating a the structure of their life to adapt to the uncertain and unpredictable life circumstance of their biography. Furthermore, we live with 'biographicity', the ability to lead our lives on our own by using various life strategies. This ability allows the subject to develop his or her life independently and autonomously, whether conscious/unconscious. Through this process, we can understand the life display in our life process by actively learning. In the relationship between biography and learning, biographical learning is learning about one's life by oneself and learning for one's own life (Alheit & Dausien, 2002b). Biographical learning does not simply mean acquiring knowledge in our lives. It also indicates that biographical experience and analytical distinctions, such as those between formal, nonformal, and informal learning, are not necessarily sharp as in school education.

One of the peculiar features of biography is that, through the accumulation and structuring of experience in one's life history, institutionally and socially specialised fields of experience become integrated, coalescing to form a new and particular construct of meanings. This achievement of a living subjects can be limited to the term 'biographicity' (Alheit, 1993; Alheit & Dausien, 2000b), which includes the concept of 'self-willed' and emphasises the subjective appropriation of learning schemes (Kade, 1994; Kade & Seitter, 1996) to highlight opportunities to create new structures of cultural and social experiences (Alheit & Dausien, 2002a). Biographical learning is inherent in the cultural context of social structure and interpretation. For this reason, when analysing educational and learning processes at the individual biographical level, it is also essential to clarify the 'external'

structures that frame the life process. My study focuses on the biographical approach widely recognised and employed in the field of adult education. Thus, I use the biographical approach to investigate older people's life experiences and their ageing and learning process to develop the concept of biographical learning. I mainly apply Alheit's biographical learning, which highlights three aspects of a biographical theoretical approach to lifelong learning: contextuality, temporality, and reflexivity.

4.2 Biographical Learning as Reflexive Identity

Learning does not occur according to the structure of learning and its frame, regardless of the distinction between formal, informal, and nonformal learning. Instead, it depends on the context in which its learning can occur. It shapes the historical and cultural notions of 'biography', setting a frame within which subjects interpret their experiences and generate biographical meaning. Here, biographical learning is embedded within societal structures and cultural contexts of interpretation. For that reason, when analysing educational and learning processes at the individual biographical level, it is also essential to be clear about the 'external' structures that frame the life course (Alheit & Dausien, 2002b).

For Alheit (2018a), biographical learning is always tied to the context of a specific biography. On the other hand, it is also the precondition or the medium in which biographical constructions can be created and modified as reflexive forms of experience. Indeed, biographical subjects use 'self and world referentiality' to understand how their lives have changed in a world that continues to change. This is an effort by them to understand their life processes and the context in which biographical learning takes place.

The 'worlds' in which learning processes take place as individual and interactive

practices are then not arbitrary learning environments but complex and inconsistently organized and multi- 'layered' social contexts of varying levels of relevance: there are concrete situations, life-settings and structured historical-social spaces that are marked by specific power structures and structures of inequality. (Alheit, 2018b; 13-14)

Our life world has various meanings, symbols, and purposes created through interaction with others. These factors allow us to discover the world. Therefore, the biographical approach aligns closely with learning and is embedded within societal structures and cultural contexts of interpretation (Alheit & Dausien, 2002b). Alheit (1995) proposed the term 'biographicity', mentioned above, for adults to reconstruct their lives independently. Individuals continue to have close connections between cultural, social, and ideological contexts with this biographicity, and they continue to expand or reconstruct their life in the context of the life in which they are placed (Malec-Rawinéski, 2021).

Alheit (2018) also proposed that temporality does not simply include past, present, and future physical time;

It also includes lifetime, 'own-time' and 'institutionalised time'. Therefore, a biographical analysis enquires about the temporal structure – the temporal order and 're-order' of education and learning within a life span. This structure is not linear in the sense of links in a 'chain of ongoing-learning', nor is it a quantitative accumulation of knowledge in the sense of a 'knowledge-account'. (Alheit, 2018; 13)

While the path of learning follows the passage of time, it also includes past detours or brief interruptions, current corrections, and repetitive processes in the future. Consequently, how one reconstructs and organises his/her own time based on experiencing and interacting at every moment is important (Alheit, 2018).

Reflexivity emphasises that in biographical learning, individuals reflectively engage and practice their life based on their own biographical knowledge. Reflexivity aims to go beyond simple reflection and causes perception changes in the social structure surrounding the subject. In this process, the subject performs 'autopoiesis(self-preservation)', meaning that he or she creates constructively to adapt to the environment (Alheit, 2021; 83). Therefore, in biographical learning, autopoiesis can be said to be an achievement that an active subject makes self-willing through reflection on his or her interaction with his or her life circumstance (Alheit & Dausien, 2002a). According to Alheit, this learning is understood as a process of 'making experiences' and the construction of meaning where the subject recursively refers to his or her own experiences and yields new knowledge and adventures. Importantly, this biographical structure virtually constitutes the individuality of the self. In a unique biography that is common but also distinguishable from others, the individual ultimately reconstructs anactive self-identity. In this way, biographical learning allows individuals to comprehensively explore the process of imparting identity that they create by interacting with the world autonomously in their biographies.
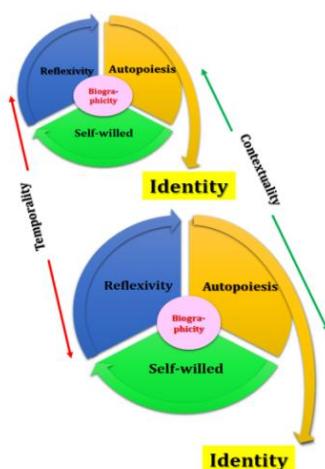
Figure 1 Biographical learning process

Biography as an individual's own social grammar arises only from the biographical process of experience. Through the self-referential processing of external impulses, 'internal logic' grows by processing the different meanings of concrete social circumstances, which can also continue to change through new external impulses. However, it does not change according to the principle of determination inherent in the impulse, but rather within the framework of this inner logic itself (Alheit, 2021). Bourdieu's habitus, which I also analyse in this study, can also be examined from the perspective of biographical learning. Alheit (2021) talked about the relationship between habitus and biographicity.

> In the distinction between opus operatum, as an incorporated form of generative schemes, as a 'structured structure', and modus operandi, as a 'structuring structure' (Bourdieu, 1987), the dialectical idea of an active production principle emerges, which refers to a previous 'social syntax'. This depth structure is incorporated through practice. It is not a 'natural' competence (as in Chomsky), but a 'coagulated life story' (Bourdieu, 1987). (Alheit, 2021; 89)

Nothing that we form and grow up as is created from emptiness: it unconsciously continues from the past deeply rooted in us. Therefore, by viewing habitus as a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, it can be extended as a pattern of perception, thinking, and acting that is common to all members of the same group or class and that is the prerequisite for every objectification and apperception (Bourdieu, 1990). This leads to a pattern/disposition of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class, rather than individual internalised structures (Bourdieu, 1990). Hence, it is difficult to say that the individual style, which has been formed through learning in various ways and forms the biography, is an individual and independent personal style, as can be seen from the Bourdieu's concept of habitus. We

develop our life in the structure and position of the society where we are located with 'self-referentiality', and we form our style and disposition according to these developments, creating a 'social grammar' (Alheit, 2021). Developing this social grammar is connected to the individual's biographical experience process and the reflexivity and temporality described above and learning that continues in this context.

4.3 The Many Faces of Biographical Learning in Old Age

4.3.1 Knowledge

Ageing is the process by which individuals manage and negotiate their own life paths by using different strategies to produce effective and best results through many life experiences and resources accumulated at different points of life (Hockey & James, 2017). In terms of narrative gerontology (Kenyon, Clark, & de Vries, 2001), which views human beings fundamentally as story-telling creatures that practice meaning making, a cluster of questions help to cast ageing in a more positive and creative light, a phenomenon called composing a life (Bateson,1989). In this sense, ageing means advancing age, not being aged, and it can be understood as a process of accumulating knowledge, influenced by trials and errors, opportunities, changes, and complexity in life (Randall, 2007).

There is a clear difference between knowledge in post-industrial society and the role and function of knowledge in the past industrial society, which was considered valuable in their biography (Alheit, 2018). Bourdieu (1984) stated that knowledge is no longer a kind of cultural capital that determines the social structure and guarantees reproduction that recurs constantly and repeatedly; rather, it is a kind of 'grey capital' that creates a new virtual economy (Field, 2000). In the past, traditional knowledge was appreciated for its scarcity due to limited access to knowledge, but virtual interactions and

networks in the current information society have now made the possession of and access to knowledge less valuable. Therefore, education and learning no longer involve the communication and diffusion of fixed knowledge, values, or technology for older generations (Alheit, 2018).

On the other hand, the accumulation of knowledge by various means based on the trajectory of life can be expressed using the term socialisation. In this process, society is constantly changing, so absolute knowledge is not fixed. As people enter the adult world, they leave the world of their previous childhood. Nevertheless, many of their childhood experiences are contained in their biographical knowledge, and only their appearance changes. Therefore, through biographical knowledge, we are integrated into the correct socialisation process as members of a society, but individual biographical knowledge simultaneously loses its value depending on changes in the structure of society. Although the value of the biographical knowledge of seniors has sometimes been evaluated differently in the present and past, it is considered capital in various ways by those who are struggling with 'thrownness' (*Geworfenheit*) and 'projection' (*Entwurf*) by birth and living (Sartre, 1939).

4.3.2 Work

4.3.2.1 As a Means of Living

For Arendt (2013), labour as a basic condition of humans refers to all the behaviours that humans indistinctively perform to survive. As a result, labour is not doing anything to plan or pursue something grand beyond surviving, so the big meaning of what it has is just human survival. However, the concept of work beyond that is an attempt to create artistic and productive objects as humans become somewhat free from the problem

of survival. Therefore, in modern society there is the concept that work has been pursued because the urgency for survival/living is not required. As such, the concept of human labour or work has changed. In particular, Alheit (2018a) stated that rapidly changed the meaning and importance of work and employment in the 20th century but the meaning and importance of work and employment in the 21st century are different. Because the formats and ways of work have also changed, there have been many transitions in the internal structure of work. Traditionally, women had been excluded from formal work. However, as women have gained access to education, they have also felt the duty to work as productive members of society (Alheit, 2018a). The meaning of work for them was initially for economic support to survive many social changes and events. Average employment no longer means practising the same occupation over a substantial span of one's life. It now involves alternating phases of work and additional training, voluntary and involuntary halts in working, innovative career switching strategies, and even self-chosen alternation between employment and family-centred phases (Alheit, 1992). These changes threatened the maintenance of a stable life in previous generations, which traditionally expected to work as a means of survival. In this regard, previous generations need to be able to flexibly transition to a modernised life process, and in this context biographical learning is required to rebalance the roles and functions of work in their existing learned and familiar lives.

4.3.2.2 Work and Self-Reflexivity

According to Bourdieu (1990), the meaning and importance of work for an individual are independent, but at the same time they are defined based on the structural framework in which an individual is located. The meaning of work has different importance for those with higher education and ownership of economic and cultural capital compared

with those who do not. This is also the above-mentioned concept of habitus, which has been unconsciously embodied and constructed in the life process: there will be some differences in what they personally pursue through work based on the individual's habitus. Therefore, recognising and giving value to work depends on the various experiences each individual has experienced before and on their capital, but the most important thing is 'knowing why'. Competency in 'knowing why' means various attitudes and perspectives, such as the meaning, identity, and motivation of an individual to work. It is not simply the meaning of work as labour as Arendt (2013) said, but through self-reflection that Alheit places importance on biographical learning. For Lieff (2009; 1383) meaningful work is similarly 'the realization of one's potential and purpose', in other words 'the point at which a person's passions, strengths, and core values interact synergistically in his or her work'. Schwartz (1982; 635) argued that meaningfully structured work is about allowing 'all persons to act as autonomous agents while performing their jobs', while Yeoman (2014; 241) argued that meaningful work is constituted by 'autonomy, freedom, and dignity'. Roessler (2012; 88), in turn, argued that lack of self-realisation leads to alienation, and accordingly meaningful work is about one 'being able to realize his talents and abilities, his individuality'. Therefore, when they no longer pursue the meaning of work as a simple means of living, work has another meaning and provides new motivation and hope for life for the individual.

4.3.2.3 Practice in Work

The conception of work in life is formed based on various social and family backgrounds experience. For those who are financially sufficient, work will be more than a means of economic means, and for those who are not, work will be regarded as a means

of keeping their lives stable. However, regardless of the group, in the workplace, individuals have required workplace learning, which is necessary to efficiently perform their tasks and duties in various interactions. Workplace learning is accompanied by work competency and expertise regardless of the form of learning (formal, informal, and non-formal) based on continuous interaction with various subjects and working experiences (López, 2020).

Through this practice in the workplace, we learn a variety of things, including knowledge and expertise related to work in the workplace and the culture of the organisation to adapt to it properly. Yannie (2002) studied learning in the workplace and divided it into four categories. First, learning is basically done by observing the way colleagues work through and deal with problems. A person then generates his or her own standard, which can be said to be a form of mimesis learning. Second, people learn through social activities. This allows them to gain tacit knowledge of their culture and characteristics through various public or private social activities with colleagues. Third, people learn by applying their work through continuous self-reflection on the things they have learned through chance interactions and experiences with people they encounter. Finally, by exploring colleagues in other fields other than those in the same workplace, people can learn how to establish creative strategies with a broader perspective and outlook. As a result, learning and practice in the workplace lead to the accumulation of technical competencies and expertise. They also require a process of thinking about how to use these competencies in one's life and what strategies and plans they can pursue continuously

4.3.3 Social Space

The biographical approach aligns closely with learning and is embedded within societal structures and cultural contexts of interpretation (Alheit & Dausien, 2002).

> In the development of a modern society the life's journey is no longer predetermined therein but instead becomes more variable for both the individual as well as for whole groups in society through educational processes and social mobility, migration and technical-cultural change. (Alehit, 2018b; 11)

I began this research based on the notion that the biographical approach starts with an understanding of identity as a heterogeneous, transforming, and polyphonic construct, which rejects any essentialist notion of identity as being something static, stable, and rigid. Because life stories are never isolated products – rather, there are close links between the story and other social, cultural, and ideological contexts – they are contextual (Malec-Rawiński, 2021).

We experience various historical and cultural movements in a society, but new physical locations change the types and meanings of values that had been regarded as important in the previous society, and there are attempts to adapt to a new society and culture through proper communication. In this way, people identify appropriate unanticipated events and subversive experiences while filtering them through the stock of their biographical experiences and knowledge. This appropriation is bilateral: the crystallised biographical knowledge 'illumines' the new experiences, but the latter can in turn bring about new retroactive interpretations of former experiences, the rearrangement of biographical knowledge, and the revision of biography (Tsiolis, 2012).

In particular, the subjects of this study constantly faced challenging life tasks and moments from the perspective of women immigrants. In this context, their biography has reformed constantly, both socially and within the historical framework. In particular, we

can understand the experiences that the participants have gained in Korea and Germany, which have distinct cultures and histories, by exploring their life histories and the social and historical contexts in which they gained these experiences. We can also consider the interplay between biographical opportunities and structural constraints that has occurred (Tsiolis, 2012).

The special identities that form in a non-habituated culture and social background through national migration can be described in the phenomenological sociology of Hoffman (1990) and Schütz (1994) as 'stranger'. This stranger is a migrant whose cultural and daily routine is uprooted, whose 'thinking as usual' has become dysfunctional. The stranger is ultimately doomed to experience an identity crisis, to feel complete estrangement from everyday culture, taste, or the sense of beauty and knowledge, because there is nothing he/she shares or has in common with the citizens of the receiving country. The identity formation for migrants should be expressed as difficulties with cultural division. In this regard, Bhabha and Rutherford (2006) considered it as a creative opportunity to recreate their 'ego'. They said that migrants form a 'third space' while establishing, negotiating, and interpreting their cultural confusion on their own. What is Important at this time is attention to language. This heterogeneity allows migrants to create a dual vision that combines their past experiences in their home countries with their current experiences in new places. As this expands, it becomes a spatial basis for the reinvention of a new kind of 'ego'.

Lutz (2011) studied the cultural adaptation of girls who migrated from Poland to North America in Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* (1990) from the perspective of acquiring a new language. She stated the following:

> Living in a new language is a precarious process in which a migrant is not only
> forced into language learning but also has to subordinate himself or herself to things
> that are alien and alienating. We can consider that he or she is forced to get rid of
> an old identity and acquire a new one. (Lutz, 2011; 348)

The acquisition of a new culture through a new language has also expanded to Bourdieu's work on language. He criticised the view that one language represents one ethnic identity or one culture and argued that the acquisition of language by immigrants affects their new biography and their position in their new society (Bourdieu, 1991). In his study of language, Bourdieu (1991) showed the extent to which language becomes a tool of distinction in the performance of power. However, there are too many factors (e.g., gender, age, social and educational background, migration path, etc.) for immigrants to form their new national, ethnical, cultural, and gender identity by interacting with each other in combination, not independently.

4.3.4 Identity as the Gender Role

Our biography is subjective and at the same time it develops in the context of society, so it is also objective. The concept of biographical learning is considered useful in this context because it considers both social structure and individual subjectivity (Bron & West, 2000; West et al., 2007). Hence, people can interact with their biographical and structural conditions to some extent by combining previous and current experiences and reflective thinking, but at the same time they recognise that there are limitations in controlling their paths. One of these contradictions is the perception of gender.

Alheit (2021; 88) stated:

> The fact that gender cannot be 'deconstructed' by intellectual means is not due to
> its inevitability as an alleged biological fact, but to the fact that in the course of a

biography of concrete women and men, also of people who move intersexually, it

is socially and temporally acquired and always 'manufactured' anew.

This view can be explained in greater detail based on Chomsky's universal grammar theory (1965). Biographicity is a unique social grammar of the individual that only arises in the biographical process of experience. Through self-referential processing of external impulses and dealing with the different semantics of the concrete social environment, an 'inner logic' grows. It tries to change within the framework of this inner logic itself.

Recognising the role of gender and the conception of gender itself to women means learning social grammar, which has a strong phenomenon of masculine domination that Bourdieu (2001) calls a biographical experience process. Although the various gender roles of women as mothers, women, and wives have gradually faded in postmodern society, its role and perception, which still remains transparent, can also come from differences in social grammar between the East and the West. Indeed, I found this difference in my study.

Furthermore this study can continue to be linked to the concept of habitus, which permeates the theoretical basis. Habitus, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 5, is linked to the fact that individual behaviour is practiced through subjective will. At the same time, it is influenced by social practices accumulated from the past and eventually has a certain social regularity. In this sense, the concept of gender and the perception of the role of gender in the East and West have continuously developed, but the basic frame for it is formed in the society and structure to which they belong and is considered 'right' in the value of their lives. In particular, the various roles and expectations required of women are determined by what social circumstances and culture they have relative to gender. Alheit (1999) pointed out that the various demands of members of society changed significantly in the late 20th century. Unlike before that time, economic factors are not the most important; but social

and cultural changes also play a decisive role (Alheit, 1999). Therefore, people's orientation is becoming more localised, a phenomenon greatly related to preferences for a particular lifestyle developed based on generation or gender-based experiences.

4.4 Understanding Ageing Based on Narrative Gerontology[9]

According to the concept of narrative identity, individuals are able to secure a coherent understanding of themselves despite the plurality and contradictory character of late modern societies (Tsiolis, 2012). It is much closer to an individual's achievement and depends on the individual's ability to combine and interconnect opposing and contradictory elements and experiences into the form of a life's story to construct a coherent narrative about him- pr herself. According to Alheit (2005), individuals in modern society are required to perform 'biographical work' to generate biographicity and to categorise events in their life. In this way, seniors filter through the accumulation of biographical experience and knowledge, making appropriate use of unexpected events and subversive experiences.

If we look at this from the perspective of ageing in gerontology, this appropriation process is bilateral: crystallised biographical knowledge 'illumines' new experiences, but the latter in turn leads to new retrospective interpretations of previous experiences, rearrangements of biographical knowledge, and biographical revisions (Tsiolis, 2012). Consequently, the process of ageing constitutes the construction of one's identity as a process of constantly open and fluid transformation.

From this perspective, ageing is the process by which individuals use various

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[9] 'Narrative gerontology' (Kenyon, Ruth, & Mader 1999) applies narratives to explore the metaphor of 'life as [a] story' and is intended as a 'heuristic for the study of aging'. Thus, narrative gerontology can be understood as a method to view ageing and what it entails. It encompasses the view that people can add value to their lives by creating and maintaining a personal narrative (Kenyon, Bohlmeijer, & Randall, 2010).

resources and strategies to manage and devise strategies for a successful future life based on previous experiences and reflections (Hockey & James, 2017). Therefore, ageing should be understood as a process by which humans get older, not that they are old. Ageing is dynamic and interactive, influenced by trial and error, opportunities, changes, and complexity. In this regard, Randall (2013) argued that gerontology mainly focuses on the biographical process rather than on biological ageing, thereby enriching an understanding of how human life changes subjectively over time. That is why we need to study how memories, emotions, and meaning of life formed from the past, present, and future are recreated inside life, and how identity is formed as a result of it. As many scholars who study gerontology in adult education emphasise, studying narratives is important (Hubble & Tew, 2015; Findsen & Formosa, 2012; Friebe & Schmidt-Hertha, 2013; Glendenning, 2001; Kee, 2010; Leung & Liu, 2011; Withnall, 2002; Withnall, 2018).

Narrative gerontology emphasises that various experiences through unique and subjective individual life paths can show how older people construct their lives and re-organise their identity (Ruth, & Kenyon, 1996). We can investigate this phenomenon through biographical access by identifying their culture and subculture and how the many networks they connect with affect their lives. Furthermore, Andrews (2009) found that an individual's experience of ageing is integrally bound to questions of culture – in particular, the systems of meaning within a culture – and context (2009). Thus, the process of ageing is socially and culturally constructed and everyone has a unique subjective experience with this process (Malec-Rawinéski, 2021).

Understanding the social construction of ageing allows us to recognise, evaluate, and investigate individual narratives about ageing, including how sociocultural factors influence an individual's formation of meaning and self-understanding. I also place

importance on how seniors construct identities in history and in their life world (*Lebenswelt*) interactions with others. Thus, ageing is not the same for all individuals (Nikander, 2009). It occurs throughout life, including the body, and is a non-static social process due to the variability and diversity of selves and identities.

5 Habitus and its Practice in Learning

5.1 The Concept and Characteristic of Habitus by Pierre Bourdieu

The concept of habitus started from Aristotle's notion of bodily hexis. Over the years, scholars have adapted it to different processes: Thomas Aquinas applied it to learning and memory (Calhoun, 2013); Hegel' thesis about the genealogy of cultural constructions; Durkheim's process of individual socialisation by reference to the collective; Weber's notion of ethos and its effects upon the individual psyche; Mauss's logic of the gift and the techniques of the body (related to the symbolic value of corporeal attitudes); Panofsky's concern about scholastic formation of habits; Schultz's interpretation of transmission at the centre of life history via socialisation; and Dewey's reflections on the influence of habit formation of the world that allows us to inhabit it (Bronckart & Schurmans, 1999). (Silvia, 2016; 74)

These concepts later became more established, starting with a study in Algeria by Bourdieu, who was born in a French rural petty bourgeois family. In the late 1950s, he worked as an assistant at a university in Algeria for several years instead of performing military service and at that time he studied Algerian society. He noted that a village called Kabyle had difficulty implementing the capitalist system introduced by French imperialism. Later, starting with a question about single men who do not marry in the Bearn region of France, he conceptualised it as 'habitus' or 'exis corprelle' that the reason why they cannot get married is not only because of economic problems, but also because of unsophisticated gestures, speech, and old fashioned style that are not attractive to women who have experienced urban culture (Reed-Danahay, 2004).

> There is no doubt that uprooting from the traditional order and an often brutal entry into the world of the modern economy bring about and presuppose systematic transformations of the habitus. (Bourdieu, 1979; 32)

Based on research and observation in Algeria and Bearn, he proposed integrating social structure and individual behaviour as a view of those relationship problems. From this point of view, habitus is repetitive, unlike habits, but has a characteristic of 'generatuer' through constant exchanges between agency and the social field. In his theory, action is neither entirely rational nor mechanical. Bourdieu explained why he tries to use the old concept of habitus.

> 'Habitus' permitted me to break with the structuralist paradigm without falling back into the old philosophy of the subject or of consciousness, that of classical economy and its homo economicus, returning these days under the name of 'methodological individualism'. In taking up the Aristotelian notion of hexis, converted by scholastic tradition into habitus, I wanted to react against structuralism and its strange philosophy of action which, implicitly in the Levi-Straussian notion of the unconscious and avowedly among the Althusserians, made the agent disappear by reducing it to the role of supporter or bearer (Träger) of the structure. I wanted to do this while slightly taking advantage of the use (unique in his work) which Panofsky made of the notion of habitus, in order to avoid reintroducing the pure knowing subject of the neo-Kantian philosophy of 'symbolic forms'. (Bourdieu, 1996; 179)

In this respect, he presented habitus as a conceptual scheme that transcends the dichotomous concepts of existentialism-structuralism and subject-structure (Wacquant, 2006). He chose this approach because most philosophers and sociologists had the view of teleological individualism that recognises people as an incomplete form of 'over-socialised cultural idiots' as well as mechanistic structuralism, without agency (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2002a). Therefore, he rejected dichotomous approaches and attempted to construct social practice. Moreover, he opposed subjectivism, emphasising that human

symbolic acts are relatively autonomous to objective social conditions and that social order is not a simple mechanical sum of individual agency orders (Bourdieu, 1990).

On the one hand, contrary to mechanistic objectivism, symbolic forms have a logic and an efficacy of their own that make them relatively autonomous with respect to the objective conditions apprehended in distributions. On the other hand, contrary to marginalist subjectivism, the social order is not formed like an election result or a market price by simple mechanical addition of individual orders (Bourdieu, 1990). He stated that '*the habitus could be considered as a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class and constituting the precondition for all objectification and apperception'*(Bourdieu, 1977; 86), and also 't*he habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure*' (Bourdieu, 1977; 72). This view indicates that disposition is the most visible expression from habitus. As he revealed through various empirical studies by class in his book *Distinction*, different tendencies and dispositions for the same behaviour or for the same product are revealed according to individual habitus.

In Bourdieu's early work, he focused on the cognitive aspects of habitus, but he gradually began to include the bodily aspects (Maton, 2014). Habitus includes both 'ethos' and 'bodily hexis (hexis corporelle)'. It relates directly to forms of body posture, deportment, style, and gait that inscribed value judgment for the social world (Williams, 1995). '*The harmony of habitus, that is to say, more precisely, the harmony of ethos and tastes- doubtless sensed in the imperceptible cues of body hexis – by the objective structure of the relations between social conditions*' (Bourdieu, 1977; 82).

Ethos is a practical principle and is defined differently from 'virtue' as a logical system of explicit principles. If ethos refers to mental disposition, bodily hexis refers to the bodily attitude unconsciously embodied in individual history by pointing to the disposition of the body. Therefore, the body acts as a medium for transmitting ethos, and habitus is a state in which socially categorised values are internalised in the body. This is not a process of one side defining the other; rather, both sides interact and correspond with each other. Therefore, social identity is the social usage of the body revealed through individual dispositions and is the result of bodily hexis. '*Habitus is creative, inventive, but within the limits of its structures, which are the embodied sedimentation of the social structures which produced it*' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; 19).

We need to pay attention to the aspect of 'structure' in that habitus has its own systematic order. Indeed, habitus itself has structures that characterise a determinate class of conditions of existence that produce the structures of the habitus, which in turn are the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experience (Bourdieu, 1990). This disposition system penetrates various elements and parts of life and reveals the consistency of taste. In addition, the structured structure of habitus is a product of the history that agencies have experienced so far, but it functions to reproduce personal collective practice. Through this process, habitus is a structure that continuously reproduces the previous structure while changing it into a new structure. In other words, habitus is both a constraint on practice and a result of the creativity of agency. Therefore, habitus provides conditioned and conditional freedom (Bourdieu, 1977).

Socialisation is possible through the specific and practical actions of habitus; it plays a mediating role between structure and individual practice. In other words, being socialised means acquiring or constructing a habitus empirically. Therefore, Bourdieu said

that all practices in society are meaningful and that individuals who partake in these meaningful practices are social agencies. Except for the practice of agency based on habitus, habitus operates in a relationship with the social structure, that is, 'the field'. Habitus acts as the principle of the specific aforementioned practice, and it is expressed through the relationship between agency's habitus and the social structure, the 'field' to which the individual belongs. According to Bourdieu, the social structure is always flexible and constantly changing

5.1.1 Construction and Reconstruction of Habitus

Habitus simultaneously generates the practice of agency and is structured by the field or social space to which it belongs. In other words, because the agent's life world produces habitus, an individual's unique habitus is formed according to class, gender, and race, and the structured structure mentioned in Chapter 5.1.1. is a product of agency's lives and reproduces collective practice. Therefore, an individual's disposition system continues to reflect the relationship with the social structure and the specificity of life based on one's social position. Even if several individuals belong to the same class, they have different tendencies and practices depending on each individual's life world, and personal habitus is a transformation of the collective class habitus.

> Since the history of the individual is never anything other than a certain specification of the collective history of his group or class, each individual system of dispositions may be seen as a structural variant of all the other group or class habitus, expressing the difference between trajectories and positions inside or outside the class. " personal" style, the particular stamp marking all the products of the same habitus, whether practices or works, is never more than a deviation in

relation to the style of a period or class so that it relates back to the common style

not only by its conformity. (Bourdieu, 1977; 86)

When describing the formation of habitus, Bourdieu referred to the process of socialisation: the recognition of the role of consciousness does not create a differential imbalance in favour of agency as opposed to structure. The dispositions within habitus are durable or 'inert' and as such they are not easily susceptible to change (Noble & Watkins, 2003). In other words, habitus is a structured structure, but it operates in a structuring structure: '*habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions/structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations.*'(Bourdieu, 1977; 72)

Through this process of socialisation, agency acquires habitus that is appropriate to the existing social structure and reconstructs a new scheme based on it. Habitus is formed through educational work, which varies depending on the environment and experience of each individual. Habitus is divided into two forms: one for maintenance or reinforcement and one for conversion of habitus. For example, children of the ruling class can go to expensive private schools and continue to maintain the parental class. Therefore, the primary habitus is basically formed in parent–family relations and class. These individuals internalise attributes associated with the parent class. '*The primary habitus is the set of dispositions one acquires in early childhood, slowly and imperceptibly, through familial osmosis and familiar immersion; it is fashioned by tacit and diffuse 'pedagogical labor with no precedent'; it constitutes our baseline social personality as well as 'the basis for the ulterior constitution of any other habitus' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; 42-6).* (Wacquant, 2014; 7)

After forming the primary habitus, each individual reconstructs a secondary habitus through re-socialisation in schools and the professional field. However, the primary habitus is the basis for reconstructing the secondary habitus. In the end, the primary habitus acquired at home has a strong influence on the subsequent effect of school education, which acts as the most important factor in internalising the structure produced through cultural work. '*The secondary habitus is any system of transposable schemata that becomes grafted subsequently, through specialized pedagogical labor that is typically shortened in duration, accelerated in pace, and explicit in organization.*' (Wacquant, 2014; 7) However, what Bourdieu most misunderstood about habitus is that *'habitus is a "black box" that muddles the analysis of social conduct, erases history, and freezes practice in the endless replication of structure.'* (Wacquant, 2014; 5)

> So the habitus is the principle of a real autonomy with respect to the immediate determinations of the 'situation'. The adjustments that are constantly required by the necessities of adaptation to new and unforeseen situations may bring about durable transformations of the habitus…. In short, in reaction against instantaneist mechanism, one is led to insist on the 'assimilatory' capacities of the habitus; but the habitus is also a power of adaptation, it constantly performs an adaptation to the external world which only exceptionally takes the form of a radical conversion.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1993; 87-88)

Habitus does not always work in a certain way. When a life world is changed, constantly modified or changing structures (political, historical, social, and cultural revolutions) create a gap between the space and disposition of the subject's position. Eventually, gaps between the primary habitus and the new environment develop. These gaps lead to continuous maladjusted restructuring of habitus so than an individual can fit the new situation and his or her place in the field. When habitus is confused, a person is in

a state of '*hysteresis*'. The phenomenon of maladjustment that still operates the same in new situations is called '*cleft habitus*' (Bourdieu, 2004; 111). There are also cases of discrepancy between habitus and field in which conduct remains unintelligible unless you consider habitus and its specific inertia, namely its hysteresis. The situation Bourdieu (1979) observed in Algeria, in which peasants endowed with a pre-capitalist habitus were suddenly uprooted and forcibly thrown into a capitalist cosmos, is one illustration of this phenomenon. In response to this maladjustment and to fit the new situation, habitus continues to change.

5.1.2 Function of Habitus: Distinction

As explained in Chapter 5.1.2, habitus is an attitude internalised by an individual's objective conditions and position, and a tendency to perceive, conceive, and act. It is naturally internalised unconsciously, without intended action, but it also has strong inertia(or hysteresis) and persistence (Bourdieu, 2000). *'The situation Bourdieu observed in Algeria, in which peasants endowed with a pre-capitalist habitus were suddenly uprooted and forcibly thrown into a capitalist cosmos (Bourdieu, 1990), is one illustration.'* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; 130)

> Another reason why we cannot do without the notion of habitus is that it alone allows us to take into account, and to account for, the constancy of dispositions, tastes, preferences, which gives so much trouble to neo-marginalist economics (many economists of consumer behavior have observed that the structure and level of expenses are not affected by short term variations in income and that consumption outlays display a high degree of inertia owing to the fact that they strongly depend on prior consumption patterns. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; 131)

So, even if their economic situation changes, it is because of inertia of habitus that they cannot change their previous consumption habits and continue with the same practice. Furthermore, Bourdieu argued that, although habitus is constituted at an individual level, common experiences of the social world tend to produce a collective habitus. Hence, people sharing the same objective conditions tend to have similar subjective experiences, dispositions, and schemes of perception.

> Likewise, the structural affinity of habitus belonging to the same class is capable of generating practices that are convergent and objectively orchestrated outside of any collective 'intention' or consciousness, let alone 'conspiracy.' In this fashion it explains many phenomena of quasi teleology which can be observed in the social world, such as those forms of collective action or reaction. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; 125)

As Bourdieu showed in his work *Distinction* (1987), attitudes towards consumption, culture, education, and politics in the bourgeoise, petty bourgeoisie, and proletarian classes have similar forms to those of each member of their location. Hence, cultural differences allow students to distinguish unconsciously between their groups and other groups and to promote or debase their motivation and desire for education. This habitus does not merely reproduce social order. Each individual's habitus is structured by past and present experiences and creates perceptions of the future and present through parenting and educational experiences. In this respect, the primary and secondary habitus reappear: the primary habitus shows relative persistence and resistance to change compared, while secondary habitus may bring changes to current or future practice. This will eventually depend on where agency is located and how the relationship with habitus is established in the field.

5.1.3 Doxa, Capital and Habitus

5.1.3.1 Doxa

Atkinson (2011) suggested 'doxa' as a concept that could replace collective habitus, expanding it to the institutional level. Doxa is used in the sense of institutional/collective habitus; that is, it refers to the expectations shared by a group, or rather a collective, such as a family, community, state, or institution, through which members feel a sense of belonging and have a natural attitude towards it. Even though it is shared and maintained by habitus, it might transcend an individual's habitus.

According to Atkinson (2011), a school is structured by various factors including the students' class, facilities, tradition, and history, creating a unique doxa for a particular school, representing the natural expectations and attitudes of the students.

> Each high school, has its own habitus – that is to say, its own predispositions, taken-for-granted expectations and schemes of perception – just like the people who populate it, and this serves to implicitly channel 'the impact of a cultural group or social class on an individual's behaviour', namely choice of college. (McDonough, 1997; 107)

Therefore, schools form an institutional doxa and each type of school has a particular disposition. In this study, doxa represents the collective habitus and disposition is considered a unique factor that represents the collective characteristics of the Liberation and Korean War generation.

5.1.3.2 Capital

Bourdieu investigated various cultural practices according to class classification. He referred to class and used the concept of cultural capital together with economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Unlike Marx's restriction of capital to economic capital, Bourdieu

described capital as *'accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its "incorporated," embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor'* (Bourdieu, 2018; 15). In other words, Bourdieu viewed capital as a more comprehensive concept and as any means that agency consciously or unconsciously carries out to acquire and maintain the legitimacy of domination. Bourdieu proposed two forms of capital: economic and cultural.

Economic capital is the sum of the elements of economic goods such as land, labour, and income, and capital that can be immediately and directly returned to money, such as monetary resources, and institutionalised in the form of ownership.

Cultural capital is what Bourdieu paid the most attention: it plays a very important role in the process of maintaining social order and reproducing the ruling-power relationship. Cultural capital does not transfer social status directly like economic capital, but it is thought that by internalising cultural tendencies and attitudes, individuals differentiate themselves from other classes and reproduce social status based on the ability to understand and use cultural objects (Garnham & Williams, 1980). Cultural capital is largely classified into three categories.

First, 'embodied cultural capital' means dignity and sophistication that appear in the person who owns it. It is revealed by the person's disposition. It is a tendency to be bodily and unconsciously internalised while being continuously exposed and educated in a family that has been rich in cultural capital since the person's childhood. Representative examples include internalised forms of habitus such as language ability, cultural perception, and aesthetic preference.

Second, 'institutionalised cultural capital' is the capital that confirms the social ability of the person who holds it as an indicator of a symbolic ability such as a degree or certificate. The certificate itself creates social differences and guarantees social status. Eventually, it has a hierarchy according to the difference between certificates and degrees. A big feature of this is that it is worth exchanging. Consequently, ownership of degrees and certificates has exchange value through the acquisition of economic value, which may lead to the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Third, cultural capital in an objective state of 'objectified capital' such as paintings, tools, TV, and books. Objectified cultural capital may be converted into economic value because it is purchased and owned using economic capital and has the value of exchange. It also signifies an individual's symbolic cultural level because it represents the act of appreciating and evaluating paintings or books through embodied cultural tendencies (habitus). However, owning cultural capital in an objectified state only indicates the degree of economic capital, and it is difficult to strongly express discriminatory cultural dispositions and attitudes and tendencies. Therefore, it can have value as cultural capital when used at a higher class habitus.

Finally, Bourdieu's social capital is the sum of actual and potential resources that can be mobilised through the affiliation of a continuous social network. This is because it is a potential source of resources that can be acquired by becoming a member of a specific group through continuous networking and exchanges. Its possession has the potential to share the capital owned by the group as a demonstration that it is 'reliable' while being recognised as a member of a particular group (Bourdieu, 1986). The power of this phenomenon lies in the size of the range of relations that can be influenced by mobilising economic capital, cultural capital, or symbolic capital.

5.2 Habitus and Generation

Gilleard and Higgs developed the concept of 'generation[al] habitus' to characterise the style/disposition of a generation, acknowledging that the concept of 'generation' itself is controversial from several perspectives (Gilleard & Higgs, 2002; Higgs et al., 2009; Higgs & Gillard, 2015). They used habitus of the Baby Boomer generation to analyse the factors that could cause conflict between the attitudes and disposition of the current generation and Baby Boomers. They incorporated the concept of Mannheim's generation with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, suggesting that baby boomers have played a key role in creating and maintaining a distinct generation field that can be considered a 'third era' in later years (Higgs & Gillard, 2015). Based on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and practice, generational habitus occurs within a specific generation of social practice that develops over time, creating a sense of historical experience that is distinct from previous experiences and performed according to disposition and practice (Twigg & Majima, 2014). While Gilleard and Higgs (2002) proposed the concept of generational habitus that characterises the style of a cohort, they also implied that the concept of generation remains controversial. Based on Bourdieu's concept of field, habitus, and practice, generational habitus develops social practice that develops over time in a specific generational field. It can produce a historical experience that is different from the past and also creates a distinct consciousness of the generation by historical experience. Moreover, it represents the distinct inclinations and practices of certain generations as people grow older (Twigg & Majima, 2014).

> Generation habitus is also an empirical task to determine which elements spread more easily than those of groups defined by their different ages, classes, or genders. It is an empirical task to determine which elements within a generational habitus spread more easily than others across groups defined by age, class or gender. (Gilleard, 2004; 117)

Baby Boomers have experienced war regardless of gender, and they have a common identity as a 'war generation'. Edmunds and Turner (2002) proposed the concept of a chronological generation, which means a birth group close to the social or political generation that has a kind of social identity and participates in historical conflicts and changes. In other words, not all historical generations are the same. Some become self-conscious and form the foundation of modern politics, culture, and consciousness (Edmunds & Turner, 2002; 121). They aimed to differentiate between chronological generations as something close to birth cohorts and social or political generations, which have some form of social identity and are participants in historical conflict and change. They pointed out that some generations are active while others are passive. That is to say, not all historical generations are the same: some become self-aware and are 'a foundation of modern politics, culture and consciousness' (Edmunds & Turner, 2002; 121). On the other hand, Corsten (1999) referred to the concept of historical generation with a specific collective identity as one of the classifications of generations. This view reaches a common understanding of the experiences of people born and raised at the same time and can be linked to the concept of doxa mentioned in Chapter 5.1.4. The concept of historical generation relies on social time. Generations share pictures of 'their time' or drama scripts of collective development in the course of 'their' historical phase (Corsten, 1999; 252). The concept of history has a decisive influence on the 'generation' perspective. In a sense, history is the formative personal experience of generational members. A generation consists of the result of 'living' history, which is the product of experience. However, it is possible to distinguish the collective memory of the experiences currently used in the interaction from the effects of the event at the time the event occurred. The history of a generation can be understood as a symbolic history that is remembered or imagined, and the past can be

understood as a symbol that creates meaning in the minds of the present generation (Hockey & James, 2017; Kastenbaum, 1997). Historical generations also refer to identifiable social groups formed based on the historical experiences of specific cohorts. These social groups build a sense of belonging around their historical experience and use their own cultural symbols to express this experience. The collective behaviour of the generation is distinguished from other generations by the generational habitus and can represent the generation's identity. In particular, the issues studied in gerontology are mainly related to problems and lifestyles after the retirement of generations. Specifically, by analysing culture and consumption patterns, retirement, and welfare of each generation, generational habitus is analysed as the generational identity (Higgs & Gilleard, 2010; Jones et al., 2010; Jones et al., 2017; Milton et al., 2015; Moffatt & Higgs, 2007).

'Generation' as a cohort of persons passing through time who come to share a common habitus and lifestyle.

> Generations are often defined culturally by sharing a 'traumatic event' (war-time experience, civil war or natural catastrophe), collective rituals and memories such as Woodstock), and adversarial political mentors. (Wyatt, 1993; 2)

Although I incorporate Edmunds and Turner's view of chronological and historical generations, I especially consider that generational characteristics are based on historical generations. I have classified the Liberation and Korean War generation based on historical experiences, but I assume that the group that immigrated to Germany and worked with a social identity in accordance with social changes and demands after liberation and war is a chronological generation as a generational unit. Studies have provided empirical descriptions of some of the social characteristic of different cohorts; the best descriptions incorporate some historical awareness. Therefore, using data on the Liberation and Korean War generation, I focus more on the contextual fluidity of those who immigrated to

Germany and those who stayed in Korea. However, entelechy serves as a factor to strengthen the cohesion of generational habitus – a collective characteristic of these generations – to highlight the similarities such as shared understanding between them.

5.2.1 Entelechy and Generational Habitus

Classical research on generations includes the work of Mannheim (1952) and Bourdieu (1993). Their concepts of 'entelechy' and 'habitus' provide a way to comprehend the common understanding shared by generations. Mannheim established the concept of generation based on positivism and romantic-historical positions and introduced the concept of generation as a reality (Mannheim, 1952). Indeed, he developed the concept of a generation based on Aristotle's concept of entelechy, which refers to that which steers every dwelling organism to discover and realise its optimal potency (Makin, 2006). Entelechy is the inner-directed force, the generation as reality, when individuals who occupy the same historical place share the same experience, and it is realised in their generation. Hence, entelechy is used to gather individuals internalised by groups who have experienced collective events in various ways.

> Furthermore, if no generational entelechy in Mannheim's sense of the term arises
>
> in such plausible constructs, it still appears that life-history experiences possess
>
> their own historical time horizons. Similarly, they possess their own social space,
>
> their 'collective points of reference'. (Halbwachs, 1966; 163)

Therefore, Mannheim's concept of entelechy – stratified by consciousness and the similarity of location based on generational experience – also represents the identity of the emotional outlook in culture and society. This gives them a sense of homogeneity and solidarity as if they belong to the generation taken for granted. As a result, it can also be connected to the style of the generation, the generational habitus.

> A further idea suggested by Pinder is that each generation builds up an 'entelechy'
> of its own by which means alone it can really become a qualitative unity.
> (Mannheim, 1952; 283)

Entelechy and emotion are structured as a system of continuous tendencies that guide individual behaviour and practices and orient them in society in a way that is self-evident to the individual. By prioritising certain behavioural patterns over others, entelechy can be said to be close to the concept of habitus, a continuous disposition system internalised by individuals through family rearing, education, and relationships with the surrounding environment. However, as previously discussed in the context of biographical learning, entelechy and habitus are also formed and changed through various forms of learning and internal reflection. Children first acquire their primary habitus through education at home; they subsequently strengthen or restructure their habitus through school education. As a result, families and schools are objectively different institutions, but children go to schools with environments similar to their home environment and strengthen their habitus. Therefore, educational endeavours also serve as a self-exclusion system that excludes itself according to the subjective expectation that it is not suitable for people similar to oneself. On the contrary, the same phenomenon allows people to have a strong sense of solidarity with entelechy in the generational unit and to have the same orientation.

Ultimately, humans build their own biographical knowledge and construct and establish their identity through biographical learning (formal, informal, and nonformal learning).

> The basic elements are similar in many ways to 'habitual knowledge', and their
> components are 'no longer regarded as the subject of individual experiences, but
> rather included within the experience horizon' (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973; 173).
> Humans draw upon this habitual knowledge more or less 'automatically'.

Nevertheless, it is only acquired through the stratification(layering) of experience.

(Hoerning & Alheit, 1995; 103)

This formation of identity is determined or influenced by many factors that are common to Mannheim and Bourdieu, namely the relationship between family rearing and education and between the social and cultural background. Accordingly, habitus is embodied bodily and manifested as a continuous tendency, and these individuals form their generational entelechy based on common experiences and collective memories to create a generational unit. However as Mannheim said, the experience of historical events is the same for everyone, but the meaning of interpreting and obtaining them is different, so the reflection will vary depending on the socially geographical relationship with them. For example, war is a common historical experience for the Liberation and Korean War generation, but it can be interpreted that having the same experience and appearing in different generational units or habitus varies depending on the individual's sociocultural background. In other words, habitus - the propensity system - is individual and subjective it is simultaneously social and collective. Hence, this habitus is called '*socialised subjectivity*' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 126).

5.3 Habitus in the Field of Education: (Generational) Learning Habitus

Habitus is formed and reconstructed through education. Humans have a process of forming their primary habitus through education at home and then reinforcing or restructuring their primary habitus through education at school. Unlike families, schools are expected to provide their own education with discrimination and distinction. In this sense, children tend to go to schools with environments and structures that are similar to their home environment.(Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970) Beyond school education, there have

been relatively few studies on the habitus of learners in the context of lifelong education. The available studies can be largely divided into four categories.

5.3.1 Generational Transition

The first group of studies have focused on how the learning habitus is transferred between generations and maintained. In particular, researchers have focused on the transition or acquisition of habitus between parents and sons and examined on how the habitus of parents/old generations formed based on their social background has been expressed or changed in the developed social background and context of sons/young generations. They have evaluated whether their social, historical, and cultural contexts have influenced the formation of habitus, and how habitus transmission to the subsequent generation has been based on the formation of a learning habitus throughout their biographies. A representative study is from Herzberg (2004): she examined the formation and transition of the 'biographic learning habitus' of fathers, the first generation of workers, to sons, the second generation of workers, in the Rostock area. Her major conclusion was that, under the influence of the specific dynamics of the milieu and of the ongoing transformation process after 1989, the persistent as well as the development-oriented patterns of the learning habitus had remained largely unmodified, even across the threshold from the parent generation to the offspring generation (Herzberg, 2006). Habitus, which has been acquired in their family despite the social dynamics of change, is a great example of the situation in Rostock. A modernisation process in education and qualification had occurred across the threshold from the parent generation to the offspring generation (Herzberg, 2004).

5.3.2 Transnational Learning Habitus

The second group of studies have focused on how migrants use habitus in the field of learning after they have migrated (transnational mobility), or how their previous educational background influences and reconstructs habitus in their new place (Glastra & Vedder, 2010; Krämer, 2018; Przybyszewska, 2020; Schneider & Lang, 2014; Thondhlana, 2020; Waters, 2007). For example, Krämer (2018) studied the participation of German women with Turkish migration backgrounds in adult learning using the concept of the learning habitus. In particular, she analysed the process of continuous learning as women participating in the qualification course from the perspective of the learning habitus, which migrant women had formed. She identified three learning habitus types: (1) active orientation with a self-reference type, (2) active orientation with a foreign reference, and (3) passive orientation with a foreign reference. These three types are related to previous school biographies, their parents, learning experience, and family background. Krämer also analysed this phenomenon from the perspective of transitional learning. She found that the greater the success and stimulation of their previous learning experience, the more they maintained the attitude of learning as a diasporic attitude even in a heterogeneous environment.

5.3.3 Decision Factor for Continuous Education

The third group of research has aimed to determine which of the various elements of the learning habitus leads learners to adult learning. Behr (2017) approached this issue by analysing the determinants of continuing education of teachers from the perspective of Bourdieu. He found that habitus-related professional factors and school characteristics affect the continuation of teachers in their lifelong learning. He concluded that gender, age,

employment, job performance, school type, professional experience, and satisfaction with their job as a teacher are important. These factors yielded six types of learning habitus based on their previous learning relationships: familiar and happy to learn/plan, autodidactic learning, life-coping learning, intuitive learning, story-oriented learning, and non-learner. Based on these results, he proposed new ideas and strategies for professional and systematic learning methods according to the type of personal learning habitus of teachers in developing and planning their professional education.

5.3.4 Social Grouping and Collective Habitus with Capital

The fourth area has examined habitus from a collective perspective and has studied the groups, regions, and communities that individuals belong to, not each individual, at the level of a social group relative to their learning continuation, learning attitudes, and strategies. For example, Atkin (2000) used Bourdieu's perspective of habitus and stated that learners from rural areas have difficulty promoting a culture of continuous participation in learning, which is related to structural problems and practical infrastructure. As a result, students in rural areas have fewer opportunities for education and there is an emphasis on the traditional educational generational perspective of passing on traditional generational knowledge from parents to children rather than professional development through formal education (e.g., school education). In this respect, their rural habitus made family education/discipline more important, which consequently lowered participation in and expectations for formal learning. He urged policymakers to provide more learning opportunities in rural areas.

In the field of traditional educational sociology, studies have been conducted on how class habitus is maintained and strengthened through education in the theoretical context

of cultural reproduction, and how it leads to career decisions and reproduction from the family's class. However, because adult learning proceeds after compulsory education is over, learning begins based on individual subjectivity and activism in the field of lifelong learning. In this respect, studies related to the learning habitus have commonly found elements that induce adult learners to enter the field of learning and attitudes that they perceive learning in their social backgrounds and experiences in their previous lives. As many studies have shown, Bourdieu's concept of habitus is that learners internalise the objective opportunities given to them to gain insight into their future and to choose the path with which they feel most familiar. That is why their habitus has been shaped by individual aspirations and expectations through education, rational or unreasonable things, behaviours and strategies, and tastes that they should take from their previous life experiences and from all the elements of the living world that surround them.

5.3.5 Learning habitus through individual biographical learning

Through various perspectives on habitus discussed in the previous chapters, we can understand how the concept of habitus has been analyzed and studied in the context of the learning and education. However, fundamentally, beyond Bourdieu, habitus is perceived as a specific pattern of social recognition, wherein an individual's style or disposition is regarded as a product of the social structure in which the subject is situated. In this regard, he posits that an individual's distinctive style constitutes a genetic and unifying principle of totality (Bourdieu, 1985). However, his explanation does not provide sufficient insight into the process of how habitus, as described by him, is internalized through diverse personal life experiences at the individual level. It means that although the concept of habitus is defined as the system and structure, it is difficult to grasp how the

internal structure is composed and constructed by individuals. According to Bourdieu, practice is caused by habitus, so we can closely understand the structure of individual habitus when analysing their practice, but there seems to be a flaw in Bourdieu's explanation to explain the process of habitus being individualised.

Liebau (1987) and Herzberg (2006) also mentioned this difficulty. Liebau (1987) pointed out that owing to social mobility, a gap has opened up between the new demands 'which arise from new positions' that are placed on individuals and the habitus developed at a young age. This conflict may cause changes in habitus. Against this background, Liebau provided a great perspective on the acquisition and formation of habitus considering socialisation and individualisation. This can be explained as the formation of a new coping system that individuals acquire at a personal level while being influenced by the social structures of the external world.

Since then, Herzberg (2006) has argued for the validity of this view by adding an approach of biographical theory as the process of individualisation of the learning habitus. The accumulation of personal life experiences and the emergence of lifelong learning within them can indicate the strategies for coping and the direction of individual actions as schemas of perception, conception, and action that habitus possesses, as well as potential suggestions for future development. Specifically, this aspect suggests that in the context of biographical learning, the individual's differentiation in structural logic at the personal level, generated through self-will and principles of Autopoiesis, can lead to the emergence of desires and strategies (Herzberg, 2006). Therefore, in this regard, in this study learning habitus is not only a result of the individual's placement within specific social structures but also individual plays a role as a subject who actively creates or reshapes their habitus through biographical learning.

Therefore, the theory of lifelong learning is believed to provide complementary explanations and bridges the gaps in understanding the process of individuals forming their avitus from a subjective position, creating individualization in the process.

Based on these suggestions, in this study I examine the learners' biographical learning process and biographical context to examine the process of constructing/reconstructing the learning habitus and figure out the learning aspects identified by it. In addition, the learning habitus is thought to develop its own specific evaluation and classification schemas by being embodied and internalised based on biographical experience.

The structure of the learning habitus I used for this study is shown in the following figure 2.
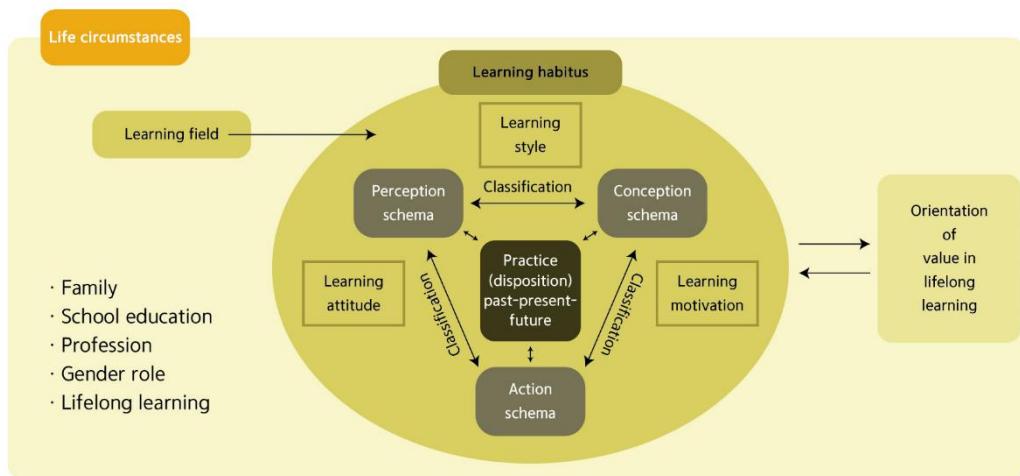
Figure 2 Structure of learning habitus

Note. Adapted from *Learning Habitus Analysis of Babyboom-Generation in Field of Lifelong education and Vocational Training* (Page 75), by M. Jung, 2016, (Doctoral dissertation, Pusan National University).

In this study, learning habitus, primarily constructed based on biographical experience, appears as a practice while continuously responding to the constraints and

demands of the external environment. In the context of learning, learning habitus comes from the operation of habitus, with the constant performance of perception, conception, and action schema. In this sense, practice appears as an individual's disposition and continues to emerge as past and present experiences in the temporal structure. Note that disposition is not intended by the individual but is unconsciously revealed by habitus. Furthermore, these schemas are internalised and embodied and used as a system that distinguishes itself from other groups.

In this study, I examine how the learning habitus of learners based on the primary habitus, which has been formed in a generational context based on their society and history, is used as a strategy to cope with a continuously changing external world. The learning habitus includes the learners' families, school education, professional aspects, gender role, and lifelong learning. I examine how biographical learning in these five categories has shaped the learning habitus. The learning habitus is a system of sense of practice as a perception, conception, and action schema that individuals have formed based on biographical learning as their learning practice. Based on biography, I classify the learning habitus into analytical categories of learning motivation, learning style, learning attitude, and value orientation as attitudes/taste towards learning. Furthermore, based on Alheit's biographical learning context, I suggest what kind of learning processes and tendencies learners have in their lives as they form their learning habitus. Ultimately, this study summarized in the conclusion with the representation of learner's identity through their learning with individual learning habitus.

III. Empirical Study of the Learning Habitus of the Liberation and Korean War Generation

6 Research Method

The purpose of this study is to understand the biographical path of senior learners living in Korea and Germany and to understand how the learning habitus is constructed/reconstructed and what characteristics it represents according to the biographical structure of each group. Beyond the theoretical proposal, empirical research has been conducted to examine how learner's biographical experiences are related to the formation of habitus in the field of lifelong education. In this study, I attempt to identify the life paths of select participants from the Liberation and Korean War generation by using qualitative research methods. I reflect on self-identity and learning and find the meaning of learning based on the participants' biographical experiences and structures. This chapter includes the details on the overall research strategy and method.

6.1 Research Strategy

There are two main research objectives: (1) identify the individual life structure and biographical experiences of the Liberation and Korean War generation who immigrated to Germany and who stayed in Korea, and (2) analyse the construction of the learning habitus according to the biographical path. I applied qualitative research methods, originally considering eight senior Korean learners who live in Korea and nine senior German learners who had immigrated from Korea. Among the 17 participants, I selected six who could clearly and obviously show and express their life and the relationship with the learning habitus (described in more detail later in this chapter). Hence, the final sample

comprised two Koreans and four Germans who had immigrated from Korea.

This thesis represents empirical research, so it is important to examine the interrelationship between the experience and the formation of the learning habitus, specifically how senior learners continuously construct and reconstruct their learning habitus in an objective life structure or constantly reproduce or change the previous structure in changing circumstances. In addition, to analyse senior learners in the field of lifelong education, I tried to intuitively examine the life phenomena of learners born in the context of a specific generation. In this context, I considered the qualitative research method to be suitable. Qualitative research methods can verify the aesthetic dimension of human experience and are useful for analysing what subjective meaning research participants give to their experiences (Lamb & Bornstein, 2009). In addition, qualitative research is applied to answer research questions corresponding to 'why' and 'how' and is centred on actors, so it is applied when researchers cannot artificially manipulate variables related to research problems (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, I tried to investigate meaningful individuals or groups with assumptions, worldviews, possible theoretical lenses, and research problems, and I intuitively tried to see how their learning habitus is constructed through the life and learning experiences of senior learners.

I conducted this study according to the flow of the narrative research process presented by Claudinin, Puschor and Orr (2007). In the narrative research process, they suggest that the first step is for researchers to think about the motivation of the study, to search for a site suitable for the purpose of the study, and to visit the site before starting data collection to meet and familiarise themselves with officials and participants in the study. The second step is for researchers to enter the field, collect data, and write on-site text. In the first and second stages, the process of should reflect the role, attitude,

perspective, and relationship with the research participants. The third step is to construct a text, including transcribing interviews, which represent the target of analysis. The fourth step is to create meaning for the experience by repeatedly reading the text to find the narrative pattern, narrative plot, tension, etc., contained in it by connecting individual experiences and social situations. Finally, the fifth step involves interpretation and writing the research text. When constructing the research text, both the researcher's and participants' voices must be clearly described to achieve balance.

In the interview stage, I collected a total of six narratives from participants by using Schütze's narrative interview method. I analysed the transcribed interviews by applying the documentary analysis method, managing all the tasks with the MAXQDA software program. This method allowed me to classify the process of learners' biographical learning and to form the sociogenetic learning habitus types. Based on their biographical learning experiences and the subsequent analysis of learning habitus, I developed an integrated conclusion including policy, institutional, and instructor recommendations to improve the teaching/learning method for lifelong education. The overall research process is shown in the following Figure 3.
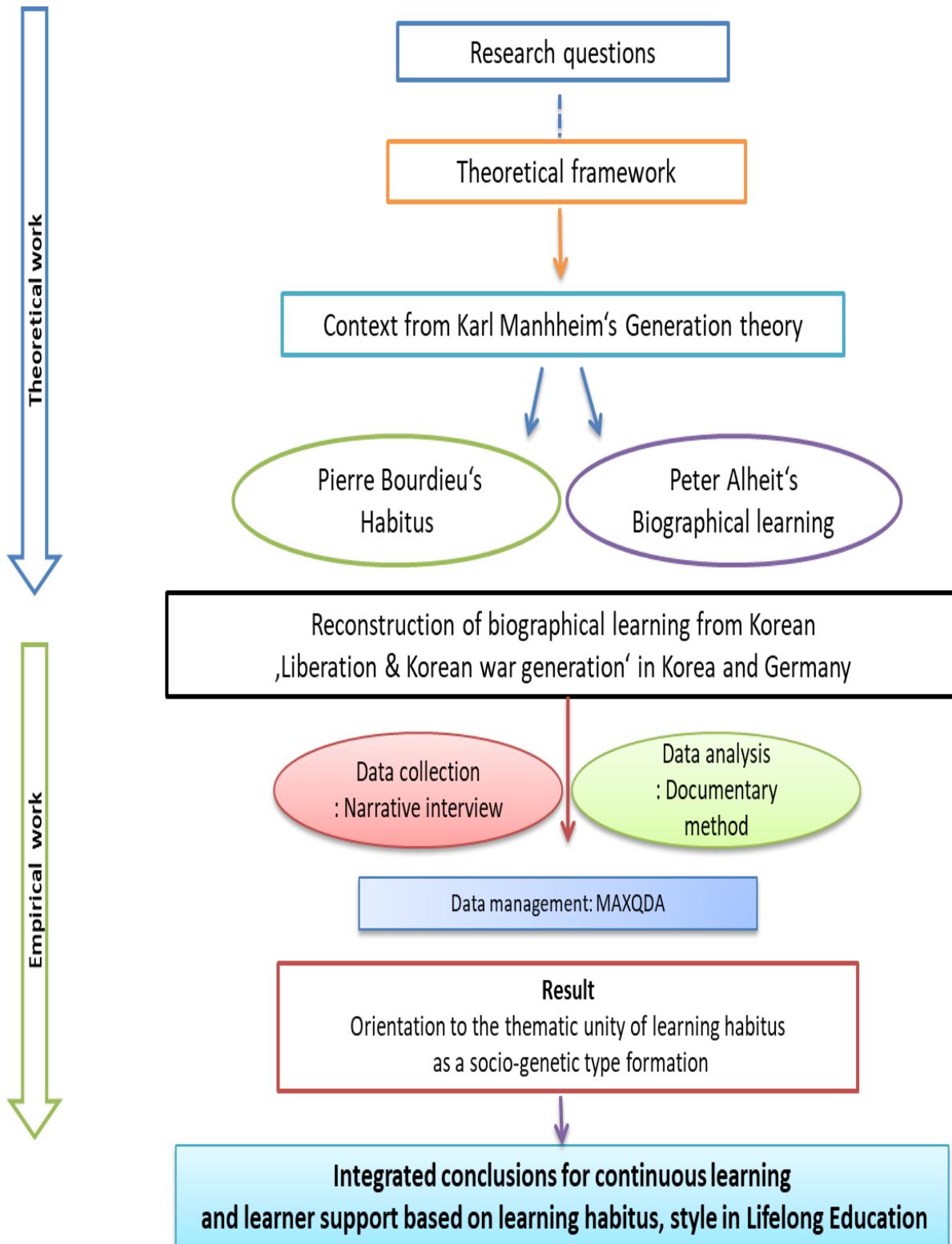
Figure 3 Research process

6.2. Data Collection

Data collection comprised two parts:

1) I interviewed nine participants (German group) who were born in the late 1940s to the early 1950s and came to Germany to work as 'nurses' from the late 1960s to the early 1970s and still live in Germany.

2) I interviewed eight senior Korean women (Korean group) who were born around the same period as the previous participants and had always lived in Korea.

I conducted the pre-preparation work and meetings for data collection from March 2021 to May 2022 (14 months). Specifically, I interviewed the German learner group from March 2021 to December in Germany, and I interviewed the Korean learner group from December 2021 to May 2022 in Korea.

I selected the participants by using the purposeful sampling method (Suri, 2011). This technique is generally used in qualitative research; research participants are intentionally selected based on the specific research purpose. Consideration of these criteria placed an emphasis on achieving a clear and distinct correlation between the structure of participants' individual narratives and the formation of their learning habitus, highlighting the formation process. Based on this, .I set reasonable standards from the stage of planning this study to select participants who met the following criteria[10].

(1) A group of people with the same historical/social background (generational background);

(2) Senior learners with active learning;

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[10] However, not providing more specific selection criteria was an attempt to approach participants' unique individual narratives as diversely as possible and to minimize the researcher's subjectivity and arbitrary manipulation to the greatest extent possible.

(3)   Seniors with narratives that could show a variety of differences regarding

economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital;

(4)   People willing to disclose their narratives honestly based on their trust in the

researcher;

(5)   Learners with an abundant narrative of learning and biographical experiences.

Based on the above five conditions, out of 17 participants, I selected two Koreans and four

Germans. The detailed recruitment and interviewing are described in Chapter 6.2.1

6.2.1 Study Implementation and Recruitment of Study Participants

6.2.1.1 Pre-preparation work

In the interviews, I aimed to collect information concerning the life paths and

experiences of the study participants. The participants provided oral data in the form of

biographical narratives, which I then transcribed to produce biographical text. The

participants are part of the Liberation and Korean War generation: senior German and

Korean women engaged in active learning who have constructed their own identity through

the learning habitus they have acquired via constant struggle and learning in the face of

various social and historical events.

Before my study, many Korean sociology, history, and women's studies

researchers have tried to study Koreans who immigrated to Germany, especially because

these cases are based on special historical and social dynamics. The German immigrants

have had difficulties trusting the researchers or in their willingness to participate in research.

In addition, because there are currently about 2,000 Korean female immigrants in Germany,

it was difficult to contact them initially. It was not difficult to find senior Korean women

of the Liberation and Korean War generation actively engaged in learning activities, but it

was difficult to make initial contact and to gain their trust. I initially asked for help from a colleague who would serve as a gatekeeper while I working at a lifelong education institution in Korea. After that, I applied the snowball sampling method to identify more participants whom I could interview, but the process did not proceed smoothly. This is because most people are reluctant to reveal their personal lives to others.

For the German group, I first surveyed the Korean immigrant community on the Internet and Korean newspapers in Germany to find internal helpers, and then tried to contact representatives or executives of various Korean organisations in Germany. First, I explained the purpose of the study and interviews in detail. However, it was very difficult to find participants willing to reveal their life stories as they had some fear and hesitation regarding my approach. Fortunately, I found a representative of a Korean community group who provided me with an opportunity to meet them, so I produced a detailed overview of research ethics before entering the field. Along with the purpose of the study, the research participant agreement included detailed guidance on the overall research process, including how the interviews would be conducted and recorded and how the interview materials would be used. In addition, because it is a biographical study, the research participants could suffer psychological and emotional pain when looking back on their difficult lives. Therefore, I reassured them that they could stop participating in research whenever they want. They were also guaranteed anonymity.

6.2.1.2 Entry Into the Field

6.2.1.2.1 German Group

I attempted to form a rapport with this group by gaining sufficient understanding of their historical life path and their current status in Germany from March 2021. I was

encouraged by an executive member of the Korea Immigrant Association, who helped me contact members of this group. While participating in their events beginning in June 2021, I did not rush to approach them as a researcher. Rather, I tried to help them carry out their events to gain their trust and to build rapport, and I also listened to their stories as much as possible. In this process, they gradually began to trust me and asked questions about my research. These women, who have always had a longing for their hometown and country, seemed to project their past on me because they were also 20s when they first came to Germany.

During these events, we sang Korean songs together and sometimes I acted as a staff member to help them with their Korean events. We communicated with each other in Korean, and I introduced myself and why I was studying in Germany. Therefore, some of them gradually became interested in my research. I then had the opportunity to clearly explain the purpose and process of my research and research ethics. Afterwards, some of the women said they would be willing to let me interview them, and I had informal conversations to understand their fundamental narratives and to determine whether they would be suitable interviewees. There were nine people who were interested and pre interviewed, but among them I selected four people who have had the richest learning experiences at school and at home for main interview participants. I then scheduled a narrative interview with each participant.

6.2.1.2.2 Korean Group

June 2021, I contacted one of my colleagues in Korea to ask if he could act as a gatekeeper for my research. I provided him with a detailed overview of the research. He said he would help me and contacted leaders working in several senior education centres.

Fortunately, one of the leaders recommended eight Liberation and Korean War generation learners who met the requirements of this research. I contacted the participants who met my research participant standards and explained the overview of the research and pre interviewed. After that we met several time to get more their stories(pre interview) and, finally, I selected two people for main interview.

Most of the Korean and German participants felt sad and hesitant in sharing their past – there were difficult and painful memories and private events that they did not want to reveal. Some of them did not agree to participate in the study. I expressed to them that as a qualitative researcher, I fully understood how difficult it was to express their stories to a stranger. Furthermore, I explained to them that their narratives are very important and meaningful and help to show how humans interact in the historical reality of life and how their developed self and social experiences converge in their lives (Schütze, 1987) and specifically lead to the construction of habitus.

6.2.1.2.3 Main Interview

According to Schütze (2016), a narrative interview means that the subject reconstructs the meaning of his or her individual life experience and the narrative that penetrates the entire life in his or her own language for the world the subject is constructing. Therefore, a narrative interview is a story told by the participant themselves, and the principle is to improvise the life story experienced by the participant without interference or bias from the researcher.

I conducted the interviews between June 2021 and May 2022. The interviews with the German group occurred between June 2021 and December 2021. I personally visited the regions where the participants lived (Wiesbaden, Essen, Berlin, and Mainz) to conduct

the interviews. I met with each participant approximately twice for an average of 200 minutes. All interviews were conducted in Korean. After interviewing them in person, I asked additional questions through telephone interviews for supplementary information or if I have specific questions about their experiences.

For the Korean group, I first met each one to determine their current situation and their suitability as an interviewee, ultimately selecting two to interview. I interviewed them face-to-face in the place they lived in Korea. On average, we met about twice for a total of 180 minutes.

German group				
No.	Psuedonym	Number of meetings	Length of each interview (minutes)	Place
1	Sunnam Ok	2	130–180	Her garden, Wiesbaden
2	Myungsun Jang	3	100–190	Restaurant, café, Berlin
3	Myungjin Cha	2	80–160	Korean community, Berlin
4	Jumoh Moon	3	120–280	Restaurant, Wiesbaden
Korean group				
5	Okja Go	2	60–230	Café, Busan
6	Gyuhee Nam	2	70–120	Institution of senior education, Busan

Table 3 Interview information

The interview process comprised two parts. In the first part, the interview questions, following the emphasis of Schütze's narrative interview method, commenced with a very open-ended and inviting inquiry, to encourage participants to speak about their life memories in their own language. Therefore, I first asked them the following open

question: 'Can you tell me as much as you can remember about your life so far? You can tell as many experiences or stories as you can remember from the time you were born until now.' The participants began to freely talk about their lives. I left the composition, emphasis, content, and beginning and end of their stories to them. Regarding this aspect, according to Hermanns (1995), in narrative interviews researchers should induce interviewees to create a consistent narrative about their lives from the beginning to end. Therefore, I did not provide many reactions or interrupt them so they would continue talking, even if there were short pauses.

The second part involved the participants telling me as many stories as they could remember, and when they had nothing more to say, I asked additional questions about experiences that lacked detail, were unclear, or that I misunderstood. These questions are especially important because participants do not talk about their lives in a chronological order, but rather based on memories and emotions that come to mind momentarily while going back and forth between the present and the past. Hence, it is sometimes necessary to ask for clarification. In particular, there are parts in which the participants themselves emphasise or repeatedly talk about some memories or experiences, and this part is the point of view in which they interpret their lives, which is the basis for interpreting the structural relationship of habitus construction based on their life experiences. Because I was interested in interpreting the relationship between the relevant factors, I asked more intensive questions about these parts. In the subsequent analysis stage, I asked additional questions by text message or phone call while forming a continuous bond with the participants. Lastly, I confirmed the chronological flow of their life with them.

6.2.2 Narrative Interview

I collected data via narrative interviews to reveal the life experiences and process structures of senior learners. The narrative interview is the preferred interview method for approaching an individual's life history, and interviewees can spontaneously tell (*Stegreiferzählung*) their stories without interference from the researcher (Schütze, 1984). The narrative interview is a social science research method developed by Schütze in Germany in the 1970s (Schütze, 1984). He developed it with interest in how individuals interact with each other in the history of life and how developed self and social experiences are fused in their lives.

The purpose of a narrative interview is not to generate answers to questions, but rather, as I said above, to elicit a narrative of one's own experience, an impromptu narrative that is not interrupted by the researcher's intervention. Narrative interviews aim to get a first-person account of one's life or aspects of life from an individual called the narrator rather than the respondent. The researcher is asked to grasp the objective reality of the subject (*objective Realitaet des Subjekts*) and his world of meaning (*Sinnwelt*) by subjectively processing the facts using the categories selected by the narrator (Fuchs-Heinritz, 2015). Because the narrator is given 'freedom of expression', one could think it is easy to lead a narrative interview. In practice, however, an interviewer requires certain skills to obtain a high-quality narrative interview (Nohl, 2010). Although I described the interview process for my empirical data collection in Chapter 6.2.1, below I discuss the four important interview steps for narrative interviews based on the steps suggested by Garz (2004).

6.2.2.1 The Initial Phase

The first step is to establish intimacy or rapport with the subject so that he or she can get used to the situation and atmosphere of the recorder and the interview. It is very important for the researcher to create an atmosphere of encouragement for the subject. So, the researcher should try to gain the narrator's empathy and trust through small talk.

6.2.2.2 The Stimulating a Narrative Phase

At this stage, the narrator is asked to tell the story of their life. So, the researcher explains to the speaker what kind of response they want to elicit. The researcher should emphasise that he or she is interested in the personal story of the narrator's life. Otherwise, the narrator may feel that, like any other interview situation, he or she must represent a given group, express their beliefs, etc. This approach may not meet the demand for detailed stories about his or her life that the researcher wants to know.

6.2.2.3 The Main-Story Phase

This phase constitutes a key phase of the interview and is an impromptu (unprepared) and uninterrupted life story. In other words, the interviewer's job is to listen carefully (sometimes for hours) to the narrative, without asking unnecessary questions, providing commentary, or interrupted so as to not distort the story. Even when narrators become emotional as they recall their life experiences and past pains, the researcher needs to give them non-verbal indications of communication to keep the storytelling going. In this process, the researcher must listen carefully to the narrator's life without immersing him- or herself in the emotions of the narrator and constantly analyse the story, which is very important for the next stage of the interview.

6.2.2.4 The Additional Inquiry Phase

This stage begins when the interviewee has clearly finished the narrative. At this stage, the researcher may ask for clarification. This means the researcher can ask questions related to the main story and pose theoretical questions. Prior to the main storytelling process, the researcher needs to employ careful and analytical listening skills. The researcher should then ask questions to gather more details about issues that caused inconsistency or implausibility regarding an incomplete text pattern or to clarify information. The information gained at this stage is used in later stages when investigating reasons for omissions or inconsistencies in storytelling. In the second part of this stage, the researcher can sometimes raise theoretical questions to elicit the narrator's opinion and further comment.

6.2.2.5 The Closing Phase

The final stage is the 'back to normal' stage. This includes turning off the tape recorder and starting a casual conversation. This step is not very important for data collection (although the researcher may receive a small amount of additional information relevant to the narration). At the end of the interview, the researcher should pay time and attention to the speaker: they should not treat them not as a 'storytelling machine', but rather as an interaction partner. Thus, from this point of view, a narrative is the result of an interaction and a product of two participants (researcher and narrator).

6.2.3 Data Management with MAXQDA

The six narrative interviews provided a large amount of data that could be transcribed, managed, and classified (coded) for data analysis. I selected MAXQDA to

perform these processes due to its numerous features.

Today, many qualitative studies analyse data through the use of the software. MAXQDA qualitative research and analysis software, created in Germany and widely used these days, is rooted in social science methodology. MAXQDA can handle many types of data (audio, video, and graphics) and is a great software tool for grouping and organising data. This ability can be useful for analysing qualitative data in qualitative as well as mixed research.

I selected MAXQDA for this study because it has the ability to read and retrieve text, it is easy to use, and it has analytical capabilities such as the ability to take notes and the categorisation process conceptual map. In this study, I used the transcription function; the interview recording file 'MAXQDA 2022' is useful for comparing transcribed data and to code interviews into categories. And also the program allows Korean coding for multimedia files, a major advantage for my research.

Regarding the transcribing and verifying interview materials that are a mixture of Korean and German, I considered this part to be one of the most time-consuming and crucial aspects of the study. The interviews with them were conducted in a mixture of Korean and German, and during the translation process into English, I met with them several times to inquire and confirm the intent and meaning of their words. When it came to words that exist in Korean but do not have a direct equivalent in English, I tried to use words with similar nuances to convey their intended meaning as closely as possible.

6.3 Data Analysis: Documentary Method

In this study, I analysed the narrative interviews, the main method for data collection, using the documentary method. The main characteristics of documentary

interpretation of narrative interviews have been presented by Nohl (2010) and Omeni (2020). Documentary analysis of narrative interviews can propose interrelated relationships (via the methodological approach) as well as the core principles of narrative exploration proposed by Schütze (1993). According to him, it is important that narrative analysis conveys the narrator's life experiences through their language so that researchers may obtain information empirically (Schütze, 1978). However, Schütze's narrative approach provides insight into the identity patterns that emerge in implicit schematics and the dynamics between actors and structures (Riemann, 1987). Therefore, the purpose of narrative analysis is to intersect with the documentary approach of reconstructing the meaning of the narrator's story and to grasp the meaning structure through a documentary in which the narrator's story is organised. As a result, narrative interview analysis identifies implicit connections within the interview based on documentary analysis (Omeni, 2020). I was able to obtain a deeper understanding of the biography and life paths of senior learners and to reconstruct their frames through documentary analysis of the narrative interviews. This approach also allowed me to identify deeply established tendencies, assumptions, and habits implicit to the interviewees – perhaps things they did not consciously recognise.

Before describing how I applied the documentary method in this study to interpret narrative interviews, I summarise the main characteristics of the documentary method, which focuses on case-by-case comparative analysis and type formation

6.3.1 Overview of Documentary Analysis

Over the past 20 years, documentary analysis has been used in various social science disciplines (Bohnsack, Nentwig, & Nohl, 2007). Its application covers a wide range of research, such as youth, school, media, and religious studies, in various fields such as

pedagogy, sociology, and cultural anthropology.

The documentary research methods aim to reconstruct the implicit knowledge underlying everyday practice and to provide directions for habitualised behaviours independent of individual intentions and motivations (Bohnsack, 2010). This method provides an approach to identify structures beyond the level of common sense knowledge or the actor's own cognition and knowledge by reconstructing the social structure of everyday practice and the process of its pattern in media data such as group discussions, interview texts, photos, or movies (Bohnsack, 2005). Mannheim and Bohnsack developed these documentary research methods into sophisticated techniques of qualitative education and social research in terms of methodology and feasibility (Nohl, 2010). They said researchers should have two eyes when looking at text. First, it is necessary to grasp the meaning of the speaker's one-dimensional remarks, and then the implications hidden underneath them should be reconstructed. In other words, while they consciously recognise what they are saying, researchers must grasp the deeper meaning – the 'meaning of intentional expression' and the 'objective meaning' of their transcribed documentaries. Intentional expression means that the subject remembers and recalls his or her story (Mannheim, 1952). On the other hand, objective meaning is not the speaker's intention, but 'objective social composition' that appears beyond his or her intention and specific characteristics. Therefore, researchers should be able to express what the subject's words and actions are about and their social dynamics. This can be further understood as a structural element that forms the basis of the perception and thinking of the subject, as it serves as a perceived prism into the individual's life world. This eventually includes a schema of conception, perception, and action of the world, as also mentioned by Marotzki (1990), and we can view it from the perspective of habitus (Bohnsack, 2010).

The documentary method and Schütze's proposed approach to narrative analysis differ because the former is based on a more comparative sequential analysis rather than a single case approach (Bohnsack et al., 2007). Using this approach, the researcher reconstructs his or her subjects' above-mentioned habitus (system of orientation) by comparing the different interview narratives. Hence, the orientation framework and the logic dealing with specific topics are reconstructed based on comparisons with other interview narratives that relate to the same topic but use contrasting or similar orientation frameworks. This position effectively solves the problem of interpreting the statements of the study subjects based solely on their own experience or form of theoretical sensitivity. Instead, each sequence can undergo analytical deduction and evaluation against a different empirical case (Omeni, 2020).

The last key aspect of the approach focuses on identifying types. The different types are constructed based on commonalities and contrasts between the research subjects, the orientation framework, the way of working, or the habits/habitus. Comparative analysis involves forming sociogenetic types[11] for how different research topics address different topics. The result of such comparisons is the reconstruction of the various directional frames underlying the response and the composition of sociogenetic types of the response. Type formation is also established through data surveys to understand the social and empirical origins of a specific directional framework (Bohnsack et al., 2013).

Bohnsack (2010) says the process consists of three stages of interpretation:

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[11] Sociogenetic type formation is 'the underlying dynamics and processes behind a specific oriented framework, including the empirical background in which specific dispositions and orientations are formed, i.e. based on comparisons of diverse examples and their oriented frameworks to understand the social background underlying identified differences or similarities. In this way, by comparing different cases, it is possible to identify a specific dimension of experience, which is a characteristic of a specific experiential' (Omeni, 2020; 83).

formulating an interpretation, reflective interpretation, and case comparison. This is the resulting formation of sense or sociogenetic typology as a result of a comparative analysis between individual orientation or the contrasting framework of habitus and their underlying appearance conditions (Omeni, 2020). The entire process is shown in Figure 4.
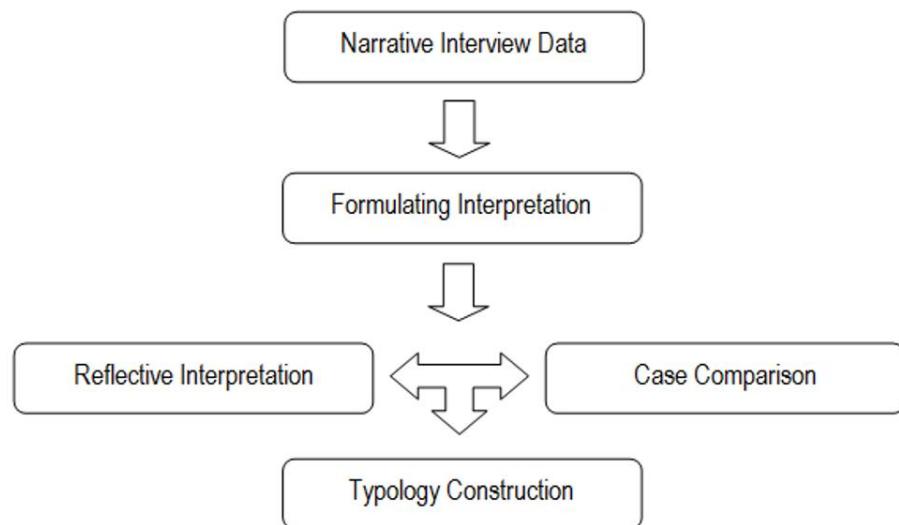
Figure 4 Stages of documentary analysis

Note. From *Research methods and study design. Violence Exposure and Transitional Coping Strategies Among International Students in Poland* (page 85), by E. Omeni, 2019, Springer.

6.3.2 Formulating an Interpretation

Formulating an interpretation aims to set the content of the interview text, so this step starts even before the recording. Researchers collect data and then listen to recordings before transcription to chronologically record the topics of each individual case and experience (Nohl, 2010). At this stage, I analysed the explanations and meanings that the subject explicitly represented in order to understand and decode the topics she represented

and the way they are structured and layered through the interview data. This may include topics identified as important – such as a research topic focused on constructing the main questions – or may consist of new parts that the interviewee has discussed in more detail during the interview and that the researcher did not consider before starting the study. I noticed that older learners had to pay attention to this focused topic and I had to be open-minded about it. This is because a researcher's preconceptions are strongly projected in this process, and analysis can be induced to some extent according to the researcher's subjectivity. It is critical to understand the overall interview and to review it sequentially. Hence, I first identified the main topics and sub-topics through analysis. Subsequently, I summarised and organised all the sub-topics including specific examples from the text.

6.3.3 Reflective Interpretation

The second step, reflective interpretation, focuses on understanding how these topics are refined and developed to set the subjective focus of the interview text in context of the formulated interpretation (Omeni, 2020). This is an attempt to understand and describe a directional framework in which people's experiences are recognised and structured (Nohl, 2010). Therefore, at this stage, I investigated the forms of various topics and analysed their structures, including comments, expressions, and the parts they did not recognise, such as reasoning behind their perceptions, making meaning, etc. According to Schütze (1978), when analysing narrative interviews, the documentary method identifies implicit understanding and interconnects it based on scrutiny according to the different text types within the interview. Therefore, the most important goal at this time is to gain a deep understanding of how a particular topic is handled and to reconstruct the interviewee's directional frame. The narratives provide an opportunity to find a participant's implicit or

non-theoretical understanding, an individual's disposition, such as the aforementioned habitus, in a form of knowledge that the participant does not consciously recognise. Learners cannot explain or intentionally convey their implicit forms of knowledge or consciousness on their own, but they can understand the semantic structure conveyed in their narratives and explanations through the reflective interpretation of researchers. Nohl (2010) emphasised the importance of understanding the types of knowledge that can be known within each text genre (Omemi, 2020). Here, I refer to Mannheim's theoretical perspective to distinguish 'communicative knowledge' from 'conjunctive knowledge'. Communicative knowledge is a concept of common sense shared by members of society across the boundaries of various social fields and represents a form of knowledge that we can access through the form of explanation because it is familiar. On the other hand, conjunctive knowledge refers to the form of knowledge and experience related to the aspect of comprehension and understanding, and there is no possibility that learners can consciously explain themselves beyond the boundaries of experience. Hence, conjunctive knowledge can be explained by the logic of the social, situational, and empirical environment in which they are located (Mannheim, 2013).

It is important to note that the participants' responses should not rely on communicative knowledge[12](Mannheim, 1982); rather, they should be understood in two dimensions, including their underlying perceptions and disposition forms (habitus). People build experiences and knowledge in everyday social interactions, but they may not fully reflect them. Therefore, I struggled at this stage to reveal implicit understanding such as aspects of the environment and the foundation of their experiences and the combination of

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[12]Communicative knowledge or thought refers to those forms of knowledge that is shared across the boundaries of divergent social fields and are, 'common sense', ubiquitously familiar and therefore possible to render accessible directly through forms of explanation.(Mannheim, 1982; 23)

their knowledge and experiences that senior learners could not easily explain or describe.

6.3.4 Semantic Interpretation and Comparative Sequence Analysis

This process involves researching key topics identified within interviews and scrutinising the treatment methods (Omemi, 2020). While the level of formal interpretation, which focuses on differentiation of the text genre, relies heavily on narrative structural analysis, documentary methods are mainly applied at the semantic level of interpretation (Nohl, 2010). The formal classification of argumentation and evaluation and the focus at the semantic level of interpretation are not bound to the subjective form of meaning; rather, they try to consider the experiences of the participants. Therefore, the documentary method may be helpful to overcome the dichotomy between subjective and objective meaning (Bohnsack, 2007).

In this process, I could grasp the behaviour outside the participant's own point of view and the approach to the structure of the basic process based on the participant's empirical base. I focused on how this phenomenon is created rather than on figuring out what it is (Bohnsack & Nentwig-Gesemann & Nohl, 2007). Reflective interpretation can be seen as restructuring and explaining the framework in which the subject is detailed, and establishing a method by referring to the frame in the direction in which the subject is processed. The documentary method also includes identifying sequences of actions or continuity throughout narrative sequences for such actions when it aims to analyse the implicit regularity of the experience and grasp the historical meaning implied in this regularity (Nohl, 2010).

During this process, I could identify relevant text phrases and studied how they developed sequentially from the first utterance to the next utterance. For example, problems,

events, or various experiences can be derived from participants in the first utterance. However, this may be shared with other participants or similar parts may be revealed. With the approach, I could identify the initial frame of their topic and, based on their subsequent utterances, the boundaries the participants chose when discussing their experiences. Finally, when the previously identified topic appeared in subsequent utterances, I could see whether they were part of a specific directional framework underlying the participant's perception and understanding. Indeed, Nohl (2010) stated that sequential analysis[13] can be much more effective in the context of comparing and contrasting with other interviews that focus on similar topics. Hence, it was easy for me to recognise overlapping and new structures of directions on specific or diverse topics related to the topic currently being investigated.

6.3.5 Comparative Analysis and Type Formation

This step can be performed more precisely with comparative analysis of cases (Nohl, 2010). The comparison is based on common topics related to recurring topics in various cases as well as research questions generated starting in the early stages of the analysis (from formulating an interpretation and reflective interpretation; Nohl, 2010; Omemi, 2020).

At this stage, I moved from formulating an interpretation and reflective interpretation of interviews of senior learners to compare and contrast their sequences, and based on this, I conducted a tertiary comparative analysis with other cases. I constantly compared and contrasted the newly discovered perspectives or narratives in the interviews. I divided these processes into groups with internal homogeneity and contrasting groups by

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[13] Sequential analysis is conducted whereby each topic, its various themes and subthemes, are summarised and articulated in full sentences in the researchers own words, a process which aids the researcher in retaining a distance from the text being analysed. (Omeni, 2020; 83)

identifying consistent learner-specific patterns or value orientation (Kluge, 1999; Omemi, 2020). In addition, I analysed the relationship between the space and the background of senior learners considering that certain spaces or social structures and circumstantial conditions are shared among members and that are likely to show specific directions and tendencies. Thus, I considered the social origins of various value frames alongside individual and social situations (sociogenetic type; Nohl, 2010). Given the small sample size and the social environment and spatial background, I focused on sociogenetic type formation. I investigated how action disposition and tendencies can be linked to habitus formation along with their learning orientation of value formation based on their various experiences.

7 Overview of the Study Participants

7.1 First Generation of Korean Immigrants in Germany

7.1.1 Overview of the Participants

All of the participants in this study were born in Korea, but four of the women immigrated to and lived in Germany, and subsequently became German citizens. One was born in 1944, two were born in 1948, and one was born in 1950. All four were born in rural areas and all but one had an economically difficult childhood. At the economic level, one belonged to the upper class, two to the middle and lower classes, and one to the lower class. Two of the participants' mothers owned businesses or had sales jobs, and the mothers of the other two participants were housewives or farmers. Only one mother was educated until high school; and the rest were elementary school graduates or below. Their fathers worked as a university lecturer, a senior police officer, a farmers, and a businessman; three of them were elementary school graduates or less and one had graduated from university.

Two of these participants came to Germany in 1966, one came in 1970, and one came in 1972. They have resided in Germany for an average of 53.5 years. Three of them came through labour contracts between Germany and Korea, and the other one came to Germany to study. The average age when they first came to Germany was 21 years. Three first settled in Berlin, and the other in Wiesbaden, where they still live. All are married, with one woman married to a Korean man and three women married to German men. Their husbands graduated from college and worked as a businessman, a teacher, an architects, and an engineer, but are currently retired. They have had an average of two children, all of whom had graduated from higher education.

7.1.2 Educational Background

Two of the participants graduated from the Korean College of Nursing and one graduated from the German School of Nursing. The other participant graduated from middle school, but she obtained a nursing assistant qualification from a private institution when she was 18 years old. Before coming to Germany, they had received basic/liberal anti-communist education in Korea,[14] and after coming to Germany other than German classes, only one participant received vocational education. She received 6 months of vocational education related to tax and accounting to work part-time in office jobs after she married.

Currently, three of the participants are actively participating in lifelong education programs. One of them has formed an organisation with Korean women or nurses who immigrated to Germany and they participate in various social activities through learning related to German and Korean culture and history. The other two mainly spend their time pursuing culture and arts education – for example, they mainly participate in art, ceramics, dance, exercise, and music (sining) programmes.

7.1.3 Employment Status

Excluding one of the participants, the other three retired between 2011 and 2015. When they were in Korea, only one started working before coming to Germany. After graduating from middle school in Korea, one was qualified as a nursing assistant at a private institution and worked at a university hospital for about 3 years. After coming to Germany, three of the women began working as nurses; one of the women graduated from the German

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[14] After the Korean War, South Korea became a democracy and North Korea became a communist system. Therefore, South Korean students were subjected to brainwashing education in which they were taught to reject and criticise communism.

College of Nursing but did not work as a nurse. Of the four participants, only one worked as a nurse after marriage. The longest work period as a nurse was 39 years; the other three women worked for an average of 10 years.

One of the participants ran her own business after marriage, and another participant worked part-time in an office after marriage. One participant is currently working as a civic organisation leader. After retirement, two of the women have worked for supplemental income to their pensions by taking care of seniors at a clinic (*Tagesklinik*) and as a part-time worker.

7.1.4 Health and Independence

All four participants are currently in very good health: they can do perform their activities of daily living without the help or care of others. Three of the four participants own their own home. Economically, two women are in the upper class, one woman is in the middle class, and one woman in the lower-middle class. All of them are pensioners, but they have accumulated wealth from their husband's businesses, inheritance from their husband's families, and from part-time work after retirement.

7.2 The Liberation and Korean War Generation in Korea

7.2.1 Overview of the Participants

The two women were born in Korea: one in 1949 and one in 1952. They were born in rural areas and had difficult childhoods. During childhood, one belonged to the lower-middle classes and the other belonged to the lower classes. Their mothers were farmers; one of their fathers ran a factory, but went bankrupt, and the other father was a farmer. Their parents were both elementary school graduates or below. Both participants

had married, and their husbands graduated from high school and worked as an engineer at broadcasting stations or as sailor, but they had retired. They have had an average of two children, all of whom have graduated from higher education.

7.2.2 Educational Background

One participant graduated from college and one graduated from high school. One of them had graduated from elementary school and in her late 40s graduated from high school through supplementary education and then obtained a bachelor's degree. The other participant took classes for about a year when she was 60 to obtain a nursing care worker's license so she could receive state care subsidies and care for her ill husband.

Currently, both participants are actively participating in lifelong education programmes. One woman has focused on educational or civic participation programmes, and the other woman has mainly focused on culture and arts education, for example, art, dance, sports (park golf), and music (song) programmes.

7.2.3 Employment Status

One of the study participants has been a housewife since marriage, and the other has lived mainly as a daily product delivery worker, which does not require special competencies and professional skills. Before marriage, both were non-regular workers: they had worked in factories for short periods of time or had received training to make clothes. They were mainly engaged in jobs that did not require a relatively high educational background. Currently, one woman is taking care of children as a job and she is also engaged in various volunteer activities. The other woman is taking care of her husband, who has nephropathy, after obtaining a nursing care certificate.

7.2.4 Health and Independence

Both of the study participants are in good health, but the husband of one woman has had nephropathy for several years, so she has been caring for him. They both own their homes. Economically, one is in the upper-middle and the other is in the lower-middle class. Their income is mainly acquired through pensions or through their labour or profit from real estate investments.

The overall description of the six people is shown in the following Table 4.

No.	Pseudonym	Birth year (age)	Year of arrival in Germany	Nationality	Occupation	Work status	Family info	Education	Parent's job and economic status
German group									
1	Sunnam Ok	1950 (72)	1972	Ger.	Nurse	Retired in 2011 Part-time job (clinic)	Husband (Korean, architect), three daughters	Bachelor's degree in nursing (Korea)	Both parents were farmers Very poor (lower class)
2	Myungsun Jang	1948 (74)	1970	Ger.	Nurse *After marriage* : social activist, operated a hotel	Social community member	Husband (German, carpenter), one son and one daughter	Middle school graduate Nursing assistant license	Father was a businessman, passed away when she was 9 years old Mother was a housewife Middle class
3	Myungjin Cha	1944 (78)	1966	Ger.	Nurse *After marriage* : social activist	Retired in 2014 Social activist	Husband (German, divorced), two sons	Bachelor's degree in nursing (Korea)	Father was a senior police officer, passed away when she was 6 years old Mother was a salesperson Lower-middle class
4	Jeomoh Moon	1948 (74)	1966	Ger.	Student (attended university in Germany) *After marriage* : part-time worker (accounting)	Part-time worker after graduating from nursing college	Husband (German, computer engineer, remarriage), two sons and one daughter	Bachelor's degree in nursing (Germany)	Father was a university lecturer Mother operated a dressmaking school Rich (upper class)
Korean group									
5	Okja Go	1953 (69)	-	Kor.	Factory worker *After marriage* : daily product delivery worker	Professional nanny	Husband (sailor), two daughters	Got bachelor's degree in her 50s	Father was a factory manager Mother was a farmer Very poor (lower class)
6	Gyuhee Nam	1949 (73)	-	Kor.	Assistant clothing store, factory worker *After marriage* : housewife	Nursing care worker (for her husband)	Husband (technician), two daughters and one son	High school graduate	Both parents were farmers Lower-middle class

Table 4 Overall description of six participants

8 Life Circumstance of the Liberation and Korean War Generation in Germany

8.1 Sunnam Ok

8.1.1 Introduction to the Participant's Life History

She is now 73 years old; she was born in 1950 when the Korean War broke out. She was the fifth of eight siblings, with many brothers, born in a very chaotic and poor situation. She spent her childhood in the countryside and entered elementary school at the age of six in 1956. After graduating from elementary school, she entered middle school in 1963 and in 1966, she moved alone near a big city to go to high school. In 1969, she went to the Department of Nursing at a university in a big city and attended for four years. She accepted a 3-year labour contract with Germany after graduating from university, beginning her first job at a hospital in Berlin, Germany, in 1972. However, for economic reasons, she decided to stay in Germany after her contract instead of returning to Korea. Later, she met her husband, an international student majoring in architecture at German university, married in 1974, and gave birth to three children in 1975, 1978, and 1982. She had played the roles of mother and wife faithfully. After about 43 years as a nurse, she retired from her last job in Berlin in 2015. She is still trying to maintain economic stability by working part-time at a clinic (*Tagesklinik*), taking care of seniors living alone.

Period	Events	Summary
Early age	The outbreak of the Korean War	Very difficult economic situation, collapse of social infrastructure, difficult educational environment
Middle age	Immigration to Germany, marriage, childbirth	Immigration to Germany for labour contract, marriage and childbirth with Korean husband, continued financial difficulties, and support for her Korean family
Old age	Retirement, stable living	Paid off all the loans she borrowed to buy a house and works part-time after retirement for economic security

Table 5 Sunnam Ok's summary of life circumstance

8.1.2 Family Background

She was born the fifth of eight children to parents who were farmers in rural areas. The Korean War had just broken out when she was born, and her father and mother were completely uneducated farmers. At that time, her father was conscripted by the army but imprisoned by the enemy. However, her mother used Sunnam Ok to help her husband dramatically escape from prison, something that did not happen for other men in the village. This situation made her a very special daughter to her parents. Her father thought she had saved his life and named her after a very famous female politician in his wish to make her life more special. However, she said that she always lived a depressed and discouraged life due to poverty in her childhood. She was always very pessimistic about her and her family's situation and always compared her circumstances with those of her friends. She has always had a great desire to help her family overcome their debts.

Her mother also tried to raise her eight siblings by selling the left over fruits that her father had harvested. Her parents made sacrifices to allow her to graduate from nursing school. She always felt guilty about studying in a difficult environment while her brother did not graduate, and this gave her an aspiration to make money.

After she moved to Germany, she sent most of her income to her family in Korea. Thanks to her, the rest of the family was able to solve their financial difficulties in Korea. She was considered as a hope and financial saviour. As a result, her family still feels grateful to her.

8.1.3 After Marriage

She met her Korean husband through a friend she made in Germany. Her husband, who was an international student at the time, majored in architecture at a German university. After marrying, while she worked in a hospital, her husband continued to go to school.

There were very few Korean families in Germany at the time and she had a very hard time raising her three daughters while working. All three of her daughters have gone to university abroad, and her youngest daughter obtained a Ph.D.

8.2 Myungsun Jang

8.2.1 Introduction to the Participant's Life History

She is now 74 years old and was born in a rural area in 1948. She was the beloved youngest of six children. Her father passed away when she was 6 years old, so the financial responsibilities of her family were taken over by her older brother. She entered elementary school near a big city in 1954 and then went to middle school in 1960. However, due to her family's financial difficulties and the bankruptcy of her brother's business, she gave up high school and decide to get a job at the age of 18 as a nursing assistant at a hospital in a big city away from her hometown. While working in a hospital, one of the patients told her about the possibility of working in Germany. She decided to work as a nurse in Germany, longing for a foreign life.

She first settled in Berlin, Germany, in 1970. In her first hospital, she was assigned to the emergency room because of her good ability to speak German and her professional skills. Later, she met a German husband through a German patient and married in 1977. She gave birth to a son in 1979 and a daughter in 1987. After marrying into a wealthy family, she lived without financial difficulties. After her marriage, she worked as a nurse for a short period, but she stopped working due to opposition from her in-laws. She started running a hotel, a family business, with her husband in 1994. She was diagnosed with gastric cancer in 1994, but overcame it. She retired in 2015 after operating the hotel for 19 years. Currently, she is living an active old age, taking on various social activities and serving as the head of organisations.

Period	Events	Summary
Early age	Her father's death, Well-off childhood, brother's business failure	Her family was well off during the Japanese colonial period because her father was doing business in Japan. However, her family suffered financial difficulties after her father's sudden death and the bankruptcy of her brother's business.
Middle age	Immigration to Germany, marriage and childbirth	Gave up going to high school due to economic difficulties, immigrated to Germany as a nursing assistant to work, met a husband from a wealthy family, got married, and diagnosed with cancer at age 40
Old age	Hotel management, various social activities as a leader	She took over the management of her family's hotel. She ran it successfully and became a local celebrity. Currently, she is active as the head of various organisations and is engaged in educational activities.

Table 6 Myungsun Jang's summary of life circumstance

8.2.2 Family Background

Before she was born, all her family members lived in Japan. Her father accumulated wealth based on a salt business in Japan. When Korea was liberated from Japan in 1945, her family moved to Korea. She is the youngest of six siblings, who are much older than her, and she grew up with a lot of love from her family. She recalled that she was always confident thanks to her family who valued her and loved her a lot when she was young. She sang and danced and received love and attention from the people in her neighbourhood.

When her family moved back to Korea, her father participated in various businesses without financial difficulties. Her father used opium, which was regarded as an efficient painkiller but expensive to make and sell. She remembered her father as someone

who always gave free medicine to sick people and was a merciful and warm-hearted person. However, when she was 9 years old, her father passed away and the family began to suffer.

Her mother raised her six siblings alone after her husband's death. Later, her first brother recovered from the difficult economic situation by starting a shipping business, but when she graduated from middle school, her brother's business collapsed suddenly, and she gave up going to high school.

The family opposed her going to Germany for fear that their beloved youngest daughter/sister would suffer difficulties in another country. Nevertheless, she left for Germany.

8.2.3 After Marriage

Her husband's older sister was hospitalised while she was working at a hospital in Berlin, and she introduced her younger brother to her because she liked the confident and kind Myung-Sun. Her husband was an engineer who ran a carpentry business in his in-laws' house. Her in-laws ran a carpentry business and lived an affluent life. They had a rather patriarchal family culture and did not let her not work after marriage. Therefore, she was faithful to raising her children and devoted herself to helping her husband run the family business. When she was in her 50s, her in-law entrusted her with managing the family's hotel, which she ran successfully until her retirement in 2015. Thanks to her husband, who is somewhat permissive of her social activities, she now plays a variety of active social roles. Her son and daughter have graduated from university and live successful lives as a government employee and a special makeup artist.

8.3 Myungjin Cha

8.3.1 Introduction to the Participant's Life History

She is now 78 years old and lives in Berlin. She was born in 1944 as the eldest daughter in a rural area; she has a younger brother. She entered elementary school in 1951, then middle school in 1957, high school in 1963, and then attended nursing college in a big city on a scholarship. She always had a yearning for German culture in middle and high school, listening to the classical music of German composers in her free time and reading German literature. Indeed, she had developed a dream about German life. After graduating from university, she worked at a university hospital in Korea for a while, and in 1966, she first settled in Berlin with an idealised view of Germany. She first worked at a tuberculosis hospital in Berlin for about 3 years. She also came to Germany on a 3-year labour contract, but did not return to Korea as she adjusted to German life and got married to her German husband.

She married in 1975 and had two children in 1976 and 1981. In addition, while she worked as a nurse she began learning about politics, history, and sociology of social changes in Korean study groups while experiencing various revolutions and social-historical conflicts/events in Korea and Germany, including the expulsion of Korean nurses due to the 1973 oil crisis and the 68 Revolution in Germany. Based on this learning, she started participating in Korean social organisations. After marriage, she worked as a nurse for a while, but she stopped after giving birth to her second child. However, in 2001, she went back to her work as a nurse and finally retired in 2011. Currently, she strives to carry on Korean culture for children of Korean immigrants in Germany through various social and cultural events and also holds various social activities/forums on women worker's rights.

Period	Events	Summary
Early age	Father's absence, yearning for German culture	Her father, a police officer, died in the Korean War, and her mother raised her and her younger brother Always listened to classical German music and read literature to overcome loneliness
Middle age	Immigration to Germany, 68 Revolution, oil crisis, persecution of foreign women workers	Came to Germany to work as a nurse with a longing for German culture Experienced persecution of foreign workers and several social historical events Developed great confusion in her social identity (Red Complex)
Old age	Retirement, social activist (female workers' rights, Japanese military sexual slavery problem, maintaining Korean culture, etc.)	Social movements and learning with various social organisations to resolve questions about identity Having great interest in historical/social events Solidary activities with women foreign workers in Korea and Germany

Table 7 Myungjin Cha's summary of life circumstance

8.3.2 Family Background

When her father, a senior police officer, died in the Korean War when she was about 6 years old, her mother raised her and her brother alone. Her mother had difficulties supporting the family. Her grandmother and aunt raised her and her brother because her mother worked in another region. So, she always recalls her childhood being lonely and the lack of affection for her mother. When she was young, she was dissatisfied with her poor family compared with her friends.

8.3.3 After marriage

She met her German husband, and she had a conflict with her German in-laws

who were following Black education*(Schwarze Pädagogik[15])* at the time. She divorced due to various conflicts. In these small conflicts and experiencing social changes, she became suspicious of social phenomena and social relationships with her(her identity). Her two children are both college graduates and are currently running a business and working in an office job.

8.4 Jumoh Moon

8.4.1 Introduction to the Participant's Life History

She is now 75 years old and lives in Wiesbaden. She was born in a big city in Korea in 1948 and was the second of two children. She graduated from kindergarten and entered a prestigious local elementary school in 1955. After entering middle school in 1960 and high school in 1966, she came to Germany in 1968. When she was a high school student, she decided to go to Germany after hearing from her neighbour that she could study in Germany. She first worked in a municipal hospital in Wiesbaden and studied but she suddenly became pregnant and married in 1969. She then settled in Germany, not going back to Korea.

She stopped studying nursing after marriage. After giving birth to her second son in 1972, she worked at a local laundry shop for a while, and also worked as an accountant for about 4 years at her husband's old office. However, her first husband died in 1975 when she was 27 years old due to the sudden occurrence of blood cancer in 1974. In 1979, she married her second husband at the age of 31, giving birth to her third daughter in 1980.

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[15] In sociology and psychology, poisonous pedagogy, also called black pedagogy (from the original German name *schwarze Pädagogik*), is any traditional child-raising methods which modern pedagogy considers repressive and harmful. It includes behaviours and communication that theorists consider to be manipulative or violent, such as corporal punishment (Helfield, 2001).

Later, at the age of 31, she attempted to enter medical college again but gave up due to the opposition from her mother. Because her mother had always been very concerned about properly taking care of her grandchildren. Since then, she has raised his children and helped her husband faithfully. Currently, she is living a healthy old age, enjoying the joy of learning while studying various skills and arts.

Period	Events	Summary
Early age	Well-off family, lived with strict grandparents, went to a prestigious school	Strictly learned about upper class lifestyle and Korean etiquette, learned to play various instruments from a young age
Middle age	Went to Germany for higher education, sudden pregnancy, marriage, husband's death	Sudden pregnancy during college, marriage to a German husband, and his sudden death after a battle with blood cancer caused scepticism about the nursing profession Disowned by her father due to his great disappointment in her
Old age	Participating in active lifelong education programmes	Based on her regret of insufficient learning in the past, became immersed in lifelong education

Table 8 Jumoh Moon's summary of life circumstance

8.4.2 Family Background

She was born the second daughter of a wealthy family. Her family was socially recognised and highly respected. Her grandparents were wealthy and she had lived with them since she was young. They were very strict and valued social manners and Korean etiquette. In particular, there was a clear distinction between women and men, and there were stricter rules for women, including not being allowed to go out late at night. Her grandmother played a role as a powerful decision-maker and also showed leadership as a

woman in her family. Her father was a lecturer at the university and valued courtesy very much. Her mother ran a dressmaking school and did regular volunteer work at the nursing home, read the newspaper to the residents. Her mother always set an example for her. She was a good model for her and she learned a lot from her mother, including housework and role as mother and wife.

8.4.3 After marriage

She met her first husband when they were both college students. After marrying, they raised children and went through school together, but her husband died a year after being diagnosed with blood cancer. After her second marriage, she became very satisfied and economically well off. Her husband specialises in computer science, teaches students, and is also an office worker. She is on good terms with her in-laws. She lives in the same building with her in-laws and still takes care of them. Her three children have graduated from college and are working as a government employee, a designer, and an occupational therapist.

9 Life Circumstance of the Liberation and Korean War Generation in Korea

9.1 Okja Go

9.1.1 Introduction to the Participant's Life History

She is currently 69 years old and living in a large city in Korea. She was born in a rural region in 1953 as the third of five children. Before she was born, her family was wealthy because her father worked as a factory manager. By the time she was born, the failure of her father's business had left her family very poor. She entered elementary school in 1960 but often missed classes to help her parents with farming. By the time she was 10 years old, she had moved five times due to family's economic problems. When she was in the fifth grade of elementary school, she lived with her cousin's family, apart from her parents. After that, she was sent to live with her aunt and failed to have a stable school life due to poor circumstances.

Later, at the age of 19, she was asked by her father to marry a man, but she refused and ran out of the house and began hard work in a factory. She married her husband in 1978, when she was 25. She gave birth to two daughters in 1981 and 1982. After marriage, she lived with her in-laws for 5 years but always wanted to escape because of her mother-in-law's mistreatment and abuse. When she turned 38, she had a hard time with a serious illness. After that, she decided to graduate from higher education through complementary education in 1996 and entered university in 1999. She is currently a professional nanny, part of a job programme for seniors, and is taking care of children and participating in lifelong learning.

Period	Events	Summary
Early age	Father's business failure, dropout from school	Father's sudden business failure put the whole family in a very financially difficult situation Did not finish school because she was helping her parents with work and moving around
Middle age	Marriage and hard married life, struggle with disease	Very difficult economic situation (husband's low income) Criticism and abuse of her poor education level by mother-in-law and sister-in-law Suffered sudden illness
Old age	Obtained her general equivalency diploma and a university degree	At the age of 50, she graduated from middle school and high school by obtaining a late general equivalency diploma Graduated from a university undergraduate programme

Table 9 Okja Go's summary of life circumstance

9.1.2. Family background

Her brothers were Japanese because they were born in Japan before she was born. However, as Korea was liberated from Japan, her father's factory moved to Korea and her family followed. Her father ran a factory and lived a well-off life when she was very young. When she turned 10, her father's business went bankrupt and he was swindled. Suddenly, her family became very poor, and she said that she was unable to attend school because she had to help her parents with farming.

Her parents came from one of the islands in Korea, and this area has a very strong cultural preference for boys. Hence, many women from this region do not go to school; instead, they help with household chores or work to make money. When her parents could not take care of all their children, she was sent alone to her aunt's family on the island. Therefore, it became more difficult for her to get an education because they did not let her go to school.

Her brother was in high school when their father's business went bankrupt, so her brother also gave up going to school due to the lack of financial support. From a young age, her brother had given her opportunities to experience cultural activities including watching movies and plays. Her parents were also generous to others and volunteered, which guided her in her life.

9.1.3 After marriage

Her husband was a sailor who graduated from high school, but he did not earn a lot of money, so they always had financial difficulties. She tried to contribute to the housework by delivering newspapers and other items. After marrying, she lived with her in-laws for about 5 years. Her mother-in-law was highly critical of her and ignored her due to her lack of education. Even her sister-in-law, who was in high school at the time, ignored her and treated her as a housekeeper, not a family member.

She worked to earn money even after giving birth to two daughters, but she failed to provide much educational support to the children due to the difficult environment. She felt guilty about letting her mother-in-law raise her children when they were young. As her children got married and had grandchildren, she asked for her forgiveness while taking care of her grandson for her past fault. Her two daughters graduated from college and are housewives.

9.2 Gyuhee Nam

9.2.1 Introduction to the Participant's Life History

She is currently 73 years old. She was born in a rural village in Korea in 1949 as the fifth of six children. She had a difficult time because when she was 2 years old, the Korean War broke out. She entered elementary school in 1958, which was late enrolment due to late birth registration during the Korean War period. She passed the middle school entrance examination and entered middle school in 1964. Despite opposition from her sisters-in-law to attend high school, she went to and graduated from high school. After her graduation, she moved to a big city to work with her older sister. There, she helped her sister run a dress shop, worked at a company, and trained in typing to become a typist. She married in 1970 and gave birth to three children in 1972, 1974, and 1977. Although there were no financial difficulties after marriage, she moved to many cities based on her husband's postings. For a short time, she worked as a salesperson, but most of the time she was a housewife. However, due to the sudden death of her sister six years ago, she has changed her attitude towards life. Unfortunately, her husband has become ill and she is currently caring for him. Nevertheless, she still attends a learning institution.

Period	Events	Summary
Early age	Outbreak of the Korean War, working in a factory and clothing shop after graduating high school	Due to the outbreak of the Korean War, all families faced financial difficulties. At that time, normal women did not go to school. Her sisters-in-law also opposed her going to high school, but she went to school despite the opposition. After graduation, she worked in a big city managing clothes shops and working in a factory.
Middle age,	Marriage, childbirth, moved often due to her husband's posting	After marriage, she did her best to help her husband and raise her children. Until her brother-in-law got married, he lived in her house and she took care of him.
Old age	Husband's illness, sudden death of her sister	Her attitude and values of life changed due to the husband's illness and the sudden death of his sister. She has dedicated a lot of time to her development

Table 10 Gyuhee Nam's summary of life circumstance

9.2.2 Family Background

Although her parents were farmers in the countryside, their diligence and hard work meant that she grew up without financial difficulties. Her parents worked hard for their children while evacuating during the outbreak of the Korean War and made efforts to keep their children going to school. Her parents' attitude towards life influenced her a lot. Her parents taught their children wisely without physical punishment. Her father had never received a school education but was wise and kind to others. He always told her, 'Better bend than break.' Although he did not receive a school education, he had a lot of wisdom so he was a head of a village and helped and volunteered with their neighbours.

Her brothers graduated from high school, but their wives did not even graduate from elementary school. She had many sisters-in-laws who taught her how to do house chores and cook to take on the role of a woman. Her sisters-in-laws objected to her going to high school because they thought a middle school education was sufficient for a woman.

9.2.3 After marriage

Her husband was an engineer who worked for a broadcasting station for a long time. He was very proud of his work and worked hard, and their family did not have financial difficulties. Her husband was very frugal and did not have an interest in hobbies or learning. Her three children are all college graduates and her youngest daughter has a Ph.D. Currently, they are working as office workers and researchers and are all married.

IV. Results

10 Comparison Between the Liberation and Korean War Generation in Korea and Germany

This section primarily emerged from the analysis of narratives provided by six individuals, grounded in previous theoretical research. A total of five themes were identified in this process. Initially, by drawing upon key domains of habitus formation, which encompassed family, education, and elements related to gender, alongside insights from the aspects of professional and gender-related dimensions within biographical learning, four themes were discerned. Subsequently, the fifth theme, lifelong learning, was introduced to establish a connection with my research question and to shed light on the participants' ongoing learning situations and practices, resulting in a total of five themes.

10.1 Theme 1: *Family*

As a question commonly asked to all participants, the family was a great source of biographical experience and factor in forming the foundation and direction of their life structure. I asked them about their experiences with their parents, brothers, and relatives during their childhood, and they spent a lot of time talking about their childhood. For them, the experience from their families became the foundation for their desire for education and to get more experience and opportunities for achievement through education. As Bourdieu mentioned, many stimuli in the parenting process, such as educational experiences and opportunities from families, and their social position, affect their children's beliefs and practices, allowing them to develop their primary habitus, which in turn affect their career

choices. Therefore, through their narratives, I found that the educational experience from the family, the first experienced smallest society for individuals, and the educational level of parents were connected to the individual's formation of habitus with individual aspirations, expectations, and strategies towards learning. I divided this theme into the family's educational level and the parents' desire for education. To represent the experiences of various categories of participants, I discuss the family theme based on the narratives of three participants:

1) Jumoh Moon, whose family had a high educational level and a strong desire for practical achievement through education;

2) Sunnam Ok, whose parents had a low educational level but high aspirations;

3) Okja Go, who had confusing and unstable family circumstances, and her parents had a low educational level and no desire for their children's educational achievement.

10.1.1 Family's Level of Education

Most of the participants' parents were born in 1910–1920 while Korea was under Japanese control. During this time, Koreans rarely received basic education and many were illiterate. Korea was liberated from Japan in 1945, and new laws legislated compulsory education. Subsequently, the rate of elementary school enrolment increased rapidly. Considering this generational and contemporary background, the level of their parents' education had a great influence on their children's attitudes and conceptions of the value of learning.

Jumoh Moon grew up in a strict but high-class family atmosphere (circumstances) with parents with a relatively high degree of education at the time. Her father was an elite

who had studied abroad in Japan before she was born and graduated from university. Her mother also volunteered to read newspapers to many people in the village as one of the few women who could read in the village. Other than that, her family members were economically and socially superior, including her uncle who was a dignitary in a government office. Her father planned his children's educational process and life process as he wished and hoped that his children would follow it.

> Our village was famous for XX elementary school from which my parents and uncles all graduated. Even if I wanted to go there, only students who live in the village where the elementary school is located can go there. That school was well-reputed as a prestigious elementary school. However, as our family moved, my youngest brother couldn't go there, so we all moved again to send the youngest brother to that elementary school there. And also in middle school and high school, my father tried to send me to the most reputable and academically successful schools in the region. (Jumoh Moon)

Her parents, who had relatively high cultural capital, strived to invest in her and her brothers' education and cultural life, while showing a nurturing attitude of investing in cultural practices that are favourable to maintaining or increasing their scarcity. Although at the time women's education was not promoted, her attitude towards learning naturally increased her intimacy with learning, and she showed no reluctance to learn because of her parent's efforts. Her mother always read books to her and taught her how to read letters from an early age, and her father always created an academic atmosphere. Learning was natural for her. I found that for her, external factors were more influential than internal and

voluntary motives in the early stages of constructing this attitude towards learning. Furthermore, she not only increased her intimacy and confidence in learning from her parents, she also naturally learned habitus about gender, such as independent attitudes and lifestyles as a woman from their family education, and she was always taught to have a sophisticated upper-class lifestyle.

> My mom graduated from high school and at the time, it was really rare for women. When I was young she always sat me down and read me difficult newspapers. I learned Japanese from my mom for 6 years, Chinese characters from my grandfather, and sophisticated calligraphy. Also, I am the only child who went to kindergarten in my village, and in kindergarten, I learned piano and flute. (Jumoh Moon)

> Since I was young, I had learned implicitly from my mom how I have to behave when guests visit us, how to care for teeth, and how to clean the room and care the bedding, etc. She always showed us herself by doing all the work and I had learned just by watching from growing up. And my mom was worried that she didn't teach me how to behave and manage the house chore and work as wife and mother when I got married, but once she came to Germany she was surprised to see me because I did a better job than she expected (haha). (Jumoh Moon)

This biographical learning in her childhood gave her more value for education – the desire to learn everything in life – and allowed her to develop confidence and independence in learning and also as a woman. It increased her self-esteem as well as her

studies, which she in turn used as a strategy to overcome the gaps between her previous types of capital and her current capital. She still applies many of the things she learned from her parents to her current life.

Sunnam Ok's family, unlike that of Jumoh Moon, had very low economic, social, and cultural capital, and her parents had a limited educational background. Despite their low educational background, her parents supported their children's continuous education. Living in a difficult rural environment, she strongly recognised that studying was the only way and hope to help family financially, but studying always gave her a sense of guilt about her supportive family with low self-confidence in herself.

> My family was so poor. Even though they couldn't afford to make me study, they supported my studying (...) but sadly I am not good at studying. So, I think I was always depressed in school. And when I went to school, my friends said to me what they wanted to be and what they wanted to have because they were richer than me (...) but I couldn't, so I was always sad. On the other hand, I had a big desire to study nursing and quickly finished studying to make a lot of money abroad. It's not because of my academic interest in nursing, but because I thought it was a fast way to earn a lot of money. I had to help our family. Because I always had big guilt about my parents. That was the biggest hope in my adolescent period. (Sunnam Ok)

For her, poverty was an economic condition that made it difficult to study, but it also provided her hope for success through education, bringing her voluntary and internal motivation for learning. Although she felt guilty about pursuing higher education given her poor background and had low self-confidence, she viewed education as a necessity to

succeed. Despite their low educational background, her parents believed that supporting their children's education would be the best way they could escape poverty. As a result, she had a voluntary motivation for studying, not from the value of studying itself, but from the economic benefits she could gain by studying.

> Thanks to my nursing studies, I could support all of my younger siblings to go to universities. So my parents always thanked me. And I think I could go to college because I was good at studying, but because I thought it was the only way to go abroad to earn more money, so I put in a lot of effort to go to college. (Sunnam Ok)

The third participant, Okja Go, was raised in a family background with a low educational level and a really chaotic and unstable childhood. Her parents also grew up in poor and insecure environments from an early age due to Japanese rule of Korea, so they did not receive proper school education. Her father's bankruptcy in her youth made it difficult for her to attend elementary and middle school consistently because her family could not settle down in one place. They had to move around constantly to find work and proper habitation. She was regarded as a labour force in her family. Her parents' distrust in education, low expectations for achievement, and perception of the needlessness of education for women eventually alienated her from school opportunities, and most importantly, her parents needed a short-term labourer to overcome financial difficulties. Ironically, this unacceptable situation gave her strong aspirations to pursue higher education.

My parents were very poor because my father's business failed. I changed

elementary school five times and didn't attend school enough to graduate.

At that time, I really, really wanted to study, but I always had to go to work

in the field and help my parents with farming. (Okja Go)

Her childhood environment and her parents' attitude towards education gave her strong internal motivation for learning itself, but it also imbued her with low self-esteem and a sense of inferiority.

Before I started studying the GED [general equivalency diploma]

programme, I was really embarrassed to say that I didn't graduate even

middle school. And also that time I've always felt foolish about myself

because I grew up hearing from many adults that I'm just meek and

submissive. (Okja Go)

Both Okja Go and Sunnam Ok had low self-esteem and confidence and a feeling of inferiority based on their lack of educational achievement while growing up. For Okja Go, her limited education and insufficient experience led to her low confidence and feeling of inferiority in her own identity, but it also led her to a stronger desire for education, not just a hope for career success or social mobility, but a desire for self-realisation, meaning that she is worthy enough through education. Moreover, her desire for education also had some influence from her brother who was in high school. The distrust of education from her parents gave new learning impetus to her cleverness and desire. Overall, the participants' childhood educational experiences, parents' expectations, and educational backgrounds had a great influence on their continuous learning pursuit. However, their external factors

determined whether their pursuit of learning was guided by voluntary or involuntary (unconscious and passive) motivation.

10.1.2 Educational Aspiration from Parents

Depending on the educational level of the family, especially the parents, the participants formed an internal motivation for learning, independence or autonomy in education, in response to an educational desire that was not sufficiently fulfilled in their childhood. Some extension of their educational needs were influenced by their parents and had a great influence on the formation of an attitude to accept and recognise the importance of education. These factors led to the orientation of their learning habitus that continues to guide their lives.

The father of Jumoh Moon, who was an elite of the time, regarded education as a means to give his children high educational capital so they could obtain highly reputed jobs like his. Her father's dream for his children was to get high educational capital so they could become 'medical doctors'. Unlike most other immigrants, her journey to Germany was not to make money from working; it was to study abroad with the hope of attending a German medical college. Her father expressed a strong desire for her to become a doctor – a strong enough desire that he paid for her very expensive flight to Germany. For him, education was a way of maintaining the scarcity and nobility of his family, allowing him to transfer cultural capital to his children and reproduce the family's social position. She said she always spent most of her time at home studying and playing musical instruments with her parents. Even though she did not enjoy studying, her parents formed an academic atmosphere that unconsciously led her to recognise that she had study and learn. Her parents asked her to focus more on her studies rather than teach or do housework; this view

was uncommon for the time, as women were considered to be responsible for household chores and childcare. Her parents also invested a lot in developing her artistic competence as well as achievement in school. At that time, she was the only child in her village who learned tap dance, piano, art, and Western instruments. While she naturally chose to study in the hope of becoming a doctor at the request of her parents, her experience with studying allowed her to regard learning as a very easy way to acquire or develop necessary and desirable skills and to be perceived as socially proper.

> I had told my father that I wanted to go to Germany to study, and he said, 'If you want to Germany, you have to go to a medical college in Germany otherwise I'll not let you go.' So I promised to father, 'Okay! I'll go to a medical college in Germany.' That's how I came here. At that time, it cost a huge amount of money for the plane and settlement. It meant that people who don't have financial support from parents could not come to Germany to study. (Jumoh Moon)

> Thanks to my parents, I liked to learn something and it was easy for me. I first learned computers in my family to help make my husband's class materials, and also to teach my children computer skills. I don't know if it's because I had a habit of studying when I was young, but I wanted to learn and did everything I wanted to do and know. (Jumoh Moon)

Her parents' educational aspirations potentially gave her the same aspirations towards education, but in the process, she embodied intimacy and confidence in education and a high sense of accomplishment about it, and she has used learning very strategically

in her life task.

Sunnam Ok's parents had a low educational background, but they treated her as a special daughter. She was especially precious to her father: he believed she had saved his life when he was in danger during the Korean War. Her father thought she was extraordinary and made a lot of investments to support her educational success despite his poor circumstances. Her parents' educational aspirations and support in the context of this economically difficult background gave her have a sense of guilt and strong pressure for educational achievement. This may have been a strong reason why her attitude towards learning and education gave her a self-reliant attitude with a focus on 'economic value' through education, not the expectation of her own successful educational achievement. Nevertheless, after she received a higher education degree, she slowly became accustomed to the importance and value of education, as represented in her narrative of providing constant financial support so her brother or nephews could continue their studies. Rather than investing in herself in Germany, she provided a lot of support for her family to obtain higher education like she did so they could get good jobs and develop social capital. Although she had a strong burden of caring for her family and low internal self-confidence, she overcame her situation by getting a university degree and a job through education, allowing her to develop pride and satisfaction in herself. In addition, the fact that her family also obtained higher education degrees has increased her self-esteem.

> I went to middle and high school for the first time as a woman in my village.
> How rural it was (...) My parents were really poor, but they raised their
> hopes in me and educated me. Thanks to their effort I could finish my
> higher education so when I came to Germany I sent all of the money I had

earned to Korea. As a result, all of my younger siblings could graduate from college. It's worth the effort. Even though I suffered a lot (…) Everyone got a socially high reputed position because I supported my family to finish their study, and many of my nephews got their Ph.D. degrees. So, I'm very proud of myself that my family has a high educational level. (Sunnam Ok)

Okja Go's parents felt the burden of raising many children in a poor environment and were simply immersed in solving their current difficulties rather than investing in the long-term education of their children. Therefore, they had low aspirations for their children's education. Consequently, she was expected to work on a farm rather than go to school, and she did not receive any support from her parents to study.

Even though I wanted to study so much, when I went to work in the fields, it got dark early because it was in the countryside. Moreover, since there was no electricity in the past, I had to use oil to light the lanterns. But oil is too expensive, so my mother scolded me for using wasteful oil when I secretly lit a lantern to read. (Okja Go)

I also noted that because her parents had little educational experience, Okja Go's desire for education was low. Her priority was survival. Her case emphasises the need to analyse the social structure and institutional and social conditions of a subject's biographical process, as Alheit (2018) said. This previous experience can provide support, suppression, or block future routes. Considering the social structure and historical situation of the parents' generation at the time, and the institutional system for Korean school education, education was considered an option that only privileged people could choose –

and it was not considered essential. Hence, habitus acted as a deterrent to block access to educational opportunities for children. However, the suppression of this educational experience actually produced an aspiration to begin education in some of the participants, including Okja Go. Her originally unsatisfied longing for education became the reason for her attempt to immerse herself in education later in her life.

Finally, Myungjun Cha's father died during the Korean War when she was 6 years old. Her mother took on the financial burden of supporting her children, but she had to leave them with her mother while working in another city. Therefore, Myungjun Cha's mother prioritised solving financial difficulties over expectations about her children's education. Nevertheless, Myungjun Cha said that she was able to graduate from high school because all school education was provided free of charge for children of national merit; otherwise, she could not have gone to school. Later, she entered a nursing college that offered dormitories and scholarships because it was important for her mother to have a job where she could ultimately earn money without having to spend much for her children's studies. Her difficult circumstances influenced her rather subjective view of learning: she discovered things she wanted to learn under the conditions she could handle.

10.2 Theme 2: *School Education*

All participants spoke about school life. Their learning experiences at school had derived from their previous or lead to their subsequent learning experiences. The participants' narratives included a broad range of school experiences. Based on the narratives, I identified three sub-themes: learning biography, desire for learning, and parental involvement. While there are differences among the participants' social and family backgrounds, this diversity highlights the possibilities they have had for learning

throughout their lives. What these participants have in common is that they graduated from elementary school, middle school, high school or higher education (similar level of education), except for one person. For the learning biography sub-theme, I present the narratives of all six participants. For the learning process sub-theme, I highlight the narratives of Myungsun Jang, Gyuhee Nam and Myungjin Cha based on their individual and special experiences and their attitudes and desires for learning that were strongly manifested in the learning process. Finally, for the parental involvement sub-theme, I examine the narrative of Jumoh Moon, Myungsun Jang, and Sunnam Ok. Their narratives show the influences of support for school education from parents or general learning at home in their learning experiences and how these factors guided the formation of their learning habitus.

10.2.1 Learning Biography

The six participants were born between 1945 and 1952 and had gone through a similar cohort process of education, except for Okja Go. Most of them received 6 years of elementary school and 3 years of middle school according to Korea's compulsory education curriculum. Myungsun Jang and Gyuhee Nam did not go to a 3-year high school or receive higher education. Okja Go is unique among the participants: she went to university through the Korean GED programme when she was in her late 40s.

Five of the participants, excluding Jumoh Moon, went to schools located in very rural environments. Because most of their villages did not have a middle school, they had to commute for 1–2 hours a day to another city or village where the middle school was located. Jumoh Moon, whose family was wealthy and had high educational capital, followed her parents' planned education curriculum, graduating from their chosen

kindergarten and elementary and middle schools. She remembered that she was an obedient child from a young age, so she invested a lot of time in studying and developed the habit of always studying at home (memorising English words, reading, etc.). As a result, her educational achievement was relatively high, and even in the 4th grade of elementary school, she had such excellent academic achievement and was able to skip a grade and enter sixth grade with the recommendation her school teacher. She had good comprehensive ability and learned faster than her peers. At the same time, she also had a lot of artistic experiences (tap dance, band, art, piano, flute, etc.) in kindergarten, elementary school, and middle school. Bourdieu found that students generally tend to choose institutions of higher education that require and instil tendencies most similar to those formed at home. It tends to coincide with the disposition required in the field of power that this guarantees. Hence, as a means of strengthening or maintaining the social position of her parents by going to school attended by children of families with similar economic, social, and cultural capital, she maintained her primary habitus as a secondary habitus at school.

> When I was in elementary school, I went straight from fourth grade to sixth grade. My teacher told my mother that I didn't need 5th grade, so I can skip the grade right away.. My mother also said that I studied well when I was young. Furthermore, in kindergarten, I also took piano lessons. Later, when I raised my children, I also taught them to play the piano and flute. (Jumoh Moon)

She then went on to prestigious (so-called elite) middle and high schools. When she was in her second year of high school, she was suddenly invited to go to Germany by

an acquaintance who worked at her house. However, to go to Germany she would have to attend a vocational high school rather than a regular high school. With the intention of going to medical school in Germany, she transferred to a vocational high school after promising her parents that she would go to a German medical college. Vocational high schools have a relatively lower higher education entrance rate and reputation. Most students who are of a low economic and social status prefer to go to vocational high schools because they aim for a vocational education, not academic improvement. In this school, she learned not to study academically, but to acquire skills as a woman (sewing, making clothes, accounting, etc). In particular, women learned embroidery so that they could work in factories, so she felt that her new friends in vocational high school were different from her, and she thought that this school was not right for her. Nevertheless, she took the selective examination to go to Germany and was one of 10 Korean students selected and successfully entered German medial college. At college, she enjoyed memorising theory and also preferred learning the hands-on surgical part. However, when she met her husband in her freshman year of college, all of her dreams disappeared due to pregnancy, childbirth, and marriage. When she was 21 years old, she finally completed her schooling, barely completing the curriculum with the help of her husband.

Sunnam Ok, Myungjin Cha, and Gyuhee Nam went through a very similar schooling process. They went to elementary and middle school in rural areas, but Sunnam Ok and Gyuhee Nam did not live in an area with a high school. Hence, they had to travel far away to attend high school. They remembered themselves when they were elementary school students: they were obedient and nice students who always followed their teacher's instructions rather than being extroverted or active. However, Myungjin Cha's her mother did not pay much attention to her studies because she worked in another city, so she spent

hours alone listening to German music and reading German literature. At this time, she said, she developed her admiration and longing for German culture, literature, and music.

> Because I was always lonely, I read a lot of German literature and listened to German classics. By reading books and listening to the music I longed for things like Munich and Schwaben in Germany. There was a music cafe in my hometown, and they played a lot of German Schubert music there, so I spent a lot of time there. At the same time, I had thought that I wanted to go to Germany because I was curious about Germany. (Myungjin Cha)

During her high school years, Myungjin Cha had especially good relationships with her Korean and English teachers. They recommended that she go to university to major in Korean Literature or English, but due to her poor economic background, she wanted to pursue practical studies as her college major. Because she had a very strong desire for higher education, she went to college as a compromise with her reality, and she chose nursing because it was less economically burdensome. After four years of college, she left for Germany to work as a nurse. Her school experience was ultimately not a way to transfer cultural and economic capital from her parents, but rather a process of suffering from a 'cleft habitus' in which her previous habits were modified through different educational experiences and paths by her parents. Based on her previous biographical background, she had a desire to pursue an occupation that could generate capital so that she could operate more independently in her desired situation and field relative to her parent's habitus.

Sunnam Ok's economic situation was similar to Myungjin Cha's situation, but differently, her parents had strong educational aspirations for her. Therefore, she was able to graduate from elementary school, middle school, high school, and university with their support. However, her learning process had an involuntary spontaneity to meet her parents' expectations rather than subjective spontaneity. She studied constantly as a means of meeting her parents' expectations and preventing their disappointment rather than from her interest in studying itself. Hence, she always had low self-confidence in school life. The most frequent expression in her learning narrative was 'Because I was lucky.' At the same time, she expressed that whenever she flashed back to her adolescence, she feels sad and depressed.

> Even though I didn't do well at studying, I think I was always lucky enough
>
> to live the life. I was just a lucky student. I wasn't even smart... (Sunnam
>
> Ok)

The event that changed her destiny was when she was in high school, her dormitory roommate's older sister was attending nursing school in the United States, and that sister sent them presents. After that, she had a big dream and longed to live in a foreign country. Her Christmas present from America brought her new hope and excitement during her depressed school days.

> When I was in high school, a roommate's older sister worked as a nurse in
>
> the US, and she sent to my friend presents on Christmas, so I was so
>
> envious of that and I decided to go to nursing school in a foreign country.
>
> Because I had the hope that I would be able to send presents to my

younger siblings as like her sister and also I should earn a lot of money to

help my family and compensate my parent's sacrifice. (Sunnam Ok)

Along with this experience, she went to a nursing college that was less economically burdensome and also provided the possibility of working or studying in a foreign country. She said she saw her nursing studies as a means of earning money and allowing her to go abroad, not as a means of caring, mercy, medical treatment, or compassion for patients. She regarded her college degree as great symbolic capital that could comfort her low self-esteem. After graduation, she left for Germany to work as a nurse.

Based on her learning biography, she seems to be a 'sad roly-poly toy'. Like a roly-poly toy that tends to right itself when pushed, she endured and overcame situational difficulties in her family and social background and always rose up. Her strong primary habitus for survival was expressed in her learning field, which became an internal and external motivation and strategy for her to continue operation.

Gyuhee Nam went to high school in a tough economic situation and was greatly influenced by social perception at that time, as well as her family's sceptical attitude towards women's education. Her parents shared the common social attitude towards education at the time: men should be preferentially educated while graduating from middle school was sufficient education for women. However, after her strong insistence on going to school, she went to high school, but in this atmosphere, she did not pursue her academic capital; instead, she set limits for developing herself. Based on her narrative, school education did not provide her with a strong desire for continuous education; it was a process of self-acknowledgment of her own social situation and position and setting limits.

Myungsun Jang, and Okja Go have different narratives from the other four participants. Myungsun Jang graduated from elementary and middle schools in a fishing village. She said she had average grades and had no great interest in her studies. Nevertheless, her mother always woke her up around 4 am and made her study, so she thought that education was a compulsory mission. School life left her more with pleasant memories of her friends and teachers: she perceived school as a place to meet and have fun with her friends rather than a place to study. She also said that when she was in elementary school, she was good at and enjoyed artistic activities, such as singing, rather than studying, and was loved by her many friends and teachers. Therefore, she had very good social relationships.

> When I was young, my mother forced me to wake up at 4 am in the morning to study. It was so hard but I really enjoyed going to school and playing with my friends. Also, I was number 55 (student number), during music class, the teacher said 'It's time for number 55.' Because I really liked to sing and am talented in singing (haha) (Myungsun Jang)

She tried to attend high school, but the sudden failure of her brother's business, which was providing financial support for her family, made it difficult for her to go to high school. Despite her family's encouragement, she gave up going to high school and worked at a hospital as a nursing assistant. Based on the recommendation of a person she met at the hospital, she went to a private academy where she could receive nursing education. Throughout her entire learning path, she has always maintained amicable and good relationships, receiving recognition and affection from her family, friends, teachers, and colleagues. By expanding her social relationships, she could find her next step in life with

the help of those around her as she continued her learning. For her, school education has strengthened her positive self-identity and recognition of herself through the relationships she has made through the space of the school, rather than the achievement of learning. After she went to nursing school, a person she met there informed that she was going to Germany. She decided to go to Germany for her desire to live and study in a wider world. She was supposed to graduate from a nursing school in Germany, but after her marriage, childbirth, and the opposition of her husband's family, she did not purse schooling.

Okja Go was the last of the six participants to obtain a college degree. She moved about five times during her elementary school years due to her father's business failure when she was young. This prevented her from studying properly during her elementary school days as she had to help her parents with the farm work, do housework, and take care of her siblings. After graduating from her elementary school with great difficulty, she went to middle school, but because of her poor situation and the need to help her parents with their work, she could not attend school consistently. Nonetheless, she wanted to study so much because she herself always had a strong desire and passion for learning, but her family ignored her value for education and did not support her. After she graduated from middle school, she wanted to escape her current situation, so she left the family. After marriage, she had a hard time with her mother-in-law's criticism, scolding, and abuse for her low educational level. However, all of these terrible experiences in her life have constantly expanded her education and thirst for learning, leading her to get her GED in her 40s. She then attended university. She said that as a 48-year-old college student, studying English and mathematics was particularly difficult. She felt there is a right age/period for learning. Nevertheless, she used her 40+ years of life experience and wisdom to complete her college and high school studies. She said that her experiences as a high school student in her 40s and as a college student in her 50s are far

more valuable than her experience as a student when she was younger. She feels that these experiences have been a reward and compensation for her hard life.

10.2.2 Learning Desire

For the six participants, school education fulfilled their biographical deficiency and also aroused their desire for learning. Learning desire is the recognition or belief that the lack, absence, or ignorance of knowledge is prerequisite to any search for knowledge, wisdom, or enlightenment (Todd, 2013). Thus, in a curious twist, education may become that which instils the very want, the very love, it proposes to satiate: it 'creates' desire as it offers the means for its gratification (Todd, 2013). For the six participants, school education provided them with new curiosity and opportunities for learning, but at the same time, their family, social, and historical backgrounds provided different meanings to their learning desire. I highlight the narratives of three participants: Myungsun Jang, Myungjin Cha, and Okja Go.

According to Myungsun Jang's narrative, she was the youngest of six siblings, and she was always loved by her family and neighbours because of her cheerful nature and many talents. Her desire for recognition was also met in the school. School was not just about academic achievements; for her, it represented joy with her friends and good, trusting relationships with her teachers. Thus, her recognition of her own social and leadership skills, rather than her recognition of her academic achievements, influenced her future learning aspirations and her attitude towards learning. However, her motive for constantly pursuing continuing education was a consideration of the 'human condition', that a human being should know. Although her studying was caused by involuntary rather than voluntary motivation – her parents woke her up at 4 am to study – the desire for recognition at school

lead her to have a spontaneous attitude towards learning.

> I think I must learn what I don't know. It's ridiculous that I only don't know
> what other people know. (…) I always enjoyed going to school. As a result,
> studying was not so fun, but I had a good relationship with my friends and
> teachers, so that place always gave me joy. (Myungsun Jang)

The point at which her motivation for learning aspirations changed was when her brother's business went bankrupt after middle school graduation, making it difficult for her to attend high school. Therefore, she saw going to high school as a luxury rather than a necessity. As she began her nursing studies, she aspired to learn as a means of financially supporting her family and to help her brother's recovery. After she moved to Germany, she continued her social practice through many learning communities. Learning became a means for her to satisfy her desire for recognition and to expand her social network. Regarding her experience of recognition, I found that although the form of social practice and the objects of interaction changed as she got older, the driving force for continuous learning was the desire for recognition and a sense of belonging to a new network through learning.

In contrast, Myungjin Cha and Okja Go have had great interest and motivation in learning itself. Although they had poor economic backgrounds, they have chosen learning as a way to solve their 'deficiencies'. In the case of Myungjin Cha, she chose to relieve her loneliness by reading German literature, listening to classical German music, studying Western culture, and developing good relationships with her school teachers. Her learning experiences gave her time to learn the unknown world, Germany, and to be freed from her lonely reality. Realisation through learning liberated her from the oppression of the depressed mind. This attitude towards learning liberated the loneliness of the past and provided a

decisive opportunity to act as a social being.

> Learning means (…) to find out what I don't know. (…) So, what I learned
> while learning was that I opened my eyes to a new world I didn't know as
> like the experience I learned Germany. At that moment I felt liberated. That's
> why I kept learning. It's so exciting. (Myungjin Cha)

For her, a degree had a symbolic meaning. She thought that a degree was an expression of her value and it gave her a great meaning. This also served as an opportunity for her to aspire to lifelong education.

On the contrary, Okja Go always had a desire for education due to her inferiority complex and sadness from being so poor from an early age and the inability to attend elementary and middle schools properly. As she went to college in her late 40s, she increased her low self-esteem by acquiring knowledge and teaching others what she had learned. She raised her self-efficiency and had hope for a new life with great gratitude. On the other hand, her education also served as an opportunity for her to break free from the obedient frame that had bound her. Education became the motive of hope and the strength of her mind to live her life.

> I think education and learning are too important and precious for me. That's
> why I always say to learners that 'you can see as much as you know and act
> as much as you see'. (…) In the past, I lived obediently while hearing from
> my family that I was nice so I lived like a fool because I was stuck in an
> obedient child frame. But now I'm not ashamed of myself and really
> confident!! (Okja Go)

Through biographical learning, she has satisfied her unsatisfied desire for learning with the strong will and biographicity.

10.2.3 Parental Involvement

Parental involvement comprises a variety of factors, including good parenting at home, providing a stable and secure environment, intellectual stimulation, good models of constructive social and educational values, and high aspirations associated with personal achievement. The degree and form of parental involvement are strongly influenced by the social class of the family, the mother's education level, material deprivation, the mother's psychosocial health, and the status of single parents (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003).

Among the six participants, Jumoh Moon and Sunnam Ok had high parental involvement in their education. In the case of Jumoh Moon, her parents had high educational, economic, and social capital and thus very detailed plans and aspirations for her education. For example, her mother made sure she had stationary for her studies, supported her participation in most school and cultural activities, and encouraged her to get the same education as her brother and to live in professional life as a woman. This view is different from what was common at the time, where women were considered to be responsible for housework.

> I wanted to buy a pencil myself. I haven't bought it with pocket money as my friends do. Because pencils were already prepared in my room by my mother. When I had told my mom that I want to have a red pencil in the morning, she prepared it until I came back to home from school. (Jumoh Moon)

Sunnam Ok had high parental involvement in her education, but her family's economic, social, and cultural capital were low compared with Jumoh Moon's family. Nevertheless, Sunnam Ok's parents supported her to graduate from higher education despite their impoverished circumstance. This caused her to always feel guilty about her learning and she felt pressured to support her family.

As stated by Bourdieu, working-class parents regard all practices related to school and education as opportunities as well as a distinction for their children in their daily lives through their embodied life history and social practices (Weininger & Lareau, 2003). In this way, they potentially classify those who are suitable for education and those who are not based on their previous biographical learning. Myungjin Cha's narrative provides a representation of this phenomenon. Her mother had an indifferent attitude to her children's education, neither strongly opposed nor in favour of it. When she strongly insisted on going to college, her mother allowed her to pursue her degree; however, she asked her to compromise between the reality of her circumstances and her educational ideals. As a result, rather than choosing the major she wanted, she chose nursing as her major. She could receive a scholarship to attend college and study nursing.

> I had two options. One is to graduate from a college of education and become a teacher, and the other is to go to a nursing college. But nursing college has provided dormitories, so I was able to live there for free. That's why I chose it because I didn't need to spend a lot of tuition fees and also living fees. Because I don't need a lot of money. (…) Even my mother didn't have a passion for my education. (Myungjin Cha)

10.3 Theme 3: *Profession*

The Liberation and Korean War generation in Korea has experienced a very high level of employment and material benefits from industrial development during the prosperous post-war period. Among the six participants, three (Sunnam Oh, Myungjin Cha, and Jumoh Moon) who received higher education in the 1960s went to work as nurses in Germany, and three started their lives as career women. Based on Chen (2015), they have experienced the tension between tradition and modernity during the social changes of the 1960s and 1970s, the conflict between communism and democracy, and the confusion in the way of thinking in Western and Eastern societies. They have been through the process of reconstructing meaning to produce new knowledge and positions through adventurous social movement experiences.

First, three participants from the German group and one participant from the Korean group went through a similar educational curriculum until the age of about 18, but their utilisation and stimulation of their learning has expanded and occurred constantly in their professional choice or continuing education process. In biographical learning, the social movement recreates a new story that makes the new environment one's own according to the demands of new principles for one's reconstruction. This theme focuses on how education and learning are used and required in the field of work based on his or her biography, and how they develop their life strategies through career experience followed by social mobility in the change of the physical and structural space.

10.3.1 Utilisation of Learning

Prior to moving to Germany, Sunnam Ok, Myungsun Jang, Myungjin Cha, and Jumoh Moon were fearful of the separation between East and West Germany, similar to

the division between South and North Korea. They had been brainwashed to be hostile to communism. This education became a guideline for them to live in Germany, which was divided between socialism and democracy. In addition, nursing education in Korea became an opportunity for them to be recognised as superior nurses in Germany, and this experience had a great influence on increasing their self-esteem as Korean nurses.

> We learned the way of giving the injections in Korea, but it might be a little different from the German method. As patients preferred to be injected by a Korean nurse, we were all in charge of injecting. So, they really preferred Korean nurses. Because they told me that Korean nurses are good at giving injections without causing pain. (Myungjin Cha)

However, due to differences in the nursing system between Germany and Korea, they made efforts to continue learning the new German culture, which led to the utilisation and stimulation of learning.

In the case of the Korean group, previous education did not lead to a career choice. In particular, Gyuhee Nam learned dressmaking with her sister and not by going to college. However, she became a housewife after she married and gave birth without continuing her career. In addition, until Okja Go entered college in her 40s, she had worked as a salesperson without any educational background. After majoring in pedagogy in college, she became an instructor and educator.

While the German and Korean groups had different social and cultural backgrounds, their attitudes and styles of learning they had previously learned provided a reinforcing attitude to continue learning in their professions. In particular, in the case of Sunnam Ok in the German group, the attitude that the economic value of education was the

most important was strengthened or maintained even though her capital and social position increased while she worked as a nurse in Germany. Myungjin Cha's attitude towards her job also placed a lot of importance on economic value, as her joy for knowing and interest in learning through discovery of the unknown world were chosen to address her financial burden rather than based on her aptitude. However, Jumoh Moon had trauma regarding nursing because she cared for her sick husband, who passed away while she was studying. After her husband's death, she worked part-time as an accountant, and although vocational education (nurse education) did not affect her next career, the attitude of planning life strategies by using learning remained. Therefore, she always filled the necessary parts of her life through learning. Moreover, she helped her husband by learning to use computers herself, and she did not have much resistance to difficult fields she did not know well. She always solved life tasks through learning. The participants' narratives indicate that even though they left the world of childhood, the experience of previous learning remained in the biographical knowledge, only changing the form, and allowed them to continue practicing.

On the other hand, Okja Go had a career break after she got married and raised her children. She worked as an unskilled salesperson because her husband did not make enough money. However, due to the desire and lack of learning, she graduated from college at the age of 50 and participated in various educational and volunteer social activities to share the joy of learning. For her, learning has become a symbol of her own 'being'. These new learning experiences have continued to build knowledge in her biographical meaning. In the end, learning is a constructive process in which knowledge and senses are produced from actions and experiences. This can be related to temporality among the characteristics of biographical learning. Through the process of interruption, detouring, correcting, and re-

challenging their experiences, they have had a non-linear time structure and have utilised their learning based on their previous life experiences.

10.3.2 Stimulation of Learning

The work experience of the participants stimulated new learning. I analyse the learning stimulation of the German group.

10.3.2.1 Discrepancies in Value Perceptions of the Nursing Degree and Profession

For the German group, the nursing license had a social meaning – high symbolic capital in the 1960s – beyond simply meaning that they could work as nurses. The narratives of the four German participants highlighted the differences in nursing licenses and jobs in Korea and Germany. They expressed great embarrassment and discomfort at the markedly different work of nurses in Korea and Germany.

> What I was upset about when I first worked at a German hospital was that nobody told us before about the hospital or the nurse system or work in Germany. It's been such a big confusion. Because in Germany, nurses have to do everything their caretaker does (On the other hand, Korean nurse only conducts very specialized medical treatments), so I felt that the perception of nurses was so different and it was very difficult to adapt to the German work atmosphere. (Sunnam Ok)

These differences in their perceptions forced them to break all the fantasies and expectations of nurses that they had learned. They had to form professional identities and social mobility tailored to new a society and organisations. In this environment, they

continuously created their own new perception and value to adapt to the new society. This process stimulated them to continue their cultural and social learning about their profession. This stimulation of learning was not simply the acquisition of knowledge about German nursing; it was a voluntary and potential effort to understand their culture and collective habitus (doxa) and to fit the cleft with it. They continued to learn German culture and perspectives through colleagues, patients, and neighbours.

10.3.2.2 A Sense of Social Solidarity

The German participants were registered on the basis of their credentials as nurses, and this gave them a collective meaning to form a generational unit within the generation, which now had the function of protecting their identity and the assets of their generational unit. In particular, because they obtained nursing qualifications by receiving higher education, they expressed their own pride and influence by attempting to distinguish themselves through academic capital. This phenomenon led to a social movement in Germany by a group of Korean nurses supporting the active democratisation movement in Korea in the 1970s and protesting against the expulsion of foreign workers due to the 1973 oil crisis. According to Myungjin Cha's narrative, the 1973 oil crisis in Germany forced foreign workers to be deported, with Korean nurses the first to be at risk of deportation. Myungjin Cha said that at this time, she had great confusion about her identity as a worker and a person. With this opportunity, she formed solidarity with Korean nurses and also established a learning community of women migrants. She began to learn about Korean and German history, politics, and society through various workshops, colloquia, and conferences.

The oil crisis in 1973 caused a huge reduction in the number of foreign workers, and the first target was Korean nurses. What I realised at that time was that I was not an object/product. If they need us, they bring and use us, and if they don't, they just send us back or throw us away. By experiencing this humiliation, since then, we have started to form solidarity and gathered people to get signatures from citizens agreeing to oppose our deportation. And through a book club, I have started to read books about German and Korean society or politics by trying to solve questions about my identity. (Myungjin Cha)

Even though it was a backlash that started from the same professional social experiences as a nurse, they had intense confusion about their political stance and self-identity. This situation provided an opportunity as their voluntary learning gave them a clearer and distinctive perspective and attitude. Furthermore, this social wobble meant that social activities to find their self-identity became a priority in their life, their work as nurses became secondary. Therefore, experiencing various social changes such as the 1968 Revolution in Germany, the democratisation movement in Korea, and the protests of foreign workers, they considered themselves intellectuals and tried to find their responsibility and role as intellectuals. Although they came to Germany to work as nurses, their job as nurses led them to understand 'the past of them' and to find their sincere identity.

I was so confused about what I learned while studying. My 'red complex' severely confused me while experiencing the 68 Revolution in Germany. I had a great fear of communism, but at the same time I was so confused when I saw the democratic revolution in Korea (…) because I have always

believed that our government is democratic and protects the people, but I was really surprised that the government oppresses and assaults the people who insist on democracy. Since then, I asked 'Who made me come to Germany? Was it my spontaneity? Or did our social structure and situation make me come to Germany?' As I began to find the answer I fell into a lot of trouble and had a hard time. (Myungjin Cha)

At this stage Myungjin Cha realised that 'her obedience [was] due to ignorance herself', and while attending various workshops, learning communities, and colloquia in Germany and Korea; reading various books; and having discussions, she broke the strong frame of herself and reconstructed a new one. This frame had previously been taken up mostly by the professional aspects of her life, but it expanded to include social and educational activities in Korea and Germany, including the issue of Korean victims of Japanese military sexual violence.

In, Myungsun Jang's narrative, she relayed that she quit her job as a nurse when she got married and had children. However, as she began managing her in-laws' hotel, she realised that she lacked knowledge related to hotel management and she needed to continue her learning by studying this topic. At the same time, she judged that various social networks and social activities were necessary for her to become a successful manager, so learning and social activities in her learning community became a necessity, not an option. This gave her the foundation for her business as well as the expansion and development of her business from the social networks she met in various learning communities. The growth and success of her business, which started from this learning community, gave her a desire and stimulation for learning in other fields. The participants' narratives have shown better

how their academic credentials, the function of protecting their generation's capital, have operated through the education system.

10.4 Theme 4: *Expected Patterns for Internalised Gender Roles*

The participants were born and raised in Korea, so gender has had a great influence in their biographical learning regarding internalised gender roles and the formation of a gender learning habitus. In particular, gender is theorised to be an integrated social identity in relation to the objectified gender division of labour, and the dichotomy between women and men includes oppression, exclusion, and categorical singularisation. The body becomes a decisive medium for the gender learning. The body is a memory device in which the actual classification of the basic habitus of culture is imprinted and encoded in the process of socialisation or learning.

10.4.1 Educational Aspirations and Expectations 'For' the Family and 'From' the Family

The six participants were women born and raised at least until the age of 20 in Korea, and they have gone through the life-historical process as daughters at home and mothers, daughters-in-law, and wives after marriage. The four German participants were married and had children in Germany. In particular, Myungjin Cha, Myungsun Jang, and Jumoh Moon married German men. As they got married internationally, they experienced conflicts over cultural differences and confusion about how to raise children who were born in Germany. The rest of the participants also responded in their own way about strategies to adapt to unfamiliar and difficult situations due to marriage and childbirth, and some of them suffered and had a hard time in this process. From Schütze's point of view, this can lead to the progression of trajectories of suffering. Although they experienced a series of

discomforts about the hurdles they encountered as they unconsciously internalised their gender role in everyday life, they also went through a process of change in which they formed their own identity through a change in the possibility of practice.

10.4.1.1 Growing Up as a Daughter

The six participants were born at a time when traditional Korean customs remained strong. There was a clear social distinction between men and women and there was severe discrimination from those who did not follow it. Men and women were not allowed to receive the same education, and there were marked and clear differences between education for men and women. The narrative of Jumoh Moon, who grew up in a very strict family, highlights the regulations she had to follow as a woman, which were always strongly suggested by her grandparents and parents.

> Even though I am over 70 years old, I always come home before dark (around 5 pm). Growing up as a daughter, I was raised very strictly by my grandmother, who regarded manner and filial piety as really important from my young age, such as 'girls must come back home before dark,' 'obey and being polite to parents,' and 'don't hang out with men'. (…) Even when I decided my major in (vocational) high school, my father decided it instead of me to take the class of home economics, saying that women shouldn't do harsh work as like engineering. (Jumoh Moon)

The education/discipline from her parents, who had a relatively high cultural, economic, and social status, transmitted the cultural capital she embodied as a daughter consciously and unconsciously. As her habitus, she learned her family's own culture early

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in the process of learning cultural skills such as dining etiquette, cultural knowledge, and etiquette at home. Here we can find the reason why it is difficult for other classes to imitate the upper class's unique culture: it is something that is learned and embodied naturally because it is acquired through experience from childhood. She was able to form comfortable and close relationships with cultural capital because she was taught to directly play an instrument and appreciated the value of culture.

The parents of most of the German participants were supportive of the participants' education. In general, however, this generation contributed a lot to the reconstruction and development of Korea after the war, so children were often considered a source of labour; there was less focus on education. In particular, Okja Go and Gyuhee Nam became obsessed with doing housework rather than education. They grew up internalising the boundaries between men and women from an early age.

> My older brothers all went to school. Since I am a daughter, I had to take care of my younger brother at home and help my parents with farm work even after back from school. My parents said 'going to middle school is enough for women'. (Gyuhee Nam)

10.4.1.2 Conflict in the Role of Daughter-In-Law

All the participants are married women. After they got married, they played a new role as daughter-in-law and had to deal with confusing big and small conflicts with their older parents-in-law. In Korea, because there is a strong hierarchy between parents and children, daughters-in-law generally obey and follow the traditional, deeply embedded mindset without hesitation. In particular, Okja Go said that she experienced too much pain

and oppression while living with her in-laws, who had a strict traditional Korean mindset. The abuse from her mother-in-law, who criticised and ignored her due to her low education, caused intense pain in her life. This caused her to experience an inner conflict, which aroused her sorrow for her low educational attainment and at the same time a strong aspiration and desire for learning.

Myungsun Jang had a conflict with her parents-in-law about continuing her nursing education in Germany. She was scheduled to continue her studies at a German university after giving birth, but her parents-in-law opposed this pursuit and thus she stopped.

> I told my husband's parents that I would study nursing after giving birth,
> and my parents-in-law said that 'women should stay at home because none
> of the women in our family study or earn money', so I also should stay at
> home. (Myungsun Jang)

Her parents-in-law regarded education as a means to acquire technical skills for economic gain. Therefore, her parents-in-law, who were wealthy due to their carpentry business, thought her education was not needed. However, this disconnection from her higher education later served as an opportunity for her to develop a new meaning for active participation in lifelong education and learning.

10.4.1.3 Having Educational Expectations of Their Children

One of the most interesting things I noted while analysing the narratives was that the participants had high expectations about their children's academic achievements and did not want to keep their children from learning. They invested a great deal of time and money into their children's education and projected their successes and failures onto them.

They considered their children's achievements and successes in education as a source of pleasure.

The German group had a different attitude relative to the general German way of parenting. They had expectations and desires for their children's high learning achievement that are typical of traditional Korean mothers. I found that this attitude (1) projected their desire for learning that was not satisfied in their academic lives and (2) reflected their perception that their children's academic degrees represent high symbolic capital.

For the Liberation and Korean War generation, education was considered a means of survival and livelihood for those who had been educated in the very poor and chaotic social and economic background after the Korean War. Therefore, they prioritised the acquisition of technical skills rather than considering interests and talents. However, in the process of raising their children, they projected their desire to find their talents and interests that they had forgotten. In this case, they tried to realise their learning needs and deficiencies through their children. They equated investing in their children's education as rewarding themselves.

> I invested a lot of time and money in my children's education since they were young. Musical, ballet, swimming, flute, piano, hockey, math, English. (…) It was something I wanted to learn when I was young, but I couldn't. To support their education, I lived according to my children's academic schedule all day. When my kids came home from school, I gave them lunch, helped them to do homework, took my daughter to her ballet academy, picked up my son from ice hockey class, and when I got home, it was 10 pm. (Myungsun Jang)

Furthermore, the German participants initially believed that their children's academic success would bring pride and positive recognition for Koreans in Germany. This could counteract the relatively poor view of Koreans and invisible discrimination within German culture. They believed that the social recognition and achievement of a good educational background, which was regarded as important in Korea, operated the same way in German society.

> I totally educated my children in Korean style. Once, my kid was asked to solve a math problem by his school teacher, but maybe he solved it in a too different way from the German style. So, my son's teacher called me and required me not to teach math at home anymore. Therefore, since I couldn't teach the children anymore, I hired a private tutor to teach German and math to my son. Even after living here for 50 years, I still really have a Korean mom's mind. That's so ridiculous (haha). (Myungsun Jang)

> One day I told the children, 'Because half of your identity is Korean and half is German, if you don't have good grades, you will hear that it's because your mother is a Korean mother so you're not educated well by your Asian mother.' So if you don't want me to be criticised, you guys should study well. (Jumoh Moon)

After their children graduated from higher education, their desire for education shifted back to their desire for continuous learning themselves, which was also the driving force behind their subsequent lifelong learning. A notable difference between the German and Korean groups is that the German group has a heterogeneous social and cultural

background regarding their children's education. They had a strong desire for their children to have success in learning by adding more elements such as self-confidence, Korean pride, and identity. On the contrary, Okja Go's case showed determination to set limits on the educational achievements that are affordable or attainable. This can be said to be the process of accepting the structural framework through the biographical learning process (Alheit, 2018). In addition, from Bourdieu's point of view, the low academic expectations of children from the working class can be linked to the phenomenon of 'self-exclusion', in which they exclude themselves according to their 'subjective expectation' that high academic achievement and academic background do not match. However, in the field of lifelong education, the low threshold for entry, which is the biggest characteristic of lifelong learning, and the provision of opportunities to satisfy learning needs through various learning programmes fulfils unsatisfied learning more strongly.

10.4.1.4 Role as a Wife

In their roles as a wife, the participants stimulated and were stimulated to learn by various factors. For example, Jumoh Moon used to help her husband, who was working as a lecturer, to make class materials. She had to learn how to use a computer to make computer-based materials, a new challenge for her. She learned to use computers over several months because of her favourable attitude towards learning, and as a result, she was able to teach her entire family how to use a computer. The stimulation of her learning first began with helping her husband as a wife, but the acquisition of her new abilities through self-learning gave her a chance to challenge her self-confidence and to continue learning.

In order to help my husband make course materials, I learned to use a

> computer by myself and helped him (…) I also taught the children it. After
> learning the difficult computer, from then on, I have no fear at all about
> learning the computer. (…) I can always solve something I don't know by
> learning. (Jumoh Moon)

Jumoh Moon's husband provided with her a lot of mental and financial support so that she could continue to perform various learning activities. Her preference and confidence in her learning provided her with the motivation to continue learning for herself and allowed her to support her husband's work.

Gyuhee Nam began her caregiver training at the age of 60 to take care of her husband. For her, that training meant learning professional skills so that she could care for her husband as a wife rather than as a means of obtaining vocational credentials for caring work.

> Last year, I got the nursing care license. Since my husband is sick, I wanted
> to take care of my husband as a wife with professional knowledge and skills
> and also not make my children worry about their father's care so I started
> to get caregiver training. But if I take the exam of authorised qualification,
> I can work somewhere later. So, I decided to study and be trained more
> professionally. However, my daughter and son were worried too much that
> I would have a hard time to study at an old age, but now they are really
> very proud of me after I got my license. (Gyuhee Nam)

Her learning gave her an image of herself as a good wife and devoted mother, and it also gave her confidence. She took pride in her learning and the fact that she obtained her

caring license successfully at an older age. This achievement became a great opportunity for her to feel interested and to have fun in her lifelong learning.

> It was so hard because I was trying to study when I was older. It was really difficult to memorise in particular. But it was so nice to know what I didn't know like basic medical knowledge. I woke up at 4 in the morning to study and studied the whole day. It's because I never wanted to give up on my own. I studied at a private academy, but they didn't want to accept me as student in their academy, they think I was old so I will easily give up or not participate passionately. Therefore, they made me study harder; I wanted to show them how good I am (haha). It was very difficult at first, but in the end, I got almost a perfect score and finally got my license. I am very proud of myself and I have become more interested in studying and learning something. (Gyuhee Nam)

For all participants, the previous learning biography was not disconnected. Their qualifications and educational competency were still being used in the nonlinear time structure emphasised in biographical learning theory. However, all of these women's gender roles became an important factor in determining their dispositions and attitudes towards learning in the context of lifelong learning, accompanying their previous educational experiences.

10.5 Theme 5: *Lifelong Learning*

Five of the six participants, excluding Sunnam Ok, are actively participating in lifelong education programmes. In particular, Okja Go and Gyuhee Nam obtained

qualifications and degrees through a special lifelong learning education programme after finishing their school education in middle/old age. Okja Go obtained high school and university degrees through a GED programme in her late 40s. To care for her sick husband, Gyuhee Nam obtained qualification as a Korean caregiver by attending the licensing programme in her 60s.

Five of the participants voluntarily engage in various learning activities to develop individual cultural and artistic capabilities as well as responsible citizenship by participating in culture and arts education, humanities liberal arts programmes, and citizenship education. Sunnam Oh only occasionally participates in educational programmes related to vocational competency. Even after her retirement, she still works as a nurse part-time at her previous workplace and visits the home of seniors with dementia. According to her, she considers her education as a means for professional growth, so she participates in continuing work competency programmes when she feels it is necessary.

10.5.1 Motivation for Participation

Currently, the participants are actively participating in lifelong learning programmes even in their old age. On average, after marriage, when their children were about 10 years old, they were engaged in various lifelong learning activities in their free time. However, while Myungjin Cha was working as a nurse, she was thrown into great confusion as foreign workers, including her, were fired due to the sudden high unemployment rate caused by the global oil crisis. This opportunity led her to continue her studies by forming a voluntary learning community focusing on politics, history, and society in Korea and Germany. She was able to consider social issues in Korea and Germany (the problems of foreign workers, the rights of women workers, etc.) through

forums, seminars, and colloquia involving many organisations. She chose to come to Germany due to her great interest in German culture and literature, and her learning meant a great deal to her in confirming and forming her identity as well as discovering the unknown world. These social changes and historical events played a crucial role in helping her continue to form a diverse learning community to enlighten people in various aspects. As a result, her motivation for learning began with the joy of liberation from her previous depressed and fearful self through continuous reflection when she learned new knowledge and facts, rather than simply for stimulation and acquiring knowledge.

> In fact, it was scary to learn about the social and historically sensitive parts. So, once I agonised, 'Should I stop to learn?' But after I learn it, I felt that I was free after I got over it. And the pain and fear of it are gone. In the end, I feel confident that I can overcome it and learn something new, and free myself from the past. (Myungjin Cha)

Myungjin Cha has created various Korean cultural communities to expand her social learning and to ensure that second-generation Korean immigrants born in Germany do not lose their Korean identity. She has formed a traditional Korean music group comprising second-generation Korean immigrants, stimulating them not to lose their Korean identity by continuing to become familiar with Korean cultural traditions and roots. To her, learning is a process of confirming and creating her identity, so it is compulsory, not optional.

The motivation of Myungsun Jang and Okja Go for learning is found in their childhood narratives. Myungsun Jang received a lot of attention and love from people around her in her childhood; the opposite was true for Okja Go. These experiences

motivated them to continue participating in lifelong education. When Myungsun Jang was young, her brother's sudden business failure prevented her from continuing her higher education. After her marriage, her economic and social status improved greatly, completely different from her past, but she remembered and considered the learning space and situation positively where she was always recognised and praised, which improved her self-esteem. She started to receive vocational education necessary for hotel management, including accounting and job training. Therefore, for her, the field of lifelong learning satisfies her desire for higher education, which she had not reached before, through other learning, as well as her own intellectual satisfaction that she does not fall behind others by learning new things in various ways. The biggest opportunity was that the range of learning was expanding through learning from others whom she met in the wide social networks and learning communities.

> If you don't know something, you must learn. I participated in a variety of programmes such as singing, cooking, dancing, etc. There is also the joy of learning new things, but when I meet and talk with other people, I learn new things or new programs. Then I search it or participate. (…) That's why I always asked people what I didn't know. Because if I don't know what people know, I feel like an fool. (Myungsun Jang)

On the other hand, Okja Go was deprived of many opportunities for education and learning from a young age, but her desire for further education and higher education was great. Even after her marriage, it was very difficult for her to reach her educational opportunities, as she had to take on financial responsibilities, but her desire to learn remained. Then one day, while delivering products, she accidentally found a brochure for

the academic supplementary programme on the wall. This serendipitous discovery changed her life. With this opportunity, she completed her high school and university courses and began her social and educational activities. Since then, she has been actively seeking educational opportunities for her vocational competency programmes, earning various certifications such as funeral director, leader of a volunteer organisation, recreation instructor, and fairy tale narrator. She thinks that lifelong learning is not something you have to go to an educational institution to learn; it can occur anywhere while you share knowledge or wisdom or skills with others in different ways in all aspects of your life. She receives joy when teaching and sharing her capabilities, which inspires her to continue learning. She has reflected on the previous pain and hardship of her life and now has a positive mindset –she has healed.

> Learning is the hope and worth of living for me, and happiness in itself. I am so happy and greatly satisfied while learning these days. I would like to recommend lifelong education to everyone and tell them to participate. As I learned, the range and kind of relationships with people changed and my thoughts changed in a positive direction. (Okja Go)

She began to recharge her self-confidence about her daunting childhood, and her resentment towards those who made it difficult for her changed to a position of understanding them. Now, her sorrowful previous life experiences have made her appreciate the joy and benefits of lifelong learning and have stimulated her to continue learning. Lifelong learning has allowed her to become satisfied with her current life and increased her self-esteem.

Lastly, Jumoh Moon and Gyuhee Nam were given many learning opportunities

and support from their families during their childhood. After Jumoh Moon married and gave birth while in college, she no longer had a professional job, and all her interests were filled with learning new things. In particular, because of her familiarity with learning from a young age and her attitude to solve many of life's tasks through learning, she learned many new things that she had not learned before in Korea, prolonging her interest in learning. Jumoh Moon and Gyuhee Nam's husbands were very cooperative in providing financial and emotional support for learning, so they were able to immerse themselves in learning more. Especially in the case of Jumoh Moon, her various cultural and artistic programmes (pottery making, quilting, painting, etc.) have served as an opportunity for her to realise her new talent. Through her learning, she herself got the answer to the question of 'Who am I'. For them, learning brings vitality to their lives and has helped them immensely, allowing them to meet new friends and to expand their knowledge.

> My husband told me that I would make a small atelier to draw at home. If I have my atelier there I can paint, quilt, and do silk paint and also I can sell some my works... My husband actively supports what I learn. (…) Actually, I have lived by doing everything I wanted to learn and do or buy. So once before I prayed that it would be nice if all the women in the world live as much as I do. (haha) (Jumoh Moon)

Overall, most of the participants still have a lot of stimulation and desire to participate in continuous lifelong learning through their personal biographical experiences. My biographical learning analysis of these women's narratives revealed that they have practice, taste, and perception of current learning. The pain, joy, and deficiency of the past has allowed them to recognise lifelong learning can help them overcome past trauma, heal,

and become stronger. Therefore, an individual's practice and disposition are influenced not only by the characteristics they possess at that time, but also by the relationship between initial capital and present capital, in terms of the properties defining the position occupied in social space at a given moment (the life trajectory; Bourdieu, 1977).

10.5.2 Expectations for the Utilisation of Learning

Lifelong learning covers the entire scope of learning, including formal, nonformal, and informal learning. It includes the skills, knowledge, attitudes and behaviours that people acquire in their daily life (Dunn, 2003) and involves the continuous building of skills and knowledge throughout an individual's lifetime. It enhances social inclusion, active citizenship, personal development, competitiveness, and employability. The six participants had goals and expectations for lifelong learning according to their life experiences and processes. Based on my analysis, I identified two aspects: (1) strategies for coping with external life tasks and (2) expectations for developing internal competence and initiative in life.

10.5.2.1 Strategies for Coping with External Life Tasks

Sunnam Ok, Gyuhee Nam, Myungsun Jung, and Jumoh Moon have had expectations for lifelong learning as strategies to cope with, challenge, and overcome external life tasks. They have all had to solve the tasks of life as daughters, nurses, mothers, wives, and daughters-in-law. For them, acquiring knowledge, skills, and competency through lifelong learning has become a solution to many of the problems they have had to solve. I found that their ability to obtain these solutions through lifelong learning came from forming strategies through learning from their previous biographical experiences. In

particular, according to Sunnam Oh's narrative, for her, education was an option like a 'luxury'. Despite her poor economic situation, education provided a means break through and solve her situation. As she pursued higher education and obtained her nursing license, she was able to earn money and relieve her guilt about her family, which had always consumed her. Based on her educational trajectory, she participated in education as a means to obtain practical value, such as acquiring vocational skills. On the other hand, given how highly she emphasised education for her children, she also views degrees as symbolic capital. This capital would allow her children to obtain economic, social, and cultural capital in society. Gyuhee Nam, Jumoh Moon, and Myungsun Jang also had similar expectations for lifelong learning, but they did not pursue education mainly for economic benefits. Gyuhee Nam and Jumoh Moon utilised the knowledge and skills they acquired through lifelong learning when they had to solve tasks based on their gender roles rather than expecting to acquire practical value such as vocational skills. Jumoh Moon taught her children cultural activities, and Gyuhee Nam took care of her husband professionally by obtaining a caregiver license. In addition, Myungsun Jang acquired various skills and knowledge necessary for the hotel business when she started managing her in-laws' hotel. Based on their narratives, they have used lifelong learning to solve life's difficulties, and this experience has formed their high affinity for active lifelong learning.

10.5.2.2 Lifelong Learning as an Expectation for Developing Internal Competence and
       Initiative in Life

    Okja Go, who has had a strong desire for getting the education since childhood, and Myungjin Cha, who experienced enlightenment through education, have established a mental balance and through lifelong learning. They have dealt with and solved past

deficiencies and inner problems. They did not necessarily engage in lifelong learning expecting to be able to use their skills externally. Foucault (1988) wrote that participants set up strategies to positively influence their thinking, behaviour, and way of existence with their own means or with the help of others to transform themselves with the aim of achieving their state of happiness, purity, wisdom, and perfection through learning. In particular, Myungjin Cha's experiences with social movements led here to ask herself, 'Who am I?' Why did I come to Germany?' To answer these questions, she has established a learning community involving the cooperation and interaction of various people and institutions. Ultimately, she had an expectation of a 'process of being' self-identity and also the integration of her thoughts, emotions, and actions. As this has expanded, she has created various lifelong learning programmes so that she and future next generations with Korean roots can maintain their Korean identity and culture in the context of being German citizens.

On the other hand, Okja Go's social and historical background led to her to blind obedience, and her social oppression has been linked to her personal oppression. However, her life changed completely when she started higher education in her late 40s. She has recognised the importance of vocational skills through education, but for her, lifelong learning itself is a means to liberate her from oppression and economic problems and has given her the courage to find her genuine self, fulfilling her past deficiencies and aspirations. For Myungjin Cha and Okja Go, learning has been an internal process of trial and error to realise themselves and to form their own identities. They are still learning based on the inherent expectation of lifelong learning as 'beings' who are always becoming themselves.

Some of the participants have a relatively high educational background relative to their generation. Some people have changed career paths and others have not, but they generally have a high affinity for learning and have active problem-solving skills through

learning. This affinity has promoted their sense of achievement, interest, desire, and necessity for learning itself through their continuous and constant learning experiences. As a result, many of these sources of lifelong learning begin with 'learning to become me', and as a result, they change through learning, develop in a better direction, and focus on the 'construction of myself'.

It is important to emphasise that learning is an integration of two very different processes: the external interaction between the learner and the social, cultural, or physical environment, and the integration of the inner psychological acquisition process of elaboration of the learner. All six participants have formed perceptions, wills, and motivations for their learning and education through external interaction and internal integration processes. They can be divided into two parts – expectations of the use of extroverted learning and expectations of learning about the process of intrinsic integration. The question to ask all of them is, 'What did you learn?' The answer encompasses their knowledge or skills, perceptions, insights, ability to give meaning, attitudes, values, behaviours, methods, strategies, and so on, which ultimately implies the understanding, ability, and potential of learning that they have formed through biographical learning. The Liberation and Korean War generation has had to overcome a constant 'fight against themselves' through lifelong learning based on their experiences and memories of past historical and social events.

11 Sociogenetic Types of Learning Habitus

11.1 Type A: *Learning for Survival*

The first type of learning habitus pursues learning for economic means as a practical value due to the lack of economic, cultural, and social capital in the past and present. Learning is a way of 'survival' to overcome the current situation, and even in continuous life challenges, it has a perception, conception and action of learning as a means of maintaining or improving one's current life. Therefore, this type does not have a disposition in the composition of learning (e.g., the content or method); rather, it focuses on the practical value that leads to the result of learning. That is why these people are very interested in what abilities and competencies they can develop as a result of learning, and how they can be connected and in what position they can be occupied in the field of work. This type does not rely on other subjects because of economic responsibility, but rather has a strong desire for economic independence. The goal is to gain economic independence from parents, brothers, children, and spouses.

I easily found this type in Sunnam Ok's narrative. She was born in social chaos and economic poverty after the end of the Korean War, but her parents sacrificed to make sure they supported her education. However, her education brought her a sense of duty, responsibility, and depression to support her family, such as wearing 'unfit clothes'. Based on this negative perception and memory of learning, she continued to maintain her strong primary learning habitus that the system of perception, conception, and actions in learning even after marriage, trying to purchase a house as a different form of economic responsibility, considered the most important asset for Koreans. In addition, a mother's economic contribution to her children is the most important value of her life. The purchase of a house and the successful educational results of her child brought are extremely

important, and she placed great emphasis on keeping her current life stable rather than on the expectation of a social change.

11.1.1 Learning Motivation

Given the voluntary family support from an early age, Sunnam Ok always had a great desire for economic capital. She thought the way to obtain economic value from her educational capital was to develop legitimate skills and abilities through 'formal education'. Her nursing license was a very important tool in her life. Therefore, she chose to learn only if it could lead to economic value. These narratives eventually led to habitus pursuing economic value, which is connected to generational characteristics, with the ability of achieving goals without inherited capital but with educational support, which was difficult for her parents. To achieve, her goal, formal education related to vocational training, workplace learning for rapid adaptation to the workplace, and daily informal learning from mothers around are carried to increase economic value. Sunnam Ok, who is still working after retirement, has internalised the know-how and sense of practice due to the accumulation of previous learning.

In addition, Sunnam Ok's motivation for learning was not what she learned, but what results and how long they could be maintained. The type A learning habitus acquires information about jobs on a daily basis, judging that they should continue economic activities while they are healthy, considering their children's economic situation and their later years. Her learning habitus instinctively and quickly detects, judges, and practices economic value related to learning that can acquire jobs or abilities. Her learning habitus can be interpreted as the result of her sociocultural conditions and structures embodied on her body, and it can be seen that the primary habitus is still strongly maintained as a schema of perception, conception, and action that motivates her current learning.

11.1.2 Learning Style

The type A learning habitus generally has pragmatic characteristics. People who follow this type think that the results obtained after completing a programme are important, so they follow the instructor's instructions well and do not have a specific teaching disposition. They pursue practical knowledge and focus on the 'efficiency' of learning, so they tend to know how to put what they're learning into practice in the real world. They experiment with theories, ideas, and techniques and take the time to think about how what they have done relates to reality. They do not necessarily participate in a programme based on personal taste. They do not have much curiosity about the knowledge acquisition and learning process, as the process of practice based on practicality and having work opportunities is repeated. Therefore, in the field of learning, they had a passive rather than an active learning attitude.

Furthermore, they have a well-structured plan for systematic learning: when they think some education/training is needed, they try to get information and then start learning. However, they are reluctant to participate in programmes that require economic investment and strongly hope to participate in cost-effective programmes. For this reason, they mostly participate in 'work competency development' and show an attitude towards programme-oriented learning rather than a learner-led learning.

11.1.3 Orientation in Learning

In socioeconomic conditions in which their economic activity is critical, people with a type A learning habitus place higher value in practicality than learning disposition, which leads to their operation of action schema. As a result, they focus on how education can lead to employment or economic activity within the shortest possible time and aim for

external and visible values such as economic gain and degrees. For them, the direction of learning is aimed at 'individual independence', and cultivation of personal competencies is important for this independence. They have lived independently of themselves in the past life and are embodying practical learning as a sense of practice based on previous narratives in their old age. Sunnam Ok has made a lot of economic progress, but the direction of practical and external values embodied in her habitus still works in the field of learning. Her learning habitus has formed a tendency based on the judgment and classification of the entire experience of life based on practicality, economy, and efficiency in learning, and narrowly based on the schema of perception, conception, and action in the field of learning.

This pursuit of economic and practical values brings people benefits such as wealth and ultimately allows them to recognise themselves positively as a reward and result for life. Sunnam Ok's preference for learning related to professional qualification seems to be linked to her strong self-concept. Therefore, she is proud of the results she has achieved on their own, and this feeling has allowed her to continue her habitus. For people with a type A learning habitus, the pursuit of learning has a practical value that is the result of constant effort in their life. Based on their sensitivity to cost-effective and beneficial learning, they are able to develop their competence through learning and positively affirm their own being.

11.2 Type B: *Learning for Recognition*

The second sociogenetic type of learning habitus applies to people who prioritise education that enables them to be recognised socially or within the family, which influences their desire to learn continuously. Jumoh Moon, Gyuhee Nam, and Myungsun Jang have embodied life as women through biographical learning and they have acquired various qualities and skills such as behaviours, speech, and diligence as women; sacrifice as a

mother at home, at school, and in society. These participants, except for Myungsun Jang, who has achieved a significant increase in economic, social, and cultural capital in her later life, have one thing in common: they did not face serious financial difficulties in continuing their studies in childhood.

In general, Jumoh Moon, Gyuhee Nam, and Myungsun Jang have lived at home or in the community, at school, at work, with large and small recognition of various achievements and results or their 'being' itself. This recognition has served as the most important life engine/motivation in the schema of their perception, conception, and practice, and it has forced or led them to play various social roles and they have adapted themselves. Therefore, their choices in various educational opportunities have relied on what types of people gather in the learning community and the curriculum. People of this type build relationships with others through their learning practices, find the meaning of learning with emotional support in relationships, or choose to learn so they can be recognised for their role in the relationships they are currently forming. These three women were born at the similar period and experienced similar historical events and have always been exposed to friendly and supportive attitudes from their surroundings despite their different family backgrounds. They have communicated with people and society through learning, social solidarity, and support, and have established their roles and existence rather than hoping that education provides a professional ability or a degree represents symbolic capital.

11.2.1 Learning Motivation

As the youngest child, Myungsun Jang liked to hang out with people and has always played a leading role in the community due to her outgoing and intimate personality. Her previous learning experience did not begin with a voluntary and intrinsic will for

education, but came from external factors such as friendly social relations and recognition, and awareness of the social networks and perception of the atmosphere of pleasant learning. Therefore, she wanted to be recognised for her influence in many communities and always actively participated based on her well-developed interpersonal skills, which led to an active attitude towards education, learning from social networks formed in the learning community, and an interest in continuous educational opportunities. In particular, learning from social networks formed in the learning community has helped her or allowed her to maintain her economic and social capital. For this reason, learning was induced not from her intrinsic interest in education itself, but from being recognised for her role and existence as being able to express her presence and leadership through the community. I found that this characteristic originated from her parents' educational achievement, expectation, support, and atmosphere, which was not high from an early age. Because she has always filled with desire for recognition through love and interest in her, she has been stimulated by the formation of self-identity through interactions with significant others (teachers, friends, colleagues, neighbours, family members, etc.) rather than symbolic meaning for her degree. '*And it is exactly this constellation that creates the experiential foundation for a willingness to reflect upon one's own life and to try new things*' (Alheit, 2018b; 17).

Jumoh Moon took learning and education for granted as a part of her life because she had a lot of experience with it while growing up in a family with high educational, economic, cultural, and social capital. However, her father's high educational aspirations for her, in particular, have influenced her educational achievement and successful career transition to 'prove her qualifications as his daughter and be recognised by her parents'. Her father constantly tried to transfer cultural capital to her through education based on his high educational background and family education. In this sense, she has also been

embodied as easy, natural, and intimate in this tacit educational atmosphere. Therefore, her educational opportunities and experiences have always led her to receive 'recognition as a daughter from herself or from her parents'. Furthermore, since getting married, she has lived with 'recognition as a wife' from her husband and 'recognition as a mother' from her children by using the knowledge she has gained through learning. Overall, recognition from herself and others has led to her continuous learning. Interestingly, however, she has been learning for self-satisfaction in her older age because she has a strong interest in learning based on her high intimate tendency to learn and her desire for recognition.

Although Gyuhee Nam's educational background capital is not high, she learned a gender attitude as a woman while being raised by her 'wise father', who was the leader of the village. She has learned the role of 'mother and wife' as a woman in Korean society and, at the same time, she has felt the limitations of educational achievement as a woman. In a social atmosphere that prioritised education for men rather than women, including her parents' lack of support for her higher education, she has adapted to her social structure and position. As a result, the importance of her work as a woman and her role as a mother/wife has been at the centre of her life. She has continued to learn for this 'recognition of gender roles'. Like Jumoh Moon and Myungsun Jang, her motivation for education in older age is ultimately joy and learning, and the scope of learning has expanded. Characteristically, however, she stops learning if the 'performance of roles' cannot be properly performed in the learning process. Hence, she has prioritised learning assumptions and motivations with a strong self-image of gender roles, and she has used learning as a tool to recognise role qualifications.

Among the three participants, the motivation for this type of learning has also been triggered by the recognition of their existence (influence of them) and the role from the self

and others. This recognition has formed a strong self-consciousness for themselves, which has become the driving force for them to pioneer their lives with their strong biographicity as well as their desire to learn.

11.2.2 Learning Style

This type of learning habitus includes people with 'an activist learning style'. They fully enjoy new experiences and approach them without bias. They enjoy the here and now and are happy to be dominated by immediate experiences. They prefer joy-oriented learning because they want the motivated learning content, the interaction with the community, and self-satisfaction due to educational results. They learn in a learning group, combining their active dispositions and their life circumstance, activating a more independent learning habitus. In the case of Myungsun Jang, she prefers to take on the role of a leader in the group, so she aims to participate in a social activity–oriented education programme that can show her competence as a leader. In this learning community, she is mainly involved in programmes that can reveal her identity and qualities, and she prefers to include dynamic and diverse activities rather than static and content-oriented learning. Jumoh Moon and Gyuhee Nam also actively participate in leisure and knowledge-oriented programmes. Gyuhee Nam mainly participates in cultural arts and health programmes (jogging, dance, painting, music, and cooking) rather than more academic programmes (literature, history, society, philosophy) that require high literacy and learning skills. On the other Jumoh Moon has excellent cultural competence and aesthetic sense due to her many cultural opportunities and high cultural capital she received from her parents from an early age. These participants also prefer adult education institutions that are not far from their home so they can easily visit them for learning at any time.

While these participants want to learn to solve their life tasks, they have also learned to obtain knowledge and certificates, but there are notable differences between the type A and B learning habitus. Learning for type B people is more spontaneous than planned and they are attracted to learning communities, teachers, and institutions because they are more influenced by stimuli and interactions from external factors than voluntary motivation. They prefer to have colleagues with close relationships in the learning community. This type of learning style has a learning attitude that can recognise one's self-being with social competence and form an identity. Although people with this learning habitus maintain a similar disposition to the primary habitus, they are able to spend money on education because they have accumulated economic, social, and cultural capital over their life.

11.2.3 Orientation in Learning

People with this type of learning habitus do not seek to continue learning to supplement or complement their education. They continue learning to interact with people and society through educational programmes, to find social solidarity and support, and to gain recognition for their influence. They have lived by realising the importance of social capital based on their life experiences. Therefore, they have learned 'know-how' in these networks and have lived in a way that has gained them recognition in their various communities, including the learning community. In social relationships, they had a high desire for recognition, not only for social relationships but also for self-image that they perceive when they achieve through learning. Therefore, learning is a very important means of improving their sense of self-efficacy, which has been formed based on life experiences through positive relationships with others.

Based on the participants' narratives, I found that as the social status rose and the amount of capital increased over time, the recognition from previous achievements of 'role' gradually changed to an orientation of learning for inner satisfaction such as self-efficacy and self-satisfaction as their children grew and their spouses retired. Another notable point is that these learners gradually come to prefer educational programmes that pursue aesthetic tendencies, especially when aesthetic tendencies depend on the amount of capital. This change is due to connection between economic conditions and the expression of cultural tendencies: aesthetic tastes are formed and appear when they are free from economic worries. They learn in the mainstream categories, which are aesthetic taste/art programmes, and have a preference for art. In other words, they form a social network comprising people with similar tastes, capital, and inclinations.

Jumoh Moon, Gyuhee Nam, and Myungsun Jang have the same type of learning habitus, but they show different motivations regarding their biographical learning. Jumoh Moon has had an interest in cultural learning due to her rich cultural experiences in her childhood, but Myungsun Jang's learning has been induced by curiosity about people in the community who mainly do cultural learning rather than an affection for cultural learning. She has obtained information from these communities and expanded it to social exchanges, so she primarily seeks to expand knowledge through social relationships as well as intellectual acquisition through learning. On the contrary, Gyuhee Nam has lacked insight into the future and sensitivity to detect changes in the future because the external requirements of her learning did not influence her much. She is motivated to learn by her affection for learning in order to faithfully perform the various roles learned from childhood.

The most important characteristic for this learning habitus type is the desire to be a satisfactory object of recognition to oneself, whether from others or for others, to pursue

social relationships, and to pursue education. For these learners, education and learning are a way of internalising the values and expectations of their surroundings (family, friends, community, and culture) and identifying themselves to meet external values and expectations according to their own self-authoritative belief system (Kegan, 1998; 2018).

11.3 Type C: *Learning for Liberation*

We are greatly influenced by the many ways and processes of learning. Moreover, learning opportunities come from the social context in which the learners are located. In this biographical process, we adapt to our life world as natural and practice ways to accept it. However, the social world always changes and humans become individualised through learning and each individual is placed in a different situation. They come to realise that they do not always have to conform as they go through their many stages of life to adapt to their life world, which they have taken for granted. When the experience of finding the answer to this phenomenon is achieved through education, we experience liberation from the previous 'I' and from 'my world' that we have defined.

People with this type of learning habitus start from the educational deficit at home due to the social and economic structure of their family (from a microscopic point of view). They become confused about where their self-identity is located in the overall social structure, leading to adaptation and acceptance of their past life but a desire to be liberated from complex through education. Okja Go, who had to work in the fields instead of going to school because her family was poor, and Myungjin Cha, who grew up lonely under her grandmother due to the loss of her father in the war, have this type of learning habitus. They have a common path of loss of self. Their learning can have trajectories of suffering, in which people are no longer capable of actively shaping their own life because they can

only react to overwhelming external events. In the course of their suffering, they become strangers to themselves (Schütze, 2016). This path of pain serves as an opportunity for them to create a stronger ego. To solve and reflect on this internal pain and to address the deficiencies from the past internal pain and various unmet desires, they seek educational opportunities. Therefore, the biggest purpose of this type of learning is to overcome and release 'from me' and 'from past pain and deficiency'. In addition, they undertake continuous biographical learning through reflective introspection to resolve the pain and deficiency in their life.

11.3.1 Learning Motivation

The learning motivation for this learning habitus type begins with reflective introspection from conformity and adaptation of society, structure, and life. Okja Go resolved her desire for education in her younger life via lifelong education, providing her growth and improving her self-image. On the other hand, Myungjin Cha had a strong will to participate in higher education (especially obtaining a degree), although she did not receive affective parental care or strong support for her education from her mother in her childhood. Therefore, having spent lonely days longing for German culture, she had a curiosity about German society and history (she did say that the external reason for going to Germany was financial gain). She later had questions about her identity, especially as she went through various democratic revolutions and movements in the 1970s: Who am I? How did my life become like this? Who leads my life? This introspection started with the realisation of ignorance about brainwashing and longing for the unknown world, Germany, and finally led her back to real education.

Okja Go went to college in her late 40s and had two values for education. Similarly

to her childhood, her economic circumstances were not good in adulthood, so she 'excluded herself from the field of education' and believed that academic capital no longer had its former value in the current society of higher education, but would still work as essential capital for success. She was able to overcome her low self-esteem and self-identity by getting her degree. Since then, she has started active and independent lifelong learning with recovered self-satisfaction, and through this experience of education, she has been able to develop a positive self-image from her previous negative self-image and learning has become the core of her life.

Myungjin Cha has an academic habitus, but she has continued to learn about things that could cause her chaos, such as history, society, and politics, by creating a learning community to overcome the confusion caused by her uncertain self-stance. While she has experienced more confusion while learning, learning communities and social movements have helped her find her national identity and understand 'the relational dynamics of her, Korea, and German society'.

Ultimately, this type of learner has a 'self-exclusion' attitude or contrastively a 'stronger academic attitude' in the field of education due to 'low subjective expectations' and 'low self-satisfaction' developed through previous life paths. This motivation eventually led Okja Go and Myungjin Cha to implementation, as both of them now have a somewhat higher economic level than they did in the past, making it easier to have opportunities for education.

An interesting thing that Okja Go and Myungjin Cha share is they did not put excessive focus on their children's education. Although there is some interest and support for children's education, unlike the type A and B learning habitus – the style of Korean mothers, with strong pressure on children's education – does not appear much because they

believe that education and learning begin with personal competence or internal motivation. Their narratives underscore that the motivation for learning begins strongly with internal spontaneity such as 'self-satisfaction' and 'restoration of self-identity'.

11.3.2 Learning Style

Okja Go and Myungjin Cha have the 'theorist' and 'reflector' learning styles. Theorist learners seek to understand the theory behind the action. They enjoy following models and reading up on facts to better engage in the learning process (Honey & Mumford, 1989). Reflector learners are more likely to observe the knowledge or information they have learned from the side line and internalise it so that it can be most suitable and useful for them based on the experiences of the various paths they collect. Theorists enjoy acquiring intellectual knowledge because they need some high academic ability of understanding, judgment, and literacy. From the theorist perspective, Okja Go did not challenge learning more than her abilities due to her previous self-exclusionary habitus. On the other hand, Myungjin Cha liked to learn new knowledge based on a very academic habitus, and she also learned difficult philosophical, social, and historical knowledge through discussion and self-learning until she understood it. Both Okja Go and Myungjin Cha have personalised the learning process by reflecting and internalising what they learned. For them, everything in the world is 'the object/target and place of learning'.

Regardless of the type of knowledge (practical knowledge, philosophy, social, etc.), Okja Go and Myungjin Cha are interested in everything they can learn and know because they prefer to solve their inner difficulties through learning. They have not preferred to develop competencies for economic value via vocational education and training. Nonetheless, they have sought education when they need to develop competencies for

professional development.

An important characteristic of Okja Go and Myungjin Cha is positive and reliable relationships with teachers. Their trust, dependence, and positive responses from their teacher were critical in their learning process: their teachers have always provided support, advice, and counselling. For people with the type C learning habitus, the distance between a person's residence and the learning institution is not significant. They actively participate wherever learning can occur and wherever they can learn something. For them, the process of learning provides joy and hope. It is *'learning to be me'* (Jarvis, 2018; 21) because they have recovered the lost and forgotten 'me' as reflection through learning.

11.3.3 Orientation in Learning

Jarvis (2018; 30) stated, *'I am still learning to be me! Philosophically speaking, I only am at the moment "now" and since I cannot stop time I am always becoming; paradoxically, however, through all that becoming I always feel that I am the same self.'* For these learners, learning is a process of actively finding 'me', recovering their self-identity and self-esteem, and breaking away from the negative notions that come from the pain and deficiency of previous life experiences. Although they do not necessarily intend to take this approach towards learning, their life experiences lead to internal growth through learning, and they form meaning and orientation for this learning. Therefore, their learning is future and value oriented. The inherent value is internal growth, self-satisfaction, and a break away from a negative self-image. Externally, learning allows them to become more competent and to fill the educational gap with other learners in the same generation. Although they succeed in liberating from the previous 'I', their outward acceptance and conformity in social structures and positions, which do not change, arouse a desire to

continue to learn. Along with critical reflection, Myungjin Cha's continuous learning and reflection expanded to the conception of her social position – her inequality as a foreigner in Germany and her inequality as an emigrant in Korea – and inspired her active participation in political and social activities that are necessary for change.

> Such a shift involves our understanding of ourselves and our self-locations; our relationships with other humans and the natural world; our understanding of the relations of power in interlocking structures of class, race and gender; our body awareness; our visions of alternative approaches to living; and our sense of the possibilities for social justice and peace and personal joy. (O'Sullivan, Morrell, & O'Connor, 2016; 17)

11.4 Conclusion

Based on the participants' narratives, I identified and classified them into three sociogenetic types of learning habitus. In type A, learning is induced for practical and economic value, skills, and competency. This type forms from a background of continuous economic responsibility. Sunnam Ok had financial responsibilities to her parents and siblings during her childhood and as a wife and mother after marriage, so she formed a strong independent self-image, but the meaning of education and learning through biographical learning is a means to live now, and it became directly related to the meaning of survival. For these learners, usefulness comprises schemes for perceiving, conceiving, judging, and evaluating the world, and social networks also aim to cultivate useful and effective relationships.

Despite the high expectations of parents for their children's education but insufficient financial support, and strong responsibility for continuous economic conditions,

people with the type A learning habitus recognise the potential of learning as a tool for practical gain and professional ability and improvement. Therefore, they tend to participate in practical useful education, such as vocational competency enhancement programmes or foreign language learning. People with this type of learning habitus have a willingness to learn from external life situations but do not have motivation for pleasure from intrinsic voluntary learning itself.

People with the type B learning habitus have lived with high self-esteem based on high recognition since childhood. They have lived with less economic responsibility because they have had less experience of economic hardship. They have always lived with recognition for their various roles in social networks and communities. This life experience means that they have wanted to be recognised as a 'daughter' in childhood, as a 'professional worker' during the career stage of adulthood, and as a 'wife and mother' in middle age. This desire for recognition leads them to a continuous learning field. Ultimately, their recognition from others leads to a positive perception of the self, which continues to manifest itself as internal self-satisfaction through learning in middle and old age. Because they have had little experience in high learning achievement and had low educational expectations, they have mainly participated in cultural, arts, and health programmes rather than educational programmes focusing on high literacy and competency and have chosen programmes in which they can form friendly social connections. Compared with type A learners, they have positively internalised external stimuli based on their parents' low expectations for education (except for one case), high self-image, diverse and wide social networks, and support from cooperative families, and pursued learning with a strong motivation. Therefore, these learners have a strong inner learning will from external stimuli and interactions, but this is linked to less experience with academic achievement, leading

to the continuation of physical and artistic learning rather than the preference to learn to gain knowledge.

The type C learning habitus develops through negative, lonely, and difficult times due to the absence of parents and economic deficiency in childhood. These learners overcome the pain and difficulties of their lives, with the experience of learning, focusing only on sorrow. They consider learning as a way to heal from the pain of life was and as a way to compensate and overcome the unstable self and life circumstances. The low positive support from their parents and their low expectations for education allow them to feel free to learn rather than strong pressure on achievement through education. The negative conditions of their parents and environment lead them to construct a low sense of self-achievement and to have no respect for themselves, but they feel inner satisfaction and form positive and hopeful self-images via reflective learning. During childhood, Okja Go never had the opportunity to make voluntary choices. She was sent to live with her aunt and was deprived of her educational opportunities because she had to help her parents with their farming work. Because of this, she had been constantly deprived of the voluntary and independent experience of choosing her life path since childhood. For this reason, she has developed a strong desire to voluntarily have an independent life choice.

Type C learners have a strong sense of independence, like type A learners, but this is a pseudo-independence with many gaps and deficiencies. The more they learn, the more they reflect on their past life; heal themselves; and gain internal strength through the positive formation and acquisition of knowledge, competence, and relationships. Therefore, for them, education is valuable and important itself, and they do not have much specific disposition in its form. For this reason, the location, type of institution and programme, and members are not criteria for selecting educational programmes that are important to them;

participants with economic difficulties may consider the learning expenses. Type C learners have greater voluntary inner learning motivation among the three types, and their deficiencies based on their previous childhood life environment rather than stimulation of external factors lead to continuous and active voluntary learning through positive learning experiences and self-reflection.

Overall, the learning type of the six participants has been formed by internalising their own generational sense and life experiences through the social and economic background of childhood formed based on Korea's liberation from Japan and the Korean War. In particular, four participants (Jumoh Moon, Myungjin Cha, Myungsun Jang, and Sunnam Ok) immigrated to Germany as nurses at the age of 20 and have lived there for about 50 years, but interestingly it is hard to say that their primary learning habitus has changed significantly from their previous disposition and tendencies. As can be seen from the previous analysis, they revealed that a primary habitus was still working to some extent, and that their previous childhood life environment still had a lot of influence on their current practice.

This was the reason why I did not place emphasis on the cultural/social context of the two groups. Although the social background of the two groups has changed since they were in their 20s, their habitus has been strongly formed based on previous life experiences, even if the external educational programmes according to national policies of lifelong education are different. Although they have all improved their economic and social capital since childhood, they were ultimately influenced more by the generational experience and context of these participants than by their concentration on their economic and social capital. Although the two groups had different social and cultural backgrounds, the participants had the style of Korean mothers: highly interested and invested in their

children's education. While type C learners had some interest and expectations for children's education, they did not show a coercive attitude towards their children's education because these learners realise that learning stems from inner spontaneity. However, other types had a strong image of Korean mothers in Germany and Korea, which was influenced by their childhood and generational notions gained throughout life.

11.5 Research Limitation

There are several limitations to my research. First, I could not analyse in detail the extent to which the preference for specific learning and culture in the participants' narratives were induced by their initial experiences and psychological temperament. For example, Myungjin Cha said that she enjoyed German literature and music when she was in high school, but this was not related to her family experience (despite asking questions about various possibilities, she has no special memories); she had a hobby based on the memories she heard in music class. She also failed to explain the exact reason for her preference. In some of these exceptional cases, I did not consider the psychological dispositions of a biologically innate individual, such as an individual's temperament, characteristics, and personality from birth. This is also a limitation in the concept of habitus. Meisenhelder (2005) explained Bourdieu's concept of habitus as follows.

> Bourdieu's use of the concept of habitus specifies the original idea of social character in a fully sociological way, without the biological or innate traits of some earlier conceptions. While like Fromm (and even Freud) Bourdieu stresses the importance of early experiences, habitus cannot be boiled down to innate or essential drives and needs being repressed or molded by experience with reality. (Meisenhelder, 2006; 63)

However, Bourdieu (1990) wrote the following.

> The habitus which, at every moment, structures new experiences in accordance
> with the structures produced by past experiences, which are modified by the new
> experiences within the limits defined by their power of selection, brings about a
> unique integration, dominated by the earliest experiences. (Bourdieu, 1990; 60)

Hence, Bourdieu considered habitus to be an acquired tendency, so the structure surrounding and forming the individual is important. However, I think it would be possible to present a richer and more diverse perspective if we continue to analyse genetic predispositions beyond social structure and trajectory.

The second limitation is that although I showed the formation of the participants' learning habitus through the process of biographical learning by analysing the trajectory of life, I did not sufficiently consider the relationship with the 'field' in which such habitus operates. In particular, there is a dynamic relationship between field and habitus regarding the effects and formation of habitus. Although the concept of learning habitus in this study can be said to be an individual's learning tendency field revealed in the (even if it is the field of learning, it is different depending on the trait, type, and kind of agency of learning), I could not reveal the relationship with the field regarding how the participants use habitus to pursue 'victory'. Nevertheless, I focused on individual narratives and revealed the relationship between biographical learning and learning habitus formation through their personal life experiences.

This limitation stems from the ambiguity and unclear nature of field. As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) pointed out, field boundaries are generally open and flexible, so it is ambiguous to distinguish clear legal, conceptual, and empirical boundaries. Therefore, given the ambiguous nature of this analysis, for the purpose of this study it was not suitable

to classify boundaries of the field of learning in the life history of the senior learners. Although there are numerous fields in education (higher education, vocational education, culture and arts education, etc.), the fluid relationships within each field make it difficult to identify them. Therefore, I tried to focus on the connection points between the life structure and experiences of learners and the formation of their learning habitus. This approach allowed me to suggest how the internal structure of their learning habitus has been formed and how it has influenced their self-identity, life attitude, and value orientation in learning.

Third, from a generational perspective, this study is still not completely free from the biological generational concept. As mentioned in the title, this study also uses the generational concept of cohorts, where older adults are born at a similar time and experience similar experiences. Although, in the previous theoretical background, it was stated that this study attempted to approach the concept of generation from Mannheim's sociocultural-historical perspective rather than the concept of biological generation. However, in that the Liberation & Korean War generation is limited to a limited period of birth and is classified as an elderly learning group, I think it has not completely escaped the perspective of a biological generation. Nevertheless, in my research, members of a generation are classified into the same generation based on their birth background, but the differences based on the individual's social and life structure led me to try to classify them into another generation unit within the generation.

Finally, there is the issue of gender. This study was conducted with senior female learners. In particular, because I focused on analysing biographical experiences and constructing the learning habitus of immigrant women (as nurses) in the 1960s from Korea to Germany, I did not compare differences in gender roles between men and women. I

wanted to escape from the narrow view of gender perspective on individual life experience and the formation of the learning habitus. Therefore, in this study I did not focus on gender experience, but I did analyse various elements of their biography.

The next chapter contains an in-depth discussion on the formation of the learning habitus through biographical learning based on life experiences that can be connected to the generational context.

V. Discussion and Conclusion

12 Research Summary and Further Discussion

All of the research participants were born between 1945 and 1954, and their social background at the time of their birth was right after liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 (which had lasted for 35 years) or after the start of the Korean War. Due to the experience of the same historical events, the Liberation and Korean War generation shares a unique generational solidarity. This latent cohesive force made the members act 'socially' with each other rather than 'individually'. This combination was not simply triggered by the experience of historical events. It was based on each individual's unique and special life: each person formed a unit of formative forces that gave the traits and direction of their social behaviour. The tendency for social formation or inclination for practice and disposition is operated as a schema of perception, cognition, and action called habitus. The process of biographical learning is defined as the learning habitus. I analysed the formation of the learning habitus of the Liberation and Korean War generation based on the narratives of six women who were born in Korea, four who immigrated to Germany in their early 20s and two who stayed in Korea. This approach allowed me to analyse the types of learning habitus formed in different social contexts of the same generation.

First, to examine the process of biographical learning through their narratives, I analysed the family aspects, school education, profession, gender roles, and lifelong learning aspects of the six participants. I derived three learning habitus types: type A, learning for survival, which has economic and practical value; type B, learning type for recognition from the community, family, and self; and type C, learning for liberation from

a suppressed past, confused self-identity, and pain emanating from a sense of deficiency. The type of learning habitus each participant developed stemmed from their interactions with others, their social position, and their interests. I found that various biographical factors such as parental expectations of the participants' educational achievement, the how parents recognised individual achievements, dissatisfaction/satisfaction through interaction with people around them, internalisation of learning as a woman according to Korean sentiment, and (negative or positive) self-image, among others, have influenced the formation of their learning habitus. Based on their generational background as highly driven people for the reconstruction of Korean society, they have sacrificed and acted to fuel the democratisation and development of Korean society.

12.1 Theoretical Transfer to the Developmental Possibilities of Generational Learning Habitus: *Epitome of Generation*

Mannheim, who tried to see generation as a historical unit while reflecting the positivists' point of view, came to rely on Dilthey's concept of generation (Jaeger, 1985). For Dilthey, generation is an 'important factor that makes the meaning of genuine contemporaries' (Dilthey, 1875). For this reason, 'an internal measure of time' in a generation becomes a major element that constitutes a generation. However, the genuine concept of contemporaries does not simply mean living in the same biological era because not everyone experiences and interprets the same historical and social events in the same way. Therefore, even though different generations experience the same event at the same time, they are not in the same position among generations. Mannheim (1952) also said that it is insufficient to construct a generation simply by considering people who share time and physical space regarding the social topography. Generational bonds are needed to move

generations forward; they represent a driving force for social change and are likely formed unconsciously based on similar historical experiences in a cohort. However, I found that sharing experiences did not necessarily lead to generational units. While shared experiences could lead to a generational unit with a stronger generational bond, there could also lead to a hostile relationship with division within the generation.

Each participant in this study, members of the Liberation and Korean War generation, has unique social and geographical backgrounds, but the shared historical experience brought them together. Although their individual narratives are different, their generational identity and background created sufficient generational solidarity, which formed values and attitudes that shaped their lives, learning, and education. As a generation who directly or indirectly experienced the Korean War, they were firmly rooted in their political ideology through constant anti-communist education towards North Korea in their childhood. Living in an era of poverty during the post-war recovery period, they felt the pain of poverty and hunger with their own bodies; they lost family members in the Korean War; and they saw high unemployment and inflation, food shortages, and dire social situations.

At the individual level, right after the end of the Japanese colonial period, Confucianism strongly dominated in Korea and Western culture was not actively accepted. Women were all indoctrinated into conformity and to sacrifice to male authority in their family, educational institutions, and society. As a result, women were educated from a young age about adaptation as a daughter and the role and attitude as a woman at home, and the sacrifice as a woman was naturally internalised in society. After receiving this socialisation, the four participants who immigrated to Germany became assimilated to the outgoing lifestyle and German culture to some extent; however, their primary habitus,

which was constructed in Korea, still strongly influenced their essential self-identity and national identity. On the other hand, at the collective level, when they came to Germany, the country was still recovering from World War II – similarly to how Korea was recovering from the Korean War – so this generation reorganised the chaotic society and went through democratisation and the third industrial revolution. Because the social conditions and environments were similar throughout the world, diligence, sincerity, tenacity for life, and sacrifice beyond national boundaries can be regarded as the epitome of a unified generation.

Although common experiences and events classified the German and Korean groups as one generation, I found that for the German group, the nursing education experience provided socially recognised ties to their generational unit. It made them feel a strong sense of inner belonging and made them have an implicit sense of responsibility for their role as intellectuals in the generational background and at the same time differentiated their generational units from other units.

> Once, Korean nurses had been gathering and holding an academic conference. Accidentally I saw it and thought it was so cool. Because I think we were the privileged group who went to college and learned at that age. (…) Currently, there are many Korean immigrants in Germany, but we allow people with nursing qualifications (not a nursing assistant) in our Korean nurse organisation in Germany. And because our solidarity is quite strong, we continue to maintain and develop our community through various social activities and educational meetings. (Myungjin Cha)

Therefore, the educational and migration background of the German nurse group played a large role in uniting their generational units. For them, the collective memory of

war had a great influence on the direction of their lives. In this way, even the same historical generation was able to form their own generational unit from the same experience based on the social and cultural background, the distinctiveness of nursing education, and the migration background. These factors allowed them to perform collectively as nurses and led to the shape of a community. Living in Germany gave them an opportunity to reconsider the socialisation education they received in Korea from a third person's perspective. Based on this, they started a social movement with the distinctiveness of an 'educated group'. Their special social background and way of life led them to use education as a means to not lose their national identity by actively participating in changes in social identity and historical conflicts as the social position of aliens in a foreign country. For them, education does not simply work as entelechy that binds them together; they use education as a way to transfer on the social role, norms, and values of their generation to the next generation. This process of social and cultural reproduction ensures that their identity is not lost. In addition, this approach emphasises the role of cultural learning and memory through the collective life process in the construction of self-generated awareness. However, what should be emphasized at this point is that their learning orientation was formed according to how they reflected on and understood their common social and historical experiences according to their individual uniqueness.

The Korean group has the same historical collective memory and experience of the 1950s, like the German group, the meaning of education to them has been greatly influenced by 'the individual distinctiveness' of their lives. This is because they have experienced, re-evaluated, and recreated the meaning of their biographical time, and this process has not simply been the practice of previous patterns. Consistently, their generation has been constructed reflectively.

While I found different historical and social generations in the same cohort, for the German group, their nursing education experience and qualifications and their identity as Koreans have given them a strong unity that allows them to move forward as a generational unit. Their current lifestyle and shape differ depending on the individual situation and location, but essentially, their learning habitus has enabled them to actively engage in social movements and cultural education in German society as Koreans, forming a strong generational unit. On the other hand, the Korean group were educated and socialised in Korean society, and the past historical experience and long socialisation process in Korean society have tied them relatively strongly to past social movements rather than moving them forward as a generational unit. They have been focused on their personal lives and have taken for granted many Korean social demands and values in their life experiences through tacit consent. Unlike the German group, they do not have collective and special educational experience, so the power to unite them strongly and for a long time has come from their childhood and experiences of historical events.

From this point of view, we can think about whether the experience and generational consciousness of a generation, once imprinted in the process of biographical and lifelong learning, remains unchanged throughout the entire lifespan (Aroldi, 2011). It is necessary to think about whether this generational consciousness is simply created automatically by common experiences in childhood, or whether it is consciously manifested through processing or reconstruction of experiences between generations (Bude, 2000). As they grew up, these experiences were created from the interaction of many elements of the life world, including many subjects. The German group recreated their previous memories and experiences through interactions with various generations in Germany, such as social backgrounds, experience as a foreign nurse in Germany, living as

a Korean family in Germany, and experience as a Korean mother in Germany, while maintaining the solidarity to move forward into a strong generation. Therefore, I found that the formation of a generational unit does not only originate from the experience and memory of a common event. There is also an experience that represents their characteristics and their own collective formation method, and this method continues to interact with other generations and within the same generation (Rosenthal, 2010).

Each generation is implicitly forced to transform the individual's own identity as a collection of generations according to social background at an institutionalised age (or stage of life). This phenomenon also refers to collective learning in the same social and cultural background through collective ageing of a generation. Therefore, my narrative analysis of the Liberation and Korean War generation based on two groups from different social backgrounds in Korea and Germany has helped to explain their diversity and the life process through their biography. The perspective I have presented emphasises that generational identities are not limited to biological rhythms; they depend on specific social situations in which they become meaningful.

Based on these results, we can see that from the perspective of biographical learning, generations are not only formed based on similar cohorts, and even within the same generation, various groups with diversity can exist. Generation plays an important role in the formation of the identity of generation members. In this process, Bude (2000) said that generational members come to work on their individual life orientation within the framework of a contingent society. The expansion of this orientation frame to the stage where it can be grouped beyond the individual level requires a process of accepting a common interpretation frame through biographical learning from their life experiences. Therefore, their common experience (*Erfahrungsgemeinschaft*) has formed a similar

collective (*Kollektivbezug*) in the process of socialisation in similar cohorts (Jureit & Wildt, 2005; 9), despite having undergone biographical learning under their own unique life conditions. If we apply the perspective of generation to learner research from the context of lifelong learning based on individual and collective experiences, memories, and generations – and younger and older generations, which are simply classified based on their biological birth time – learners can be classified into various independent generational units. I expect that this classification of generational units will provide a theoretical and fundamental basis for providing beneficial lifelong learning from the perspective of instructors and providers/planners who are responsible for offering lifelong learning in accordance with the demands of legitimate educational obligations.

12.2 Continuity and Change in the Learning Habitus: *Leitmotiv as Entwurf and Geworfenheit*

I analysed the narratives of the six participants to determine their biographical learning based on five themes and presented their unique learning habitus. It is important to note that variations in the forms of capital held by the participants and/or their families offered them different educational opportunities, with distinct professional careers, marriage, and retired life. I found that the learning habits, which means attitudes, values, and disposition towards learning, of the participants have been formed through their biographical learning. Hence, their learning habitus has been formed via individualisation.

Bourdieu develops a view of subjectivism capable of taking into account the social world, by reference to the 'realism of structure'.; they should be synthesised dialectically. Similarly to how he tried to connect the past, the present, and the future through habitus, and to connect the social and the individual, the objective and the subjective, and the social

structure and the free will of the agency, I tried to synthesise between subjective and objective to reveal their mutual relationship.

While analysing the six narratives, I grasped the relationship between the objectivity and subjectivity of their lives, agency, and social structure through this dialectical integrated perspective that Bourdieu recommended, and what they have learned and what they have wanted to learn from these relationships. I found that they have continued to make efforts to adapt things that were well-adapted in the previous world to the new order in situations of crisis or change throughout their lives. Unfortunately, during this process their previous inclinations and strategies became dysfunctional, which may eventually lead to failure. As objective conditions changed, they attempted to reconstruct their habitus according to the new situation through previous biographical learning to overcome this division and maladaptation. However, these attempts led to a cleft habitus because they tried to apply the perception, conception, and action schema learned in their previous life to the new field. This phenomenon could have occurred due to the cultural, social, and historical conflict that the German group experienced while immigrating to Germany, or it can be broadly explained as a phenomenon of change that this generation faces in the current situation in 2022. However, if this previous habitus causes maladjustment of agency in the continuous stage of cleft, agency eventually tries to change the person's evaluation scheme to suit the new learning situation. In this context, Bourdieu said that habitus includes the ability to assimilate and the power of adaptation (Bourdieu, 2004). However, I discovered that although I could classify the learning habitus of the six participants into three types, it was strongly affected by each participant's attitude towards education and learning.

While the participants did not clearly show the form of generational habitus,

I found a general viewpoint of the Liberation and Korean War generation. The education emphasised in the 1950s as daughters, wives, and mothers as women, and the values of the times for education were similar. For example, both the Korean and German groups have had an academic habitus regarding their children: they have tried to provide as much support as possible for their children's education without considering the economic situation. This is a value that most Korean parents emphasised to their children during Korea's modernisation period, and there was a strong expectation for improving social status through education emphasised both generationally and nationally.

Because various generations coexist, what one generation struggled to achieve may be deemed inappropriate and unimportant by the next generation. This leads to 'many clashes between aspiration systems formed at different times' (Bourdieu, 1993; 99). Although the Korean and German groups have lived in two different national and cultural backgrounds for decades, their primary habitus was formed based on their childhood in Korea, and it was greatly influenced by powerful historical events, such as liberation from Japan and the Korean War. That is why they have emphasised individual sacrifice, such as diligence and sincerity, more for national development, and they have applied this view to most all areas of life as generational habitus. Hence, habitus is not formed in a short period of time; rather, it is internalised and acquired through biographical learning in the various stages of the socialisation process and biographical experience throughout life. I want to emphasise here that even though these participants primarily formed their generational values through the experience of the same historical event, ultimately individualisation, maintenance, continuation, change, and integration of the primary habitus led them to reconstruct their secondary habitus.

The majority of Koreans faced very difficult economic and social conditions in the

post-war era, but as they grew up, they acquired new cultural capital independently of their parents' capital, allowing them to move up socially. In Korea, they called this generation the 'generation with deep resentment'. Having experienced the loss of their parents due to war, a poor country, a hungry childhood, and Korea's laborious economic and industrial revival, they expected to rise in class through education, which they regarded as their only escape and hope. This is the difference between Bourdieu's study of habitus based on European society and Korean society. In European society, a mainstream upper culture in which the orthodox tastes of the upper class have been globally recognised and valued for a long time has been formed, so European children naturally learn through home education. In Korean society, however, the traditional upper class and upper culture collapsed during the Japanese colonial period, and the class system itself also crumbled after liberation, with very rapid class changes (Hong, 2012). In this respect, it was not easy for the Liberation and Korean War generation to form and acquire cultural capital through cultural activities, but it was possible to acquire aesthetic taste and the ability to interpret and enjoy it based to some extent on their parents' educational and economic levels. Nevertheless, in Korean society, the acquisition of cultural capital did not lead to as much social movement as in European society.

Here we can find the reason why academic capital was considered the most powerful means of social mobility in the Liberation and Korean War generational context. In Korean society, the number of universities has increased rapidly since the 1970s, and the number of university graduates has also begun to rise. Around the early to mid-1960s, when the Liberation and Korean War generation entered higher education, the higher education infrastructure in Korea was being established. Therefore, educational qualifications such as nursing licenses could easily be used to distinguish them from other groups. Furthermore,

maintaining and strengthening their current learning habitus was not simply dependent on their social context and structural position. They also applied biographical learning through constant life experiences with their subjective biographicity. This phenomenon can be seen from the fact that the participants showed different learning habitus types. Even though they went through a similar educational process, they had different results depending on how they understand and subjectively interpret the life process according to individual narratives. Therefore, the experience of education and achievement and inner satisfaction through learning make them perceive and judge the meaning of learning in their overall personal life context and to determine their taste, values, and attitude towards learning and habitus that operate based on their practice.

The most interesting finding I would like to emphasise is that the learning habitus of the participants never works as their absolute and single habitus. By analysing their narratives, I found specific learning habitus according to each participants' biographical learning experience, but I also found that different types of habitus have operated in various life components. In general, I found that the learning habitus appears or operates strongly in an individual, but I did find some intersections. Although I could not analyse all of their life components, I believe that the reason for the similarities is common life experiences and operations in different fields. The participants experienced similar paths and historical events, which allowed them to develop a generational habitus to some extent. I did not find a strong generational habitus; rather, it was a unique habitus formed based on each individual's biographicity and narrative. In addition, I did not consider or analyse the operation of these habitus in different fields, but it is important to remember that habitus operates differently in each field depending on the position occupied by the subject and the amount of capital suitable for the field. Hence, there is no absolute learning habitus.

While I also wanted to examine whether entelechy has operated in forming the generational unit of the Liberation and Korean War generation, I found that the participants' learning habitus had limitations in representing entelechy for strong generational operation. To some extent, entelechy appears as a common generational value system formed by the participants' common historical, social, and political experiences, but it can be said to be closer to a doxa, a collective habitus. In the Korean group, entelechy did not lead to a generational act or a social/political powerful act. Even in the German group entelechy had a heterogenous effect: it led some participants to strong social movements, but in others it did not. This can also be said to be the result of differences in the generational position that Mannheim refers to. Although they experienced historical events commonly in childhood, the change in the geographical location of Germany after the age of 20, that occured the change in generational location, provided these two groups with different experiences; *stratification of experience.*

> The fact that people are born at the same time, or that their youth, adulthood, and
> old age coincide, does not in itself involve similarity of location; what does create
> a similar location is that they are in a position to experience the same events and
> data, etc., and especially that these experiences impinge upon a similarly 'stratified'
> consciousness. (Mannheim, 1952; 297)

However, based on my research, I propose that the concept of doxa has given the Liberation and Korean War generation a sense of generational solidarity as a belief in the world and their 'being' that is taken for granted in these social changes.

Finally, my analysis of the participants' narratives revealed the concept of 'projection' (*Entwurf*) developed by Sartre from Heidegger (Sartre, 2015). Projection means the way(choice) of human beings exist by throwing themselves towards the future

beyond the present. Humans are beings thrown (*Geworfenheit/thrownness*) into this world regardless of their will, but in another way, they show that they are being who make their own lives by throwing themselves into the future based on the past (Sartre, 2015). Hence, humans are absolutely free beings. 'Absolute freedom' means a person must make his or her own choices and face of various possibilities in the future (Sartre, 2015; 7). However, Sartre said that this does not mean that there is no meaning (absurd existence without essence); rather, humans should act more for their own possibilities. Even though the six participants were born on a predetermined line, as Sartre says, they continued to throw themselves into the future for themselves. They constantly struggled and strongly tried to survive, and their lives were valuable and existential in themselves. The concept of habitus is evidence of the life they lived. They discovered their potential in the process of finding the meaning of life and pursuing goals through learning for absolute freedom. Even though their lives were alienated, learning was the hope and seed for another possibility. Differently from school learners, adult learners have a very high level of willingness to learn, and this sustains their learning. Indeed, learning was a process of finding oneself. Humans are born and ask themselves endless questions about their existence (being) and death. Learning from and for our lives is a process by which people find and make themselves. Habitus represents each person's life and also indicates the direction and value they should pursue in the future. The learning habitus is constructed/reconstructed through endless biographical learning is a change in a person's life and the result of change.

> It can be understood only in terms of the human condition, that condition
> of being thrown into situation. Authenticity is a duty that comes to us from
> outside and inside at once, because our 'inside' is an outside. To be
> authentic is to realize fully one's being-in-situation: whatever this

situation may happen to be: with a profound awareness that, through the authentic realization of the being-in-situation, one brings to plenary existence the situation on the one hand and human reality on the other. This presupposes a patient study of what the situation requires, and then a way of throwing oneself into it and determining oneself to 'be-for' this situation. Of course, situations are not catalogued once and for all. On the contrary, they are new each time. With situations there is no label and never will be. (Sartre, 1939, as cited in Flynn, 2014; 169)

13 Integrated Suggestion for Models of Continuous Learning and Learner Support Based on Learner Analysis in Lifelong Education

In this study, a presentation of learner analysis research in lifelong education, I analysed the learning habitus formed based on learners' biographical learning using Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The participants, members of the Liberation and Korean War generation, have experienced historical events of the past through their generational background and have imprinted/embodied socially categorised values through their unconsciousness and habits in social structures and positions. By analysing these narratives of the past, I identified how women of the Liberation and Korean War generation have accumulated life experiences. They have recovered their self-identity and achieved 'self-integration' in life through education and learning based on the many trajectories of sorrow, joy, and pain in life. Based on my narrative analysis and identification of learning habitus types, I make the following suggestions for some practical, policy, and theoretical aspects of lifelong learning for generations, especially to ensure senior learners live successfully as they age.

13.1 Political Aspects of Lifelong Education

First, in terms of policy, in order to form a 'responsible learner'[16] through lifelong learning, there should be robust and consistent policy support for lifelong learning from various perspectives. This approach will help ensure that learners of various generations can adapt well to social changes, which are formed based on their life experiences and

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[16] According to James (2002), a 'responsible learner' takes responsibility for his or her own actions and invests in self-development as human capital in society.

narratives.

In this study, the phenomenological basis and social constructive element is the coexistence of various generations. In a society where many generations coexist, lifelong learning should be expanded as an approach to maintain a social support system that enables older learners to understand social problems beyond generational integration and intergenerational relationships. To this end, the most direct policy for expanding and diversifying lifelong learning is economic support and developing infrastructure. As can be seen from the research results, the demand for lifelong learning, which is different from the past, is increasing as the level of education of senior learners increases. At this point, it is necessary to understand learners' needs from a broader perspective –generational, social, and historical – so that many generations, especially senior learners, can live as healthy citizens in response to the rapidly changing modern society through more diverse learning activities. In particular, learner-centred policies that include sufficient financial support (devices, programmes, infrastructure, etc) will be needed to increase the number of senior learners who can live independently and subjectively in their old age.

Focusing on the fact that lifelong learning is the most demanded essential educational activity to create a healthy society, it is necessary to provide social support from a long-term perspective so that individuals can carry out independent and active learning regardless of their economic, social, and cultural capital levels. Depending on the type of learning programme and institution, it is necessary to ensure that while distinguishing themselves in the field of lifelong learning, learners do not feel social isolation or a sense of relative deprivation and limitations. As Jarvis (2001) emphasised, 'there should be equality of educational opportunity, regardless of one's location in the life course'.

Also, one additional thing I would like to suggest is that, as revealed in the results of this study, the current learning habitus of older learners was still heavily influenced by the primary habitus formed during their childhood. In this respect, we can see the importance of initial education in that primary habitus, which has been formed primarily from family and school education, is still operating strongly at its root, even though their life environment and background have changed. As can be seen from the narratives of the research participants, their family backgrounds and their parents' attitudes toward education have a great influence on their learning motivation and attitudes in their learning habitus. Based on these results, in terms of policy, it is suggested that we should expand opportunities to provide various learning experiences so that children can get many (cultural) experiences and educational motivation in formal education as possible regardless of their family background.

In particular, I limited this study to female learners and I would like to make additional suggestions based on the results of lifelong learning as a policy so that their lifelong learning is no longer hindered or stopped due to the burden of their gender role. In addition to expanding opportunities, it will be necessary to establish a social welfare system beyond learning. In addition, qualitative analysis of lifelong learning programmes, which normally only considers the participants' basic information and programme types, is not sufficient. Analysis based on specific learning habitus types is required to offer more segmented programmes, and appropriate specialised teachers will be needed to meet the learning needs of learners. Therefore, policy support is needed to train professional teachers to operate lifelong education programmes that are useful for learners and produce a high level of satisfaction.

Furthermore, policy support is needed for lifelong learning programmes such as

vocational education, literacy education, and cultural arts education for various targets and generations. It is necessary to establish an appropriate system of instructors who can guide learners with the appropriate interdisciplinary approach and to provide learners with continuous lifelong education based on active lifelong education research. A society-wide lifelong learning system should be established to allow meaningful self-integration of learners.

13.2 Institution and Organisation of Lifelong Education

At the institutional level, especially in the case of senior learners, their motivation, attitude, and continuity of learning are determined based on experiences of biographical learning. Therefore, the approach should be able to reach and reflect on various life topics. It should not simply end with the construction of single lifelong education institutions; it should be able to provide various interdisciplinary fields and multifaceted programmes through linkage with many related institutions in the community. I suggest that institutions provide programmes and learning spaces where various generations within the community can easily exchange and interact. This is also related to how the programmes are offered. Older learners often find learning at a distance to be difficult, so institutions should ensure that learning is integrated into their daily lives to increase its accessibility and their participation.

Regarding the types of learning habitus, rather than providing short-term vocational programmes to a group aiming for vocational competency (for those with a type A learning habitus), there should be various capabilities that enable their learning to continue beyond vocational education. It is necessary to organise a programme that can improve vocational as well as life competency to improve quality of life. For those with a

type B learning habitus, who achieve a positive self-image through social/learning community and family recognition, it is necessary to organise programmes that can form active interactions and networks among learners as well as develop competency. This continuous approach would enable the formation of an expanded community using the medium of education through connection with various institutions within the community, rather than conducting an education programme for only a set period of time. For those with a type C learning habitus, who get the meaning of learning and education from all things in life, institutes should organise a programme that can increase their inner sense of achievement and satisfaction. All programmes should offer some type of symbol of completion, such as certificates, to increase the learning desire of learners. In-depth analysis of learners could allow a single programme that appeals to all learning habitus types. This approach would hopefully allow more learners to enter the programme. The current learning opportunities are offered based on characteristics of local adult learners, including their time constraints, preferred programmes, education type, and cost. A more intrinsic qualitative grasp of learners could allow institutes to offer programmes that increase the satisfaction of learners.

Lifelong learning still has a prejudice that towards relatively older people – for example, middle-aged and older adults, women, and retirees. Because of the lack of programmes that include various generations or programmes for specific generations, young adult learners are often reluctant to learn together with older learners. Based on this situation, opportunities should be provided to build a learning community that enables learning without age discrimination. This approach would allow exchanges between generations while allowing all to develop the competencies most in demand today. Older learners with relatively low digital capabilities should be provided with opportunities to

learn and actively use these skills. An integrated approach could also address social issues such as loneliness in senior learners, immigration maladjustment, and intergenerational misunderstanding, allowing improvement in the cognitive and psychodynamic domains.

13.3 Educators and Instructors in Lifelong Education

Educators and instructors in lifelong education should provide opportunities for many learners to actively reflect on their lives through lifelong learning. An impressive thing that many of the participants said to me was that they had not previously recalled and listed the story of their life from the beginning. Through this interview experience, they evaluated their lives and said that they felt proud and satisfied. These experiences raised their will to live and became a driving force for development for a better life and self-satisfaction based on a positive self-image. Teachers of lifelong learning programmes should offer support to learners so they can reflect on their lives and have the opportunity to write their own autobiography. Learners could display their accomplishments in life in an exhibition called the world, reflect on and internalise their lives from the perspective of an objective audience, and develop positive self-integration and self-identity. This approach could also provide an opportunity for learners to perform 're-enactment' from intergenerational perspectives even though they have not lived each other's lives, provided that learners share their narratives with each other within various programmes. To this end, it is necessary to provide technical and emotional support so that learners can find their subjectivity in life through learning by making good use of their narratives, with appropriate intervention and instructions by the instructor.

In addition, instructors should ensure that learners have rich learning experiences by using various teaching and learning methods. From this point of view,

educators/instructors should deeply consider the possibility of adult learners' informal learning in the context of lifelong learning. Whether it is formal learning or non-formal learning, adult learners form new life attitudes and motivations while introspecting and reflecting on their past life experiences (Billet, 2002). This ultimately promotes their motivation for learning and forms a developing meaning for learning so that they can efficiently and actively solve their life tasks. The process of informal learning can be regarded as a process of shaping their learning habitus/learning styles. If educators consider the aspects of informal learning that can be achieved at any time through various social networks, positive self-image, and active life style, it will be possible to provide more meaningful learning to adult learners. Furthermore, Lifelong learning differs depending on the type of learner, but unlike school education, it does not mainly aim at cultivating cognitive and intellectual domains. Instead, it urges an individual's internal socialisation so that they can live their lives independently. Therefore, it is necessary to increase opportunities for interaction between learners in addition to simple lecture-type education for senior learners who are losing their social network to have a sense of belonging in the learning community. For senior learners, a sense of belonging is a very important factor in continuing learning. Thus, it is important for instructors to identify the needs of senior learners through continuous interaction and counselling and to promote them so that they do not feel left out of the learning field. In particular, in the case of female learners, the positive trust and relationship between educators/instructors and learners has an impact on maintaining the continuity of their learning. Understanding the needs of learners through the types of learning habitus would be a good way to find out what learners require in their lives or what they lack. Continuous counselling and interaction by the instructor would form an active internal relationship of trust with the learner, increasing their interest in

learning and inspiring them to continue.

For senior learners, the motivation for learning is set and the learning attitude is created by reflecting on their lives rather than expanding their knowledge. Hence, teachers should identify their learning orientation through continuous counselling and reflect on their learning habitus. Discussions, colloquia, group activities, or outdoor activities would show the teacher's continuous interest in the learners and foster a sense of solidarity.

Finally, efforts are required to increase the competency of instructors by trying to harmonise various fields to ensure they can meet the increasing diverse needs of learners. This will be a process of teaching and self-learning as an extension of lifelong learning for students as well as teachers.

13.4 Further Academic Research for Lifelong Education

Finally, as a proposal for academic research, it is necessary to consider the diversity of approaches to learner analysis of lifelong learning. Patricia (2017) said that our role as researchers in pedagogy is complex: we analyse our own place in the world and our perspective in understanding it, and we develop an in-depth understanding of how people participate in the process of lifelong learning. Currently, research is being conducted on various factors of learners' psychological, cognitive, competitive, social, and cultural background. However, there has been reluctance to provide a comprehensive theoretical framework in lifelong learning by qualitatively analysing learners' individual lives. This reluctance has likely originated from the limitations and peculiarities of biographical research. We identify learners as a homogenous group largely based on their biological age, even though we know that they are made up of very heterogeneous sub-groups. Indeed, many sociological studies that have attempted to explain the social behaviour of learners

have ignored certain characteristics or individuals. In this process, representative groups are classified with representative characteristics without considering individual levels (educational level, economic level, mental/physical ability, life background and experience-narrative), and the analysis of individual learners is ignored.

However, habitus is formed based on the interactions and influences of myriad factors in life. Human life is not simply defined as a collection of fragments and superficial phenomenon like: when were they born? How do they behave? What representative characteristics do they have? Grasping the interaction between society and individuals in the process of life requires considering all the elements that make up human life, not just a one-dimensional approaches in sociology, education, economics, and politics.

> In experiencing, there is a combination of the biographical past with a sensation, or perception, of the present 'external' situation although, on occasions, that 'external' situation can actually be a memory of a previous experience which occurs during contemplation. Adults bring to potential learning situations their memories of the interpretations which they have placed upon past experiences, and this has both advantages and disadvantages for learning. (Jarvis, 1983/1995; 68)

In other words, this interdisciplinary research approach crosses the barriers between disciplines and analyses the life phenomena with different questions: how are individual lives formed through their lives and the structure of individuals and society? What do humans learn through them? What are they learning for? Lifelong learning will inform the direction we must go in our changing society in the future.

Modern society, as Alheit said, represents the coexistence of diversity. It is much more complex than it was in the past, and individual needs are demanded differently according to the changes in the social structure and the capital and capabilities possessed by the individual's

position in society. Therefore, learner analysis does not end simply by analysing the learner; this endeavour should allow us to understand how humans individually use strategies for biographical integration in dynamic social changes. The use of individual strategies in life ultimately leads to self-direction towards lifelong learning, which means that learners have the ability to read the world (Freire, 2020). Therefore, qualitative analysis of learners' narratives is necessary to understand the role and value of learning by examining the process of understanding the world and forming meaning through their lives.

Learning habitus is but one of the presentations of various perspectives of learner analysis. In the future, lifelong education researchers should use sociological, philosophical, cultural anthropological, and economic perspectives as a lens to evaluate the structure of learning and biography. Jarvis (2015) argued that, as scholars and educators, our efforts to understand the complexity of the learning process can help us recognise the challenges of lifelong learning to improve the world and to reaffirm the promise of lifelong learning. In addition, by researching individuals in various generations using the perspective of biographical learning – based on their life process and experience – it is crucial to analyse what kind of education learners want and how it can help them live as positive, subjective, and independent citizens in our ageing and integrated society.

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