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Learning and Community Approaches for Promoting Well-Being

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Preface

This volume began when a group of scholars, the Community Well-being Research Network, convened in 2012 at Seoul National University. With representatives from throughout Asia, Europe, and the US, ideas began to coalesce around community well-being as applied to local governments and learning in communities. This collection of chapters represents the outgrowth of the convening, along with another volume in the *Springer Briefs* series, *Community Well-being and Community Development: Conceptions and Applications*, edited by Seung Jong Lee, Yunji Kim, and Rhonda Phillips. It is our intent to spur interest in community well-being with both conceptual and applied work.

The first two chapters present around the idea of governance—that is, active and participatory approaches by local government including meaningful participation by residents and other stakeholders progressing towards desired outcomes. The idea of governance versus government has become quite popular of late, due to the appeal of having more transparent and effective decision-making within local governments. Further, the notion of including people in the process of governance can build community capital as well as increase likelihood of achieving outcomes for enhancing community well-being.

Youngwha Kee, Yunji Kim, and Rhonda Phillips, the editors of this volume, present concepts in "Modeling Community Well-Being: A Multi-dimensional Approach". Beginning with concepts and definitions that range across related terms, the authors present underlying assumptions influencing development of a model for defining community well-being. Discussion of differences between individual and collective well-being drive the basis of the model. This chapter is presented in the context of local government, with considerations for incorporating community well-being goals into governance for achieving desirable outcomes.

Youngwha Kee and Okchae Joo present intriguing ideas about communities of practice in "Community Learning and Self-generated Communities of Practice: The Case of Jangheung School". The authors explore public policy approaches to development guided by resident participation. Considerations and implications for communities of practice are presented, along with stages of development and activities for community learning.

Wen Juan Lu and Longgen Chen present an applied case study with "Promoting Community Integration of New Migrant Workers in China". This chapter focuses on tying the concept of community well-being, which is relatively new to Chinese scholars and policymakers, to facilitating new migrant workers into society. Issues around migrant workers include how to transition rural worker skills to other settings successfully, how to facilitate new migrant workers' integration into cities effectively, how to guarantee their equal civil rights and privileges, and how to promote their survival ability and employability in cities. These and related issues demand attention and the context of community well-being provides the platform for governance approaches.

This volume concludes with "Community Well-Being Through Intergenerational Cooperation" by Ann-Kristin Boström, Seung Jong Lee, and Youngwha Kee. The authors point out that the population of the world has grown old while the generation gap between younger people and older people has widened in industrialized countries. Intergenerational initiatives and projects have been developed in various industrial countries in order for younger and older people to meet more frequently than is often otherwise the case. These models of intergenerational learning hold much promise for enhancing community well-being and encouraging learning in communities while at the same time addressing social issues related to aging. This chapter presents an applied project from Sweden, the Granddad Project, that partners elders with elementary schools.

We sincerely hope that you will find this volume both useful and inspiring in your own work around the issues of governance and learning. Community well-being is quickly gaining ground as a basis or lens through which to understand and explore ideas, models, programs, and policies for encouraging more desirable processes and outcomes in our communities worldwide.

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Youngwha Kee
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About the Contributors

Ann-Kristin Boström works as a researcher at Encell. Her research area includes international and comparative education, intergenerational learning, and social capital. Boström is active in several international networks and is also responsible for the evaluation of the European project, ECIL. The aim of this project is to pilot a collection of intergenerational life-long learning training approaches developed in the UK with a number of partners across Europe. Since she received her Ph.D. in International Education, Boström has worked as a director of education for the Swedish Ministry of Education and Research and as a special advisor for the Government Offices of Sweden. Here, she has mainly worked with research questions and she has also represented Sweden in the European Council, within the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU). She has been responsible for two national reports in connection with two OECD-studies: "Migrant Education" and "Evaluation and Assessment in Education."

Longgen Chen is a professor and dean of the School of Adult and Continuing Education, Zhejiang University of Technology, China. His research interests include adult education, higher adult education, and community education. He has chaired or participated in more than 39 national, provincial, and ministerial projects. He is the author of *China's Higher Adult Education in the New Century* and numerous articles in the *Journal of Higher Education in China*.

Youngwha Kee is a professor of the Department of Lifelong Education at Soongsil University and the president of the National Institute of Lifelong Education. She currently serves as the director of the Korea Institute of Local Development Education. Previously, Dr. Kee was president of the Association of Adult and Continuing Education of Korea and researcher of Korea Association for Community Education. She has served on several advisory committees in relation to educational policies and has been deeply involved with community education among multicultural families and education for the disadvantaged. She serves on the editorial board of the International Journal of Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning (Hong Kong) and the Lifelong Education Magazine (Taiwan),

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Yunji Kim is a doctoral student in the Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University. She received her master's degree from the Graduate School of Public Administration, Seoul National University in 2011. Her master's thesis (Title: "Development and Application of a Community Well-being Index for Korea") focused on defining community well-being as a guiding principle for local governments and suggested a new community well-being index for Korean metropolitan districts. Her current research interests include the relationship between community well-being and local government services; citizen participation; and community development. Her recent articles include, "The Development and Application of a Community Well-being Index in Korean Metropolitan Cities," "An Analysis of the Relative Importance of Components in Measuring Community Well-being: Perspectives of Citizens, Public Officials, and Experts," and "Sing, Dance, and Be Merry: a Strategy for Successful Urban Development?"

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Rhonda Phillips, Ph.D., AICP, is Dean of the Honors College at Purdue University and a professor in the Agricultural Economics Department. A former senior sustainability scientist in the Global Institute of Sustainability for Arizona State University, she served as professor in School of Community Resources and Development. Community well-being and development comprise the focus of Rhonda's research and outreach activities including community-based education and research initiatives for enhancing quality of life. Honors include serving as the 2006 UK Ulster Policy Fellow Fulbright Scholar and a 2012 Fulbright Senior Specialist to Panama. Rhonda is author or editor of 18 books, including *Community Development Indicators Measuring Systems*, and *Introduction to Community Development*, and serves as editor for the Springer series, *Community Quality of Life and Well-Being*. Rhonda is president of the International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies, www.isqols.org.

Modeling Community Well-Being: A Multi-dimensional Approach

Youngwha Kee, Yunji Kim and Rhonda Phillips

The last decades of the 20th and 21st century have been a busy period in civilization: the invention of the Internet, decoding the human genome, and subsequent explosion of technological advances from cell phones to biomedical procedures are only some examples. Yet, the search for a better life—for something more—seems to be persistent in both academia, politics, and popular culture. If the world is so much better as some claim, then why are we seeing greater demand and interest in well-being and happiness? For example, although calorie intake among the poor is increasing, this indicator does not capture the full range of impact. Questions about quality, and "what *kinds* of calories are these?" is important to answer in regards to quality of life status. Pagani and Huot (2007) use data from Canada to show that children living in poverty are more likely to have an unhealthy diet, leading to obesity. Beaulac et al. (2009) and Larson et al. (2009) pointed out that in low-income neighborhoods there are significantly less numbers of grocery stores or farmers' markets where people can access fresh fruits and vegetables.

We see this demand as a pushback response to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)—centric paradigm that focuses predominately on economic, quantitative accumulation rather than a more balanced goal. However, we also see limits to the current focus on happiness and individual well-being in academia as well as political realm. In response, we suggest that community well-being is a more appropriate concept to connect governments—and governance—to citizen lives. Yet, community well-being has its critics as well. For example, Scott (2012) has pointed out that this term has been used by those on the left as well as right on the political spectrum due to the ambiguity around its meaning, and thus can mislead

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citizens. Lee and Kim (2014) have also emphasized the danger surrounding this ambiguity and this chapter explores some of these concerns. In detail, we situate community well-being in the welfare state framework as the *raison d'être* of local governments and governance, presenting an asset and capital-based model of community well-being. We hope this model will serve as a map for interdisciplinary studies that are crucial for the realization of community well-being.

Why Community Well-Being? Function of Local Governments

Community well-being is a key concept in the 21st century welfare state discourse (Seo et al. 2012). Since the prior century, the theory of the welfare state has received much attention as the value and goal of nation states and successful cases of welfare states have been widely circulated. GDP and meeting material needs became the main criteria for assessing the state of progress or policies in nation states. However, in the 1970s criticisms against the GDP were voiced and furthermore, efforts to measure progress on an individual, collective, and national level were made. GDP uses material production and consumption as the essence of human life and was not able to answer criticisms that human life is not defined by material needs only. This led to concepts other than GDP being used to discuss social issues.

Happiness is one example. Happiness became a popular term in the 1970s and in particular, the tiny country of Bhutan attempted to replace the GDP with a Gross National Happiness (GNH) Index. However, happiness was focused on an individual's subjective emotions and thus limited in its use as a national and collective criterion. As a response, there were efforts to replace happiness with the concept of quality of life and well-being. Continued demand for a new concept can be identified in various disciplines (Smits and Hoekstra 2011) and these demands were in line with the social indicator movements led by the United States and Scandinavian states (Ilić et al. 2010). The need for a concept that encompasses the non-economic, non-material aspects, such as culture and context became clear. National governments made various efforts to discover something more than simple GDP as policy visions. Britain's Prime Minister David Cameron spoke of general well-being as a national policy vision, while former U.S. President Bill Clinton's election victory is an example that shows economics is not the only important element in deciding the outcome of elections (Ormerod 2012). In addition, French President Nicholas Sarkozy focused on social welfare rather than simple GDP to evaluate the nation's standing. These countries are key actors in international organizations and thus their experiences are being widely circulated and shared with other countries. Community well-being is deeply connected to a government's capacity and ability to realize the social welfare state.

If a nation state's goal is to realize a welfare state, then the question of who is the actor in this process is important. In *Development as Freedom*, Sen (1999) discusses this question using the term "agent." He defined progress as the expansion of

capabilities on the basis of individual freedom and emphasized that public policies can strengthen these capabilities. The agent's evaluation is based on citizens' goals. Given this, even in a small, centralized nation state, it will be difficult for the national government to directly act as an agent. Instead, the task of coordinating the several activities of welfare realization will be more realistic. It is difficult for national governments to directly connect with citizens, and thus local governments will become the key agents. Local governments may pursue the welfare state on a national level but local governments will be the main agents and the goal of a welfare state is inappropriate for local governments.

The reason for local governments acting as the agents of the welfare state is that the welfare state and community well-being share commonalities that can be separated by the level at which this is being realized. Well-being is the point at which the national government connects to local governments because both community well-being and welfare states contain the concept of *well*. The term well signifies good, best, or ideally acceptable. The only difference is that one sees *well* as a *fare* (i.e. state) while the other sees *well* as *being*. Despite this difference, the state of well and the being of well can be seen as synonymous. *Fare* is a more macro condition whereas *being* is an individual aspect of this condition. If the national government pursues welfare and local governments pursue well-being, the end product is actually the same: a collective body of well citizens.

Thus we see that community well-being can be the value and goal of local governments in the realization of a welfare state. We have also argued in previous studies that community well-being is the value and goal of local governments (Seo et al. 2012; Kim and Lee 2013). Our arguments are based on the following assumptions. Local governments affect the national government. Local governments deliver the services that local residents need and can affect the level of citizen satisfaction with respect to national governments. Second, the issues faced on a local level are multidimensional. The local community is where individuals' daily lives are practiced. Third, local issues require the involvement of local governments. The local community is where individuals' needs and demands are voiced and they expect local governments to respond to these voices.

In sum, there needs to be an appropriate value goal for local governments, and this chapter aims to model community well-being as the appropriate value goal. The community well-being model is based on an analysis of related concepts and highlighting the uniqueness of community well-being. It is also connected to community development as local government is typically very concerned with this dimension. Community development can be defined as both a process and an outcome for communities:

> A process: developing and enhancing the ability of a community to act collectively and an outcome: (1) taking collective action and (2) the result of that action for improvement in a community in any or all realms: physical, environmental, cultural, social, political, economic, etc. (Phillips and Pittman 2014: 6).

Community development builds on the concept of assets or capital in an area across all realms as just defined. Building this capital and capacity entails active

governance, with both local governments and their residents involved and partici-
pating in these processes. Governance essentially implies an active state of gov-
erning where residents and other stakeholders work with local government leaders
to accomplish goals. Further, it implies that it is participatory, which has been found
to be essential in successful local government models (Phillips and Pittman 2014).
Within community development, we can see the direct relationship to community
well-being, as both a goal/outcome and process of progressing towards desired
states of well-being.

Comparing and Contrasting the Concepts of "Beyond GDP": The Uniqueness of Community Well-Being

Comparing and contrasting concepts of quality of life, well-being, happiness, and
sustainability show that not all agree on their definition (Lee and Kim 2014). Some
previous studies have attempted to tease out the difference between and among
these concepts, while others have treated them synonymously. Easterlin (2001)
studied the relationship between happiness and income at the national level and
treated subjective well-being, well-being, satisfaction, utility, and welfare as syn-
onymous. Booth (2012) also shows that a study by the Institute of Economic Affairs
in the U.K. that analyzed more than 100 countries used well-being and happiness as
the same concept. Well-being and quality of life both focus on an individual's
psychological evaluation while subjective well-being is treated as an element of
quality of life and thus it is difficult to precisely distinguish these terms. Meanwhile,
happiness is similar to well-being in that they both focus on a subjective level of
satisfaction but in general, well-being includes more than subjective evaluations,
such as objective environmental and economic elements. Well-being can be seen as
more objective than happiness since there is a certain criterion for levels of well-
being while the criterion for happiness is entirely subjective and differs for every
individual.

Lee and Kim (2014) compare and contrast happiness, quality of life, individual
well-being, and community well-being using the following aspects: individual or
collective, domain of study, quantity or quality, objective or subjective, static or
dynamic, approach, goal, and value judgment. In sum, they see community well-
being as the most comprehensive concept. For example, happiness is seen as being
limited to the psychological domain, having an affective (i.e. emotions) approach,
and limited to the subjective while community well-being includes cultural, eco-
nomic, environmental, social, physical, and political domains and including both
subjective and objective aspects. Quality of life is seen as being limited to quali-
tative aspects while community well-being encompasses both qualitative and
quantitative. The term well-being is seen as an individual concept that is inap-
propriate for guiding public policies or local government decisions that affect the
collective group. Community development is included to show the similarities of
dimensions (Table 1).

Table 1 Comparison of community well-being and related concepts

Community well-being	Happiness	Quality of life	(Individual) well-being	Community development
Individual/collective (collective)	Individual	Individual	Individual	Collective
Domain Cultural, economic, environmental, social, physical, political	Psychological	Economic, social	Economic, social, physical, psychological	Cultural, economic, environmental, social, physical, political
Quantity/quality (both)	Quantity	Quality	Both	Both
Objective/subjective (both)	Subjective	Objective	Both	Both
Static/dynamic (dynamic)	Static	Static	Dynamic	Dynamic
Approach (asset)	Emotion	Capital	Asset	Asset
Goal (production; accumulation; flourishing)	Induce positive emotion	Fulfillment of deficiency	Production; accumulation; flourishing	Production; accumulation; flourishing; fulfillment of deficiency
Value judgment (value-driven)	Value-neutral	Value-neutral	Value-driven	Either

Source Lee and Kim (2014)

Modeling Community Well-Being

We use the definition of community well-being to analyze its characteristics and ultimately suggest a model of community well-being. To define community well-being, we compared previous literature on community well-being and modeled community well-being for in depth studies. We focus on the group of community for community well-being. In this process, given that individuals are the building blocks of a community, we also include individual elements. In particular, we see community well-being as an asset based approach. In contrast, quality of life aims to fill up deficiencies to achieve a zero base while well-being aims to go beyond a zero base of accumulation, flourishing, and production.

While there have been previous attempts to define and model these concepts, Adler (2013) points out that differentiation amongst these concepts has been weak and lack normative definitions. In fact, with a weak understanding of well-being among philosophers, the empirical studies of well-being by psychologists and economists are severely limited (p. 6).

The Multidimensional Approach

We use a multidimensional asset approach to modeling community well-being. This approach was chosen with an explicit attention to the fact that individuals have different levels of assets at their disposal. This is in line with the capability approach of Sen (2005) where the consumption focused models proposed by economists were critiqued because they ignore the fact that individuals have different levels of assets and more consumption from an unequal starting point cannot be a sustainable solution.

This study used an asset and capital approach to model community well-being. White (2008) discusses two approaches to community well-being: the first approach views community well-being as the sum or mathematical mean of individual well-being; the second approach sees community well-being as a unique feature of the collective. These approaches have implications for the indicator development process. In detail, the first approach focuses on measuring individual well-being and then calculating the total level of well-being, while the second approach searches for a unique measure of collective well-being that is not entirely derived from individual well-being measures. His community well-being measurement model consists of identical domains as that of individual well-being, such as material, subjective, relational elements. However, he offers different indicators within these domains. The material elements are related to welfare or quality of life, while relational elements are related to the individual or social relationships, and sub-jective elements include subjective values, perceptions, and experiences.

NWMO (2009) treats community well-being as a complex concept that com-bines an abstract idea with human behavior. Just as does community development, community well-being reflects the interests of individuals within a community, and also reflects the collective interest of the group. Thus, the term is unique to each group and also to each individual. NWMO defines community well-being by defining community and well-being separately and then combining them, which is similar to the first approach of White (2008). According to their definition, well-being includes social, economic, psychological, and cultural elements and include an individual's health and safety, is connected to the satisfaction level and quality of life within a group. A community is defined by geographical proximity or interests.

Assumptions of the Community Well-Being Model

Community well-being needs to examine the basic characteristics of well-being first. Community is the level at which we examine well-being and thus we focus on the characteristics of well-being in this section and use them as the following four main assumptions to model community well-being.

We assume that, community well-being shares the unequal characteristic of well-being. That is, this study uses a asset approach to community well-being which

inherently contains inequality. Assets are already unequally dispersed throughout a nation and across the globe. Thus, there are unequal levels of community well-being. This study aims to achieve a balance and harmony despite this given structure, and thus uses an asset and secondary capital approach. This is in line with the freedom that Sen emphasizes: the freedom to realize one's capabilities. The government has a responsibility to provide the opportunities to realize these capabilities. This is why community well-being needs to be studied in close relation to local governments. Utilitarianism is also based on these assumptions and is an effort to maximize efficiency in the consumption of such goods. Local governments can balance the inequality of opportunities in its role of delivering services. The task of balancing the unequal distribution of assets at the stage of transforming assets to capital and well-being is given.

Community well-being is dependent. Well-being is dependent because it depends on the process of transforming assets to capital. Well-being has a strong subjective characteristic and is influenced by individual feelings or level of satisfaction. At the same time, this implies that there needs to be an agent that can rationally utilize individual assets in the best way possible and transform them into capital. Local governments can play this role of coordinator.

Community well-being is social. In other words, well-being presupposes a collective group. Social characteristics are based on collective groups, and thus we include both subjective indicators and objective indicators to measure community well-being. Subjective indicators concern the individual feelings, perceptions, and psychology while objective indicators go beyond individual levels. This study does not propose an ideal set of community well-being indicators, but rather a realistic, practical set of indicators.

Community well-being is made up of elements that are interdependent. Well-being can be seen as having several elements that affect and are affected by each other. For example, health, education, and income can be examined together. We see relationships wherein people with high education levels have higher incomes and are more likely to have access to better healthcare and are able to maximize their opportunities to prevent illnesses. In sum, the elements of well-being have intricate connections.

Modeling the Relationship Between Assets and Capital

The community well-being model in this study is based on the following assumptions about the relationship between assets and capital. We use this approach because the assets that each individual has is inherently unequal. We use asset and resource synonymously while capital is the broader, processed format of an asset.

First, community well-being is made up of assets and capital. Assets are static and when assets are processed they become a dynamic secondary asset. Hicks (1939) mentioned the asset capital of developed countries that garnered much interest in capital. The capital of human life was treated as the welfare of assets and

the possibility of fulfilling this was assumed. However, this position was changed to accommodate capital and especially the human being himself or herself becomes an asset and capital. Welfare was defined as consumption, that is consumption of materials but in fact, human well-being is more than consumption—that is consumption of assets, and this approach ignored the emotional aspects. In sum, the aggregate of consumption is not the realization of welfare. This turn of attention of assets to capital began with human capital and human capital was seen as education levels and this framework expanded to include natural capital, intellectual capital, and social capital. Welfare is possible when there is capital and so we connect capital to welfare and capital can be made when there is enough assets. Thus we see assets and capital as primary asset and secondary asset. Assets are the raw format before processing, while the processing of assets produces capital. Capital is what enables humans to function and therefore it is a secondary asset.

Second, capital is produced when individuals use primary assets and process them. Capital is again used to accomplish another goal and can be seen as a secondary asset.

Third, as capital is a secondary asset, local government intervention is possible. By local government intervention, we mean that local governments can manage and utilize the primary assets so that individuals can use a new asset. This process of producing capital will differ according to a local government's capacity.

Fourth, assets are collective while capital is individualistic. Assets are limited within a community, but capital is made from assets and thus becomes individualized depending on each individual's capacity. Assets are used by individuals, transformed into capital, and thus becomes an individual's possession.

Fifth, primary assets will be depleted while secondary assets can be artificially produced and can be renewed. Figure 1 shows these relationships between asset and capital.

The relationship between assets and capital can be summarized in Fig. 1, and in this model we identify social, human, and natural assets. Natural assets are the environmental assets within the geographical limits. Human assets are the artificially created elements.

Fig. 1 Characteristics of asset and capital

Asset		Capital
Static	↔	Dynamic
Collective	↔	Individual
Material	↔	Psychological
Depleted	↔	Rechargeable
Direct	↔	Indirect
Consumption	↔	Renewal

Elements of Capital

The assets discussed above are processed into capital that individuals can use. Capital is the processed form of these assets and we identify the following six types:

1. Economic capital consists of built capital and financial assets.
2. Natural capital consists of the physical and ecological environments.
3. Human capital consists of labor, education, health, and housing.
4. Social capital consists of trust, commitment, community bonding, and participation.
5. Cultural capital consists of leisure, sharing, and mutual help; it also centers on societal accumulation and as such is an important aspect of community quality of life and well-being (Phillips and Shockley 2009).
6. Infrastructure capital consists of physical and social aspects (Fig. 2).

Based on these assumptions, the national government can be connected to local governments and the effective practice and response to resident needs becomes the opportunity to participate. Community well-being is discussed in this framework.
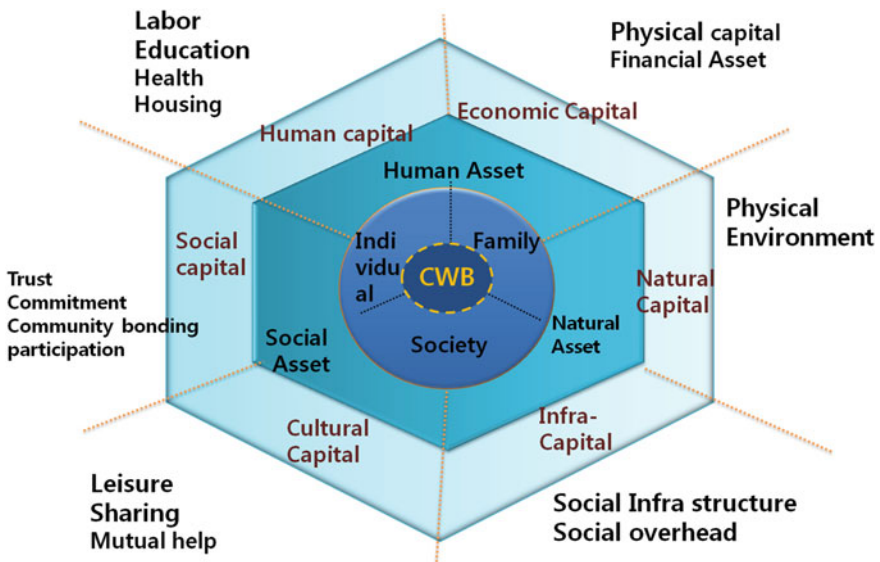

Fig. 2 Modeling community well-being

Defining Community Well-Being

Residents' expectations of government services emphasized specific concepts, but the singular focus on certain concepts cannot effectively realize well-being or enhance quality of life. This is why we need a more comprehensive concept. Based on this need, this study recognizes that the several elements of well-being influence each other and focus on the relationships among these elements. There is no generally accepted definition of community well-being (Forjaz et al. 2011). Community well-being will differ depending on the culture and society (Cox et al. 2010) (Table 2).

Community well-being signifies the most ideal condition of community life and is a concept that signifies the ideal of people living together harmoniously in a sustainable, thriving community (Rural Assistance Information Network 2004). According to Wiseman and Brasher (2008), community well-being is the necessary social, economic, environmental, cultural, political conditions for satisfying the needs of the members of a community and is the ultimate goal of such a process and strategy. These conditions are the necessary items for realizing individual well-being and capacity. Thus he emphasizes an ecological understanding of well-being and to go beyond the individual, collective well-being to human and environmental well-being. That is, community well-being enhances mental health, mental health is a necessary condition of realizing community well-being and this is not an individual issue but a social, psychological, mental well-being. The necessary socio-economic conditions for an individual's mental health include freedom from violence and prejudice, equal rights and sense of community, economic participation and safety, as well as social progress. It cannot be measured by economic growth alone but needs to include indicators of social and environmental problems as well.

Table 2 Definitions and conditions of community well-being

Author	Term	Definition and keyword	Conditions of well-being
Hay (2003)	Community well-being	Fulfillment of individual and collective desires Keyword: fulfillment	Self determination, reciprocity, equality, safety, civic responsibility, democracy
Ramsey and Smit (2002)	Well-being	Psychological, material, social environment that enables people to realize their full potential Keyword: creation of environments	Conditions of World Health Organization's healthy communities
Ribova (2000)	Well-being	Emotional, cultural, social demands of the individuals and the community Keyword: requirements	Economic, social structures
Scottish Development Center (2003)	Community well-being	Flourishing continuously in a healthy way Keyword: thriving	Positive values, local infrastructure, service, opportunities, safety

Source Lee et al. (2013)

Although there are previous studies that treat community well-being as the simple sum of individual well-being, this study differentiates the two concepts and define community well-being as a unique concept. The simple sum of individual well-being is strongly subjective and does not reflect the community characteristics. Treating individual and community characteristics leads to confusion in understanding underlying theory and its application. In terms of policy analysis, an implied causal relationship is that the sum of individual well-being affects individual well-being. However, as discussed before, when governments focus on individual well-being as a policy goal it is very inefficient and unrealistic. Thus, we explicitly differentiate individual well-being and community well-being (Fig. 3).

Also, community well-being can be differentiated as a concept of state or a concept of process (Kee et al. 2013). Community well-being as a state focuses on the present and emphasizes current thoughts and behaviors of citizens who affect local policies periodically through elections. Also, flexibility refers to the relationship among government, residents, and local community that are constantly affecting each other. This leads to the possibility of innovative policy making. On the other hand, community well-being as a process has high sustainability and can help achieving capabilities through service delivery and evaluation based on a lifetime process.

The uniqueness of community well-being is identified by comparison with related concepts and extraction of key elements. The following reasons account for why community well-being can be the key value of welfare states and local government administration. Community well-being is not restricted to the realm of individual control as is the case with quality of life, well-being, and sustainability. These related concepts can be controlled by individuals but community well-being cannot and must be coordinated and managed by another actor (see Table 3). Community development on the other hand, is inherently of the collective and is more akin to community well-being in aspects, particularly that of process and concepts of assets and capital.

We propose community well-being as a necessary condition for maximizing happiness, quality of life, and well-being. This is connected to the previous point in that community well-being cannot be controlled by an individual. Kee et al. (2013) discuss the relationship between individual need and impacts on these at the community level. We support that individual happiness or well-being is affected by

Fig. 3 Hypothetical relationship between individual well-being and community well-being. *Source* Lee and Kim (2014)

Table 3 Characteristics of community well-being in comparison to related concepts

Community well-being	Happiness	Well-being	Quality of life	Sustainability	Community development
Subjectivity (low)	High	High	Medium	Low	Medium
Related to economic elements (low)	High	Medium	High	Medium	Medium
Relativity (comparative needs) (low)	High	Low	Medium	Not applicable	High
Internal (low)	High	Low	High	Low	Medium
Usability of assets (high)	Medium	High	High	High	High
Capital (high)	High	Medium	Medium	High	High
Individual as actor (low)	High	High	High	Low	Medium

community well-being and we can see community well-being as the necessary precondition for happiness, quality of life, and well-being.

Community well-being has a relationship of necessary condition and sufficient condition with related concepts. Community well-being needs to be distinguished from other concepts to be discussed in this way. It is difficult to discuss community well-being without distinguishing it as a unique concept. Community well-being needs to be separated because happiness, quality of life, and well-being become customers of community well-being. In other words, community well-being affects happiness, quality of life, and well-being so it is important to understand what their characteristics are and how they are affected. Community well-being is discovered by local governments and used for local government actions but it is important how the individual components, the residents, feel. These feelings are reflected in elections and this is the focus of politicians and public administration is again connected to politics. This is why community well-being also considers the individual, subjective perspective of happiness, quality of life, and well-being. Community development, both as a practice and a discipline, can be seen as a complementary concept that has at its core some of the same principles as community well-being, predominately to improve people's lives.

Table 3. shows these comparisons with related concepts of community well-being. Community well-being is used in various ways by different researchers for different purposes. This study aims to use community well-being as a key value of public administration and thus defined and modeled community well-being through a literature review. We compare these concepts on seven criteria, assessing the level of high, medium, low. These levels are not absolute but only relative.

Community well-being is not only the physical space, but also the community's changing population and interest that focuses on the context and is the necessary social, economic, environmental, cultural, political elements for an individual and community to reach their capabilities (Kee et al. 2013). This definition assumes that the individual, community, and local government checks and decides on the necessary conditions and includes the community member, community organization,

and community members' well-being in a dynamic network. By meeting the life cycle needs of the members it contributes to the process of realizing capabilities and community well-being becomes the goal of local governments. Thus community well-being is enhanced by distributing, delivering, producing the goods and services that can be the conditions for local members, local government, and local organizations. In addition, it contributes to an individual's realization of capabilities by meeting the life cycle needs of an individual. That is, community well-being is the state and process of individuals and communities to flourish and reach its capabilities through the necessary social, economic, natural, cultural, and political conditions.

Conclusion

This study has presented community well-being as a consideration for local governments to help foster better states for their residents. We modeled community well-being as a guiding principle of local governments and governance by examining its origin and use. We examined the background of community well-being and well-being as common factor on the national and local level. We identified the characteristics of community well-being and used assumptions of local government roles to define the concept and build a model. The modeling approach is focused on the assets and the capital of communities. We looked at the related concepts of community well-being including happiness, quality of life, and community development and their previous studies and compared them in a comprehensive way to build a multidimensional model. Expert consultation and expert modeling consultation and forums were used and this model will be used in future studies.

Community well-being model positions local governments and has a close connection to the role of the state. It defines the role of state for building a welfare state and it can be connected to the happiness and happiness realization role of states. Happiness and well-being are not completely unrelated. These two concepts are used interchangeably in reality. The government needs to act to enhance citizen happiness and they do this through policy making and when these policies are connected to daily lives they involve local governments. Therefore, this study has suggested community well-being as directing the role of local governments in connection to the welfare state and modeled community well-being to explore the role of local governments.

As such, community well-being is the goal and value goal of local governments and this dictates the role of local governments. Community well-being requires studies on service delivery mechanism as local resident well-being is realized through efficient service delivery processes and it also requires indicator studies for residents to evaluate local governments based on levels of satisfaction. Local governments can serve as tools for realizing resident well-being while also "producing" well-being. Local governments can be thought of as the delivery actors of resident well-being, and can address distribution of well-being asset to the

disadvantaged. Well-being has the characteristic of inequality and resident well-being is not distributed fairly in terms of needs. Thus individual well-being needs to be coordinated in order to ensure individual happiness and this is a primary role of local governments. If not, there will be social costs. This is why community well-being can assess the well-being of local communities and then help with evaluation and prescription of how local governments can enhance community well-being in the process of service delivery. We modeled community well-being as the first step towards developing community well-being indicators. Community well-being appeared as a new agenda in the process of moving from the central government to the local level. This is because the local level is where individual lives are lived out and the possibility of enhancing the quality of life is present. In fact, as life satisfaction has become important the local level became more vital because this is where individuals spend time on a daily basis and this has led to an increase in interest in local government involvement, or governance. This is transformed into local government services and thus local government services become even more important. This goes beyond the resident's freedom and self government and services related to the problem of unemployment, aging, pollution, safety, education, and culture are important for the local governments as appropriate actors for these problems. In other words, the various problems due to changes in environment that relate to resident life and happiness can be addressed very directly at the local government level. Obviously, there is a role and need for national governments to help address pressing issues and challenges; rather, we are implying that local government and good governance can address issues at the level of where the residents experience it most directly.

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Community Learning and Self-generated Communities of Practice: The Case of Jangheung School

Youngwha Kee and Okchae Joo

Introduction

The origin of Korea's Community of Practice (CoP) goes back to the 14th century Seowon (educational institution), Hyangyak (village codes), Gye (mutual financing societies), Doorye (famers' cooperative groups), and Poomasi (labor sharing) of the Joseon Dynasty. Through farmers' cooperative groups and exchanges of labor, a variety of local communities were formed. Village codes and mutual financing societies allowed associations to be created for various purposes and regulations were set up to promote mutual interests. Seowon was a nationwide private institution established to foster outstanding scholars during the Joseon Dynasty. It soon became the foundation of learning communities within each village. A learning CoP was created through exchanges of knowledge and it promoted the self-development of its residents and community. Seowon not only allowed residents to deeply understand their nation and the local community life but enabled them to participate, providing many implications in the process of voluntary participation and democratic movements (Kee 2011).

In Korea, the Local Assembly was formed in 1952 and was suspended temporarily under the military takeover of 1961. In 1995, with the first election of local government mayors, the official era of localization began. The history of these

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events have unfolded in such a way that community development and the learning of local residents became inseparable, for learning was the mechanism that led to a sense of ownership and the power to solve various community problems. The various community activities encouraged residents to participate voluntarily and experience discussions and negotiation processes, which became the paths of intervention towards enhancing the community's wellbeing (Lee 2011). In addition, there have also been demands of change from the top-down policy to a system that is led by residents and the spontaneity of the local community. As such, efforts to seek individual progress and local community changes through CoP are being made. As communities get bigger and more complex, the role of CoP that could change fragmented relationships into communal relationships has become crucial. In other words, with reciprocity as the basis, members need to establish CoPs that will allow residents to cooperate in achieving mutual goals. Overcoming the rift between knowledge and practice is what Wenger et al. was referring to by CoP where local residents are the main agents. Here, through voluntary participation and sharing learned topics, insight, and experience, mutual interaction and knowledge creation becomes possible (Wenger et al. 2002).

However, there has been little interest in the spontaneous CoP activities by local residents acting as main agents, which serves as a foundation for individuals and community development. Furthermore, civic movements based upon regions and led by institutions have been discussed but thorough examination of the formation, composition, and maturation process of CoP that developed through voluntary participations of the residents has not been carried out.

Accordingly, this study searched for cases of spontaneous CoP established by local residents as a result of education integrated into the communities. In particular, we were interested in a public policy approach to CoP. We chose Jangheung Hakdang, which is located in Jeollanamdo province, Korea as our case because it is focused on learning and based on voluntary actions. Since its voluntary establishment by local residents in 1994, Jangheung Hakdang has been changing community members' frames of thinking and perspectives and striving to search for a new paradigm for local development. This CoP is well-known for its autonomous operation and is still being maintained today. The idea of Jangheung Hakdang all started from a retired high-ranking government official returning to his home village and Jangheung Hakdang is now serving as a place for democratic participation and academic pursuits.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the process of local residents voluntarily organizing groups to change their own lives and the local communities around them, and as a result creating a CoP. The study aims to find implications to assist the successful operations of spontaneous CoP. The research question is how was this spontaneous CoP of local communities formed. The findings of this research, involving the role of local governments, democratic participation of residents, and transition process of spontaneous CoP can be applied to finding effective strategies to encourage local participation. Moreover, it is expected that this research can provide a model of CoP development that is based on increased participation of residents.

Theoretical Background

Community of Practice

Previous Literature

CoP is a group of people who share mutual interests, a series of issues, and specific topics, and through constant interaction, collectively gain more knowledge and professionalism of a certain field (Wenger et al. 2004). That is, a learner in the community may acquire social practice through an informal situated learning called 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation'. Hereafter, CoP gradually develops into a community concept where members carry out joint duties for the creation of knowledge. According to Wenger (1998), a CoP has a fluid characteristic. In order for a CoP to change, the increased participation of its members is crucial. For a beginner, strained relations exist in the process of participating in a CoP. This is due to the existence of conflicts around allocations of learning opportunities, the continuation and maintenance of CoP, and replacement and renewal as well. After repeated changes and creations, a CoP is newly constituted in the process of a beginner overcoming conflicts and strains, and becoming a complete participant of a community. This is the relational context that Lave and Wenger (1991), and Wenger (1998) was referring to, in which situated learning in a CoP takes place. Thus, a CoP is not stagnant, but possesses a dynamic attribute that constantly changes according to the increase of legitimate peripheral participation.

Previous research on CoP can be classified into two kinds. One type of research sees CoP as a crucial element for organizational vitalization and improvement of the power of execution. These studies focus on the strategies and effects of CoP. Some examples of these studies are Jeong (2008), Jang et al. (2010), Kim (2008b), Ham (2008), etc. Jeong (2008) conducted a comparative analysis on factors that influence the vitalization of public organizations and profit-making organizations. Jang et al. (2010) analyzed the effects of CoP participation types regarding organizational commitment of members and Kim (2009) analyzed the methods in which a CoP can be developed for the success of knowledge management system of government organizations. Kim et al. (2009) conducted an empirical analysis on the relationship between the nature of CoP of small and medium enterprises and citizen's action of organizations. Ham (2008) analyzed the importance of performance factors of public sector CoP.

Another type of CoP research is on the creations of knowledge and the effects of knowledge management through CoP in terms of creating, sharing, and distributing knowledge. These include the researches of Ku and Song (2011), Jang et al. (2009), Lim and Kim (2009), Kim (2008a), Baek and Kim (2008), Lee and Jung (2008), Choi and Yoo (2003), Bang and Lee (2000). Ku and Song (2011) conducted a study on the relationship between CoP participation willingness and commitment. Jang et al. (2009) analyzed the effects of CoP formulation on the vitalization of organizational learning. Lim and Kim (2009) carried out an analysis study of the effects

of organizational culture in public agency on CoP activities, the types of organizational learning, and organizational performances. Through the case of a network-based community for teachers, Indi-School, Kim (2008a) analyzed the developmental process of network-based CoP established for the purpose of knowledge sharing and improvement of professionalism of teachers. Moreover, Baek and Kim (2008) analyzed the influence factors of CoP knowledge sharing and Lee and Jeong (2008) conducted an empirical analysis on the impacts of CoP on community spirit, organizational commitment, and knowledge management activities. Choi and Yoo (2003) analyzed a real case of developmental process of CoP as a knowledge creation and sharing strategy. Bang and Lee (2000) suggested a management strategy of CoP towards a more successful knowledge management.

In short, most of the preceding researches of CoP are closely related to the effects of CoP on improvement of organizational performances, CoP vitalization measures from an organizational performance approach, and strategies for CoP vitalization from a knowledge management approach. Yet, these researches set the relationship between the components of CoP and other components as a passive factors and analyze the relationships instead of seeing members of organizations as independent and autonomous beings, and accordingly analyzing the independent interaction processes or learning practice processes of each member.

Components of CoP

CoP is defined in many perspectives, but there are common components of CoP. According to Wenger et al. (2004), CoP consists of 'the domain' of knowledge where issues are defined, 'the community' of people interested in a certain domain, and 'the practice' that develops and shares for the purpose of one's ability being guaranteed in a certain field. Wenger (2007) viewed CoP as consisting of 'reciprocal participation', 'joint domain', and 'joint practice'. Though the terms differ, the components are the same (Yang 2011).

First of all, 'the domain' is the scope of knowledge or a series of key issues relevant to the common issues, interests, and topics of CoP members. According to Wenger et al. (2004), a desirable and effective domain does not relate to abstract areas of interest. Rather, it is related to complex and long-range issues and requires constant learning of its members, and consists of primary issues and matters that are commonly experienced by members. That is, it is not merely fixed by duties but is a range of knowledge that must be explored and developed (Wenger et al. 2002). A well-prescribed domain unites members and provides a mechanism to legitimize the purpose and the value of the CoP to the outside (Wenger et al. 2002). In other words, it ascribes meaning to the existence and actions of members (Wenger et al. 2002).

Secondly, another component of CoP is the community itself. According to Wenger et al. (2004), a 'community' is a group of people who interact, learn together, form relationships, and in the process a sense of belonging and reciprocal commitment becomes a bond that ties the people together. This is a necessary and

crucial component of an effective knowledge structure. This component allows a CoP to become a place that contributes not only to personal intellectual competence, but to the formation of social capital (Kim and Kim 2005; Lesser and Prusak 1999).

Thirdly, 'the practice' is a chain of methods socially defined in a specific domain. According to Wenger et al. (2004: 21), practice is the way tasks are carried out in a certain area, and this practice is socially defined. It signifies a shared standard set and a common approach that forms the basics such as behavior, communication, problem-solving, performance, responsibility, etc. The resources of a community includes examples and stories, theories, regulations, frames, models, principles, tools, professional knowledge, theses, lessons from experience, best practices, assessment guidelines, and also explicit and implicit sides of a community's knowledge. In other words, practice is the intangible and tangible knowledge that was developed, shared, and accumulated with the joint domain placed in the center of the mind of the members. It reflects the history of a CoP.

Besides the three components of domain, community, and practice, depending on the analyzing fields of CoP and the purpose of a CoP, other components have been identified (Wenger et al. 2004). This research is based upon the previous finding that when all the suggested components operate successfully, a CoP can become the ideal knowledge-based structure, that is, a social structure that carries the responsibility of developing and sharing knowledge (Wenger et al. 2002).

Types of CoP

There are various types of CoP depending upon the scale, duration, compactness, homogeneity, boundary, spontaneity, artificial organization, visibility, etc. (Lee 2008). Andriessen et al. (2004: 15–16) suggest five types of CoP according to the standards of its purpose, whether its boundary is open or closed, composition, interaction, and scale.

The first is a daily CoP where people with experiences and new people jointly participate. It focuses on the discussion of daily business experience through periodic face-to-face contacts. The second is a CoP of official experts. As a group consisting of selected experts with local or systematic representativeness, the main focus is on the exchange and development of knowledge. The third type is an informal network CoP. This type is formed to discuss common issues and interests of people who approach each other informally and freely. The fourth CoP is a problem-solution CoP. Workers in certain fields interact on and offline to obtain solutions to specific problems that arise in the process of job performance. The fifth is a potential network CoP. It is a group formed for the common interests of people in differing organizations and fields such as committees or associations of government ministries. Here, CoP is introduced in an organizational leading method, which is the main interest of this research, and the next paragraph examines related classification types of Nickols (2000).

Nickols assorts CoP into a self-organizing CoP that is created by the members themselves and a sponsored CoP which is designed and sponsored by an organization. The main focus of a self-organizing CoP is the pursuit of individuals' common interests. Yet, these types of CoP also have value from an organizational aspect since many best practice cases or important cases are self-organizing CoP types. Meanwhile, productions of scalable outcomes that are beneficial to organizations are expected from a sponsored CoP. In these types of CoP, the necessary resources and official roles or responsibilities are granted by organizations.

The Stages of CoP Formation

CoP is viewed as an organism that is consistently experiencing ecological changes such as birth, maturation, and dissolution. The formation and development of CoP will be discussed through a life cycle model and function-oriented model.

Life Cycle Model

The life cycle model describes the development of CoP in comparison to the developmental cycle of an organism. In other words, a CoP is assumed to be equal to organisms, growing and becoming extinct, and its typical types of activities, challenges, and changes of activities that appear throughout the maturation process are captured.

Wenger (1998: 2–3) and Wenger et al. (2002: 93–111) describe the expansion of a CoP in five stages: potential, coalescing, maturing, stewardship, and transformation stage. The potential stage is where potential members who feel the necessity of association and collaboration prepare and plan. The second stage is the coalescing stage where a CoP is established; members select specific topics that accords with their knowledge domains, plan and develop activities, and begin the process of carrying out such plans. Bettoni et al. (2002) combine this coalescing stage with the potential stage, naming it a formation stage. The main activities of a formation stage are to unearth common footing between the existing network and potential members, and devise an opportunity for the creation of new values. The third stage is the maturing stage where the CoP establishes its role in the relationship with the organization, actively shares the knowledge, and creates new knowledge based upon the shared knowledge. In the fourth stage, the stewardship stage, the activities of a CoP are maintained, but the interests of members are decreased and activities become stagnant. Bettoni et al. (2002) viewed the maturing stage and stewardship stage as an integration stage where the main activity of a CoP is to introduce and create new knowledge and ideas. The last stage is the transformation stage where activities are terminated or new changes are sought out, for a CoP can no longer fulfill its role as the center of knowledge activities.

Like Wenger (1998) and Wenger et al. (2002), McDermott (2000) explains the unfolding process of a CoP through a life cycle perspective. According to McDermott, a CoP goes through planning, establishment, and closure stage. Each stage corresponds with the potential, coalescing, maturing, stewardship, and transformation stage of Wenger et al. (2002) and its contents are similar. Wenger et al. (2002) combined the model of McDermott and proposed the stages of CoP. According to them, the visibility and energy of a CoP generally increase from the potential stage to maturing stage, and then begin to decrease in the maintenance stage, and rapidly decrease in the conversion stage.

Function-Oriented Model

Gongla and Rizzuto (2001) viewed the life cycle model as insufficient to portray all the various unfolding aspects of a CoP that appear in reality. Gongla and Rizzuto regard the fundamental functions that characterize the activities of CoP as connection, context creation and memory, approach and learning, collaboration, innovation and production. The conditions where these functions appear are suggested through potential, composition, participation, vitality, and adaptation stage. The potential stage is the stage where a CoP begins to formulate. In the second, the composition stage, a CoP is formed with its general operations established. With its vital members as the center, experiences and knowledge are shared and these activities begin to be documented. Thirdly, in the participation stage, plans from the previous stage are carried out, and all the members contribute to the sharing and extension of knowledge, and thus maintaining and managing the knowledge system. The fourth stage, the vitality stage, with cooperation as the foundation, knowledge creation activities are actively developed and this becomes further linked to problem-solving of members, organizational solutions to pending issues, and expansions of businesses. Lastly, in the adaptation stage, new knowledge is consistently being created and the environment is redefined and expanded; 'innovation' and 'production' become the two key functions in this stage.

Table 1 shows the developmental process suggested in common by both models and the primary activities of each stage.

Methodology

Case Selection

The purpose of this study is to investigate the formation process of CoP where the activities are unfolded. Thus, in order to examine the developmental process of a CoP developing amid the intentions and actions of members, instead of measuring the performance of CoP, this research selected a case where researchers are able to directly observe the interactions between the community and the individual members.

Table 1 The primary activities of each developmental stage of CoP

Developmental stage	Primary activities
McDermott (2000), Planning stage Gongla and Rizzuto (2001), Potential stage Wenger et al. (2002), Potential stage	Unearthing potential network and issues Contacting and connecting to potential members Setting main purpose and goals of CoP
McDermott (2000), Establishment stage Gongla and Rizzuto (2001), Composition stage Wenger et al. (2002), Fusion stage	Selecting a desirable leader Confirmation of the domains of knowledge and the scope of roles Organizing basic framework such as arrangement of managerial regulations
McDermott (2000), Growth stage Gongla and Rizzuto (2001), Participation stage Wenger et al. (2002), Maturation stage	Selection or development of specific topics Development of unique methods, tools, terms Sharing of experiences and knowledge through conversations or discussions Documentation, recording, or management of activities and shared knowledge Management of new or withdrawing members and the scope of activities
McDermott (2000), Growth persistent stage Gongla and Rizzuto (2001), Vitality stage Wenger et al. (2002), Maturation management stage	Development and sharing of phronesis of the highest degree Arrangement of optimum application plan for the organization regarding results of the activities Application of results of the activities to solve individual and organizational problems Measurement of activity performance and visualizing its application Maintenance or renewal of the most advanced phronesis Member management as well as association with and sponsoring other CoP Formation of relations with external Organizations

Source Choi Eunhee and Kwon Daebong (2007). Developmental aspects of local education offices CoP (revised)

A CoP operates in a complex and intrinsic context and it is difficult to grasp what is truly happening from limited anecdotal observances. Therefore, an open case approach where the purposes and intentions of introducing a CoP, the operation methods, and the culture of the CoP can be directly observed was necessary. Jangheung Hakdang, which was established in 1994 by the residents themselves and is still being operated independently, was chosen because it fulfilled these requirements. Not only did Jangheung Hakdang reject every sponsorship offered by the district and is currently operating solely on voluntary dues of members and donations, but also the dedication and interest of Jangheung residents has been sustained. In fact, Jangheung Hakdang has received much attention from local governments and is becoming a benchmark for community development initiatives.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected and constantly triangulated through in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis. Since this research intended to investigate the developmental progress aspects of CoP activities, data collection was carried out from 2010 to 2012 at regular intervals. We began data collection with a tentative design, and when a valued topics newly emerged in the process, the next stage of data collection was revised to accommodate further exploration of these topics.

The characteristics of the collected data and the collection process are as follows. First, through the managing director and general affairs manager of Jangheung Hakdang, the contour of the organization, purpose and activity outline, the performances are assessed. In addition, all related documents such as promotional pamphlets, articles of the association containing the regulations of Jangheung Hakdang, a certified copy of the register as a corporate body were collected.

Secondly, data were collected by observations. Participant observations were conducted twice on July 16th, 2010 and August 18th, 2012 along with the study meetings. From the welcoming of lecturers that occur the day before the study meeting to separate meetings held after the study meeting by the participants themselves, the complete and overall progress was observed through participation observation. On the night before the study meeting, primary members including the head of Jangheung Hakdang meet with the lecturers and have dinner together. During this occasion, news of the Jangheung area and various talks from the perspectives of the lecturers naturally come into view. On the day of the study meeting after arriving at 6:30 a.m., the participating residents were observed through eating meals together and conversing. Jangheung Hakdang makes nametags with each name of the participants written in Chinese characters. Throughout the study meeting, the materials that were distributed in advance were referenced, notes on significant aspects were taken down, and photos were taken. After the study meeting, the primary members gathered for lunch and feedbacks on the study meeting were provided. During this, two people were interviewed and tape-recorded but due to the noise of the dining hall, we failed to transcribe these recordings. Furthermore, main cultural heritage sites within the jurisdiction, five industrial settings, and two sites that were discussed as pending issues in the presentation debates were surveyed.

Thirdly, in-depth interviews were used as the primary resource of the case. The method of in-depth interviews was adopted through considering the suitability to the research topic and access possibility to the research field. During the case observation period, semi-structured in-depth interviews of seven people were conducted. Apart from the official interviews, conversations frequently occurred throughout the observation process and brief interviews and conversations took place on the phone and through messages and e-mails.

Fourthly, the 17 years of Jangheung Hakdang's annual journals containing the data of study meetings, workshops, and presentation debates and the related lecture data were collected as well. Lastly, external assessments and press articles on Jangheung Hakdang were used as references for secondary analysis.

The unit of analysis for this research is the transitional process of the CoP, Jangheung Hakdang. In order to achieve this, materials and data were examined thoroughly to identify and interpret their meanings. Likewise, until the research results were fully comprehended, constant collections and analyses of data took place, and the information gleaned from the data collections were selected, classified, and systematized. In addition, efforts were put into evince the qualitative traits by making frequent contacts with the participants. Afterwards, the analysis and interpretations underwent the process of materialization in the course of writing the research paper and forming the question at issue. During the writing process and among the diverse aspects of the case, the focus was on education theses, especially lifelong education. These portions combined with terms that appear in the case and that are used academically were used in conjunction to explain and interpret the results.

Accountability and Ethical Considerations

This research made the utmost effort to secure objectivity and accountability through the reliability criteria of Lincoln and Guba (1985): truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality. To accomplish this, first of all, raw data that did not undergo artificial processes were collected. Written sources, participant observations, in-depth interviews, field notes, and additional notes were used multilaterally to compose the data and supplement the interpretations. Secondly, reviewing process through peer debriefing followed. In the process of the research, the research was motivated to remain honest and the researchers made efforts to secure reliability of the research in the discussion process as well. The third was the use of member checking by the research participants themselves. By confirming the contents and the results of the research with the participants, the research aimed to ensure validity. Furthermore, seeking prior consent regarding information offering was included in the process and principles of secrecy and anonymity were complied with. By keeping an adequate distance between the participants and the researchers, relationships were maintained at an appropriate level to ensure that the focus of the research was in complete form and to prevent the exposure of unexpected information and sensitive issues which may upset the participants. In terms of participant interviews, decision to participate was made independently according to one's individual choice. In the case where the informer did not want disclosure, the interview would not be recorded, and in case where it was recorded, after the participants viewed the recorded materials, the contents were expunged upon the request by the participants.

Table 2 Characteristics of the research participants

Number	Name	Sex	Age (as of late 2011)	Position and role
1	Ko	Male	50s	Member
2	Yoon	Male	70s	Founding member
3	Kim	Male	60s	Founding member
4	Choi	Female	40s	Member
5	An	Female	50s	Member
6	Park	Female	40s	Member
7	Wi	Male	80s	Founding member

Research Participants

In the process of selecting research participants, to ensure that there would be a variety of participants in the research group, participants were divided into junior members and founding members according to their membership terms. Among the members, the criteria selected for persons who are able to recount their own stories with open minds, can simultaneously participate actively in the activities, and are willing to adapt to new changes. Table 2 contains brief information of the participants.

The Development Process of the Spontaneous CoP, Jangheung Hakdang

Jangheung-gun is located in the southwestern end of Jeollanam-do, which belongs in the southwestern part of the Korean Peninsula. Vertically extended, it assumes the central district of the area with the Tamjin River flowing in the southern sea and it borders five administrative districts. The development process of the CoP, Jangheung Hakdang, in Jangheung area is assorted into four stages. The first stage was from the year 1991 when the small scale Ae Jang Society was established, to 1994 when Jangheung Hakdang was first founded. The second stage is the period from 1994 to 1995 when the basic infrastructure, such as leader selection and arrangement of managerial regulations, was established. The third stage is when the leading founder of the village school operated the school as the head. The fourth stage is the period when learning was established as part of the culture of the Jangheung people through consistent learning. Though the process is divided by periods, each stage overlaps with one another. According to the four stages of the CoP development process, the formative years are assorted into the germinating period (1991–1994), system establishment period (1994–1995), participatory growth period (1995–2005), and sustainable maturity period (2006–2011) and the following section will describe these in detail.

Germination Period (1991–1994)

The efforts of a high-ranking government official served as the momentum for the birth of Jangheung Hakdang. The person behind this is Son, a former Minister of Transport. After retiring, he returned to the Jangheung area. With the resurrection of the local assembly in 1991, the voluntary participation of residents in 1995 instigated the four-position local elections and local self-government was reintroduced. The future of the local area in accordance with the changing times was beginning to become the main concern of people.

After coming back to his hometown in 1990, Son managed a rice processing complex left by his deceased father. In January of 1991, with a restaurant owner and 20 young and middle-aged people who were concerned with the future of the local area, he established a small village school called Ae Jang Society.

> We had a gathering named Ae Jang Society. The meeting was held with people from various age groups, and from a public official to farmers and doctors, it involved a wide array of people from all walks of life. (Kim)

'Ae Jang Society' means a gathering for people who love Jangheung. In the evening of 2nd and 16th of every month, people gathered in a local restaurant and opened the small village school. After one member made a presentation about a certain topic, the members would exchange their own opinions and life stories while having a meal together. Son often debated frankly while drinking with the young members.

> The small village school was the gathering of people who were present when Mr. Son initially started it. There were many discussions and debates including life stories. (Yoon)

As Son built the Ae Jang Society, he completely settled in Jangheung. In January 1993, the third year since the establishment of Ae Jang Society, the members of Ae Jang Society gathered and discussed the things they could do for the local residents of Jangheung.

> From 1993, we started discussing what it would be like to do such a thing. In 1994, we founded Jangheung Hakdang it has been operating ever since. (Kim)

After long discussion, the members agreed to provide the residents a place for study meetings and studies which would renew the awareness of the changing times and make Jangheung a place filled with vitality. This became the root of Jangheung Hakdang.

> We felt that the residents needed learning. The residents needed to grasp the situations they are in and the surrounding conditions to carry out one's role properly. The residents themselves wanted to learn through hands-on activities… (Wi)

The research participants mentioned that the establishment of Jangheung Hakdang was founded solely out of the attachment and affection for one's hometown and unwavering convictions for local development.

Institution Building Period (1994–1995)

Seeking a Paradigm for Local Development

In January 1993, the small village school, Ae Jang Society, made a decision to establish Jangheung Hakdang which would target every resident of the area. The following year, on November 30, 1994, Son and 30 other initiators officially founded Jangheung Hakdang with 'Ae Jang Society' at the center. The object of this establishment was to change residents' perceptions and frames of thinking and seek a new paradigm for the development of the area. Yet, some had pessimistic views about the establishment itself. This is the reason why community learning seemed strange and unfamiliar to the residents.

> So we decided to do this nationwide, build village schools, and compose establishment promotion committee, widening the scope of members. However, there were people opposing it and doubting its success. (Kim)

Soon, on December 1, 1994, Jangheung Hakdang completed its registration as a non-profit corporate body at Gwangju District Court with its main office located in 153–157 Giyang-ri, Jangheung-eup, Jangheung-gun, Jeollanam-do. Accordingly, the board of directors became not only responsible for the vitalization of the village school but also its bankruptcy as well.

The Purpose and Program Planning of Jangheung Hakdang

The purpose of promoting Jangheung Hakdang is to contribute to fostering healthy and wholesome democratic citizens and making a vibrant Jangheung through providing a place for study meetings and workshops. This would change the perspectives of the people regarding the changing world and the environment, and foster responding abilities that allow the people to find tasks and carry out those tasks. To achieve such purpose, there was the need to document learning contents from regular study meetings, field-centered workshops, and presentation debates on pending issues and publish those to share with the members and residents. It was decided that the regular study meetings would take place on the 2nd and 16th (twice a month) of every month and its location would be the readily accessible lounge room of the Jangheung District Office.

The time of the study meetings carried on from 7 a.m. to 8:30 (90 min). It was a rule to have the program in the order of breakfast (20 min), appreciation of poetry and music (10 min), introductions of lecturers and greeting from the head of the school (5 min), lecture (50 min), and a question and answer time (5 min). The selections of lecturers were made within the Jangheung jurisdiction by the heads of institutions and guest speakers or figures that left their hometowns but guest speakers would be selected as politics, community, economics, and culture education specialists by the recommendations of the members.

We have to get out to the fields early in the morning. So, when they said we would start learning from 7 a.m., I thought it didn't make any sense. Of course, everything was hectic and it was hard. Sometimes, I would just fall asleep at the study meetings. I would roughly understand the words of the speakers but I could not concentrate and my mind was elsewhere. (Kim)

It was decided that the workshops of visiting fields inside and outside Jangheung or areas that were of members' interests would be held four times a year (March, June, September, December). For workshops, visits to educational spots, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, cultural sites, and construction sites were made. Presentation debates were hosted twice a year (May, October). The materials gathered from the study meetings, workshops, and Presentation debates were organized and published yearly.

Articles of the Association and Organization of Operating System

The operating system of Jangheung Hakdang at the time of establishment showed the organizational system operating separately under each department. The operating system of Jangheung Hakdang consists of the head of the school and an honorary head which assumes the role of a consultative body. According to the regulations and articles of the association, the head had a wide range of power and authority, representing the village school and handling everything from projects to activities while the authority of the board of directors was relatively weak. In this context, opinions were brought forward to allow the head of the school to only be the representative, the chairman of the general meeting, have the right to refer bills, and the authority to become the chairman of the board of directors. The first head of Jangheung Hakdang was the former secretary Son, who assumed the leading role in establishing Jangheung Hakdang. The honorary head, a consultant regarding overall affairs of the school, was elected among the former heads of the school through deliberations by the board of directors. Three vice heads of the school, consisting of vice heads of financial affairs, study meetings, workshops, aided the head and in cases of accidents, they became an acting head. A vice head of financial affairs takes charge of general affairs department while a study meeting vice head is in charge of the department of women and young men, and a workshop vice head controls the workshop department and publication department. In the department of general affairs, with a full-time general director and general affairs manager as the center, accounting and conventional administrative tasks are carried out. The study meeting department conducts and carries forward study meetings and presentation debates while striving to spur the participations of women and young people. Yet, the activities of the department of women and young people were insufficient and their participation rate was poor. Through reorganizations of the operating system, a vice head of the department of women was established and it was decided that the department of women, which was formerly under the control of the study meeting vice head, would be under the vice head of the department of women.
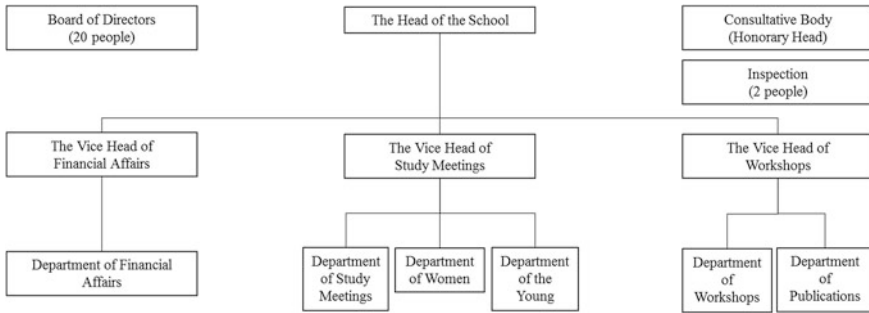
Fig. 1 Jangheung Hakdang organizational chart

> I was once a chairman of the department of women before becoming a vice head for the department of women. I never missed a study meeting and was active in mainly promoting the participation of others. The department of financial affairs should be headed by a person capable of handling financial matters and cooperation is always present regarding workshops. I think that everything is same here as in the society. The purpose is to promote vitalization. (Park)

The workshop department holds and promotes the field workshops. In addition, it assumes the role of publishing the yearly 'Jangheung' Journal from the materials gathered from the study meetings, workshops, and presentation debates. The legislative organ consists of an operating board, executive board, and regular general meeting. Issues and matters gathered and organized from the monthly meetings are decided by the operating board which oversees the overall operation. The executive board enforces the contents that are determined by the operating board and carries forward projects. Additional activities are supplemented through the regular general meeting held every January and the direction for the year is set then. With this, the structure, operating regulations and system of Jangheung Hakdang, was arranged to organize the general and basis system, and organs that were established for efficiency can be seen through Fig. 1.

Determining Future Goals of Jangheung Hakdang

After the general structure of association articles and the operating system had been established, specific guidelines and the knowledge domains that would become the goals of Jangheung Hakdang were enacted and became the four doctrines of Jangheung Hakdang. The domain, acting as the center and the range of common interests, issues, and topics of the community members, allows its members to make judgments regarding the importance and properness of knowledge based on common understanding and imbues significance to the CoP's reason for being and the actions of members (Wenger et al. 2002). When taking a look at the earlier mentioned four doctrines, the first doctrine is academic pursuit. It is the act of intensifying and improving one's knowledge through a vast array of information, various

experiences, and field experiences. The second is new creation. After thoroughly grasping the old knowledge and making it completely one's own, based on that, a new creation of knowledge occurs (Cho 2008). This is based on constructive criticism, rational introspection, breaking away from stereotypes, and creative thinking. The third doctrine is golden mean. The concept of 'fittingness' is of the inclines standing straight up, not the meaning of center. The rightness is about filling the voids and insufficiency to become sound and whole. It is the practical awareness and methodology where excessiveness is drawn off and inadequateness is supplemented to make its subject stand tall and fitting (Son et al. 2010). Golden mean is represented through neutrality of political religion, eliminations of requests for favors, and realizations of democratic citizens. The last doctrine is self-reliance. The foundation of Jangheung Hakdang depends greatly on the participation and trust of residents, and the methods of gaining independence from local government or local institutions that may wield influence over the organization. To achieve this, Jangheung Hakdang repudiated the offers of financial assistance by Jangheung-gun and is running its operations solely on voluntary dues of residents and donations. This demonstrates the will of Jangheung Hakdang to maintain its morality and autonomy while remaining free from the local government and institutions, and adhere to independent and autonomous activities. This includes the values of participation with social responsibility, voluntary support, and rational operation.

Participation and Growth Period

Topic Selection and Development of CoP Learning

With the four doctrines (academic pursuit, new creation, golden mean, and self-reliance) as the foundation, the board of directors chose the subjects of study meetings, workshops, and presentation debates.

> The topic selection is carried out by the board of directors. I have attended several topic selection meetings. Exchanges of opinions occur and the item that seems most suitable to the development of individuals or the community is chosen. (An)

In the first stages, there was little information, knowledge, or awareness of lifelong learning so the focus was on the fact that local self-government was beginning. Accordingly, pending local issues were chosen as topics and the head of a local institutions within the Jangheung area was invited to be the lecturer. Gradually, the learning domains would be expanded further and further.

Study Meetings

As of late 2011, 390 study meetings have been held. Lecturers have been the heads of the school 17 times, the heads of institutions 96 times, and guest speakers 277

times. Topics of study meetings were chosen from topics of Jangheung's pending issues, appropriate in regard to the times, and these lectures were followed by discussions among lecturers and members. This was to enhance the intellectual abilities of individuals and contribute to creating healthy democratic citizens, ultimately leading to a vibrant, developing Jangheung.

At Jangheung Hakdang, before the commencement of a study meeting, a poetry reading by a member takes place. Then time for music and art appreciation follows. This has symbolic meaning to maintain the tradition of literary circles that Jangheung has. Through such study meetings, members as participation subjects of the CoP gain practical knowledge that can be applied to present or future situations in real life and learn and share the knowledge that will allow them to responsibly carry out a practical role. In other words, members are able to better grasp the effects of domestic and overseas conditions, which change rapidly in the information-oriented, internationalized, and globalized society, on individuals and the community. Members are to learn and put into action by positioning a variety of information, related to real life, into subject matters that will support rational decision-making. This is based on the actual lives of the people rather than theories or principles. Learning does not end in itself but connects to the practice process that solves the problems of daily lives. Furthermore, on the basis of information, knowledge, and professionalism gathered from learning, the interests towards the lives of the local residents are deepened and becomes linked and expanded to the activities that will solve the tasks of the community. The learning information of previous study meetings can be separated as follows by fields: social science (202 times, 51.8 %), techno science (101 times, 25.9 %), liberal arts such as new year prospects (33 times, 8.5 %), arts and culture (25 times, 6.4 %), humanities (19 times, 4.9 %), natural science (6 times, 1.5 %), history (3 times 0.8 %), and mythology (1 time, 0.2 %). Among these, the field of social science took up the majority. This reflects the emphasis on lifelong education, the social system, and political rights of the residents, along with the engagement of local self-government.

Field Centered Workshops

Field centered workshops are operated four times a year (March, June, September, December). After selecting topics that arose as problems during the study meetings or are in the interests of the members, the related fields are visited. A workshop is assorted into four categories: education, agriculture and fisheries, culture, and construction. Through the workshops, members explore historical and cultural heritage sites within and out of the jurisdiction. This encourages members to reflect and reorganize their thoughts on society and life. Yet, since the attendance rates for the workshops are poor, being around 10 %, efforts are expended to increase the attendance rate.

> Besides the study meetings, there are things called the workshops. Four times a year, we visit the industrial fields, successful cases in the agricultural and fisheries field, construction fields, education fields, etc.… (Yoon)

The workshops have been held 66 times in 121 different locations. The number of workshops held according to the fields are 16 times in education and industrial, construction, 14 times in agricultural and fisheries, 17 times in cultural heritage sites, two times in companies within the jurisdiction, and once in a local assembly.

Presentation Debates

In order to suggest visions for local administration and for the sake of community development, presentation debates are held twice a year in May and October. Along with education and environment issues and election of local representative, problems of the community and pending issues are unraveled in the form of a seminar or a symposium. Knowledge related to the presentation debate is gleaned and systematized through the study meeting and workshop that are held before the presentation debate. In a presentation debate, both specialists and residents participate to identify problems related to the issues and propose appropriate solutions. The presentation debates are meaningful in that by representing the public opinion and deploying active discussions, the direction for local administration is set forth and the ability to provide constructive criticism and create alternatives is cultivated.

> The purpose of gathering through discussions and debates is to accept yesterday as yesterday and by setting that as the base, we are able to analyze today objectively. Then, we figure out how tomorrow will approach us and how we will receive tomorrow. It is very valuable in that we are preparing ourselves for the future. (Wi)

However, in regard to the debates of candidates for the local election, there were times when only some of the candidates were present due to the differences of opinions. Presentation debates have been held 31 times in total. The fields of the presentation debates are divided into the following: ecological environment two times, local festivals four times, local education two times, local development nine times, public office election seven times, suggestions for military administration four times, and Jangheung Hakdang, gukak (Korean classical music), and health once.

Publication and Application of "Village School" Journal

From the year 1995 to 2011, Jangheung Hakdang has been documenting and objectifying the activities and shared knowledge of its core projects, which are study meetings, workshops, and presentation debates. Moreover, these are published yearly, distributed to the members and residents, and shared.

> By publishing the records of study meetings, workshops, and presentation debates, though it was not done by the members, we are able to inform the figures nationwide who left the Jangheung area or the people who used to work in Jangheung but left. For this reason, we have been publishing the journal every year. (Kim)

In this journal, every detail of the study meetings, workshops, and presentation debates are organized and printed without any adjustments. As of late 2011, the activity records indicate that 390 study meetings, 66 workshops, 31 presentation debates, and the activities of the school have been printed in 17 issues.

Management of Members and Financial Affairs

Though the financial situation of Jangheung Hakdang indicated its total assets at 10 million won at the time of establishment, the amount increased to 50 million won 3 years later. The investments came from donations, contributions, dues, and other revenues. Anyone who had the same objects and purposes like those Jangheung had the qualification to be a member. The members were divided into the general members who are the individual members, group members such as corporate bodies and organizations, and honorary members such as figures who left the hometown or residents of other areas. The finance of Jangheung Hakdang was covered with the dues of members and contributions of the residents. The fee, in the case of an individual member, was 50,000 won for membership and 30,000 won for annual fee. Corporate bodies were to pay 200,000 won for membership and 100,000 won for annual dues. The number of members of Jangheung Hakdang, which started out small with 30 members, increased to 302 members by 2007. As of late 2011, there were about 356 members, making Jangheung Hakdang an influential and vital CoP. Among the members, there are 310 individual members, seven corporate bodies, and 39 honorary members. About 50 members are actively participating and due to the large number of long-term residents of Jangheung, the sense of closeness between members is strong. The researcher of this research signed up for membership in 2010. Initially, the head of the school, Son and full-time members Ko and Choi operated the overall operation of the organization but soon, the horizontal communications between members made possible for the consistent establishment of the operation direction to be continued. However, as the members aged, flexibility of the organization decreased and the problem of young members being unable to easily associate with older members became apparent. Also, in terms of vitalization of the school, securing active participations of figures related to education, prosecution, and court came to the fore.

Maturation and Sustained Growth Period (2006–2011)

Disjunction Between Daily Lives and Academic Atmosphere

The daily lives of Jangheung residents were repetitions of quiet days without any radical changes. However, in any situation, until things are set in a regular track, difficulties are bound to arise. As such, there were many complications in the process of Jangheung Hakdang taking root. First, it was not an easy task to operate such a 'village school' for people of a farming village who may even be insensitive to the changes of times and the environment. Most of the local residents were engaged in agriculture and fisheries, and the image of them running busily from daybreak to make ends meet seemed distant from learning. Until then, 'lifelong education' was an unacquainted domain, with residents feeling it as being far from them and the issue of forming consensus as to the need for learning were difficulties faced in the process of urging residents to participate in lifelong education.

> The countryside is a relaxed place where you can get away with walking around backwards. In the countryside, most gatherings occur in the night and it might work if it were carried out at night after daily tasks are finished but would the meetings taking place in the mornings work? There were many opinions such as this. People said it would be hard… Yet, waking up at daybreak has its meaning. It is not the number of people who attends that matters but the fact that such a meeting is held at daybreak. So, it was pushed forward. It is true that the participation rate of the young is still low. (Kim)

Due to situations such as these, there were many limitations including the low participation rate of residents and the gap between daily lives and learning. Additionally, the task of collecting membership fees and dues from the participants was complicated and upon seeing this, some were astonished and claimed that Jangheung Hakdang would not last long.

> As the school started, there many who said 'What would that matter to old people like us…' They would possibly 'consider' going even if it was free, but paying with their own money… (Yoon)

Yet, regarding concerns such as these, Son remained unshaken in his convictions. Whether it is an individual or an organization, if the period of conflicts and confusion is successfully conquered, that becomes nourishment, bringing forth a more mature form. The influences of convictions and competence of a leader on the development of individuals and community were confirmed.

Misunderstandings of Residents and Entry Barriers

There were rumors among the residents on Jangheung Hakdang assuming the role of a political patronage of a certain figure. However, such suspicions were completely wiped out as time elapsed.

Well, not much was expected or wanted from it… The members of Jangheung Hakdang must have a certain purpose for doing this. You know, like a suspicion that someone among the members wants to run for the National Assembly. (Kim)

At first, there were people looking on at Jangheung Hakdang from a biased viewpoint, claiming that someone is running for the local election or the National Assembly but with the organization depoliticizing in every aspect, misunderstanding of the residents was resolved. (Yoon)

Additionally, there was a tendency among the residents to think of Jangheung Hakdang as the gathering of privileged classes such as former government officials.

Assessment of Jangheung Hakdang's Performance Results

In December 2004, after looking back to the last decade, the catch phrase 'Beyond a Decade, towards a Century' was established and posted. For this, 'How can Jangheung Hakdang be more successful and prosperous?' was selected as the presentation debate topic on April 7, 2005. 17 people including the head of the school, vice heads, members of the board of directors, members, and residents participated in the presentation debate. First, regarding the organizational (executive) domain, strategies instigating wide participations of people from all social standings and participations of young people who will substitute the aging population of members and reform of the head-centered operation methods were discussed. With these discussions as the base in terms of strategies to spur participation, at the regular general meeting held in February 2006, an address book of figures in a wide variety of domains was obtained and the figures were notified of the establishment purpose of Jangheung Hakdang. Furthermore, consistent efforts would be made for the participations of young people, which would substitute the aging population of the members. Son, who had substantially planned and operated Jangheung Hakdang for 11 years since 1994, judged the school to have reached a stabilized period and declared to leave the head position. After much argument, Yoon, the former director of Jangheung-gun Cultural Center, became the successor and operated Jangheung Hakdang for 2 years (2006–2007). During this period, due to the fact that Yoon was not originally from Jangheung, the participation rate of residents was relatively low. This indicates that even though Jangheung is known for its absence of exclusiveness, the local feelings, in regard to the head originally coming from another town, seem to have influenced to some degree. In 2008, the full-time governor Kim undertook the role of the head of the school and is currently assuming the role. In regard to member management area, appropriateness of fees, qualifications of members and clearance matter arose as key issues. The needs to clear away the members who have only registered without participating and to secure female members were discussed. Moreover, in financial affairs area, ordinary earnings such as fees and donations account for 55 % of all earnings and incomes other than the ordinary earnings such as business profits and contributions take up 45 %. Of the ordinary earnings, the pure earnings from the fees account for 18 %

and of incomes other than the ordinary earnings, contributions account for 40 %. Problems arising from such financial state were brought forward. To secure finances, talks were focused on measures such as the increase of fees, hunt for outstanding members and receiving financial assistance from the district office.

> There are many financial difficulties. At the end of the year when we settle accounts, there are the basic costs that are spent by the method of a deficit operation. You know, things like maintenance cost for managing the office, the minimum personnel expenses, food expenses paid to the restaurant for study meetings. We try to minimize these basic expenses, in addition to the publication expense but it is really hard. (Kim)

Nevertheless, participation with the mindset that dues are necessary for academic pursuit is required. Receiving financial assistance from the district office, since it comes from the collected taxes of the residents, goes against the fundamental founding purpose of operating the school with the strength of the school alone and for this reason, the school has been operating on its own funds to this day.

> Jangheung Hakdang is carrying out the local government's duty of educating the residents which provides sufficient grounds for justifying financial assistance from the district office. However, Jangheung Hakdang has always refused. It is really something to be thankful for. (An)

Nonetheless, in order to operate Jangheung Hakdang, it costs 40 million won to 50 million won a year, making members' dues insufficient to maintain the operation. The organization is in a state of depending on part of the contributions to make up for the shortage.

Ties and Sponsorships of Other CoP

Jangheung Hakdang is seeking opportunities for a new value creation through the ties and sponsorships of other CoP. Main organizations in mutual relationships with Jangheung Hakdang are Save the Gullies of Korea Gwangju, Jeollanam-do Headquarters, Korea Water Resources Corporation (KOWACO), 21 Century Namdo-Forum, Gwangju, Jeollanam-do Development Institute, etc. First, Save the Gullies of Korea Gwangju, Jeollanam-do Headquarters joined with Human Resources Fosterage Academy held the 'Solution Search to Save the Gullies of Korea (November 11, 2009)' discussion debate discussing the development of the participatory restoration of gullies model. Moreover, a forum on water was held jointly by Korea Water Resources Corporation (KOWACO) and Jangheung Hakdang with the sponsorship of Jangheung-gun.

> The forum on water was planned by Korea Water Resources Corporation (KOWACO) Jeollanam-do Southwest Conservancy, which supplies the water of Jangheung Dam to cities and districts including the city of Mokpo, to inform the people of the importance of water which surrounds us. Since this forum took interest in linking water resources to the community economy and was prepared well, I would like to assess that this debate had a great academic significance in regard to the Jeongnamjin Water Festival. (Wi)

This forum continues to be held (07/30/2008, 09/05/2009, 07/28/2010, and 07/29/2011). Furthermore, from March 2003, through mutual exchange visits with 21 Century Namdo-Forum, interchanges of information are occurring and connection with Gwangju, Jeollanam-do Development Institute has been made since July 1997.

Conclusion and Implications

The purpose of this research was to expose forming process of the CoP to provide implications that can be applied to the successful operation of the spontaneous CoP in local areas and promote community well-being. For this, the forming process of the CoP through the interactions between the members of Jangheung Hakdang and the environment became the focus and the factors that maintain and develop the CoP, which manifest in the developmental process, were explored.

The results of the research demonstrate the meaning of the establishment of Jangheung Hakdang in that the vision was realized under the leadership of a home-bound high-ranking government official and this CoP promotes the community well-being as well as community development. The forming process of Jangheung Hakdang, based on the characteristics and the background of the area, was identified as having four phases: germination period, system establishment period, participatory growth period, and sustainable maturity period. In the germination period, according to the changes of the local self-government circumstances, the main agent of Jangheung Hakdang who is the retired government official, made contacts and connections with potential members and the primary intentions of the CoP were discussed in this stage. In the system establishment period, a paradigm for the community development was sought out, the head of the school was selected, articles of association and regulations, which are the frame of an organization, were arranged, and the four doctrines of academic pursuit—new creation, golden mean, and self-reliance that are the future coordinates and specific guidelines of behavior of Jangheung Hakdang—were enacted. In the participatory growth period when action learning activities were actively carried out, participations of members and residents became diverse and inclinations started to change. Through discussions and debates such as study meetings, field workshops, and presentation debates, experience and knowledge were shared and 'Jangheung Hakdang Journal', that contains the activities and shared knowledge, was published every year to be of practical use to the residents and members. In the sustainable maturity period, problems that arose amid the operation of Jangheung Hakdang, such as the gap between daily life and academic atmosphere, misunderstandings of residents and barriers to entry, were checked, applied to the organization and visualized. In addition, creations of relationships with external organizations were executed by holding forums of topics, such as saving the gullies and water festival, through connections and sponsorships regarding other CoP. Likewise, Jangheung

Hakdang emerged as the large reception room of Jangheung area where the discussions of the subjects necessary in the latter part of the information age today occur.

Such results of the research exposed the resonance effect of the government official's retire to the country and his leadership on the residents, based on the local characteristic of the unique Confucian hereditary customs that Jangheung Hakdang has. Additionally, the research revealed that the active support and dedication, system reorganization for the school operation, participation of residents, and networks with related institutions exerted crucial influences over the 18 years of Jangheung Hakdang's continuation.

Based on the results of the research analysis, in order for a CoP to successfully take root and develop, the following implications can be suggested. First of all, to elicit dynamics and the participation from the majority of the residents, the role of a devoted leader of the CoP is important. For instance, common learning is realized through the overall lives of the residents by interlocking with the diverse domains of the region. For this reason, the leader must be aware and understanding of the current states of residents and the community, not to mention that the leader must lead a moral and ethical life and receive respect and trust of the residents. Secondly, voluntary support and service minds of members for financial stability of the CoP is necessary. In order to carry out the purpose of the desirable organization and make it shine brightly, the active attitudes and devotions of participants with concerns and love for the community are required. What is more, the role of a financial supporter is needed to make sure that the administrative organ is well-operated. Thirdly, the gap between generations needs to be eased and the participation rate of women should be enhanced. Unlike the urban area, in the case of the rural areas, the participation rates of women and the young are poor. To solve this, learning programs and time slots need to be composed flexibly to suit the young and women participants, and there is the need to improve learning accessibility through locally assigned study tour, not fixed study locations.

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Promoting Community Integration of New Migrant Workers in China

Wen Juan Lu and Longgen Chen

Introduction

Community well-being is an umbrella concept, encompassing a wide range of concepts such as quality of life, happiness, sustainability and etc. Many scholars have tried to define the concept from different perspectives ranging from economic, social, environmental and cultural angles to governance goals and priorities. Haworth and Hart (2007) pointed out that community well-being is focused on understanding the contribution of a community in maintaining itself and fulfilling the various needs of local residents. Merriam and Kee (2014) defined it as a function of many factors working in concert to promote an optimal quality of life for all members of a community, young and old. Considering the great significance and influence of migrant workers' issues on society, there is now widespread concern and attention. Issues include: how to transfer rural labors successfully, how to facilitate new migrant workers' integration into cities effectively, how to guarantee their equal civil rights and privileges, how to promote their survival ability, and employability in cities.

Until now, community well-being has been a new concept for most Chinese scholars and local officials. This chapter aims to build a link between migrant workers and community well-being, and illustrate how to facilitate migrant workers' successful integration into communities through community education and finally achieve community well-being from the perspectives of new migrant workers.

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Migrant Workers

According to China's National Bureau of Statistics, by the end of 2011 China had a rural population of 0.94 billion, which occupied 70.15 % of the total population. In recent decades, along with the social-economic development and acceleration of urbanization in China, large number of surplus rural labor in countryside poured into cities and towns to make a living. Accordingly, a social group with Chinese features came into being—migrant workers. Based on the latest statistics, there were more than 0.25 billion migrant workers in China in 2012, and the number would increase steadily in the years to come.

The State Council Research Group (2006) defined "migrant worker as a special concept which took shape in the process of China's social and economic transformation, and it mainly referred to the staff whose household was registered as peasants owning contracted land, but they were mostly engaged in non-agricultural industries and depended on wage income as main financial resource" and "those who were born in 1980s–1990s were called new migrant workers, who received better education but presented different characteristics compared with old migrant workers". The new migrant workers were confronted with more difficulties when they tried to integrate into the rural life.

The survey data showed that among the new migrant workers, 85.23 % of them got middle school diploma or lower and only 14.77 % of them got the college bachelor degree. Limited by their poor education and insufficient vocational skills, most migrant workers worked in the fields such as manufacture (39.1 %), construction, service, accommodation and catering industry, wholesale retail industry, and transport postal industry. Undoubtedly, migrant workers have played a significant role in all walks of life in cities and made great contributions to the national economic construction, but unfortunately their self-quality failed to meet the demands of working in cities and in part hindered the economic development on the whole, and some time their efforts were not accepted and recognized in cities. As a matter of fact, at present most migrant workers were in inferior situation, they were lack of security due to unstable and low-income jobs, they experienced social exclusion, and furthermore they failed to enjoy the same rights as other city residents in terms of social welfare, education, medical treatment and other aspects. Xue (2011, p. 53) pointed out that "subjectively, new migrant workers did not agree with the rural life, but objectively they could not melt into the city life successfully, therefore the group was lack of sense of belonging in cities and greatly frustrated." Wen (2004, p. 43) declared that "under certain circumstance, such group could be changed into social alien force, and would even take revenge on the society via various inappropriate even illegal behaviors, which would finally lead to social chaos."

Integrating into Communities

Born in 1980s–1990s, new migrant workers are around 20–30 years old. Compared with old migrant workers, this new generation has a series of different features, such

as higher levels of education, specific life goals, and strong desires to live in modern cities. However, migrant workers have encountered various problems in participating in city life and finding their role.

Ambiguity of Identity: Urban or Rural Residents

Differing from the old generation, most new migrant workers are landless with the acceleration of urbanization in rural areas in recent years. On the one hand, their household would be still registered as peasants, but they had no land, no farming knowledge and experiences, and were reluctant to work as peasants and lack of professional identity as peasants. Therefore, they were only symbolic peasants, not real ones.

On the other hand, the new migrant workers dreamed of city life, moved to non-agricultural industries, but the failure to integration into cities made them confused about their identity. According to a survey on young migrant workers in Chengdu city in 2006, 37.3 % still regarded themselves as peasants, 25.4 % gave the opposite answer, and 37.3 % were not sure about the answer. Another survey in 2007 showed that 87 % new migrant workers were ambiguous about their identity and failed to give positive answer (Xu 2007). As for the traditional migrant workers, they could still acquire sense of belonging in countryside even they were frustrated in cities, while the new migrant workers were confronted with the inferior situation of self-identity, neither classify themselves as urban residents nor peasants.

Marginalized Situation as Non-city-citizens

The new migrant workers have worked to pursue sense of belonging in cities instead of making a living; they desire to acquire citizenship in cities, and seek equal rights instead of endurance; and they have been more full of passion and vitality, and eager to promote overall quality via utilizing public resources in cities to help realize self-worth (Zeng 2012).

But subject to a hereditary dual household-registration system in China, known as "hukou", which divided citizens into urban and rural residents, the migrant workers met unprecedented difficulty in incorporating into urban life. They found it hard to achieve identity transformation, their rights and interests were damaged, and they were marginalized and excluded from political, economic, cultural, and social security system in cities. In other words, the system discriminates against migrants in employment, housing, health care and education and reinforced a widespread tendency to treat them as second-class citizens. There exists a big gap between their strong desire to integrate into urban life and the high requirement to acquire citizenship in cities. The poor integration sometimes arouses emotional conflict and in some cases, social chaos.

Weak Employability

New migrant workers are 16–30 years old now, and most of them obtained a middle school or high school diploma, and a small portion graduated from college or university. "Compared with the old migrant workers, the new generation received better education, were able to acquire information via books or internet, and were more likely to accept new things", which prepared knowledge basis for their future job in cities (Zeng 2012, p. 158).

But in past years, China's economic growth mode was experiencing dramatic change, and the government had been sponsoring a shift from labor-intensive to knowledge-intensive jobs and enterprises. The rapid and constant developments of knowledge-intensive enterprises needed the accumulation and innovation of knowledge and technology, which depended on the labor force who have received professional vocational training and were equipped with intermediate and higher-level skills. Generally speaking, the more education a worker received, the higher skills mastered, and the ability to obtain a well-paid job increased.

"Obtaining a stable job and higher income were the two important conditions for migrant workers to melt into cities, while several factors such as poor education, lack of skills restricted the realization of it (Xue 2011, p. 52)." Apparently, the current level of migrant workers' overall abilities did not meet the high demands of formal employment so many are engaged in the informal employment sectors such as manufacture, construction, service, accommodation and catering industry. Informal employment had many traits: wide field, flexible pattern, low cost and low entering condition, which could relax the employment predicament of vulnerable groups in cities, but the low income and instability could not afford the high living expenses in cities, such as children's education, accommodation, medical treatment and so on.

Community Education: A Path for New Migrant Workers

In recent years, Chinese government advocated vigorously about providing various educational and training opportunities for new migrant workers to enhance their employability and improve self-quality. Little progress has resulted, however, mainly caused by the gap between inflexible training and special requirements of migrant workers.

Traditional Education for New Migrant Workers

China's industrialization and urbanization necessitates the needs for training new migrant workers. Traditional education has not been able to satisfy their educational

needs and desires. First of all, due to low income levels, training expenses may be too costly. Additionally, in spite of training needs, most migrant workers have to make money to support their family, and cannot attend long hours in off-job training, therefore they preferred a more economic and flexible training mode which would not affect their work. Another characteristic of new migrant workers is that they live more dispersed, which makes it hard to organize. As a result, it is difficult for traditional education to provide the desired impacts on educating the migrant workers (Wang 2008).

Transfer Training for New Migrant Workers

In the recent past, the Chinese government realizes that migrant workers transfer training is an important way to address problems of rural migrant workers and accordingly issued a series of macro policies and measures.

In 2003, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Education co-enacted "*2003–2010 Training Plan on Rural Migrant Workers*". In 2004, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Education co-executed "*Sunshine Project—Rural Labor Transfer Training*". In 2006, the State Council released "*the Opinions on Solving the Problems of Rural Migrant Workers*". In 2010, the Ministry of Education continued to vigorously implement "*Rural Labor Transfer Training Program*" from the following aspects: (1) first, continue to promote migrant workers training through urban vocational schools, adult schools and community schools; (2) second, to assign some rural labor transfer training schools or migrant workers training schools and offer the migrant workers with an extensive range of skill training, certificate training and degree education through holding day schools, evening schools and weekend schools; and (3) third, to make full use of community educational resources, develop urban civilization projects and provide skill training programs targeting to migrant workers. It was evident that for migrant workers' training and education, the Chinese government has expressed great expectations for community education (Chang 2009).

Community Education for New Migrant Workers

Community education had obvious advantages in terms of migrant workers' education. Differing from school education, community education provides a wide range of education to meet community members' educational demands of different levels based on community strength and resources. Community education's characteristics could be summarized as "service, popularity, diversity, openness and flexibility", which could satisfy the migrant workers' special needs as a whole and make it possible to carry out migrant workers' education based on community education (Wang 2006, p. 8).

Students would be free from traffic troubles by attending community schools in their neighborhood, with teachers there composed of volunteers or retired experts (saving costs). Practical educational contents in community education could largely resolve migrant workers' urgent needs by providing employment guidance and skills training. Humanization of educational aim in community education provides a view closer to the spirit of humanistic care, such as holding seminars regularly on mental health, neighborhood adjustment, elderly mental health care, parenting knowledge and legal knowledge, which could help migrant workers find the feeling of psychological reliance and home in the community. Last, community education can provide residents with learning resources whenever and wherever possible, which enables migrant workers to study and work at the same time (Chen 2010).

In a word, the benefits produced by community educational programs for migrant workers include the following: achieve collective identity in communities, improve quality of life, stabilize their economic and social condition over the long-term via updating vocational skills, improve their overall self-quality, acquire self-confidence, enhance coping ability in cities, and equip them with the ability to guarantee their own rights. On the other hand, migrant workers could contribute to community well-being in substantive ways through working in different sectors, volunteering, civic engagement and etc.

Development Obstacles

Considering its features as low-cost, openness, wide-participation and flexibility, community education has been gradually recognized as a best choice to promote social harmony and enhance overall quality of the labor force (Chen 2005). Nevertheless, in the implementation process, there existed various hardships and obstacles, such as lack of sufficient attention, shortage of educational funds, difficulties in educational management, inappropriateness in training contents and method, weak sense of participation, and lags in educational service.

Lack of Sufficient Attention

Despite progress achieved in the practice of both urban and rural community education, much more is needed. Currently, under the guidance of central government's policies, local governments have placed it on their agendas to emphasize professional skill training for migrant worker and have taken actions accordingly. It should be pointed out that migrant worker-oriented training programs have been on a scattered and short-term basis in most cases and remain fragmented in terms of management and implementation. As for providing training opportunities for migrant workers, some local governments and departments only spoke about it without taking real actions. Only by fully realizing the significant role community

education plays in promoting migrant workers training from the policy level can it be possible to achieve the harmony between the migrant workers' quality improvement and communities' economic-cultural development, and form a new pattern of community education based on the city and countryside integration (Xi 2007).

Short of Educational Funds

According to national policies, community education should embody the principle of combining government and employers' input with individual payment. But the fact remains that many migrant workers are in poor economic conditions and can scarcely afford training costs. Furthermore, many enterprises and employing units lack of enthusiasm to train migrant workers. On the whole, educational funds for migrant workers need to be guaranteed at the policy level to ensure adequate provision.

Difficulties in Educational Management

Theoretically, community education is a bottom-up and spontaneous educational activity sponsored by the community residents. However, due to the weak self-awareness of community residents at present, it is hard for communities to achieve self-organization. And especially when offering training programs for migrant workers—characterized by big fluidity, lack of identity as a unit person, indefinite studying time and weak restriction—the communities' regulatory capabilities and organizational management were greatly challenged.

Inappropriateness in Training Contents and Method

According to the current survey on migrant workers' education and training, there exists the problem that educational programs and curriculum design have failed to coincide with the actual employment needs of migrant workers. Some training contents do not reflect practice, some contents were identical and lack relevance, and most training contents focused on manufacturing sectors without modern science and technology application guidance, which could not effectively improve migrant workers' employment capabilities. In addition, most training contents targeted to migrant workers emphasizes skills training and ignores how to improve survival skills and urban adaptabilities.

Weak Sense of Participation

Students are the subjects of learning; the key to realize the expected effects of migrant workers education lies in whether these special learners' learning passions could be stimulated. Survey showed that most migrant workers had not realized the importance of learning and training, and the effect of education on their own development. As a result, some of them even complained about it and took training as the responsibility of the government and only participated in a passive way. And meanwhile, limited by their poor educational background, many migrant workers experienced a difficult time learning and could not keep up with the training process. Due to this lack of confidence and perseverance, some dropped out half-way through programs.

Lag in Educational Service

Modern teaching management has been transforming from norm-oriented institutionalized management mode to service-oriented humanized management mode. It was only in recent years that the concern with training and educating migrant workers garnered increased attention, while at the same time, corresponding education services were far from keeping up with the training practice.

Limited by inadequate materials and marketing for community education and their narrow information channel, migrant workers could not get acquainted with the related education policies and failed to be aware of their rights to education. And furthermore, due to time limitations and other objective restrictions, migrant workers could not choose training flexibly and missed many learning opportunities. To guarantee the quality and effects of community education for migrant workers, supporting service systems coinciding with migrant workers' educational desires are needed, as well as making education closely related with employment and daily life, and embodying the principles of practical use and high efficiency.

Development Mechanism

Based on the above problems, the current study suggests setting up an overall developmental mechanism for ensuring the quality and impacts of community education for migrant workers.

Guarantee Mechanism for Educational Funds

Community education has the attributes of public welfare and services, therefore government input should be the main resource of educational funds. As a developing country, China is faced with the long-standing problem of a lack of adequate educational funds. To solve the fund shortage for community education, the nation's investment in migrant workers training needs expanding.

In addition, corresponding policies should be made based on the local actual situation, especially in economically developed regions, it would be workable to develop community education for migrant workers via a wide range of measures, such as inputting government's funds, absorbing charitable contribution and establishing educational operation organization for floating population. The employers should take the responsibility to train migrant workers and manage to attract more enterprise investment in community education for migrant workers through subsidy, duty-free, earnings and other forms.

Administrative and Management Mechanism

To strengthen educational management mechanisms for migrant workers, the key is to clearly define the responsibilities of government and communities. First of all, the government should play a leading role in rural labor transfer training, and therefore the communities should build management mechanisms for coordinating various social administrative organizations.

For communities, it is suggested to establish a leadership system with overall coordination and work promotion mechanisms for clear division of responsibilities, positioning training for migrant workers as important and as a new growth point in community education. Further, all available resources should be mobilized by formulating policies and system innovation. For governments in labor input areas, its role has been to provide strong organizational guarantee for training immigrant workers. On the one hand, the government should perfect the open and systematic management mode featured by the government's macro-control and the local's scattered implementation. In addition, the government should also mobilize the enthusiasm to offer educational programs at the grassroots level and explore bottom-up autonomy enjoyed by the community's residents. On the other hand, the government should adopt the workable funds management mode, establish strict monitoring measures, strengthen the guidance and supervision in educational programs and ensure the quality and efficiency of education.

Curriculum Development Mechanism

The curriculum in community education should be value-oriented and give priority to residents' demands instead of academic certificates. Therefore, the curriculum system for migrant workers should be constructed based on their actual demands for knowledge and skills. The curriculum should be co-developed by the community's administrative managers, full-time or part-time teachers and migrant workers themselves.

When developing curriculum for migrant workers, several aspects should be taken into consideration. First, when providing vocational skills training for migrant workers, we should make full use of local resources and try to make the training program coordinate with the local economic situation and the characteristics of the local industrial structure. Second, the training programs should put emphasis on improving migrant workers' citizenship and overall quality, and a wide range of knowledge would be covered to achieve the purpose, such as the common sense of laws and regulations, urban civilization sense, production safety knowledge, mental health knowledge and so on. According to the newest survey of labor market, the employers had increasing academic requirements when employing migrant workers. While the survey data showed that among the migrant workers, 85.23 % of them got middle school diploma or lower and only 14.77 % of them got the college bachelor degree. Therefore, the issue to promote the migrant workers' academic degree should not be embodied when designing training programs in the range of community education instead of being ignored.

Employment Service Mechanism

The current theme of community education is to enhance the migrant workers' professional quality and employment ability. To strengthen the pertinence and effectiveness of vocational training, employment information service work matching with the labor market is needed. Career guidance and service was found to be not only one of the functions of educational institutions, but also important for intervention and cooperation of government, labor management departments, community educational institutions and employers.

Community educational institutions could first of all conduct a general survey concerning the migrant workers' employment preference, educational background and specialties and other aspects. And meanwhile, they should cooperate with local labor agencies actively, stay well informed of the supply and demand information in labor market and implement market-oriented training contents and forms based on diverse requirements in different regions and fields. In addition, they should provide quality tracking and employment guidance services via cooperation with local government, such as establishing talent database for migrant workers, holding job fairs targeting migrant workers regularly, setting up service offices for migrant

workers inside communities and opening job hotlines, which could help, to a certain degree, enhance the migrant workers' employment situation after participating in training programs.

Educational Stimulation Mechanism

Migrant workers' active participation is a source of power in effective development of community education. First of all, it is important to strengthen information and cultivate good social and policy environments emphasizing the importance of training migrant workers. Second, interests and benefits have been identified as the main motivators for migrant workers to participate in community education. When migrant workers felt that participation in educational programs could help improve their income, they would have greater incentives to participate in community education. It then becomes vital to reduce the cost of migrant workers training and even improve their training treatment. The recognition that educational programs would benefit the workers greatly while searching for jobs would enable more and more migrant workers to participate in community education.

Quality Monitoring Mechanism

Quality is also a foundation for education undertaking to develop in an efficient manner. At present, due to economic restrictions, investments in community education and training for migrant workers are very limited.

How can educational quality and efficient use of limited investments be ensured? One way out is to establish quality monitoring mechanism for tracking educational effects, evaluating educational efforts and eliminating some undesirable phenomena caused by inadequate supervision, such as school insufficiency, trainee drop-out, and misuse of funds. Additionally, teachers are a crucial factor in ensuring the quality of education. There are several resources for teachers in community education for migrant workers: some of them would be invited from vocational schools, adult schools, research institutions, enterprises, technology-promotion departments, and meanwhile to compensate for the shortage of teachers, community educational institutions should actively cultivate volunteers with professional knowledge in diverse fields to periodically provide educational training services. Last, education evaluation should not be ignored. The evaluation standards for migrant workers would be guided by goals to achieve high quality employment. The recurring evaluation would ensure that migrant workers benefit from course arrangements, fee standards, graduation rate, employment rate, wage status and other aspects.

Conclusion

Due to China's rapid industrialization and urbanization, it has become an inevitable trend for surplus rural labor to move to cities and towns and work in non-agricultural sectors. They are termed "migrant workers," and those who were born in 1980s or 1990s, are called new migrant workers. In the past decade, this group has made great contributions to China's modernization, while they were confronted with various problems, such as ambiguity of identity, lack of sense of belonging, low income, marginalization and exclusion from political, economic, cultural, and social security system in cities. In recent years, migrant workers related issues have attracted widespread concern, around issues of social stability, community well-being and continuous economic growth in China as well.

Differing from school education, community education provides obvious advantages in terms of migrant workers' education via a wide range of training programs. While in the implementation phase, many problems emerged, such as lack of sufficient attention, shortage of educational funds, difficulties in educational management, inappropriateness in training contents and method, weak sense of participation, and lags in educational service provision. Therefore, it is of great significance to set up an overall developmental mechanism to ensure the quality and effects of community education for migrant workers including a more efficient and effective mechanism for educational funds distribution and use, administrative and management oversight, curriculum development, educational stimulation, and quality monitoring mechanism. Obtaining these improvements will help foster better levels of community well-being for China's migrant workers.

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Community Well-Being Through Intergenerational Cooperation

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Intergenerational Learning

The population of the world has grown old. It has been estimated that in 2050, there will be more people aged 60 than those aged 15 and that the mean age will have risen from 26 years of age today to 36 years of age. The causes of this are a combination of increased life expectancy and a falling birth rate. At the same time the generation gap between younger people and older people has widened, especially in industrial countries in the West, such as the USA, Great Britain and the Netherlands. The pattern in Sweden is not very different from this. Here too older people and younger people are, to a very large extent, distanced from each other (Boström 2000).

Meetings of various kinds between different generations which have been arranged to compensate for this mutual loss of interchange of experience and knowledge are known as "intergenerational programmes". Intergenerational initiatives and projects have been developed in various industrial countries in order for younger and older people to meet more frequently than is often otherwise the case.

A definition of intergenerational learning and related projects was adopted at a meeting attended by researchers from ten different countries (China, Cuba, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Palestine, South Africa, Sweden, Great Britain, and the USA),

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which had been arranged by UNESCO's Institute of Education, in Hamburg, in 1999. The common definition is as follows:

> Intergenerational learning provides a conscious and continuous mutual exchange of experience and knowledge between older and younger generations.
> (Boström et al. 2000)

Intergenerational learning is a form of lifelong learning. A short description of the concept of lifelong learning is included here in order for intergenerational learning to be understood in that context.

Lifelong Learning

The concept of lifelong learning has been extensively discussed ever since the end of the 1960s. In a report prepared under the leadership of Edgar Faure, for UNESCO (1996), lifelong learning was described as being largely an issue of philosophical principles with regard to the organization of learning. The concepts of formal learning and informal learning were first introduced by Dave in 1976:

> Lifelong education is a process of accomplishing personal, social and professional development through the lifespan of individuals in order to enhance the quality of life of both individuals and their collectives. It is a comprehensive and unifying idea which includes formal, non-formal and informal learning for acquiring and enhancing enlightenment so as to attain the fullest possible development in different stages and domains of life (Dave 1976: 34)

Subsequently, Coombs and Ahmed (1974) defined lifelong learning more precisely and eventually, in 1980, the term "lifelong learning" was introduced to replaced the term "lifelong education" (Cropley 1980).

Lifelong Learning Policy in Sweden

The Swedish government has placed emphasis on lifelong learning since the end of the 1960s, when the minister responsible for education at the time, Olof Palme, introduced the concept of recurrent education at a meeting of OECD ministers of education. Policy in that time was much based on research, especially of Torsten Husén. In his articles he argues about loss of talent in the selective school systems (Husén 1960). In Educational change in Sweden he describes "…the events on the educational scene in Sweden after 1945 to be seen within a socio-economic framework" (Husén 1965, p. 181) and in an article the following year describes the most important educational problem which many countries faced at that time. Upper secondary education was the problem and the reason was twofold. One force to consider was the increasing need for highly trained manpower and the second force was the democratisation of schools. Both forces were strong political forces "…aiming at making 'the educational facilities' available to all young people

irrespective of their place of residence, financial level or general social background" (Husén 1966, p. 250). In 1968 he published his article "Lifelong Learning in the Educative Society" where he discussed formal education in relation to vocational education and foresees that the future will require a longer period of formal education and education during different phases in life. As a consequence of this policy lifelong learning was implemented in the Swedish society and in the Educational system from the 1970s including popular education which had been introduced earlier during the latter part of the 20th century.

In Sweden there is no upper age-limit for commencing university studies, so that even after the official retirement age, there are opportunities available for senior citizens to commence studies at this, or some other, level. One form of popular education, are the programmes offered through what is known as "study circles," which at present are organised by 11 nationwide voluntary educational associations. Another form of popular education is that offered by what is known as folk high schools. There are about 150 throughout the country, which are run either by county councils or by trade unions, churches, temperance societies or other non-governmental organizations. The programmes they offer are largely residential and they are more comprehensive than those provided by the voluntary educational associations. The latter are usually affiliated with a political party or interest organization. Both folk high schools and voluntary educational associations receive state subsidies while remaining very free to organize the courses and to develop the contents as much as they wish.

The introduction of the policy of lifelong learning has many practical consequences. The first consequence is that lifelong learning dissolves the boundaries between policy sectors. This is because of the fact that lifelong learning concerns such sectors as education policy, labour market policy, industrial policy as well as social policy. All partners are also involved, from municipalities to county councils and the government, and from employers to social partners and employees. The second consequence is a shift in responsibility for education and learning from the public to the private and civil spheres.

Social Capital

Through changes occurring in the Western world during the 1990s, involving globalization, increased mobility, demographic transformations implying ageing populations, increased investments in IT and deregulation of markets, there has been an increased need to make use of that which people have learned outside of formal learning.

In the industrialized world, we also experience the same need for contact and the same desire to share that energy which is important when people work together in pursuit of a common goal. This is the reason for associating lifelong learning with the concept of social capital.

While, over a long period, great interest has been shown in human capital, in the industrial countries of the Western world, no such attention has been paid to the soft value to be found in society in the shape of that social capital related to human capital and increased quality of life in working life. However, the importance of higher standards in working environments and greater quality of life has been proposed in a publication from the OECD in 2001. In addition, these "soft" values have, on the other hand, long been appreciated in Asia. Here it is considered not to be possible at all to measure such matters in financial terms. In "Education of the Rising Sun—an Introduction to Education in Japan," Okamoto (1992, 2001) proposes that lifelong education ought to be of an important and spiritual nature in order for people who are working together to be able to experience greater spiritual and physical well-being in their daily lives (*kokoru*).

Social capital itself is a concept that is used both in a micro-perspective, in relationships between people (Coleman 1971, 1988, 1990) and in a macro-perspective, where the social capital in particular countries is considered. In the latter case, it concerns such issues as democracy and, as a field of research, may be typified in the work of, among others, Putnam (1995, 2000) and Inglehart (1999). The definition of social capital formulated by Coleman (1988: 98) forms the basis of most other definitions of that concept. In the view of Coleman (1988: 98), it is not a matter of one single concept; rather the concept of social capital is a compilation of various components. These have the following in common:

- They consist of some form of social structure.
- They facilitate certain aspects of social structures.
- They facilitate certain responses on the part of various actors within the structure.

He also describes how three different forms of social capital may be observed. These three entities consist of (1) the level of confidence and trust which is found in the actual social environment. (2) The second entity consists of those information channels which are found there and how information is passed between the actors. (3) The third entity described by Coleman are the shared norms and structures that are found when people are working towards the same goal, when they are doing this on the basis of common, unselfish interests.

Boström (2002, 2003a, b) has investigated the relationship between lifelong learning, intergenerational learning and social capital, by analyzing the concept and through a study of a particular project concerned with intergenerational learning, "the class granddad project." The project has shown a possibility to create social capital (Boström 2002, 2003a, b) for the participating groups of students, increased well-being and self-esteem for the older persons and thereby increasing community well-being in the local community.

The Concept of Well-Being

One study that has been used in studying well-being and health very thoroughly is called "the Malmö longitudinal study". It was started in 1938 as an investigation of intelligence and social environment. The group examined included all pupils in the third grade of Malmö's elementary and private schools—a total of 1,542 pupils—834 boys and 708 girls. The majority was born in 1928. There were follow ups 1942, 1947, 1950s, 1963–1965. A study regarding life patterns and health was made (Furu 1985) regarding the male population in the Malmö study. There was a conceptual model constructed for the analysis of the data where the historical context, the socioeconomic resources as well as the cognitive resources and their effect on home and school processes could have impact on the acquired level of education. This in turn was used to compare socioeconomic and work conditions, styles of living and psychosocial and mental conditions and their impact on neuro-endocrine processes and get medical health indicators.

The results showed that

> socioeconomically, 'the healthy' middle-aged man was not better favoured than others during his childhood. The individual's cognitive ability, however, was somewhat above the total-group average. In adulthood the healthy man is characterised by stable socioeconomic conditions, relatively speaking. His level of education is average and income is slightly above the total-group average. The group has a small proportion of divorces (5 %), low criminality, and few have received social assistance. By and large, working conditions do not differ from the total average. Most can relax after a normal working day and do not find their work uncongenial. Few have experienced continual stress during the past five years. (Furu 1985)

The Malmö longitudinal study was also used by Bang (1992) when she asked if quality of life can be measured. By doing a thorough literature review she as a start point choose 3,432 documents with the indicators: happiness, life satisfaction and quality in life. She found 143 articles and described 34 articles and how they try to measure quality in life. She continued to make research in the area and 1995 came the next book which dealt with retirement and quality of life. Network and health are the most important dimensions for the people in the Malmö longitudinal study in this qualitative study. Another perspective is taken by Schuller et al. (2004) when the benefits of learning and the impact of education on health, family life and social capital is researched and the important effects of learning to self-esteem. The model that is used is building on three kinds of capital; human capital, identity capital and social capital.

A recent trend, starting in the industrialised western countries is that for many older workers, delaying retirement does not mean continuing in the same jobs they held when they were younger. Instead many leave their old occupations behind and as they reach their fifties and sixties they start on new careers, that is more personally fulfilling but less financially rewarding than previous jobs. They may involve moves from wage-and salary jobs to self-employment or they may gradually shift into retirement much because workers would like to move from

demanding, full-time work into less stressful part-time work. This trend has been extensively described by Freedman (2007) as he was looking for the work that matters for older people and he is introducing the word Boomers for the senior people of the new generations. He means that now senior people will have meaning or quality in their life, and therefore can think of changing work or workplace as they know that "*activity, recreation, and exercise are key ingredients in living healthier, happier, and longer lives.*" He also concludes that the boomers are not *celebrating their freedom from work but rather their freedom to work, in ways that hold the promise of personal fulfilment, economic benefit and social renewal*. The Boomers in this way contributes to the social capital and well-being in their community.

The Granddad Project

The Granddad project, that now has developed to a National organization is an example of how an intergenerational relationships in practice can increase social capital and by that also affect community development.

The intergenerational project which is introduced includes older men, +55 that have been working as support for young people in schools. These older men receive an introductory education at folk high schools during one semester before entering their work in the school. The course consists of both theory and practice which gives them a possibility to adapt to a new situation as most of them went to school during the last century and many things have changed.

The project developed out of the work of two men and has become a national association. There are now other projects developing out of the same model. The model has shown a possibility to create social capital (Coleman 1988; Boström 2002, 2003a) which contributes to both generational solidarity and community development.

Increasing Social Capital in the Granddad Program

The theoretical background rests on both a lifelong perspective and a lifewide perspective of learning. The lifewide perspective includes both formal and informal learning. Indicators to measure social capital were constructed and LISREL was used to analyze the results (Boström 2009, 2011). In addition, a qualitative method was used to analyze the understanding and experiences of their work on the part of the "class granddads."

The schools that were included in the study were very different. Therefore the granddads entered very different environments when they began their work. The results indicate that the work of the class granddads in itself was part of the social capital that was to be found between the class granddad and the pupils. The
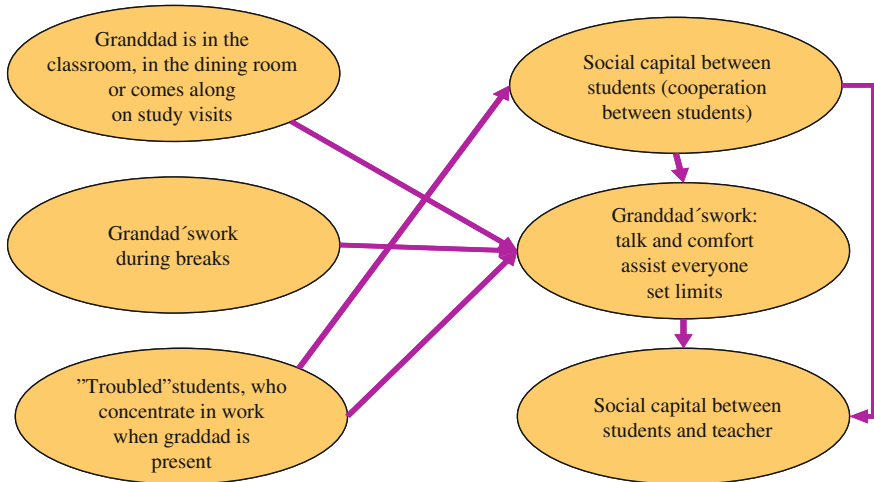
Fig. 1 Social capital in the school (Boström 2011)

responses of the pupils indicate that both boys and girls felt they had equal opportunities in the school, that they felt secure in school and that the class granddad assisted everyone. These results support the proposition that social capital increased for the pupils. The responses from the participating class granddads indicate that, even though their work was very demanding, they still experienced it as being very positive. They gained a social network together with the other adults at the school and very positive energy from the pupils. This indicates that there was also an increase in social capital and well-being for the older people (Fig. 1).

When the granddad is outside during the breaks, he is more on his own, which becomes apparent as an indicator in the data, being a strong component in itself. The work of the class granddad consists of many different parts. The pupils most often refer to the fact that he talks to the children and comforts them when this is needed (communication = a part of social capital), that he assists everyone (security = a part of social capital) and that he sets limits for what is allowed (norms and structure = a part of social capital). In other words, the work of the class granddad contains all the parts that constitute social capital, according to Coleman's definition (Coleman 1988). The work of the class granddad, both together with the teacher and outside during the breaks, also influences, in a positive way, the social capital between the pupils and the teacher. The work of the teacher is very greatly influenced by the relationships between the pupils in the group.

Intergenerational Solidarity

The class granddads felt that they were needed in the schools, as a support and as a listener and comforter. It was important for them to share their knowledge, experiences and feelings. They wanted to support the less strong but to also to stimulate the strong to go even further. Many of the granddads felt it was important to behave in a friendly but determined manner and to set very clear limits, that were equal for all the children. In addition, time, empathy and patience are considered to be good qualities to have as a class granddad. The circumstances described above, together with their own views about their work, have also meant that the class granddads have been involved with different kinds of duties. Naturally, the class granddad is in the school for the sake of the children, and has been considered as a resource that is available to the school, to the class and to the teachers concerned. The duties of the men have been determined in consultation with the principal and class teacher, on the basis of the needs of the pupils or class, and on the requirements and planning of each teacher, and, of course, taking into consideration the talents and wishes of each granddad. This is based on a selection criterion where, on the part of the male senior citizen, there has been a voluntary wish to participate and take on the role of class granddad, which is an important prerequisite in order for his work to be successful.

The teachers who worked with the granddad appreciated, that he was together with them in various activities and made it possible for the teacher to deal with the children in a better way. The teachers no longer needed to supervise the breaks to the same extent and so had more time to prepare their work for the children. They placed the most value on him having been an additional adult during breaks and who could accompany them on excursions. He was an additional adult, but there more for the children than for the teachers. He had time for the pupils and they liked him. His way of working was very flexible—nothing was impossible—he really wanted to be of assistance. When required to do so, he was also able to assist in resolving emergencies. The class granddads in each case have developed their own professional role. None is like any of the others—this reflects the flexibility in the professional role. Assistance with homework, gymnastics, woodwork, outdoor activities, each indicates that they find the activities where they can meet the children outside of the classroom where they are able to be of assistance to a large number of them. The class granddad is seen as an additional factor in providing security and this is particularly important for the "new ones" in the school or those who are graduating to the middle or senior school.

It is necessary to have a positive social environment in order for learning to take place. This may be created through providing basic security in the school environment and the opportunity to be given individual assistance when this is required. Positive social capital may provide the conditions for a learning society for all—both young and old. In a longer social perspective, the teachers and other staff felt that the class granddad built bridges between generations and improved the quality of life for the pupils by helping them feel secure in school. This is difficult to measure in a shorter perspective, but nonetheless this aspect of the effects of the

work of the class granddad should not be ignored. The program has deepened the understanding of meetings between generations in those schools which have introduced a class granddad, an additional adult in their activities. It rests on earlier research on informal learning, which takes place between an older and a younger generation, a part of lifelong learning that also contributes to the well-being in the actual community.

The Granddad Program in Community Development

During the period between 1996 and 2012 the project has developed quite remarkably. From one granddad 1996 in Stockholm there are more than 1,000 granddads all over Sweden. There is one national association and there are ten regional associations. The National Association is an NGO where the board is working on voluntary basis doing the administration and coordination of the regional associations.

The regional associations are also NGOs and they sometimes also have staff when there is funding. The persons working there are the connecting hubs to choose the right people to work in schools in co-operation with the unemployment offices, for introduction of the granddads into the schools by the giving them the possibility to learn about the job in the folk high schools and for following up and organizing meetings. The regional associations work together with the regional folk high schools organize education and training during one semester for the granddads to be. There is a defined curriculum and they also have training in regional schools. After finishing the training there is an exam and if they pass they receive a certificate. The Swedish granddads are working in schools from preschool to upper secondary schools. There are both men and women working as granddads now. At the same time there have been a problem regarding the policy level as to who is responsible for their work. They are working in the schools but the schools do not achieve any funding for their work even if they produce prerequisites for learning by creating social capital in the classroom and in the school.

Complementary Actors

According to the Swedish Government (prop. 2011/2012: 1) it is important to have a well functioning and effective employment service and unemployment insurance. Therefore it is necessary to regularly follow up how the unemployed person's uses his/her efforts to find a job. Older persons who lose their jobs face a difficult labour market situation and are at risk of ending up in long-term unemployment or leaving the labour force. There are also many individuals who voluntary leave the labour force relatively early, for example, via supplementary pension schemes. The government finds it important to encourage a later labour market exit, not least to safe guard the financing of the public sector in the long run. One measure that has been

taken by the Government for stimulating the labour supply among older people is the higher in-work tax credit for people who have turned 65. People aged 55–64 can also get new-starts jobs for up to 10 years.

The aim of new start jobs, is to provide work experience and references that increase the chances of getting an unsubsidised job. The long term unemployed with limited education may also be in need of further education in order to become competitive in the labour market. The Swedish granddad program combines work with learning. As a complementary agent the regional NGOs have had the task of introducing unemployed persons to work in schools as Granddads. During this period they also apply for other jobs. Getting the social network in the schools and the social well-being this creates means that employers are interested in them. Several of the granddads have got other jobs even if they also like the work in schools.

The Granddads in schools have been a good investment in the community, supported from the need and appreciated of all stakeholders that have been involved and increasing social capital and community well-being. As this work has been introduced from bottom-up it has meant hard work and flexibility regarding new prerequisites during the work that now has continued for more than 15 years. The experience and knowledge that the regional NGOs have attained during this time is important in itself as the model is new for our society.

In fact this has functioned so well that the local NGOs now also are working with young unemployed persons. They are also working in intergenerational settings by helping old people. This is specially developed in the western part of Sweden, called Halland. Here there are different projects supporting older people in three communities. The persons that involve in this are also introduced by different courses and information to be able to do a good job. They are often gathered in groups to feel that they have a network so they are not working alone. The scope of these projects are very wide but some examples could be to help older people to go outside their apartment or to help in their apartment with cleaning or other things the old people have difficulties in doing. They could also visit for small talks over a cup of coffee or for a walk in the park or to the library. Their goal is to make the existence better and give more quality to their daily life so that the old people can enjoy their life. This is also seen as something positive for the society and contributes to well-being and increased social capital. During this time they also apply for work and by having work experience and well-being from their social network they are also more interesting for employers.

There is now an increased cooperation between different agents in the area. The Government has given the Swedish Insurance Agency, in cooperation with the national board of Health and Welfare and in consultation with the Public Employment Service, a remit to further develop instruments for assessing work capacity. Hopefully this will give more impact for intergenerational work and relationships in Sweden and thereby increase the possibilities for community well-being.

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