Schizoanalysis of Creativity within the Korean Educational Context

by

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Abstract

In the South Korean education system, creativity has been recognized as a key strategy that enables the people of South Korea to survive in times of change and to gain an edge in the global society. Curriculum designers, textbook developers, and teachers have transformed educational practices to foster creativity in students' minds, and students have responded accordingly. However, a series of movements in this connection have not actualized the virtual in a new way; rather represented certain images of creativity through the integration of desires into an already existing system. Given this situation, mapping the complex assemblage of South Korean education can serve a pedagogical purpose of improving the ethics of life by seeking the possibility for counter-actualization that is always-already part of the territory and breaking away from the dogmatic ideas of creativity. Thus, this study attempts to detect creativity assemblage by adopting schizoanalysis used by Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987). Schizoanalysis demonstrates how an assemblage develops among heterogeneous forces and how certain assemblages suppress the flow of desires, while promoting lines of flight that escape such oppression. It is necessary for schizoanalysis to be cross-sectional, so this study collected various data such as education policy documents, academic journals, textbooks, class materials, documentaries, and popular cultures. The study procedures begin with investigating how heterogeneous forces within South Korean education form and transmit "creativity" as an order-word. Thereafter, is the exploration of how creativity assemblage intervenes in the desires and bodies of students. The study then turns its attention to examining the desires that are drawn into and paranoically invested into the creativity assemblage for the dominant values, while simultaneously exploring the molecular movements breaking through from it. The results show that the creativity assemblage in South Korean education has patternized differences and amorphous energies into molar categories or stratified lines such as

"career paths." It has tethered students' connections to the world with the code "utility" and an image of a "human." Youths nevertheless escaped to a *holey space* where the regulation of the nation could not reach (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) and created their own new perceptual strategies and practices. The significance of this study is to reveal the way in which discursive and material repetitions related to creativity inform upon subjective formations and the political aspects thereof. It also lays the foundation for unlocking the variables bound within the existing concepts of creativity and inspiring unconventional ways of thinking by encountering molecular flows that are not captured in an institutional setting.

초 록

한국 교육에서 창의성은 한국인이 변화하는 시대에 살아남아 세계 무대에서 우위를 점할 수 있도록 하는 핵심 전략으로 인식되어 왔다. 교육과정 개발자, 교과서 저자, 교사들은 학생들에게 창의성을 길러주기 위해 교육 실천을 변화시켜왔고 학생들은 창의적인 인재가 되기 위하여 노력해왔다. 그러나 현대 한국 교육에서 창의성을 둘러싸고 나타나는 일련의 움직임들은 가상적인 잠재성을 새롭게 현실화하기보다는, 욕망을 이미 존재하는 체제 속으로 통합함으로써 특정한 창의성의 이미지를 재현하도록 하고 있다. 이러한 상황에서 현대 한국 교육의 복잡한 창의성 배치를 매핑(mapping)하는 것은, 창의성에 대한 독단적인 관념에서 벗어나게 할 뿐만 아니라 영토 내에 항상-이미 가득 차 있는 역-현실화(counter-actualization)의 가능성을 모색하도록 함으로써, 생의 윤리를 개선하고자 하는 교육학적 목적에 기여할 수 있다. 따라서 이 연구는 Deleuze 와 Guattari(1983, 1987)가 사용한 분열분석(schizoanalysis)을 채택하여 창의성 배치를 탐지하고자 하였다. 분열분석은 이질적인 힘들의 관계 속에서 배치가 출현하는 과정과 특정 배치가 욕망의 흐름을 억압하는 양상을 상술하는 동시에, 그러한 억압을 빠져나가는 탈주선을 촉진한다. 분열분석을 위해서는 다양한 층위의 데이터들을 횡단할 필요가 있기 때문에, 이 연구는 정부의 교육정책 문서에서부터 학술지, 교과서, 수업 자료들, 다큐멘터리, 대중문화 산출물에 이르기까지 다양한 자료들을 수합하였다. 연구 절차는 한국 교육 내 다양한 힘들이 어떻게 배치를 이루면서 창의성을 명령어로 형성하고 전달하는지를 살펴보는 것에서 시작하였다. 다음으로는 창의성 배치가 학생들의 욕망과 신체에 어떻게 개입하는지를 비판적으로 탐색하였다. 이후에는 한국 창의성 교육의 지층화된 영토 내에 고착되는 편집증적인 욕망과, 끊임없이 탈주를 시도하는 분자적인 욕망을 포착하고자 하였다. 그 결과 한국 교육의 창의성 배치는 차이와 창의적인 힘을 몰적(molar)인 범주나 “진로”라는 지층화된 선으로 패턴화하고 있었으며, 학생들의 세계와의 접속을 “유용성”이라는 코드와 “인간”의 이미지에 구속하고 있었다. 그럼에도 불구하고 청(소)년들은 제도권 기관의 시야와 규율이 닿지 못하는 구멍 뚫린 공간(Deleuze & Guattari, 1987)으로 도피하여 그들만의 새로운 지각 방식, 사유 방식

등을 만들어가고 있었다. 이 연구의 의의는 창의성과 관련된 담론적, 물질적 반복이 주체성의 형성에 영향을 미치는 방식과 그것의 정치성을 드러내었다는 것이다. 더불어 제도적 환경에 포획되지 않는 분자적인 흐름과 조우함으로써 기존의 창의성 개념에 묶여 있던 요소들을 자유롭게 하고 창의성에 대해 통념적이지 않은 방식으로 사유할 수 있는 토대를 마련하였다.

Preface

This dissertation is an original intellectual work of the author, Jiae Park.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Research background

We live in a world of unprecedented rapid change and global challenges, so we are often caught up in feelings of precariousness. Accordingly, the question of how we should change has been crucial in education (Barnett, 2012; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2018). However, is precarity a unique phenomenon in our time? Life is always precarious in that it ceaselessly flows, evolves, and transforms, with unpredictability and uncertainty as both the original condition and the power of life (Beier, 2014). The stability that we miss is in effect a temporary notion assembled by managing amorphous flows (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983). From this point of view, the problem we face in our time is not that life is unstable, but that we produce and hold a narrow "fantasy of the good life" to cope with modern society (Berlant, 2011, p. 1). Berlant (2011) stipulates that we simply define the future as an extension of the present and accordingly rearrange the present life significantly to prepare for the future. The future image sustains the status quo by habituating specific responses to unstable flows of life, while reducing the changes, differences, and multiplicities beneath phenomena. However, considering that a productive life is not just staying in one habit and a quasi-stable state that it creates but continually advancing other habits and states (Guattari, 2009), the future images that we imagine to cope with precarity are problematic in that they can bog us down.

Creativity in South Korean education can be thought of as a form of Berlant's (2011) "cruel optimism." In South Korean education, students' unique and novel ideas were regarded as a threat to adult authority and social norms up until the early 1990s (S. Kang et al., 2001). However, the situation changed abruptly in the mid-1990s, and creativity has been understood

and lauded as a key strategy that enables South Korea to survive in times of change in order to gain an edge in the global society. In addition, once it was set up as the direction and principle of school education, creativity has reorganized the education system and practices and has driven the lives of future generations (K. So et al., 2017). National curriculums after the mid-1990s asserted "cultivating a creative person" to be one of the most important goals of education. The 2009 revised curriculum introduced and allocated three to four units to "creative experiential learning activities" through which teachers and students could freely employ topics of their choice, without regard to place, time, or methods (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology [MEST], 2010a). The 2015 national curriculum, which is currently in use, proclaimed "creative thinking skills" as one of six key competencies that should be developed in students' minds (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2015).

Although it may not appear to be a big problem on the surface, the specifics of creativity discussed in South Korean education are very narrowly defined, making the definition too limited to contain a variety of life changes, differences, and multiplicities. To be specific, creativity has been described repeatedly as a means of creating new capital (Interagency team, 2013; MoE, 1997a; MEST, 2009a) and associated with problem-solving in science subjects (J. Song et al., 2008). However, problems addressed here, such as establishing a resource cycling system and launching startups, are phenomena that are regarded as problems only if we acknowledge the current economic system as a firm foundation. By being overly attached to the actual relations, we are unable to unfold the virtual potential of students (Hickey-Moody, 2010).

To compound the problem, people tend to think of creativity as a molar activity, where change is caused only by distinct molar movements and forces (Merriman, 2019). For example, science, technology, engineering, arts, and math (STEAM) education makes students use and combine

existing affections, perceptions, and conceptions to solve problems, rather than encouraging them to create new affections, perceptions, and conceptions in the encounter with affects, percepts, and concepts. Fixating upon molar relations, behaviors, and representations, education for advancing creativity is indifferent to the virtual power of molecular movements and forces, preventing students from improving a molecular logic. Consequently, certain ways of representing the world are taken for granted, and students are brought up to achieve "creativity" by turning things into "value" based on the current economic system. This approach to creativity risks ignoring creative heterogeneity (Russell, 2015). Put differently, creativity's roles in such a system of generating sensations in affective relations and in forming apperceptions, events and assemblages inevitably fail, as they only functions to create new tools and approaches for "ready-made" problems. The potential flow of life is also reduced and habituated by modern society's narrow concept of creativity.

We need to grasp the concept of "creativity" that locks our lives in particular directions and show that it is not self-evident. Specifically, it is necessary to address how the current image of creativity, arbitrarily and accidentally established in the context of South Korean education since the mid-1990s, can become a barrier to life changes, differences, and diversity. It is because possibilities of resistance can be created by revealing microscopic forces that have escaped from the concept and by connecting them creatively. This endeavor is also necessary for me to experiment with the possibility of life as a researcher, who has received an education designed to develop creativity but has realized that she is not capable of creating anything new herself. For this purpose, this study adopts the schizoanalytic approach developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), which rejects one-sided and reductive analysis in favor of heterogeneity. Furthermore, it tries to illuminate the possibility of creating new conditions for becoming, which refers to "the

continual production of difference immanent within the constitution of events" (Stagoll, 2010, p. 26), by showing there is always an excess that is not totalized by the dominant discourses and practices of creativity education which reduce or eliminate differences (Holland, 2013).

1.2. Why Creativity?

1.2.1. Creativity in a social ecology

1.2.1.1. Creativity as an educational response to global competition

Florida (2004) identifies the emergence of a new social class made up of people, such as scientists, engineers, architects, designers, and artists, whose works produce surplus value by creating new styles and technology. This creative class has reshaped the 21st century's economy, geography, and workplace and has a significant influence on the organization of workplaces, company success or failure, and the prosperity of cities (Florida, 2004). In other words, trained specialists have attained a distinguished rank from unskilled, replaceable workers (Larsen, 2014). As such, in the latter part of the 20th century, education systems in many countries are renovated in order to secure the place of a creative cognitariat (Craft, 2003).

This propensity also contributes to forming a new social hierarchy in South Korean society. One such example is graduates of prestigious universities complaining that teenage YouTubers earn more money than they do (S. Jeon, 2020). Accordingly, it was in the mid-1990s that creativity became a core value for driving education policies, and the epithet "creative" was intentionally attached to various educational policies (K. Kim & T. Park, 2013; K. So et al., 2016). Education policies have justified creativity by insisting that a new era with knowledge-based society, creative economy, and the fourth industrial revolution is coming. Additionally, a

number of government-funded research and development programs have been devoted to creativity education since 2010, initiated by the Ministry of Education (MoE); the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST); and other bodies such as the Korea Foundation for the Advancement of Science and Creativity (KOFAC). In particular, KOFAC has focused on developing "convergence education programs" and training experts in such education, as well as establishing creativity education centers and assisting teachers in delivering creative and STEAM education (KOFAC, n.d.).

The research community experienced a matching growth in interest. After 1995, there was a surge in interest in research on creativity as applied to education. Research topics included the conceptualization of creativity (e.g., J. Jeong & B. Kim, 2015; M. Seo, 2014; K. So, 2003), exploring methods of fostering and maintaining creativity (e.g., C. Kim, 2003; K. Lee, 2001), investigations of creativity in specific subjects, especially science and mathematics (e.g., B. Choi & J. Pang, 2012; S. Ha et al., 2013; O. Hong & J. Song, 2015), and comparing national curriculums of various countries in terms of creativity (e.g., B. Kim et al., 2015; K. So, 2011).

1.2.1.2. Creativity as an apparatus for neo-liberalism

There have been some critics of the idea that "creativity is a panacea for our troubled world," asserting in contrast that the very process of teaching and learning to be creative is a stumbling block to creativity (Jeanes, 2006). Nowadays, creativity is well-known. "We know the language of creativity, we know how to identify and classify creativity, and we are told how to be creative" (p. 128). We are encouraged to consume content that is far outside our comfort zone, break the mold, experiment, explore, question assumptions, use imagination, and synthesize information. Ironically, however, habitual ways of understanding creativity can overshadow our

chance to produce a difference-in-kind, as working within the creative narrative confines us to simply replicating or thinking within these linguistic or conceptual boundaries (La Licata, 2013).

It is irrational to see something that can be handled and engineered as genuine. Against this, Deleuze pointed out that "the slippery nature of life can leave us 'blind' to understanding the central features of environments in which creativity is produced" (Hickey-Moody, 2013a, p. 130). Due to life's constant differentiation and variation, everything is ready to break away from probability predictions. Being in relation with others implies that there are unpredictable variables at any time. In this vein, images of creativity cannot be fixed, and trying to draw such images would rather hinder creativity. The only thing we can do to foster creativity is to be attentive to unexpected occurrences and speculate on realms outside of the actual (Bignall, 2013; Rajchman, 2000). In other words, creativity is an ability to create connections that have never existed before, while keeping an eye on the formation and change of the new relation without being embarrassed by the unpredictable situation that occurs in the process of life (S. Hong, 2010, pp. 142-143).

If so, what is the "creativity" that we are talking about in modern society? Its contemporary meaning was first conceived with the development of the middle class after the 17th century and solidified in the mid-20th century (Haiven, 2014). Notably, during World War II and driven by anti-fascism and anti-communism, discourses on creativity were taken by neoliberalism and integrated "into its explanation of the relationship between freedom and prosperity" (Ward, 2013, p. 111). Ever since, creativity has been defined and measured in terms of capital, and there have been many attempts to engineer the creative process (Jeanes, 2006). Various personality tests are used to identify characteristics related to creative production and correlate them with predictions of children's creative behavior (McNulty, 2019). Creativity education programs also

guide our creativity in a certain direction by channeling our internal dynamics to social production to function as a lubricant of capitalism. Through this process, creativity is unfortunately typified as a cognitive process satisfying capitalist needs and becoming a commodity in cognitive capitalism. In other words, creativity is bound to fixed values and shaped by the logic of utility and productivity despite its allusions to freedom and innovation (Hickey-Moody, 2013b; Salehi, 2008).

Likewise, human inventiveness is continuously captured by economic and market strategies (Larsen, 2014), although there may be no relationship between creativity and production aimed at profit making (B. Choi & S. Kim, 2014). Put differently, creativity articulated as something desirable plays a role in territorializing forces and movements and shaping affective relations in a society. At worst, creativity captures and fixes the molecularity of becoming, repressing the power to differentiate that changes the congealed form of life.

Problematically, education has overlooked the fact that creativity has been absorbed into capital and appears as a means of production proper in the production process. It is hard to deny that the current idea of creativity is "a component in a wider assemblage—the creativity industries, consumerist individualism, the cult of the new as ever-unchanging fashion, the forces of intellectual and cultural productivity for its own sake, and the performativity of 'ideas' and culture" (Osborne, 2003, p. 522). Nevertheless, previous educational research has not attempted to see creativity within capitalism and has ignored capitalism's deft transformation of creativity into a fetishized cultural commodity. As such, we may end up losing the very ability to be genuinely creative at the end of all our efforts to be creative. Curriculum studies, whose primary concern is the ontological and ethical principles and conditions for our lives in schools, have to

consider current representations of creativity. It is time to make the familiar unfamiliar and fundamentally look at the state of creativity.

1.2.2. Creativity in a mental ecology

1.2.2.1. The belief in the future

We live in an era of despair. The utopia that modernity once promised seems as far away as ever, and piles of deeply-rooted problems have erupted in all spheres of existence. Climate change, natural resource depletion, pandemics, global economic crisis, inequality, and poverty threaten our lives, but the problems are too extensive and complicated for individuals to cope with (Beradi et al., 2011; Williams & Srnicek, 2013). In addition, we are seemingly unable to create new ideas and social structures required to address various crises and improve our lives (Shaviro, 2013). "Technological innovation, financial engineering, and flexible job markets" once expected to enhance social democracy ironically diminish its long-term prospects (Srnicek et al., 2014, para. 2). The logic of capitalism permeates and replaces all the values we have believed in for a long time. Consequently, many young South Korean people are giving up romantic relationships, marriage, and parenthood due to lack of hope, which has led to the coinage of the term "*Sampo generation (generation which gives up three affairs)*" (J. Baek & E. Kim, 2012). The vision that our societies are in progress and improving has become systematically remote and symptomatized in mass confusion and feelings of powerlessness (Srnicek et al., 2014).

Without a radical futurity, hegemonic powers of capitalism will not stop their short-sighted projects, despite all evidence that this no longer works (Williams & Srnicek, 2013). In this

hopeless situation, South Korean society becomes severely polarized. While some insist on moving on to the welfare state, their hope seems unrealistic as social welfares are considered a hindrance in solving the economic crisis. In contrast, others are nostalgic, especially regarding President Park Jung-hee's regime (1963-1979) of unprecedented economic development referred to as "The miracle on the Han River." Indeed, we now witness an spike in authoritarian nostalgia, dubbed the "Park Jung-hee syndrome" (E. Choi & J. Woo, 2019, p. 1950003). Given that Park Jung-hee was a harsh dictator who ruthlessly repressed citizens' calls for democracy and human rights (E. Choi & J. Woo, 2019), the syndrome can be considered an anachronism.

We may then consider if it is possible to imagine a modernity that cannot be speculated by a neoliberal society. jagodzinski and Wallin (2013) question whether "one might believe in a world capable of such extensive and far-reaching brutality" (p. 9). As such, creativity that goes against our ingrained thoughts is crucial. Of course, creativity here is not the same "creativity" as the order-word that is encouraged by neoliberalism, and it may disturb modern creativity. Thus, imagining how to accelerate the development of creativity in education separate from its capitalist development is an essential task of our generation.

1.2.2.2. The ethical aspect of *life*

While the field of curriculum design cannot ignore the question of how one might live, we often do not ask ourselves this question. If those meta-narratives that have traditionally been considered as the answer to this question have collapsed, it is seemingly impossible and perhaps dangerous to answer it. Historically, in ancient times, it was assumed that there is a cosmological order that a life must follow, and a human life finds its significance as a part of a larger order

(May, 2005; Taylor, 1998). Put differently, one should live in harmony with the principles of the whole universe.

As the subject appears in modern philosophy, however, individuals are separated from the cosmological purpose and the status bestowed upon individuals who play certain roles, eliminating the transcendence on which morality is founded (May, 2005). Instead, the moral basis shifts to one of ontology, which is interested in identifying the nature of beings with relatively stable concepts. It offers us the essence of human beings and norms deduced from it, implying that one should act in accordance with what is prescribed (May, 2005). There is an expected series of actions according to the life cycle, and people are expected to act within the prescribed limits. The seemingly unchallengeable authority of ontology, however, has been weakened by influential arguments of the 20th century, such as Foucault's (2002) argument that the identity given to individual beings through ontology is historically arbitrary, and Derrida's (2016) argument for the fluidity (or instability) of languages that assign identity and characteristics to each being. These have led to a kind of skepticism when discussing the meaning of life.

On the other hand, Deleuze (1994) has opened the possibility of ontology to answer the question without reducing everything to identity. Going against the anti-ontological trend, Deleuze regards ontology as the way to address the problem of *life* properly (May, 2005). In this new ontology, he focuses on differences rather than identity (Deleuze, 1994). For him, "difference is the essence of that which exists, constituting beings as disparates" ("Gilles Deleuze", n.d.: sec. 4). Unlike traditional metaphysics, Deleuze believes difference is not inferior to identity but constitutes a basis from which identity emerges, making identity an after-effect of differentiation. In addition, beings are never complete, and everything that exists only becomes

and never is, as in our individual characteristics lays "a potential *life* capable of bringing us together without abolishing our singularity" and connecting us with other beings to affect and be affected each other (Rajchman, 2000, pp. 81-82). Beings are "not a given whole with potentials that necessarily unfold through time but [are] a virtual power to create potentials through contingent and productive encounters" (Colebrook, 2010, p. 4).

In this vein, Deleuze and Guattari (1994) insist that ontology palpates difference by creating new concepts, as it can disclose a pure difference from which all identities emerge by speaking of what there is. This is similar to the way doctors palpate the body to understand an invisible lesion by creating a zone of touch where a lesion becomes sensible (May, 2005). We can use concepts to make sense of what eludes our commonsense so that the voice of difference comes up and becomes perceptible. Creating new concepts allows us to access more of our potential, thereby creating greater potential and improving our life (Massumi, 2015).

If we take Deleuze's ontology seriously then this directly relates to an ethics of education. Above all, we should consider ethical subjects that do not rely upon fixed norms but assess each encounter in its specificity. Otherwise, our self-differing power (i.e., creativity) would be suppressed. In addition, we should judge educational practices in terms of how much they make way for multiplicities. Given that there are always virtual potentials in reality, education should show an ability to blaze a trail by creating new concepts and becoming attentive to other worlds and otherworldly predications (Rajchman, 2000).

1.3. Researcher aims

The emphasis on creativity and corresponding changes in educational practices in contemporary South Korean education are closely related to neoliberal globalization. Creativity

as the value that South Korean education should pursue and as the quality that students should possess after education has germinated in this context. However, this prevalence of the conceptions of creativity in the current South Korean education are not to actualize the virtual in a new way but to realize specific identity from differences under certain conditions by integrating them into an already existing system. However, to restore the belief in the world and maximize the potential of life, it is necessary to reveal and dismantle the preexisting conceptions and further create a new concept of creativity.

In this sense, this study attempts to grapple with the complex assemblage in which contemporary ideas of creativity circulate, and by means of this, propose a novel mode of thinking about creativity that is different from present regimes. Specifically, this study aims to demonstrate the processes by which current creativity assemblages have emerged, and how they are functioning and sustaining in the South Korean educational context. The term "assemblage" is intentionally used under the assumption that a series of movements around creativity in the South Korean educational context are the result of "interrelations between social structures, economic conditions, power/knowledge relations, architectural and spatial arrangements, and forces of desire and pleasure" (Tamboukou, 2008, p. 369). Assemblages allow us to think of social entities as wholes whose "properties […] emerge from the interactions between the parts" (DeLanda, 2006, p. 10). Assemblages consist of parts that are separate and whose relation to the whole is not logically inevitable but only maintained by chance (DeLanda, 2006), similar to a "constellation" which articulates relationships between multiple heterogeneous elements in an imaginative manner (Wise & Slack, 2014). Based on such a conception of assemblage, this study attempts to delve into a host of various heterogeneous elements that are interlocked with each other and generate the conceptions of creativity within the current South Korean education.

Specifically, this study aims to map "the details of the characteristics, movements and productive interplays among a range of components that include money, political orientations, media and popular climates, policy and legislation, institutional arrangements, the formal and informal knowledge, subjectivities, pedagogies, and everyday practices and feelings" (Youdell, 2015, pp. 111–112) relative to the conceptualization of creativity. Through such an effort, this study attempts to better understand creativity as a locus of different forces.

To detect such an assemblage, one of the methods is schizoanalysis. Schizoanalysis, which includes a wide range of social and historical factors for explaining phenomena, is suitable in this sense (Kingsmith, 2016). Additionally, schizoanalysis helps us divorce ourselves from social traditions and escape the ideological territories we inhabit (Kingsmith, 2016), in that when heterogeneous elements are reassembled by mobilizing and uniting them, something new can be produced (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Therefore, this study uses schizoanalysis to understand how dominant conceptions of creativity emerged within the South Korean educational context and circulated in chaotic multiplicities and to schizophrenize the conceptions.

To achieve this goal, chapter 2 sets the stage for investigating creativity assemblages in the South Korean educational context by referring to methodological strategies. The data used for this study and the specific procedure of data analysis are presented. Chapter 3 focuses on policy and academic discourses to examine how a collective assemblage of enunciations has been formed, resulting in "creativity" working as an order-word in South Korean education. Chapter 4 explores how creativity as an order-word is transmitted at the school curriculum level and how the subjectivity of students is formed. Chapter 5 looks at the desires that are drawn and paranoically invested into the creativity assemblage for the dominant values. In chapter 6, the molecular movements breaking out from the South Korean education assemblage are explored,

with the intention of demonstrating their potentials. Finally, chapter 7 synthesizes the prior discussion and attempts to conceptualize creativity in a way that is unthought within contemporary South Korean education.

2. Research project

For conducting analysis, this study utilizes schizoanalysis, developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). Schizoanalysis is an attempt to review what we think is self-evident or what we take for granted, and to think of an entity in the play of coincidence and event without its essence or origin. The unique perspective of schizoanalysis can become helpful to explain the process of the South Korean educational assemblage being formed to cultivate creative talents, and to find possibilities of transformation inherent in it. The first half of this chapter examines the premise and core concepts of schizoanalysis to lay the foundation for this study. The last half presents the specific methods and procedures of collecting and analyzing data.

2.1. The premise of schizoanalysis

Living through historical upheavals of war and revolution, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) proposed that the main problem of philosophy was the question of how to live in the world (J. Kim, 2016). The philosophy that sustained Europe's material and social civilization was sorely damaged through the two world wars. Many phenomena could not be explained by the existing philosophy, such as the Paris student protests of 1968 aimed at countering fascism, but which in the end revealed the conservatism of the once-radical students; those who once fought for the revolution became resistant to change. In this sense, at the time, to explain the grotesque desires of the world was a sizable task for young philosophers (J. Kim, 2016). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) assumed that we think and act according to the social and material organization of the world. Our actions are formed not by our consciousness and free will but by the social unconsciousness as a part of the infrastructure itself (Smith, 2012). Thus, it is important to

articulate how an entity is generated out of "a prior potential *life*" that lays under every facet as a certain identity (Rajchman, 2000, p. 81), and discuss how the different types of socius (social formations) oppress the flow of desires. Indeed, schizoanalysis is designed to address these very issues; it comprehensively analyzes relationships between heterogeneous forces and the plane of immanence within which the connections arise.

According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), every entity is individuated from "the giant molecule" (p. 40)—that is, the unformed particle flows that are "indefinite or vague enough to include potential for other predications" (Rajchman, 2000, p. 84). Therefore, the constitution of entities is never completed but always complicated, and such microscopic entities force each other to adapt and change, leading to the production of macroscopic entities (Buchanan, 2008, p. 91). However, these macroscopic entities are not the same as the socius which emerge through capturing the germinal influx and organizing movements of entities. Socius is a particular historical configuration that imposes hierarchy of precedence and excludes the movement of differing.

Deleuze and Guattari (1983) argues that there are three great social formations in history: savage, barbarian, civilized. The savage socius operates by way of coding, where the flows are quantified and qualified and through which relationships between entities are established. For example, human bodies are inscribed and marked to extract their productive forces and subsequently consign them within the collective (p. 144). Up until this point, however, there is a substantial degree of spontaneousness and horizontality for flows. The barbarian appropriates locally codified bodies and arranges them in the hierarchical structure using a singular code, which is called as "overcoding." All bodies occupy a specific position or belong to a new category within an arborescent structure, blocking free communication with others who are in

different strata (Protevi, 2000a). In the meantime, capitalism, that is, the civilized socius, "is continually reterritorializing with one hand what it was deterritorializing with the other" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, p. 259). Capitalism breaks through all the shackles of the codes that have tied the flow of bodies, as the existence of codes is an obstacle for extracting surplus values. However, capitalism does not allow the loose flows to fluctuate, capturing them again on the body of capital itself. In other words, capitalism functions by diverting amorphous flows into production, and through the reterritorializing process, what Marx termed the "continual revolution of the means of production" (as cited in Holland, 1999, p. 80) occurs.

For Deleuze and Guattari (1983), capitalism, under which modern society operates, is not simply negative as it has an ability to ceaselessly push its own limits. It forces us not to settle for a once-constructed order so that our lives do not fall into an unchanging pattern of obeying the existing orders. It is also possible for individual uniqueness and creativity to be emphasized in this context. Nevertheless, there are reactive forces that attempt to block the liberated flows of life originating from creative production and to organize them in repressive ways (Deleuze, 2006). Deleuze and Guattari (1983) refer to these forces as a paranoid investment of desire as they stabilize the world and inevitably produce conditions of conflict by producing an image to which the world is habitually related. Put differently, "paranoiac desire attempts to create a coded-block or *Urstaat* (dogma) amidst capitalist practices of social decoding" (jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013, p. 162). The educational desire to shape the potential of children based on the dominant image of creativity is an example of this paranoia. Conversely, schizoanalysis is a practical attempt to detect an active force, that is, a schizophrenic desire that keeps one away from the captivity of the state and capitalism and "constantly throw[s] off lines of flight that move systems off territorial bindings and away from coded behavior" (Protevi, 2000a, p. 176).

Herein, schizoanalysis is not bound to specific values but constantly moves to other territories by experimenting with different ways of life. For example, some educators may think about creativity in a way that we have never thought about before and develops a new way of education. Additionally, schizoanalysis appears as a strategic takeover of capitalism's tendency of decoding and deterritorializing by pushing it to where the line of flight is not restratified. By detecting its microscopic movements, schizoanalysis attempts to lay the foundations to instantiate a field of immanence and helps all beings to leap over and extend its limits (Deleuze, 1994, p. 37).

2.2. Core concepts of schizoanalysis

Deleuze and Guattari never explain in detail how to conduct schizoanalysis in their writings (Buchanan, 2013). Nor does schizoanalysis have a pre-determined set of procedures. Thus, a path should be carved out with the concepts that Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987) suggested in their books. At the center of schizoanalysis is the concept of desire and assemblage. In particular, the concept of assemblage provides insights in mapping the South Korean educational context that allows specific conceptions of creativity to be formed, circulated, and maintained, while desire makes it possible to consider the absent present in the South Korean education assemblage.

2.2.1. Desire

Deleuze and Guattari (1983) introduced the concept of "desire" to explain drives that make entities communicate with each other and form modes of collectivity. From a Deleuzoguattarian

perspective, desire is a positive and productive force that creates machines by assembling "relations of movement and rest between molecules, particles, capacities to affect and to be affected" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 261). It is far from the typical notion of desire that is connected to some urge, such as a desire for sex, food, or the investment of others (J. Lee, 2006a) in that it generates certain subjects and objects while existing prior to them.

It is well known that Deleuze and Guattari's assertions about desires are based on some pioneering works, especially the Spinozian concept of body and *conatus* (Boundas, 2010). According to Spinoza (2009), each body is not a unified whole but has a considerable number of parts, each of which has discrete orders. Initially, these parts develop diverse relationships with each other. As the dominant relations characterizing an individual gradually appear, however, they begin to communicate with each other in a particular fixed way, and the body attains a form as the relations get tangled up (Deleuze, 1988a). The body has a tendency toward desires that "subsume under its relation[s] an infinity of extensive parts" that persevere in existing. Such relations are referred to as *conatus* (Deleuze, 1988a, p. 99). This does not mean that the body remains as it was or merely repeats the same; rather it requires ceaseless alteration for perseverance. Each mode responds to actions that interrupt the present relations of the body to survive and creatively compensates for a loss it suffers from external attacks (Bennett, 2010). As such, *conatus* prompts the body to "act differently according to the objects encountered," and at every moment, the body transforms according to the objects it runs into (Deleuze, 1988a, p. 21). For example, a hand, a part of the body, can be as hard as a war weapon when meeting an enemy, or become sensitive to perform very sophisticated tasks when using a computer keyboard (S. Shin, 2005).

Succeeding Spinoza's concept of *conatus*, Deleuze and Guattari defined desire as a force that strives for its perseverance and betterment through the connection with other bodies (Gao, 2013). Here, desire is a positive force for producing the singular states of "machines" that correspond to a body. Desiring production generates machines, where a "machine" is "any connection of organs linking together in networks of desiring-production" (Bonta & Protevi, 2004, p. 107). A machine is different from an organic structure where constituents are inseparable. It does not have a control tower intervening in everything and only shows up in dynamics where the parts are linked to each other (Colebrook, 2002). In other words, the process of production and the product are not divided. Everything is literally machine. Human beings then are also entities activated by productive desires and desiring machines, continuously changing and becoming. Human bodies are bundles of temporary micro-perceptions and institutions appearing when many different intensities bump into outside forces (Deleuze, 2004a). The reason that Deleuze and Guattari (1983) used the term "machines" to describe products of desires is to indicate that assemblages are not permanent but can be decomposed and reorganized into other assemblages with other machines. For example, a mouth becomes a machine of one sort and another: a breathing machine with air, an eating machine with foods, or an anal machine with bulimia (p. 8). The concept of desiring machine is important in education because the machine allows for different ethics. "The machine by contrast allows for an active ethics, for we do not presuppose an intent, identity or end" (Colebrook, 2002, p. 55).

Desiring machines operate in accordance with three syntheses, dubbed "the connective synthesis," "the disjunctive synthesis," and "the conjunctive synthesis" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, pp. 1-22). The connective synthesis concerns instincts and drives, such as the connection between a hungry infant's mouth and a breast. Partial objects that are not affiliated to a whole

body freely associate with each other and withdraw the flow of others. The association produces a new energy flow. If there is only productive desire, however, “the organism can be locked into instinctual or habitual patterns of connection” (Holland, 1999, p. 28), as the connective synthesis heads toward organization where new connections would be blocked. Fortunately, within the process of organization, there is an opposing force that rejects solidification and creates production. “Anti-production” cuts off the loop and produces a “body without organs” (BwO) that admits no fixation. On the surface of the BwO, the next disjunctive synthesis takes place. The disjunctive synthesis is “to desexualize desire by neutralizing the organ-machine connections, and thereby constitute a surface that records networks of relations among connections, instead of producing connection themselves” (Holland, 1999, p. 28). For example, after an infant rises to their feet, hands as walking machines fall apart from the ground and become drawing machines with a crayon or fighting machines with a hammer. Likewise, organs are distributed and inscribed according to specific codes in multiple ways on the BwO. Finally, the subject is born as a secondary product in the process of enjoying and appropriating the results of the disjunctive synthesis. Put differently, “the subject emerges only as an after-effect of the selections made by desire among various disjunctive and connective syntheses, not as the agent of selection” (Holland, 1999, p. 33).

The political significance of the Deleuzogauttarian concept of desire

When Deleuze and Guattari worked, the unconscious was one of the main themes addressing problems at the time, and psychoanalysis, which claimed to be at the forefront of unconscious inquiries, swept through the postwar French intellectual world (J. Kim, 2016). Freud et al. (1954), the founder of modern psychoanalysis, defined the “unconscious” as a flow of libido, or

the quantitative (Qἠ) increasing, shifting, and releasing of tensions in ψ [neurons] (J. Han, 2013). Freud attempted to approach unconsciousness in terms of physical and economic forces and energies between neurons. For him, the unconscious was a completely free and non-human mechanical desire irrespective of self or subject. Deleuze and Guattari saw the abstract quantities of the libido as a useful concept for explaining various phenomena in society that had not been explained by the philosophy of consciousness (Holland, 1999).

Not so long after, however, Freud revised his view and turned to hermeneutic works, especially in his masterpiece *The Ego and the Id* (1923). He transformed inhuman and machinic desires into human, conceptual, or representational desires, understanding them based on the biological and psychological self (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983; J. Han, 2013). Freud was also obsessed with reading ultimate meanings behind human unconsciousness under the presumption that it concealed certain meanings and truths, and in this mode erected the Oedipus complex as a dominant psychical mytheme. For Freud, the Oedipus complex is implicated in the child's love attachment to its mother and feelings of jealousy toward its father, but due to the fear of castration by the father, the child has no choice but to turn away from his mother and afterwards continuously substitute her with a surrogate maternal stand-in (Quinodoz, 2004). In the eyes of Deleuze and Guattari (1983), however, the Oedipus complex was paradoxical in that it gave libido a representational schema in order to bind a freely moving libido and make it an object of oppression. In other words, the Oedipus complex forbids one to desire one's mother, even though inhuman and mechanical desires of infants do not desire their mother in an incestuous way, but in a machinic relation to such part objects as the breast in breastfeeding. Freud's interpretation suppresses flow by reducing schizophrenic and productive desires into the highly patterned oedipal desire.

Psychoanalysis after Freud preferred to approach libido from an interpretive point of view rather than from an economic point of view (J. Han, 2013). Lacan, for example, linked the Oedipus complex to a "universal existential drama" about a subject's "entry into a meaningful world governed by the law of signification" (Holland, 1999, p. 47). By borrowing Saussure's linguistic reinterpretation around the signifier (Johnston, 2018), Lacan understood the father's existence in the Oedipus complex not just as a biological one but as representative of the Symbolic world (Holland, 1999). In order for human beings to take the first step into the symbolic system, they are inevitably castrated and cracked in the process of translating their "needs" into linguistic and social "demands" (Lemaire, 1977). As a result, the residue or excess desire sinks underneath the subject's consciousness, and only needs mediated by language can be satisfied (J. Han, 2013). Nevertheless, desires as unsatisfied needs do not simply go away but always reappear in the mask of representations that are considered to substitute for them. Human subjectivity is constructed and determined in imaginary relationships with "fantasy objects," which are thought to be able to fill the gap of meaning in the Symbolic Order.

Deleuze and Guattari challenged Lacan on his obsession with the linguistic aspect of life. For them, the father's name as a mechanism of subject formation is just a "transcendental illusion" (Smith & Protevi, 2018, sec. 4). The larger problem is that the logic of psychoanalytic unconsciousness works as a mechanism of capitalism and fascism in conjunction with liberal political theory (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983; Deleuze & Parnet, 1977). According to psychoanalysis, human desires are formed in the condition of the prohibition of full satisfaction, and the social symbolic order is established as long as lack is accepted as a fundamental aspect of reality. This allows liberal political theory to develop the following logic: the environment does not give the resources straight away to meet individuals' needs, and individuals who are

unable to realize their own interests develop desires as negative power to fill deficiency; however, their conflicting interests and inability to come to an agreement to satisfy all would throw them into a chaotic state, like a chaotic state of perpetual war; people have no choice but to establish a state and to give some of their freedoms into the hands of it for their protection (May, 2005). As such, the complicity of psychoanalysis in liberal political theory provides a theoretical basis for human fear, asking how a human being can live without a state. This justifies the repression of schizophrenic desires for keeping the social order.

Deleuze and Guattari pay attention to the schizophrenic and productive nature of machinic desires; they account for the formations and changes of assemblages with the intention of enabling new formations of subjectivity freed from such repressive complexes as Oedipus. In other words, they change the concept of desire from "something that is controlled or produced by the Oedipus complex" to that of "something that produces it," thus transforming the subject from one who is passively governed by social structures into one who can set new goals without being shackled by them (S. Hwang, 2014). Additionally, based on the premise that desires do not necessarily lead to a state of war but actively affect and are affected by each other in ways that produce machines, they aim to nullify the logic by which individuals take their servitude for granted (S. Shin, 2005). They then explore the possibility of transformation and subversion by affirming the various directions of desiring production and inducing it in a new direction.

2.2.2. Assemblage

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) used the concept of "assemblage" to articulate the relative stabilities emerging from configurations between heterogeneous machines. Desiring machines form an assemblage while affecting and being affected by each other. Assemblage is "an ad hoc

grouping of diverse elements" (Bennett, 2010, p. 23). Consider the situation in which someone writes an essay using a laptop. The user operates software and inputs commands in their own style, and the laptop frames the user's behavior using its logic. As time goes by, the user may sometimes feel that they are unable to think without the laptop, and the laptop starts discriminating between its user and others. Thus, a user-laptop assemblage emerges while the laptop user and the laptop mutually exchange their characteristics. As this demonstrates, an assemblage is not just a connection "within precisely delineated bodies and identities, but rather (an) unbounded flow between bodies that touch or come close to one another" (Dewsbury, 2011, p. 150). That is, there is "a confluence of elements in affective relationship to each other which changes their states, and their ability to act – what they can do" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 257). However, this does not mean that parts are dissolved in the whole; they have some autonomy in spite of the obligation they must contingently perform (DeLanda, 2006). In addition, an assemblage cannot be reduced to a mere collection of parts. The attributes of an assemblage are not the result of combining the attributes of the components themselves but the result of parts actively exercising their capacities to affect and be affected (DeLanda, 2006). In this sense, Bennett (2010) points out that an assemblage has agency, even though it is not a seamless whole. To think graphically, assemblages have a horizontal axis termed the collective assemblage of enunciation and machinic assemblage, and a vertical axis termed territorialization-deterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

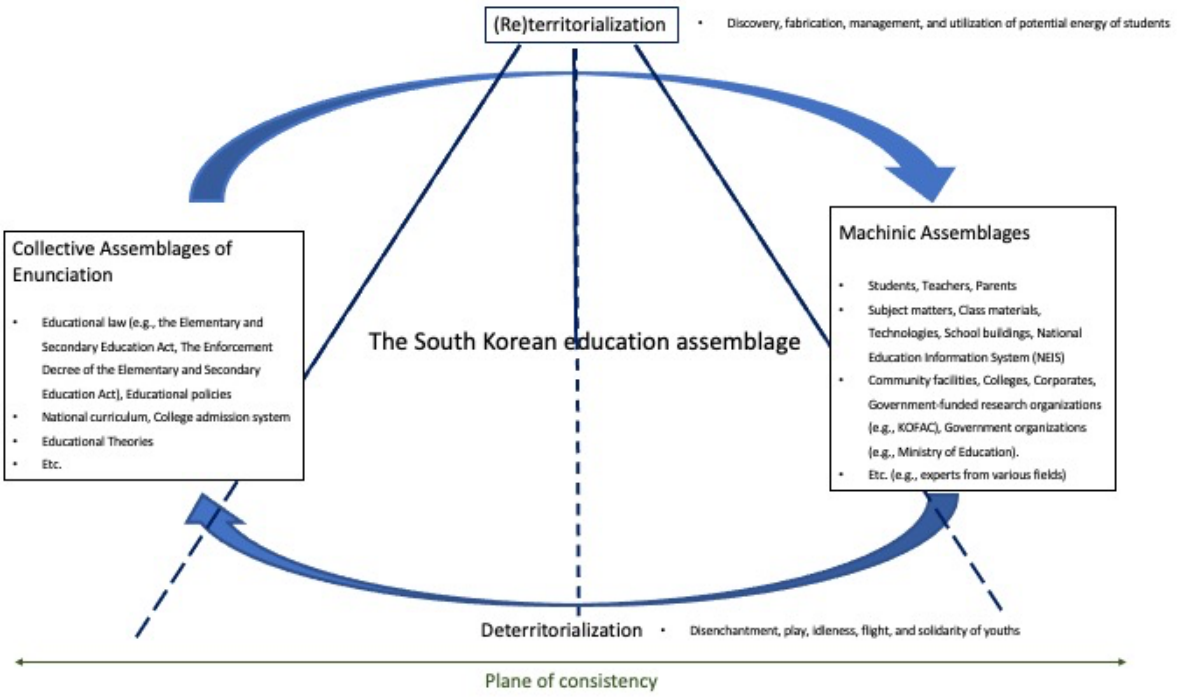

Figure 1: *The South Korean education assemblage*

A horizontal axis of a machinic assemblage and a collective assemblage of enunciation

Assemblages have been articulated in terms of two aspects: a machinic assemblage and a collective assemblage of enunciation. A mechanical assemblage refers to "the visible" aspect of assemblages and the collective assemblage refers to "the articulable" aspect of assemblages (Deleuze, 1988b).

A machinic assemblage is the physical, material, and corporeal "content" of an assemblage, which emerges from strategic and functional connections of heterogeneous bodies. For example, a machinic assemblage of "class" appears by connecting strata such as "classroom," "teacher," "technology," "teaching materials", and "students"; a connection of classroom-teacher-technology-teaching materials-students is a machinic assemblage that forms a body of class-assemblage. A machinic assemblage mediates relationships between content and expression

within a specific stratum (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). The stratum of teacher who was coded as a parent who raised their own children should be separated from the family-assemblage when they become a class-assemblage and should be coded into teacher who teaches several students. The assemblage is not within the strata but between the strata, controlling the relationships between them. In this study, a machinic assemblage is closely related to the relations between a variety of bodies like students, teachers, parents, subject matters, teaching materials, technologies, school buildings, National Education Information System (NEIS), community facilities, colleges, corporations, government-funded research organizations (e.g., KOFAC), government organizations (e.g., MoE), and so on.

A machinic assemblage (content) is articulated with a collective assemblage of enunciation (expression). To explain what a collective assemblage of enunciation is, we need to look at Deleuze and Guattari's ideas about language. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) consider language not as the communication of information but as the transmission of commands, and "the elementary unit of language—the statement—as an order-word" (p. 76). Here, the order-word means "not a particular category of explicit statements (for example, in the imperative), but the relation of every word or every statement to implicit presuppositions, in other words, to speech acts that are, and can only be, accomplished in the statement" (p. 79). Therefore, an order-word is something that transmits implicit presuppositions of society upon social structures and cultural practices without the imperative.

> When the schoolmistress instructs her students on a rule of grammar or arithmetic, she is not informing them, any more than she is informing herself when she questions a student. She does not so much instruct as "insign," give orders or commands. A teacher's commands are not external or additional to what he or

> she teaches us. They do not flow from primary significations or result from information: an order always and already concerns prior orders, which is why ordering is redundancy (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 75).

When a teacher says "you have a special talent for manipulating machines," they are not referring to the physical characteristics of a child but demanding obedience to "identify yourself in terms of social norms and act accordingly." Students are disciplined in how to recognize and utilize their potential. An order-word, such as "identify yourself in terms of social norms and act accordingly," is indirectly and redundantly transmitted through speech acts (enunciation in Deleuze and Guattari's term); explicit statements always connote it. It is possible for the statement to convey the command beyond its literal meaning due to a collective assemblage that supports it. For instance, the complex relationship between education law, curriculum system, teacher training system, and research communities allows teachers to diagnose an individual's talents. In this sense, enunciation is not equated with parole (speech) in the traditional sense, which corresponds to langue (language), because "speech can no longer be defined simply as the extrinsic and individual use of a primary signification, or the variable application of a preexisting syntax" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 78). Enunciation means the illocutionary that carries order-words and causes some effects with language, and the syntax of language is conversely determined in/through enunciation.

Enunciation is no longer individual, and the concept of a collective assemblage of enunciation accounts for its social nature. "The statement is individuated, and enunciation subjectified only to the extent that an impersonal collective assemblage requires it and determines it to be so" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 80). It also determines a specific way of enunciation and the person who can speak and who cannot. Indirect discourse is a good example of this, where the distinction of subjects is denied by "explaining all manner of voices in [one] voice" and only

acknowledges “relative subjectification” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 77). Accordingly, “what people say in ordinary conversation mostly echoes, repeats, dominant discourse” (St. Pierre, 2015, p. 79).

A collective assemblage of enunciation is attributed to a machinic assemblage; however, “there is no correspondence, hylomorphism, direct causality, or symbolic relationship between the two” (Deleuze, 1988b, p. 31). Nevertheless, a collective assemblage of enunciation causes incorporeal transformation by applying, interfering, and inserting into a machinic assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). A teacher’s diagnosis (statement) in the previous example is herein a representative example. Despite not transforming students’ bodies, the teacher’s statement instantly inscribes certain social meanings into their bodies, which are non-physical (Lambert, 2006). Furthermore, through educational programs or learning materials, such an incorporeal transformation can lead to corporeal transformation later.

A vertical axis of deterritorialization and reterritorialization

An assemblage does not have only a horizontal axis of a collective assemblage of enunciation and a machinic assemblage, but also a vertical axis of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. All assemblages work in a way that appropriates and organizes multiple strata in a specific way. The process of accumulating and coordinating machines into a structured set is referred to as territorialization, which bears a territory as a “protected, policed, disciplined” space divided from the outside lability (Bazzul & Kayumova, 2015, p. 5).

It should be noted that territory is always immanent in de/re/territorialization; it easily falls apart, goes through deformation, and becomes other (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Deterritorialization is a movement of disintegrating existing edifices, while reterritorialization

indicates a process of re-habituating freed machines into a new edifice. In the everyday act of consuming vegetables, for example, we detach a vegetable from a farm where there is a unique order among solar energy, soil, moisture, seeds, bacteria, and so on, and introduce it into our body, which has a completely different order. There are always some flows that threaten territorialization and cut pre-existing circuits. These flows may be so extreme that reterritorialization does not occur, causing them to drift away from established territories and opening up new possibilities of becoming.

2.2.3. How can a schizoanalysis of creativity within the South Korean educational context be carried out?

No beings, including students, are organisms whose parts constitute a unified system and behave in accordance with predetermined functions. Rather, they are fragmentary machines that have a desire to persevere and expand themselves by connecting with others. Here, the desire is not attributed to the subject "I" as in psychoanalysis, but rather an impersonal and pre-individual force that creates the subject "I." Students driven by desires make contact with other forces and bodies without discipline and enter into new combinations. In interrelation with one another, affective intensities, modes of perceiving, and ways of living are created.

Even so, there are bound to be socius (viz., nations and capitalism) that intend to regularize, patternize, and hierarchize those free connections. For example, nations tend to organize several elements through overcoding, thus resulting in high-order structures. The government of South Korea is also attempting to create a new assemblage of diverse and heterogeneous elements that serve their interests within the context of neoliberal globalization through an emphasis on creativity. It territorializes several elements in its creativity assemblage, and employs the

Oedipus logic that students will be unhappy if they fail to discover, develop, manage, and make use of their potential power. Particularly, through education laws, policies, and systems, the government develops an order of language on what creativity is, why it is critical, and how it manifests; in conjunction with these aspects, experts establish socially acceptable knowledge about creativity. Furthermore, it introduces new devices and technology, and rearranges existing ones, to accomplish its objectives. Consequently, "creativity" gradually becomes an order-word and is transmitted to a machinic assemblage. Even if the creativity assemblage achieves a quasi-stable state, its constituents can be always recombined with other elements in order to generate a new assemblage. This fact implies that the creativity assemblage is always deterritorialized. As all machines within the assemblage are capable of escaping at any time, there is always the possibility of resistance and revolution within the assemblage.

Creativity as an order-word is inserted into or intervened in students, thus bringing about its incorporeal transformations. That is, it inscribes a social meaning into the bodies of students, which subsequently controls how students relate to the outside world (Lambert, 2006). In this way, the desires of students are captured in highly structured strata within the assemblage, which are then used to reproduce the existing order. With its capacity to affect and be affected reduced, students are incorporated into the stratified system and eventually solidify it. However, not all desires are invested paranoically; some desires constantly evade control. Some youths find a subterranean environment to avoid control rather than being regulated by the creativity assemblage, and experiment with their lives in an unorthodox fashion.

In this regard, a schizoid analysis entails mapping out of an assemblage that generates specific conceptions and practices of "creativity," exposing its control functions, thereby destroying the totalizing tendency of it. It is necessary to grapple with a collective assemblage of enunciation

and a machinic assemblage that collectively convey creativity as an order-word. The cartography work is possible by noticing the ways in which each machine operates within the in-between spaces formed by connections, that is, how it cuts off and extracts the flows of desires. However, the task of schizoanalysis is not simply devoted to criticizing and dismantling existing assemblages; it involves creating new ones. Thus, the process should also include discovering and revealing molecular movements in order to explore the possibility of considering alternative approaches.

2.3. Data collection and analysis for schizoanalysis

2.3.1. Data collection

This study purports to map the complex assemblage within which contemporary ideas of creativity are formed, circulated, and maintained. Considering that the assemblage is the outcome of a productive interplay between a variety of components (Youdell, 2015), the study should be cross-sectional and analyze different concepts that occurred simultaneously. Creativity has been highlighted as a central topic in South Korean education since 1995, when the 5–31 education reform represented creative talent development in the overall direction of the country's education (S. Choi et al., 2011; K. So et al., 2016). Accordingly, this study collects policy documents, journal articles, textbooks, learning materials, and material on popular cultures related to creativity that have been produced since 1995.

Government education policy documents

South Korea has been undergoing a government-led curriculum reform for a long time (K. So & J. Kang, 2014). The government's policies are not only one of the main forces affecting South Korean education, but also act as an assemblage to suppress and fix various flows of desires, even when they are not fully implemented as intended. Some documents have had a significant impact on South Korea's creativity education policies. They not only derived from various policies and studies but also played a central role in bringing together various educational attempts under the name of creativity education. Therefore, government policy documents that emphasize creativity as the main agenda for elementary and secondary education in South Korea must be reviewed in order to see changes in the South Korean education assemblage. The documents were collected through websites such as Policies: Korea.net (www.korea.kr), the Ministry of Education (www.moe.go.kr), and the National Curriculum Information Center (ncic.re.kr) with keywords including "creativity," "creative talent," and "creativity education." The newly learned policies from the collected data were searched from the National Archives of Korea and Google. A total of 32 documents have been gathered, which include educational reform proposals, promotion plans, press releases, national curriculum documents, and so on that have been published by the government, the Presidential Commission, the Ministry of Education and other ministries.

Journal articles written by scholars

Theories and knowledge propounded by scholars constitute a cognitive system and a normative system for creativity. That is, academic discourse defines what should be understood as creativity among students, and how to classify and manipulate it. There is a need to explore

the cognitive and normative systems formed by academic discourse, which intervene in the bodies of students and are linked to specific educational approaches via various devices and technologies. It is important to read journal articles in order to understand the academic discourse created by scholars.

The articles were retrieved from Research Information Sharing Service (www.riss4u.net) and Google Scholar (scholar.google.com) by keywords such as "creativity," "creative talent," and "creativity education." Upon reviewing the title and abstracts from a vast list of articles published in South Korean journals since 1995, the selection of articles defining creativity to be taught in South Korean elementary and secondary education and those focusing on the direction of innovation in school curriculum and principles of education to enhance creativity was possible.

Materials from KOFAC

In 2008, the South Korean government reorganized the existing Korea Science Foundation into the Korea Foundation for the Advancement of Science and Creativity (KOFAC) to promote people's creativity and reach creative talented persons. KOFAC has been carrying out a variety of projects, such as development of textbooks and teaching materials for creativity education; establishing local centers for creativity education; and setting up a network of such centers to share various creativity education efforts on a local level. The programs and materials are continuously uploaded to the KOFAC (www.kofac.re.kr), Crezone (crezone.net), and STEAM education (steam.kofac.re.kr) homepage. In reference to the above roles, it would appear that KOFAC is an institution that coordinates flows of various bodies and mediates their

relationships. Therefore, this study examines the functioning of creativity assemblage and flows of bodies through the materials published by KOFAC.

It is impossible to review all the numerous materials uploaded in the Crezone so that this study has to choose "typical cases" and to collect data serially based on them (Miles & Huberman, 1994). As to the typical cases, this study selects the casebook of the regional centers for creativity education (MoE & KOFAC, 2020). This is because the casebook shows the way the programs were implemented in actual schools and which practices are considered good. It may also work to modulating signs in that it attracts teachers' attentions on specific issues. Next, the additional cases are collected in Crezone when there is a theme or method which needs more exploration (e.g., gamification, virtual/augmented reality). Finally, critical cases were selected by close reading the collected cases to provide the most specific and abundant information for creativity education. Through this process, the following documents have been collected: *A final report of a teacher research group for creativity education* (E. Kim et al., 2018), *Rescue robot design project* (for teachers) (MoE et al., 2014), *The casebook of the regional centers for creativity education* (MoE & KOFAC, 2020), and *Creativity education practices that used augmented reality* (D. Shin, 2016).

Career-related tests, EBS broadcasting related to creativity, and career and occupation textbooks

As the analysis of policy documents progressed, it became apparent that creativity education has been discussed in connection with career education since 2010 (S. Kim et al., 2010). A good example of this can be found in the fact that the "creative experience activities" introduced to foster creative abilities include "career activities" (MEST, 2010a). This awareness led to

additional data collection on career-related tests, career experience activities, and career and occupation (elective subjects) that were used within the framework of "career education" being part of the creativity assemblage.

For career-related tests, the Ministry of Education established *CareerNet* (www.career.go.kr) so that students can test their interests, aptitudes, and abilities for free. Among the tests the *CareerNet* offers, this study chooses *the Vocational Personality Test* (Y. Seo et al., n.d.) and *the Vocational Interest Test (H)* (N. Kim et al., n.d.) in that it is essential to identify the interest and aptitude of students in creativity education.

To obtain a better understanding of "career experience activities" in schools, two documentaries aired by the Korea Education Broadcasting System (EBS) were included. EBS is a South Korean educational television and radio network covering the entire South Korean territory. Since 1990 when the Education Broadcasting Corporation was established, it has produced a variety of educational content, such as showing the changes faced by South Korean elementary and secondary education, introducing educational experiments conducted abroad, creating public opinion about the government's education policies, and discovering the best creativity education practices in the field. *Education opening the future* is one of the programs broadcast by EBS. This program explores educational issues related to South Korean education and introduces notable sites that address these issues. "Career experience activities" were also among the educational issues addressed by the program. In particular, the two videos focused on how career experience is conducted in schools. Therefore, the episodes titled *Learning, dreaming, and sharing career experience: Youth business club* (J. Lee, D. Han, & Y. Park, 2016) aired on November 10, 2016 and *Career experience with the community: The Unjeong High School* (J. Lee, S. Lee, & Y. Park, 2016) aired on March 24, 2016 were collected as data.

Lastly, career and occupation textbooks were collected to understand how it works within the creativity assemblage. South Korea has the system of official approval and sanction on textbooks, and there are 17 authorized textbooks for middle school career and occupation classes, and 10 authorized textbooks for high school career and occupation classes ("The list of authorized/approved textbooks," n.d.). In order to be authorized as a textbook, it is necessary to faithfully reflect the "character," "goal," "content system," "achievement standard," and "direction of teaching and learning and evaluation" presented in the 2015 national curriculum (Career and Occupation) (Jeollabuk-do Office of Education, 2015). Consequently, only minor differences exist between the authorized textbooks, so one middle school textbook (S. Kim et al., 2018) and one high school textbook (D. Jung et al., 2018) that are easily accessible are selected and analyzed.

Popular culture

It is difficult to locate the desires of youth in highly structured language-based materials due to their informality and non-verbal presentation. Therefore, disparate data are needed, and it is believed that popular culture may contain these details. It is because the South Korean education assemblage is a material pedagogical formation within a given culture, so the way creativity is described in popular culture naturally contributes to the formation of the conceptions of creativity within the South Korean educational context. Consequently, I attempted to get in touch with a variety of popular cultures that dealt with the lives of youths, and then, selected works that could examine youths' responses to the creativity assemblage, especially their efforts to create differences and expand their existence. In relation to the former, the television series *SKY Castle*, which aired on JTBC between November 23, 2018 and February 1, 2019, was analyzed as data.

SKY Castle was selected for its high viewer due to the excellent depiction of the aspirations of various subjects surrounding South Korean education. It was also because it accelerated the flow of stratified desires within South Korean society after the series was broadcast. Additionally, the episode of *Einstein* (2015-2019) which aired on July 31, 2019, was also included. The episode notes the daily life or specific behavior of children who are considered to be "creative" and suggests what should be done for developing such creativity. By looking at these points, we can see what effects are produced related to creativity. In the latter case, some television shows, movies, novels, and YouTube videos that depict schizophrenic and creative movements of children being out of the dominant educational discourses and practices of creative talents were collected. The cases enable us to rethink an alternative concept of creativity. For example, movies, like *INGtoogi: The Battle of Internet Trolls* (2013) and *Little Forest* (2018), and novels including *The Grass Lies Down* (2009) vividly describe the lives of youths who do not adapt to the South Korean system, and entertainment programs, such as *Martian Virus* (2009-2013), and cartoons including *Lee Mal-nyeon Series* (2011), make the alien thoughts and actions of youths accessible to the public. These examples show "the potential forms of nonintegration and refusal alive in […] youth culture" (Wallin, 2010, p. 9), thereby allowing us to think differently about the concept of creativity.

One thing to be noted is that the main subject of the materials is not limited to the lives of elementary and secondary school students but include those of young people in their 20s and 30s. Although it could be seen as inappropriate to cover the lives of 20- and 30-year-olds when discussing creativity in elementary and secondary education, these individuals are not entirely irrelevant to the South Korean school education for the following reasons: (1) students who have been educated after the cultivation of creative talents was emphasized are now in their 20s and

30s; (2) although the lifestyle of those in their 20s and 30s is tied to work life/job hunting and that of teens is connected to school life/college entrance exams, all of these lifestyles are connected to the same abstract machine. The abstract machine here is a quasi-cause that penetrates all heterogeneous components and forms a concrete assemblage that functions together with several machines (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 140). For example, Foucault's Panopticism is a representative example of an abstract machine (Deleuze, 1988b). Panopticism as "a non-unifying immanent cause" (Deleuze, 1988b, p. 37) that operates both within and toward a form of contents such as prisons, factories, and schools and within and toward a form of expressions such as penal laws, rules, and school regulations, "imposing a particular conduct on a particular human multiplicity" (Deleuze, 1988b, p. 34). Abstract machines realize themselves through "creating diverging forms among which they can then be distributed" (Deleuze, 1988b, p. 38), and appears as effects caused by the relationships between those forms. Indeed, there are as many abstract machines as there are concrete assemblages. Power controls the social field; however, abstract machines have become aligned and homogenized, and accordingly, the seemingly different social institutions such as prisons, schools, and factories tend to be determined by the same abstract machine with which they are made resonant with each other. South Korean elementary and secondary education, higher education, and post-school job markets are similarly distributed in space and serialized in time by the same abstract machine, even though their morphologies may be somewhat different from each other. As such, the form of conduct that is imposed on them likely has something in common, even if students move from one point to the other.

2.3.2. Data analysis

The methodology of treating data in schizoanalysis differs from that of conventional humanist qualitative methodology. Conventional humanist qualitative methodology generally begins with "the neat subject/object division" and believes that "particular, pre-formed methods can guarantee the validity of an intellectual investigation into the world by factoring out the vicissitudes of the observer's entanglement with the world" (Weaver & Snaza, 2017, p. 1056). Therefore, scientists must learn how to use such methods to minimize subjectivity during data analysis as well as data collection. Conversely, schizoanalysis rejects the separation between the research subject and object as the subject is no longer independent from the object and the method.

According to Barad (2006)'s agential realism, there is no subject that precedes its interaction with the object; rather the distinction between the subject and object appears through intra-action, which is not absolute but only validated in their mutual entanglement (Barad, 2006, p. 33). In other words, the subject and object are already entangled and mutually determined, and knowledge is generated via intra-action in which both subject and object are participants. In this sense, there is no method that acts as an objective or superior way to understand the object. Rather, we have a response-ability to understand the researcher's own positionality[1] and to care

1 In the case of this study, I became a researcher as a result of the creativity education, which is the object of my study. I participated in elementary and secondary education in South Korea at a time when creativity became the main goal of South Korean education; I was admitted to one of the most prestigious universities in South Korea in recognition of achieving the goals of preceding education efficiently. Therefore, my actions have possibly been conditioned through the discourses and practices of creativity education. Conversely, however, in this study, I attempt to reveal the differences that have been excluded or discouraged from creativity education, leading to generating new differences through performative cuts.

about the others' responses which are not completely distinct from us (Dolphijn & van den Tuin, 2012, p. 50)[2].

Indeed, there is no method to conduct research except through experimentation. However, this does not mean that we should conduct research without employing any strategy. Therefore, this study employs the following strategies. First, this study is based on concepts as a method (Wallin, 2010). "Concepts are not labels or names that we attach to things; they produce an orientation or direction for thinking" (Colebrook, 2002, p. 15). The term "assemblage," for example, reminds us that each part cannot be subjugated by the whole, and that at any time it can fall apart from the present assemblage and join another. "Assemblage" directs our focus to the way in which parts are bound together currently and how it forwards us to unknown possibilities. "Desire" reminds us that there is always an excess that is not fully captured within the quasi-stable state and forces us to keep an eye on those who are not bound by the Oedipal factors and continue to experiment with life. As such, concepts are not simply applied to the already given world to account for it, as is commonly assumed, but to unfold a new world by driving and directing our thinking intensively (Taguchi & St. Pierre, 2017). Following St. Pierre et al. (2016)'s suggestion, this study follows the principle of "read and read and read and attend to the encounters in our experiences that demand our attention" (p. 106). When the words and concepts seize me, I allow them to move the direction of my study (Colebrook, 2017; St. Pierre, 2015).

2 This study does not presuppose that there is a reality waiting to be understood but that practices of inquiry have been undertaken to highlight new aspects by my encounter with data. Perhaps the same data could bring about different results if others come across them. Nevertheless, I do not mean to advocate extreme relativism or claim that any result is true in its own way. Rather, the results should confirm their validity by showing unique textures that have not been observed before and challenge the existing systems, values, theories, and so on. It is in line with Latter's (1993) discussion of "transgressive validity," which argued that validity should be understood as "a generation of counter-practices of authority" rather than as "a correspondence between thought and its objects" (p. 686). Accordingly, this study was conducted taking into account how it could lead to instability in dominant discourses and practices common in the South Korean educational context, and how much it could facilitate the possibility of counter-actualization within the creativity assemblage.

Because this study is particularly influenced by the works of Deleuze and Guattari and their concepts of desire and assemblage, I studied almost everything Deleuze and Guattari referred to as "desire" and "assemblage" as well as secondary sources and critiques, which is expected to leave me open for challenge.

The second strategy involves exploring various data to detect the South Korean educational assemblage, focusing on the concept of "assemblage" and its two axes. Regarding the collective assemblage of enunciation, which is one of the horizontal axes, how creativity and education for developing creative talents have been justified as a panacea to problems in South Korean society and what the problems are to be solved with this answer are grasped by examining major educational policy documents. Additionally, this study considers how South Korean educational research has conceptualized creativity and designed creativity education. Pertaining to the changes of a machinic assemblage, the data posted on the homepages of KOFAC, which has played a great role in forming creative ethos in the education field, are explored. How existing devices and technology are changing and what new devices and technology are introduced to cultivate creative talents among students constitute this study's main concerns.

To explore the territorialization of machines constituting the assemblage, I conducted coding as an analytic practice, that is, "a search for recurrence and pattern, through naming and collecting (categorizing); and reduction of complexity through the assembly of data into superordinate categories or concepts" (MacLure, 2013, p. 165). To be specific, (1) iterative reading and analysis extracted frequently appearing vocabulary, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, etc. regarding creativity and its education. The extracted contents are summarized and coded in words or short clauses that can fully describe the contents. (2) Then, the relationships among codes were analyzed, and an assemblage was conceived at an exploratory and tentative level.

Finding relationships was generally accomplished by identifying consistent strands in codes derived from similar types of data, and exploring how these various and heterogeneous strands intertwined or disconnected by traversing them. (3) Finally, I grappled with how each code within the assemblage intervenes in amorphous movements and forces of students, that is, how it segments and extracts them. For example, I examined how several devices within the creativity assemblage identified, classified, and regulated the potentials of students and the way in which they forced students to perceive and think about themselves and the world.

At first glance, schizoanalysis, which maps flows in a horizontal and rhizomatic way, is not compatible with coding, which traces a hierarchical arborescent structure. However, pitting the rhizome against the arborescent and ruling out one of these are paranoic actions (Bozalek & Zembylas, 2017; Sedgwick, 2003). Drawing a map is not enough in itself, even though this map points to fissures. It should work with a tracing in that the tracing enables the revealing of deep structures that are the basis of ideas (Hagood, 2009). Coding is certainly a necessary process of research in that it gives us a clear prospect of the phenomenon on which we construct a world. Admittedly, assigning data to specific places within a structure can be risky, constraining the power of things to differentiate—that is, the power to constantly deviate from themselves and becoming different—which forces things to have the same kind of relationship with each other. Given that, I always try to be aware of excesses beyond the arborescent structure and to address the movements, changes, and differences (Deleuze, 1994). Unclassifiable data are gathered separately to create new categories or shed light on lines of flight. Consequently, this study shows how creativity education in South Korea has grown and altered its directions as well as how each element “shoots upward and out of the ground” (Hagood, 2009, p. 40).

A third strategy is to reveal the desires circulating within the South Korean education assemblage while considering the concept of "desire." For considering paranoid desires, I close read certain movies, TV shows, YouTube clips, etc., from the beginning to the end twice or thrice and observed how youths are individuated within the territorialization of the creativity assemblage. In this process, I identified the moments at which an ability to affect and be affected was diminished due to the overcoding of the assemblage. While the assemblage tends to be fixed and stabilized, it is accompanied by an impulse of deviation and becoming that corresponds to the vertical axis of the assemblage. To capture the molecular movements that are always present within the assemblage, this study pays attention to lines of flight deviating from the dominant patterns, breaking constraints, and launching diagonally. In other words, I draw a rhizomatic map by examining the monstrosities that elude the creativity assemblage and by connecting disparate things that were previously assigned to different categories (Honan, 2015; Ringrose & Coleman, 2013). Thus, the movements, changes, and differences can be addressed.

As a final strategy, this study does not adopt an arboreal structure that requires readers to follow a prescribed sequence, but follows a non-hierarchical and rhizome structure, enabling various ways of reading, even facilitating skips in reading (Pederson, 2019; Salehi, 2008). In other words, this study is a kind of "patchwork of relations among concepts and plateaus, intentionally not unified by a single line of argument, authorial voice or disciplinary perspective" (Holland, 2013, p. 11). Similar to a rhizome which includes nodes where offshoots gather, this study has nodes that connect various parts, and each chapter focuses on these nodes (Salehi, 2008). However, as there is no hierarchical relationship between these nodes, readers can freely choose the order of reading the study. Depending on how one reads it, one can recognize the relations between the nodes in one's own way, gradually projecting unification onto the

patchwork as a supplementary dimension (Holland, 2013). The reason for employing this unfamiliar strategy in presenting findings is that the study intended to demonstrate that the map of creativity assemblage has a fuzzy boundary, and it can and should be constantly de/re/territorialized by other forces (Kitchin & Dodge, 2007). It also aims to deterritorialize the territory of creativity assemblage by linking unfamiliar events to the quasi-stable state in which it currently resides. Instead of a well-woven fabric, the appearance of a quilt made of pieces that vary size, pattern, texture, and color would free the variables bound within the existing concepts of creativity and inspire unconventional ways of thinking (Jackson, 2017; St. Pierre, 2019).

3. Formation of creativity as an order-word at the level of government and experts

This chapter examines how "creativity" has become an order-word in South Korean education and how the formation of its meaning in this context. The government and educational experts have played a crucial role in establishing an order-word and implicit presuppositions, so this chapter analyzes policy and academic discourses in the educational field.

3.1. Policy machines: Making creativity the solution for South Korea's education reform

One of the most distinct features of South Korean education is the state-led education system that has been introduced since the Japanese rule. "The national education policy has played an important role of guiding the development of South Korean education by homogenizing the educational conditions and teaching methods of elementary and secondary schools nationwide, equalizing the qualities of curriculum and teachers, and fulfilling the will of the national power in the purpose and contents of school education" (S. Oh, 2015, p. 10). Therefore, education policy is an essential element in understanding the South Korean educational assemblage. Consequently, the intent of this chapter is to explore South Korean education policies aimed at promoting students' creativity.

In this chapter, educational policies are not simply conceptualized as a "response" to the "problems" which exist throughout South Korean society as might be typical of other empirical policy studies (Y. Ha, 2010). This is because social "problems" to be solved are not presented as objective "facts," but instead, are discursively selected and organized through the process of policymaking itself. More precisely, within the very policies that are offered as "solutions,"

"problems" are "generated" or "given forms" (Bacchi, 2000). Considering educational policy as a response to existing problems, rather than a normative discourse that constructs both problems and solutions, can cause educators to miss an opportunity of understanding how the form of the assumed problems determine the framework of what one can say and think (Danziger, 1995). Furthermore, such an approach would significantly limit the possibility of revealing new realities as subjects cannot otherwise help but act within the territory of self-identity as predetermined by discourse (Ball, 1993; Foucault, 1989).

In this regard, this chapter reviews, in a discursive manner, the past 25 years of South Korean school policies in which "creativity" was conceptualized as a "solution" for problems assailing South Korean society and education. This chapter investigates 32 policy documents published after 1995, at which time creativity began to be emphasized and analyzed in South Korean education. Through this, this chapter critically examines: (1) how South Korean education makes sense of the contextual environment and what it constitutes as problems; and (2) how it limits alternative ways of thinking in the field of education.

3.1.1. Diversifying instructions to facilitate students' free choice (1995–2008)

The Kim Young-sam administration (1993–1998) was the first government in which a president with a civilian background held the office. Prior and during Kim Young-sam's presidency, there was a strong desire for democratization in South Korean society (S. Park, 2009). At the time, people longed to create a new South Korea where freedom, equality, and human rights were respected. In this regard, there was a growing voice in the field of education for the autonomy of schools and teachers. Simultaneously, there was growing advocacy for student-centered curriculum and flexible approaches for thinking about the speed of learning

(e.g., *Yeolin* education movement). In the meantime, however, there was concern in the economic field that if South Korea did not become a more developed country, it may regress dangerously. Some economists argued that the South Korean government should create competition among suppliers in an open economy and establish an official information disclosure system[3] to give consumers choices and enable them to make rational choices (Y. Kim, 2012). They thought that competition between schools would facilitate the formation of human resources. Thus, individuals with such different positions participated in the formation of the *5–31 education reform*, and the two perspectives were amalgamated in the *5–31 education reform.*

The Presidential Commission on Education Reform (PCER) presented the *5–31 education reform* in 1995; this reform proposed the future direction and specific tasks of South Korean education based on the results of a SWOT analysis (identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats pertaining to education policy). The document is evaluated as having a crucial influence on 21st century South Korean education; in this document, creativity began to be recognized as an important issue of modern South Korean education. Thus, the *5–31 education reform* (1995) and a few derivative documents, such as *the 7th National Curriculum* (1997a), *New college admission system and education vision 2002: Creating new school culture* (1998), and *the Gifted Education Promotion Act* (2000a), need to be explored.

The *5–31 education reform* document began with a description of global changes to justify the need for education reform. It averred that South Korea faced a great civilizational transition which was catalyzed by globalization and informatization. “The whole world becomes tied

[3] Public institutions disclose information about state affairs to fulfill people’s request of such knowledge. State policy stated that parents could choose an appropriate high school for their child based on offered information, such as matters concerning the compositions and operation of curriculum, the status of teaching staff, school facilities, etc.

together into one village due to the development of information and communications technology and transportation as well as the collapse of ideological barriers" (Presidential Commission on Education Reform [PCER], 1995, p. 8). In this regard, the document claimed that "South Koreans no longer live well if they stay within the protective shield of the border" (PCER, 1995, p. 8). However, in this document, there were no explanatory accounts of social changes from which readers might grasp the casual impacts of change. Rather, the document offered lists of a few visible changes as evidence of global changes; however, this was not sufficiently helpful to comprehend the overall process of changes and complex relationships between various factors. Furthermore, the global changes articulated in the document were attributed to "globalization" and "informatization," which made readers perceive them as agents of change existing without human agents and the requirements of the inevitable adjustment. Given that "globalization" is a result of progressive strategies, such as pressure from international organizations, like the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) insistence to open up domestic markets, such descriptions can conceal alternative perspectives on reality (Fairclough, 2003, p. 45).

In the 5–31 document, creativity was addressed as a life jacket that would save South Koreans from the strong wave of new changes. "The ability to create new science and technology, knowledge, and culture is indispensable since information and knowledge are now leading society" (PCER, 1995, pp. 4-5). It also argued that "thinking skills, creativity, and problem-solving ability are more important than the ability to remember and reproduce knowledge in modern society" (MoE, 1998, p. 118). Here, too, specific evidence for the effectiveness of cultivating individual creativity was not offered. In reality, individual creativity and collective creativity do not necessarily have a positive correlation. Indeed, individual creativity may or may not be linked to collective creativity depending on the socioeconomic conditions and

environmental factors in which it is placed (B. Choi & S. Kim, 2014). Nevertheless, the documents took for granted, with no satisfactory arguments, that students' creativity can lead to socially desirable performances or outcomes.

Meanwhile, South Korean education was condemned as being incompetent at fostering students' creativity. Prior models of South Korean education reflected the values of "producer-centric," "uniform education" in which students were accustomed to teaching by rote and "memorizing fragmentary knowledge" (PCER, 1995, p. 11). Additionally, children were "suffering in exam hell" (PCER, 1995, p. 12) and becoming "study worms," overly attached to grades (MoE, 1998, p. 5). Here, the 5–31 document articulated a sudden turnabout from prevailing ideas, considering the fact that students who were proficient in subject's contents alone had been portrayed as model students until the early 1990s. Thus, the rewording of education aims articulated in the 5–31 document could be seen as a discursive practice that structures the world in a certain way (Fairclough, 2003, p. 129).

For the purpose of global competitiveness and redesigning South Korean education to improve its operation, the establishment of new educational aims promoting creative talents was justified. This new image of education articulated an opposition to the prevailing model with terms like "learner-centric" and "diversified education," allowing students to pursue what they like or what they are good at (PCER, 1995, p. 21). Respecting and developing students' own interests and talents was regarded as a shortcut to make students happy and ultimately to secure human resources. The values of "national competitiveness" or "students' happiness" were significant for South Korean people. By appealing to the values that were taken for granted, the 5–31 document built people's loyalty to new education (Fairclough, 2003, p. 99). It is ironic that the voices of students were not directly heard while designing this document, although the happiness of

students was the major reason for the educational reform. Admittedly, while it was widely acknowledged that South Korean youth had been suffering in exam hell, the mentions were "not real speech but a representation of the imaginary" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 150). Specifically, they may have been a rewording or summary of students' statements; consequently, it is possible that such statements were dramatized in the 5–31 document to support its main ideas.

Giving autonomy to schools and teachers was considered as a key condition in learner-centric and diversified education since optimizing lessons to tailor to students' needs is difficult for schools and teachers without autonomy. In the 5–31 document, autonomy was a point of compromise that satisfied both the pedagogue and economist (Y. Kim, 2012). For both the economist, who attempted to reduce the involvement of the government in education and to normalize the educational competition, and the pedagogue, who had concerns regarding the bureaucracy in educational administration and uniformity of education, "autonomy" was a means to resolve their concerns. Although the meaning of autonomy used by each group was slightly different, using the same language on the surface led to a compromise on how to draw up a blueprint for future education. However, as the economic discourse came to be positioned as the purpose of education and the education discourse as the method of education, the autonomy of schools and teachers became instrumentalized and limited due to neoliberal educational purposes.

The direction of education promulgated by the *5–31 education reform* was embodied by the 7th national curriculum. This curriculum prioritized providing "diverse and specialized instructions to meet various needs of consumers" (MoE, 1997b, p. 80). In other words, the most important feature of the curriculum was to provide students the right to choose the subjects they wished to study. Accordingly, it introduced elective-centered curriculum in the 11th and 12th

grades and differentiated curriculum in all grades (MoE, 1997b). Students no longer had to learn all the subjects prescribed by the national curriculum, and they could choose subjects that matched their interests and proficiency level. While essential subjects were mandatory, their significance was reduced in the overall evaluation. As the subjects selected by individual students varied, evaluation also needed to be conducted in different ways (MoE, 1998). Regarding classroom assessment, teachers were expected to reduce the proportion of paper-pencil tests such as midterms and finals, and to conduct performance assessment that made comprehensive judgments regarding students' growth by observing their answers, outputs, and behaviors; this included various measures (MoE, 1998, p. 16). Unlike one-time paper-pencil tests, performance assessment was expected to grasp students' process of learning and their achievement of educational goals in various situations, in addition to supporting students' learning. Regarding college entrance examinations, universities were encouraged to conduct interviews, use essay-based evaluations, and to reflect various descriptive records of student activities, alongside the results of the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT). The diversification of the screening enabled universities to look into the trajectory of students' lives and to consequently support them to realize their potential.

Gifted and talented education policy was strengthened in the early 2000s for students who stood out in certain areas. The enactment of *Gifted Education Promotion Act* (2000), *Enforcement Decree of the Gifted Education Promotion Act* (2002), and *the 1st comprehensive plan for promoting gifted and talented education* (Interagency team, 2002) lay the foundation of gifted education. Before the enactment of the laws, gifted and talented education was limited to extracurricular activities in general schools. Even though special-purpose high schools, such as science high schools and foreign language high schools, were established around the 1990s for

students who stood out in certain fields, they often focused on preparing students for college entrance examinations, thus unfulfilling the original purpose of the organizations (S. Cho, 2004, p. 9). Through legislation, the government intended to expand gifted and talented education and operate related institutions according to their original purposes. Under *Enforcement Decree of the Gifted Education Promotion Act* (2002b), separate classes, schools, and centers for gifted students were designated or established, and research institutes that conducted research and development for managing gifted and talented education were established. Additionally, a variety of testing and assessment for gifted children were developed to screen and select prodigies who were not simply good at studying but really gifted (S. Cho, 2004, p. 36). Later, the government attempted to expand the scope of gifted education to include up to 5% of primary and secondary students (Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development [MEHRD], 2004a). Since gifted and talented education contradicts the fair distribution of educational opportunities and resources, the public opinion regarding this education was negative in the mid-1990s (S. Cho, 2004). However, as uncertainty had been on the rise due to the 1997 economic crisis, expectations regarding gifted education, that it had the potential to contribute to the nation to overcome the crisis, increased. The statement of the Samsung Group's chairman Lee Kun-hee that "one brilliant genius feeds 1,000 and 10,000 people" was often quoted to justify the necessity of gifted and talented education. Such a social climate made the establishment and expansion of gifted and talented education possible in South Korea.

3.1.2. Deregulating curriculum and increasing schools' autonomy for personalized pedagogy (2008–2013)

The Lee Myung-bak administration (2008–2013) strongly reemphasized the ideal of fostering creative talents in education. Considering the "power of talent" as one of the main goals of this administration, consumer-centric education, competition based on autonomy, and the improvement of the quality of creative activities and education were pursued in this period (J. Suh, 2009). The following documents primarily laid the foundations for the autonomous operation of curriculum in schools: *Reviving education, building science and technology powerhouse: 2008 major administrative tasks* (2008), *Plan for promoting the autonomy of schools* (2009b), and *the 2009 revised national curriculum* (2009c).

One of president Lee's election promises was diversifying the types of high schools available to students and parents. He insisted that school education at the time did not yet meet the various needs of students and parents, which resulted in students and parents' turning to shadow education[4] (J. Lee, 2007). Such an intensification of shadow education deepened the inequality between students and parents who could and could not afford the expenses associated with shadow education. In this context, he suggested diversifying the types of schools to meet the expectations of students and parents to reduce the social inequities associated with shadow education. Related laws (e.g., *Enforcement Decree of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act*) were revised to provide the basis for the establishment of schools with various characteristics and to ensure the distinctive operation of each school (MEST, 2008, 2009b). Alongside the reorganization of relevant laws and regulations, "the High school diversification 300 project" was initiated (MEST, 2008). Here, "300" refers to the plan to designate and manage

[4] Shadow education refers to informal education independently conducted by individuals in the private domain, while public education refers to education whose content, area, form, and system are decided according to public standards and procedures (J. Lee, 2000).

300 high schools nationwide, including 100 autonomous private high schools, 150 public boarding high schools, and 50 Meister high schools (J. Lee, 2007).

Shadow education in South Korea is a long-standing issue, dating back to the 1960s. Private schooling was an established phenomenon, even before public education have been failing to meet popular demand for some time. Some scholars pointed out that the problems of shadow education had been attributed to the belief of people that shadow education could increase the possibility of being admitted into prestigious universities and consequently becoming employed (J. Kim, 2020). Nevertheless, the policy documents simply defined the problem as a result of public education's incompetency. Furthermore, it was assumed that the guarantee of school choice (with disclosure of school information) naturally created a ground for competing in good faith, followed by the improvement of education quality. This assumption is in line with the neoliberal logic in that it attempted to apply market economic principles such as free competition and market diversification to education.

Subsequently, the revision of the national curriculum was carried out in 2009 to allow for the autonomous implementation of curricula in various types of schools. The 2009 revised national curriculum sought to "educate creative talents who engage in caring for and sharing with others" (MEST, 2009c, p. 1). In this document, education that solves the problem of private education by serving the needs of individual students and parents becomes equal to education that fosters creative talent. It considered that the obstacle to fostering "global creative talents" was the rigid operation of the existing curriculum (MEST, 2009d). Thus, deregulating the curriculum and providing autonomy to schools and teachers in the organization and implementation of curriculum were the documents' main concerns (MEST, 2009d, p. 18). Elective-centered curriculum was introduced in 10th grade and "autonomous school curriculum," by which

"individual schools construct the curriculum in consideration of students' aptitudes and career plans," were newly allocated (MEST, 2009e, p. 9). This new design of curriculum was founded upon the ideas of flexibility and adaptability. The prior curriculum attempted to increase the number of subjects in the fixed model of schooling; however, the frame of instructions in the earlier curriculum was left intact. The existing frame was designed to provide students with four to seven classes, of a duration of 40 to 50 minutes each, regardless of what and how they learn. In this case, even if teachers were aware of a better teaching method to develop students' creativity, they could not have implemented it because it did not fit a standardized block of time. Students were bound to be distracted due to learning a number of subjects at the same time. Therefore, regulations such as mandating subjects and allocating units to each of them were relaxed, and block scheduling was encouraged. Block scheduling was expected to reduce the total number of subjects taught in one semester, allowing students to learn only a few subjects deeply. Schools could offer more concentrated experiences of subjects, and it was expected for students to deeply immerse themselves in the contents. Alongside deregulations, "creative experiential activities" that emphasize experience-oriented and students-driven activities were newly introduced. Creative experiential activities do not specifically determine what to learn and teach; they only highlight the feature of the activities to be dealt with. Within the units, students voluntarily select areas of interest to see, hear, feel, and think about these areas. Creative experiential activities allow students to autonomously plan their own learning and to learn by doing (MEST, 2009e, p. 1).

After revising the laws and the national curriculum, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) proposed a comprehensive plan to cultivate creative talents by utilizing the foundations articulated in MEST (2009b, 2009c). This plan was dubbed *Fostering talented*

individuals through harmonization between creativity and caring attitude: A framework for creativity-character education (MEST, 2009a). The document suggested principles and specific tasks for creativity education; students and teachers continue to pursue these in present times. The plan began with an emphasis on the background of the initiative. It postulated the future as "a society in which various disciplines and technologies are fused to create new knowledge and value" and the goal of education as developing the "power to live in the future" in students' minds to help them thrive in the neoliberal order of society (MEST, 2009a, p. 1). The goal was described as important not only on the personal level but also at the corporate and national level since corporations and countries could only thrive when they secure "creative human capital." Further, an individual's power was said to be strengthened through "revealing" students' inner potential rather than "cramming" certain knowledge" (MEST, 2009a, p. 1).

What was characteristic in the logical progression established in the plan was that the results of surveys conducted by economic organizations, such as the Internet Recruitment System (Incruit) and the Korean Chamber of Commerce & Industry (KCCI), were quoted to corroborate the assertions. For example, attributes necessary for employees of the top 100 companies were shown in the table; 71% of the top 100 companies considered creativity as an important aptitude and placed a higher importance on creativity as compared to other qualities, such as professionalism, spirit of challenge, and morality (MEST, 2009a, p. 1). These survey results are worthy of attention in that they indicated the direction of people's voices regarding school education. The rationality of market forces penetrated into the education field through these survey results in the form of an objective trend. Additionally, the document also referred to examples of developed countries implementing education for fostering creativity. It evoked the feeling that South Korea must climb on the creativity education bandwagon to join the ranks of

advanced nations and to avoid deteriorating its global competitiveness. Even though South Korea had experienced a completely different history, it opted to not consider this history in implementing education reform. Furthermore, "the developed countries" are taken for granted as "classificatory categories" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 198), "which function[s] as unconscious instruments of construction" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, as cited in Fairclough, 2003, p. 130).

Although education for creativity had been introduced in South Korea, reform was needed because of its improper and inefficient operation (MEST, 2009a, pp. 3-4). MEST (2009a) stated that creativity education policies of prior governments were only formally implemented. The major causes of the system's crippled operation included academic elitism in South Korean society, schools' old-fashioned educational practices, and a misunderstanding regarding creativity. First, the general South Korean public tends to prioritize one's academic background, especially the name value of college/university from which individuals receive their degrees, which makes students and parents prioritize college entrance exams and academic grades, becoming reluctant to make mistakes and challenge accepted orthodoxies. Second, teacher-led instructions are still held in schools focusing on preparing students for entrance examinations. Third, a misunderstanding that creativity was only an attribute of some gifted students made people indifferent to creativity education. Such practices resulted in students being excessively stressed, and the consequent decrease of their academic interest (preference) and achievement. The ethos of South Korean education, which this document indicated to be a problem, was thought to be a major factor in South Korea's miraculous development after liberation. The policy document, however, continued to characterize the ethos as "wrong" and "needing correction," laying the groundwork for accepting creativity education as an alternate solution.

Creativity education was considered as a means to rescue students from the chronic problems of South Korean education or even the collapse of public education, and to enhance the competitiveness of South Korean society. The principles of creativity education were suggested in the following manner. First, creativity was defined as being educable to all students in all subjects (MEST, 2009a, p. 7). Creativity was no longer the exclusive property of gifted students, but a thing that anyone can develop and utilize if they endeavor to do so. It was then possible and essential for students to be educated to be creative as part of their schooling. Also, creativity can be developed not only when performing various experiential activities (art programs, reading education programs, etc.) that have not been covered in existing subjects, but also when dealing with existing contents by different teaching methods such as discussions, science labs, project-based learning (MEST, 2009a, p. 9). Nothing in the school curriculum is unrelated to the development of creative talent. Second, creativity should be developed in ways that do not simply highlight breaking the mold but also harmonizing with people (MEST, 2009a, p. 7). By assuming that creativity and character have some kind of a common denominator, creativity's negative features such as rudeness, disobedience, distraction, inaccuracy, or mischievous behavior could be neutralized. The divergent energy of creativity could thus be channeled in a meaningful way to others, harmonizing the social order. In other words, creativity is expected to transform students into future-oriented citizens with positive attributes by shaping and constraining the positive characteristics of creativity. Third, activities needed to foster creativity were not only difficult to perform within school, but were also difficult for teachers to implement. Thus, external institutions, such as state organizations, universities, corporates, etc., were established and provided students with creativity programs (MEST, 2009a, p. 16). The participation of the external institutions in education for fostering creative talents was said to be

a “service,” and “education donation and sharing.” Through this process, schools were encouraged to “actively communicate desirable talents that companies want to the education field” (MEST, 2009a, p.16). Also, companies in the economic field became recognized as educational institutions and it became possible to expose students to economic logic in the name of creativity education.

In the wake of the creative school movements, the admissions officer system initiated in 2008 was an effective medium for facilitating various activities in general subjects and creative experiential activities. The Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (MEHRD) announced a plan in 2004, entitled *Plans to normalize school education and improve the university admission system for the academic year 2008 and after* (MEHRD, 2004b). It stated that previous reforms empowered universities to evaluate students’ special abilities, aptitudes, and career in various ways to determine a successful candidate. However, it pointed out that the quantified data were more widely used than immeasurable factors for student assessment, and that the development of specialized screening methods which reflected the goals and types of the universities remained insufficient. Some more measures were needed to “discover” students with creativity and growth potential rather than simply singling out high-scoring students (Presidential Commission on Education Innovation [PCEI], 2004, p. 39). Therefore, the government demanded universities to hire experts (admission officers) who had the ability to read and interpret students’ school records properly to judge the potential of students. Consequently, students’ various activities and outputs at schools were continuously recorded for evaluation. Following this shift, the process of learning became more important than the results of learning.

Meanwhile, the MEST has enhanced STEAM education in elementary and secondary schools since 2010 to cultivate creative talent in the field of science and technology (MEST, 2010b).

President Lee, at the time, remarked that "we live in an era where a devoted scientist is worth more than an oil field" (Interagency team, 2011, p. 1). Accordingly, the government declared that promoting creativity in science and technology was a national agenda in *the 2nd basic plan for the promotion and support of science and technology talents* ('11~'15) (Interagency team, 2011). A major thrust of the document was to shift the focus from securing creative science and technology personnel mainly through tertiary education to increasing elementary and secondary students' understanding, interest, and potential in science and technology. In this regard, STEAM education has been emphasized at the elementary and secondary levels. STEAM education was intended to reconstruct existing subjects that were "uninteresting, difficult, and abstract, and not connected to real-life" and to "encourage students to acquire an interest in science and solve problems through convergent thinking" (Interagency team, 2011, p. 8).

3.1.3. Mobilizing students' interests and talents to create a new career path (2013–present)

The 2008 financial crisis and consequent global economic recession led to low economic growth and sluggish exports in the South Korean economy. Such economic decline saw the collapse of the middle class and economic polarization of South Korean society. In these circumstances, the Park Geun-hye administration (2013–2017) emphasized "economic revival" and the "nation's happiness" as South Korea's main goals. As a way to counter economic stagnation and job reduction, the concept of "creation" was repeatedly emphasized as a means for creating new value and industries through the convergence of industries (Y. Lee, 2014). Consequently, in the educational field, creativity and creativity education were promoted as "the virtue of talent to lead the creative economy" and "the way to rehabilitate school education" (K.

So et al., 2016). The major documents that elaborated on the governments' intentions included: *Fostering creative talents to drive the creative economy* (Interagency team, 2013), *Plan on test operation of Exam-free Semester program in middle school* (MoE, 2013a), and *Major issues of the 2015 liberal arts and natural science integrated curriculum* (MoE, 2014).

The Interagency team (2013) was created based on the results of comparative studies conducted by international organizations, such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). These studies showed that South Korean students had high levels of academic achievement but simultaneously low academic interest. Despite the fact that South Korea had no obligation to take these results seriously, the results significantly impacted the discourses and practices of South Korean education. The MoE (2013a) added results of domestic surveys to the findings of the international organizations. For example, the OECD survey results were followed by the data from Institute for Social Development Studies, Yonsei University, that showed that "South Korean youth's happiness index was 23rd out of 23 OECD countries"; the data of the Korea Employment Information Service (KEIS) showed that "students in adolescence are unclear about their future hopes" owing to a "lack of time to explore and care about themselves" (MoE, 2013a, p. 1). As the data which were produced in different contexts form a unified series, "the students' low level of interest in learning and happiness index" and "the lack of clarity regarding future hopes" seemingly formed a narrative without demonstrating the relationship between the two. It would be a discourse strategy to scale down a complex phenomenon of South Korean education to the relations between some fragmented facts which may not be obvious.

Following the data produced by KEIS, education was designed to make students happy by helping them find a career path that matched their' aptitude and talents and which helped them to learn career-related contents[5] in self-directed ways. The purpose of education was regarded as teaching students to find and realize their potentials and for preparing each student for life in the neoliberal future South Korean society. Concerning the orientation of education, the plan highlighted a bold move away from the knowledge-oriented educational practices that regarded only immediate and concrete achievements as important. In this new approach, it was considered that all subjects should focus on task performance to develop higher order thinking ability to solve problems. Subsequently, "creative career education," that enabled students to adopt career paths that matched their aptitudes and talents, was emphasized (Interagency team, 2013). For example, the exam-free semester system was introduced in middle school to break the shackles of examinations to facilitate students' choosing of a career path and actively pursuing it. The exam-free semester is one semester of middle school when students explore their aptitudes and career plans as well as experience the joy of learning without exams; this is aimed at helping students to develop self-directed learning skills and attitudes (Interagency team, 2013, p. 3). During this semester, students experience various activities, including career exploration, theme-based learning, fine arts/physical activities, and club activities, which are recorded in school records (Interagency team, 2013, p. 4).

In regard to the cultivation of creative talents, one of the most prominent phenomena in this period is the close connection between creativity and career education (C. Park & Y. Kim, 2013).

5 The high school credit system, which will be introduced in 2025, continues to focus on self-directed learning. In this system, students can choose the subjects they want to study and graduate after completing the required credits (MoE, 2017, p. 4). This system views students as "self-directed learners who are autonomous and develop competencies which are necessary to their careers." The MoE argued that the high school credit system would contribute to "grow democratic citizens through giving them autonomy (select subjects) and holding them to be responsible for their choice (complete the required credits)" (MoE, 2017, p. 5).

It is clear that there are differences in the meaning and purpose of creativity education and career education. Creativity education means education that fosters students' ability to create new solutions or ideas which are recognized as productive or socially valuable. On the other hand, career education is "the whole experience of learning and preparing for individual participation in life roles, lifelong learning, work, leisure, etc." (J. Lee et al., 2010, p. 15). The course of significance that these two expressions have followed have been different as well. Until the 1990s, creativity was dealt with in the field of gifted and talented education, while career education was developed from the viewpoint of vocational education and training. However, the two have become similar since the 2010s, like twin entities following a similar logic. The different logics of creativity education and career education have intersected in terms of (1) the necessity of creativity in one's career path, and (2) the necessity of career competencies for creative talents.

In general, career education focuses on knowing one's talents, recognizing potential job markets for making reasonable career decisions, and developing self-directedness to realize these decisions (M. Jin et al., 2012). However, as the job market has become fluid and uncertain, individuals are required to be increasingly flexible, progressive, and innovative to successfully manage their lives and maintain their well-being. As the ability to constantly manage and develop oneself is conceptualized as "creativity," creativity is required in career education. (2) On the other hand, the country continuously needs creative energy to sustain existing industries and generate added value in the fast-changing global economy. In other words, it is necessary to quickly determine and improve children's skills and supply such skills to the professional world (S. Moon, 2016). While the emphases of these two logics are different, they finally converge in the image of a successful life. The prevailing idea here is that the well-being of the child cannot

be achieved without them having a good job and adapting to the current social structure. In this regard, the cultivation of creative talents and career education overlap and strengthen each other.

The national curriculum was revised once again in 2015. The 2015 revised curriculum was in line with the 2009 revised curriculum, focusing on nurturing a creative and integrative learner with moral character. However, the 2015 revised curriculum differed from the previous curriculum in three ways. First, key competencies that were targeted to be promoted through the entire process of education were established (MoE, 2014, p. 5). Curriculum design was centered on competencies rather than the subjects themselves. The 2015 curriculum revision clearly established such key competencies as self-management, knowledge-information processing skills, creative thinking skills, aesthetic-emotional competencies, communication skills, and civic competency across the whole curriculum (MoE, 2015, p. 2). Second, as mentioned above, the exam-free semester system was introduced within middle schools. Third, common subjects such as "Integrated Social Studies" and "Integrated Sciences" were developed and introduced as a means to value the flexible work conducted in neoliberal societies (MoE, 2014, p. 12).

To understand the introduction of common subjects, it is necessary to understand South Korea's former educational system that offered two different curriculum tracks. General high schools in South Korea had separated students into two groups for a long time: liberal arts students and natural sciences students. After the first year of high school, students were asked to choose to follow either a liberal arts track or natural sciences track; according to their choice, they learnt different sets of subjects. Although such a system was abolished after the 7th National Curriculum introduced the elective-centric curriculum (since students became free to choose subjects without being tied to a certain track), two different curriculum tracks still remained obliquely. Through this track system, creative persons working across various fields to produce

new concepts, ideas, and values could not be nurtured. Therefore, it was said that students who wished to pursue a major in liberal arts ought to learn a few science subjects, and those who wished to major in natural sciences ought to learn social studies. This is why "Integrated Social Studies" and "Integrated Sciences" became designated as common subjects.

The admissions officer system, which was implemented since 2008, was revised as the comprehensive school records screening system since 2013. The comprehensive school records screening system aims to limit competition by prohibiting the inclusion of achievements in school records other than public education activities, such as published journals, scores of the approved English language tests, and awards granted from external institutes (MoE, 2019).

3.1.4. Summary and discussion

The MoE has enacted various educational reform policies, arguing that it is necessary to cultivate creative talents to cope with the various problems assailing South Korean society. These policies not only framed the lives of teachers and students through the specific tasks and implementation plans that they presented, but also influenced society's way of thinking by identifying environmental changes surrounding education and constructing the problem to which educational organizations provide answers.

Global changes, such as informatization, globalization, and the rise of knowledge-based society have become the conditions in which creativity has been emphasized in educational policies. Given that the predictions of future society vary from person to person and that everyone's prediction does not have the authority to be heard, the social ratification of educational predictions and decisions became deeply related to power relations (Fairclough, 2003, p. 167). Most documents, however, present these predictions as if they were objective

facts, which not only solidify power relations but also allow certain representations of the world to circulate widely. Additionally, understandings about the contextual environment and challenges they evoke have not yet been problematized. Only solutions to such problems have been the subject of discussion.

The emphasis on creativity development in South Korean educational reform over the past 25 years is based on a view that conceptualizes the world as an environment characterized by infinite competition between free individuals and countries. Every student within this "creative agon" is regarded as fundamentally free, autonomous, self-interested, and competitive, and is thought to actively create their own life without external interventions. While the premise about student autonomy allowed youth to escape from traditional norms, at the same time, it cut them off from the educational authority which can protect them from capitalist logic. The shift toward neoliberal creativity threw students into a world wherein every person struggles against another, that is, neoliberal creativity led students into a world of conflict. Consequently, students were forced to become neoliberal subjects, or rather "a self-governing entity who wants to think for themselves and not just do a prescribed task but find meaningful works to do," and "a flexible entity that challenges and breaks through difficult works without fear" (J. Ryu et al., 2015, pp. 246–247). However, assuming students' nature as self-fulfilling and self-directed could result in putting the onus of all failures in education on students. For instance, students who do not have a strong sense of purpose would be framed as unhappy and incompetent.

South Korean education, which focuses on accurately delivering knowledge, is considered as being problematic in that it ignores and homogenizes students' interests and talents. Thus, the educational turn toward creativity is characterized as the diversification, deregulation, and instrumentalization of instruction that allows students to freely choose the subjects of their study

and dictate their own career paths. From 1995 to 2008, creativity education was thought to diversify the curriculum contents and broaden students' choice of subjects of study. In the early 2010s, the meaning of "creativity education" was expanded to include curriculum flexibility and autonomy for schools and teachers to freely compete against each other. Since 2013, it has been asserted that students ought to have time to freely explore their potential career paths in a self-directed manner, and that education ought to be a service for facilitating this process. In effect, the formerly uniform and oppressive atmosphere of the school is not desirable, and that the school should be as fun and free as possible. However, education cannot be composed only of what students like and what should be fun. Sometimes it is necessary for students to engage in practices that they deem unlikeable to create something new; therefore, for this purpose, the educational authority and control of teachers should be ensured (B. Cheon, 2001). According to Deleuze (1994), thought is started not by a subject who selects and recognizes an object through *a priori* categories but by an accidental encounter with an object that emits enigmatic signs. Such an encounter may be somewhat violent in that intensities penetrate and shake the subject's body in an uncontrollable way. Nevertheless, if one puts up with the unpredictable shock and deciphers the signs by discordantly using their cognitive abilities, new concepts and thoughts would be generated. Given that teachers sometimes need to expose students to unfamiliar intensities, teachers should also participate in such activities with students and modulate affects to help them decipher the signs and generate their own cognitive deductions (Watkins, 2010). Protecting students from completely dismantling the current organism or from giving up an actualization during its becomings should be sometimes entailed in education. At every moment of such a process, the authority and control of teachers is needed. However, since both authority

and control have been negatively discussed, it has become difficult to secure time and approval for the virtual to become actualized.

In this logical progression, teachers are referred to as experts in practicing educational methods for facilitating and supporting students' learning, rather than as masters of content. In other words, teachers are conceptualized as facilitators to support the growth and learning of all students and assistants to help children find out what they like and do well. However, such discourse prevents teachers from challenging anything which is purported as students' present interests and from considering "why" and "what" to teach. Teachers are only able to help students to process their potential to produce surplus value. This is in line with Priestly and Biesta (2013)'s term, "learnification," which refers to "an unproblematized acceptance that learning is a good, and a failure to address educational questions such as 'what are we learning?' and 'why are we learning it?'" (p. 5). Considering that the purpose and content of education are fundamentally political questions, learnification is problematic. It prevents open democratic dialogue about the purpose and contents of education and allows market demand to overshadow other demands (Biesta, 2006).

3.2. Science machines: Creating an acceptable form of knowledge about creativity

Traditionally, South Korean children were taught that people with a well-rounded personality were suitable for society (M. Min, 1996). Adages such as "People of virtue hide their talent" and "The smart person is silent" (*Chae Keundam*) show the traditional Korean tendency to be wary of the prominent. Therefore, traditionally, students' creativity in institutional education was viewed negatively. Teachers tended to disapprove of creative students, as their attitudes often

seemed rebellious (S. Kang et al., 2001). Hence, creativity education was dealt with in the field of the gifted education in a limited manner (J. Kim, 2010).

The atmosphere began to shift dramatically in the late 1990s. Since then, the number of studies arguing that South Korean education should pay attention to fostering creativity is on the rise (e.g., K. Kim, 1999; J. Shin, 2018; N. Hwang, 2018). Curriculum studies reified the meaning of creativity that should be fostered in students participating in general education and discussed how the identified creativity can be fostered. These changes in research trends are closely related to the public functions carried out by South Korean curriculum studies. Since the beginning of modern education, South Korean curriculum studies have played a role in grappling with what schooling should be like to improve South Korea's international competitiveness and providing guidance regarding how education policies should be enacted for this purpose (S. Chang, 2005). They have supported and implemented the government's policies rather than criticized them. In this context, as the South Korean government proclaimed creativity as a national agenda in the mid-1990s, South Korean curriculum studies started to focus on creativity as a major issue in the field of education.

These academic discourses are important in that they have established a beachhead in the education field for creativity by constituting an empty signifier for transforming South Korean education. In other words, these academic discourses have determined what to perceive as creativity and have made it an object that should be recognized in the field of education. Considering that the produced knowledge induces and distributes the effects of power, and that power relations can only function through the production, accumulation, and distribution of scientific discourses (Foucault, 1980), it is necessary to critically consider the statements on creativity produced by academic discourses. The following passage explores South Korean

curriculum studies on creativity published after 1995 to understand the South Korean conceptions of creativity.

3.2.1. Identifying concepts and components of creativity

There has been a plethora of educational studies articulating concepts and components of creativity by exploring various research achievements of psychology, neuroscience, ecology, and so on. These can be divided into two streams according to where the essence of creativity is placed: 1) creativity as an individual's cognitive and affective feature and 2) creativity as a procedural and environmental feature.

3.2.1.1. Creativity as an individual's cognitive and affective feature

Creativity has been viewed as an individual ability for a long time; therefore, studies have focused on examining characteristics of creative people as distinct from the general public. J. Hah (2007) argued that creative people, such as Tchaikovsky, Schumann, Mozart, Virginia Wolf, Einstein, and others, have a "polarity" that is defined as "simultaneously operating different thinking processes" or "coming and going to the opposite thinking processes or conflicting emotions" (p. 68). J. Hah and E. Sung (2009) conducted qualitative research to explore creative individuals' personalities and relationships and found that the personality traits that contributed most to creativity were "task commitment, curiosity, [and] self-confidence" (p. 268). Further, their study revealed that creative people tend to have good relationships with others in their field and receive emotional support from their families. J. Jeon (2017) conducted a case study of a famous South Korean producer and found that the producer tended to freely choose his interests

and activities, took time to rest and relax, and maintained his individual values and beliefs. It further revealed that the director's modus operandi focused on thought and organization, setting and overcoming challenges, a unique way of looking at failure and crises, and choosing persistency over worry.

Going a step further, a series of studies (e.g., K. Hong, 2009; K. Jeon, 2011; H. Lee, 2007; S. Park, 2000) theorize definitions, characteristics, and components of creativity. In these studies, creativity is understood as a cognitive ability or as an affective personality. Some of these studies consider creativity as a cognitive ability based on the academic works of famous American psychologists, such as Gilford (1967), Osborn (1963), Torrance (1972), and Ward, Smith, and Finke (1992), and try to understand mental representations and processes immanent in creative thinking. The most frequently mentioned cognitive components of creativity are fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration (K. Hong, 2009; S. Park, 2000), while perceptual attention, analogical reasoning, combination and reorganization, abstraction, and mental imagery are referred to as key stages (H. Lee, 2007, pp. 137-141). In accordance with this, various techniques, such as brainstorming, forced combination, convergent thinking, highlighting, and Plus-Minus-Interesting (PMI), have been devised, classified, and used to develop creative thinking skills (K. Hong, 2009; K. Jeon, 2011). H. Lee (2007), for instance, developed a 20-hour program allocating one hour to each creative cognitive technique, such as concept formation, redefinition, categorization, analogy, imagination, invention, problem finding, and problem-solving. Before and after these techniques are used, the students' creativity is measured using tools, such as the Torrance Test of Creative Thinking (TTCT).

As neuroscience develops, the above-mentioned cognitive features are being explained in neurological terms. According to neuroscience-based studies, creativity is "the ability to come up

with new ideas for problem-solving or creation by reconstructing neural networks in the organic brain in a different way" (J. Cho, 2001, p. 124). That is, creative thinking is a result of biochemical changes in the cerebral cortex, and the balanced and harmonious use of the left and right sides of the brain (S. Cho, 2015; Y. Son, 2000). Accordingly, creativity education focuses on stimulating brain function by creating an environment where people can feel relaxed and stable or a productive environment that allows people to use various areas of the brain (K. Kang, 2018; H. Lee & C. Chung, 2013).

Others see creativity as one of the affective personalities. They understand creativity as an emotional state that allows people to solve a given problem unconventionally, rather than as an individual's cognitive ability or a product. The components of creativity according to these researchers include "creative awareness, independent-ness, risk-taking, passionate energy, hard-work, voluntary, adventurous, thoroughness, a lot of curiosity, broad interests, an excellent sense of humor, innocent and enjoyable play, an artistic interest, an aesthetic interest, idealism, reflection, and need of time alone, novelty, complexity, and mystery" (S. Lee & J. Bae, 2011, p. 63). In this line of thought, some studies have attempted to identify the relationship between affective components, including motivation, and creativity (e.g., S. Cho et al., 2005; K. Lew, 2005). Creativity education here focuses mainly on helping students do what they are interested in and developing unique personalities by pushing them into environments that make them act against common tendencies.

Based on Rogers (1961)' or Maslow (1968)'s work, others have thought of creativity as a sort of self-realization, pointing out that individuals who find and realize their inherent powers become more creative (J. Bae & Y. Lee, 2000; S. Nam, 2006). J. Bae and Y. Lee (2000) and O. Chung et al. (2006), for example, attempted to find the influences of self-efficacy or self-esteem

on creative expression, while K. Lee et al. (2007) examined the relationship between creativity and self-conception of gifted children. In this context, creativity education promotes and supports individuals in fulfilling their inner self (S. Lee & J. Bae, 2011).

A characteristic phenomenon in the South Korean educational context is the interest in the relationship between creativity and character (K. So et al., 2016). The issue first appeared when the 2009 revised curriculum placed two seemingly conflicting items, creativity and character, together (e.g., Y. Moon et al., 2010). Opinions on creative-character education in South Korean curriculum studies can be summarized into three main categories (H. Choi & Y. Choi, 2017; S. Choi, 2013). First is the need to set up the relationship between the two in a way that positions character education as a part of creativity education. Beginning with addressing the dangers of using creativity in an undesirable direction, character is emphasized as something that should be complementary to creativity (B. Choi, 2017). Second is acknowledging independence between the two and emphasizing both without bias toward one side, as it would weaken character education to view it only in terms of cultivating characteristics necessary for enhancing creativity (S. Cho & E. Lee, 2010; I. Lee & S. Jung, 2010). The third point of view is that creativity and character have many common denominators and should be combined in education (H. Choi & Y. Choi, 2017; J. Choi et al., 2009; Y. Moon et al., 2010). A relatively large number of studies follow the third position, identifying common denominators such as sensitivity to new things, understanding diversity, the ability to accept others' opinions, and abstention from stereotypes (H. Choi & Y. Choi, 2017).

3.2.1.2. Creativity as a procedural and environmental feature

In South Korean education, there is an increasing discussion regarding creativity as a

characteristic of a process rather than as a trait attributed to individuals. In other words, it is not only a characteristic possessed by individuals but also a procedural property of thinking or problem-solving (S. Choi, 2003; Y. Kim et al., 2002). Based on the theory of Dewey (1916), Osborn (1963), and Parnes (1999), many studies have tried to develop Creative Problem Solving (CPS) models. B. Choi and M. Park (2004), for example, developed a creative problem-solving program including ten topics, such as developing new play facilities, exploring uninhabited islands, creating new stories, and making sounds, with each topic designed to be solved through four steps, namely, finding problems, discovering ideas, seeking solutions, and establishing implementation plans. After completion, they verified the effectiveness of the program through intelligence, creativity, and creative problem-solving ability tests. S. Lee et al. (2018) applied a similar five-step process (understanding related knowledge, sympathy, sharing perspectives, idea generation, and prototype) to a case study. In short, most studies in this category develop a program to improve creative problem-solving abilities and investigate the program's effectiveness.

At this point, however, few studies have argued that finding and forming problems is more critical in creativity than solving structured/unstructured problems (Y. Jon et al., 2003). Following Einstein's statement that the "formulation of problems is often more fundamental than problem-solving" (Einstein & Infeld, 1938, p. 83), such studies emphasize that potential and undefined problems must be found, and great products are often produced by defining appropriate problems or discovering original and unique problems. Therefore, these studies make efforts to categorize types and characteristics of problems, which will be helpful for students in finding and forming problems as they face the unknown.

Studies investigating the socio-psychological aspects of creativity, which are neglected in

previous studies that have mainly focused on creative individuals, are also rapidly increasing (S. Han, 2006; T. Moon, 2000; C. Park, 2014). These studies are primarily based on the works of Amabile (1983), Csikszentmihalyi (1988) and Sawyer (2006), averring that something new is produced not from a unique individual but from social dynamics. In other words, it is an error to exaggerate the prominence of individual creators, as people do not create inventions out of nothing; therefore, the society that influenced their creation should not be ignored. As such, it becomes significant to study creative enterprises, organizations, society, and countries that enable creative individuals to maximize their talents and aptitudes and to produce outstanding achievements that help the development of the group or community (S. Han, 2006).

In this line of thought, some studies of the physical environment that activates creativity have been carried out. H. Choi (2016) explored environmental designs that improve creative learning ability in elementary school classrooms. J. Choi and C. Kim (2005) examined spatial form, lighting, internal organization, and color of natural history museums suitable for fostering creativity. Social environments that stimulate and support creativity have also been examined (S. Lee & J. Kim, 2017). K. Lew and S. Kang (2009) examined the correlation between parents' creativity, parents' parenting attitudes, and children's creativity, while J. Hah and E. Park (2012) investigated the correlation between parents' income level and children's creativity. Other studies focused on the effects of the creative atmosphere of classrooms on children's creativity and motivation (Y. Cho et al., 2011; J. Min & E. Seo, 2009). These studies suggest that creativity is today viewed as a collective personality created through interactions among various elements of society. As such, creativity education following this conception focuses on creating a social and psychological environment that triggers creativity, including developing a creative parent education program that can promote interactions with infants (C. Chun, 2008), providing

appropriate real-life contexts, maintaining children's curiosity and interest, and changing the way of questioning not to block children's emergent thoughts (Y. Cho et al., 2011). A multicultural environment is also discussed as one of the environments that stimulate creativity (D. Jung & S. Song, 2008; H. Park, 2016).

Finally, some studies have examined how creativity varies between the East and the West (I. Choe & J. Yoon, 2013; K. So & Y. Hu, 2019; E. Sung, 2006). Although South Korea already had a similar concept to creativity, it mainly refers to Western theories for theorizing creativity. For this reason, many scholars felt that imported concepts and theories do not completely correspond to the implicit understanding of Korean creativity. E. Sung (2006) conducted a theoretical exploration of how the East and the West conceptualize creativity differently, and I. Choe and J. Yoon (2013) did a comparative study on implicit theories of creativity between South Korean, Chinese, and Japanese college students. K. So and Y. Hu (2019) examined how creativity is conceptualized by South Korean teachers. They found that South Korean teachers understand creativity in ways similar to their Western counterparts, but modify and convert the Western notions of creativity in accordance with South Korean culture. They explain the phenomenon of creativity as a result of the unique culture of South Korea, such as Confucian tradition and entrance examination.

3.2.2. Looking for ways to innovate the curriculum to promote creativity

Until the early 1990s, creativity had not been regarded as something that should or could be taught. In other words, creativity was viewed as an innate trait that could not be instilled through education. As such, studies pertaining to creativity were mainly in the field of gifted individuals and their education. Since the early 2000s, however, creativity began to be considered as a skill

that can be taught, not only to the gifted but to anyone (K. So, 2016a). Several studies claimed that South Korean society has entered a "knowledge-based society" and the "fourth industrial revolution," where creative personnel who create knowledge dominate the competition, and that creativity should be cultivated in education (e.g., K. Kim, 1999; Y. Kim, 2018; K. So, 2003). Kaufman and Beghetto's (2009) work on different levels of creativity supports this tendency theoretically (K. So, 2011). According to them, everyone is born with creativity, even if areas or levels of it vary between individuals; however, creativity is not properly nurtured to due to our ignorance. Therefore, a reevaluation of creativity education is necessary.

In the early stages, creativity education tended to be discussed in terms of separate programs disconnected from the subject curriculum. Edutainment, such as mission adventure games that aims to make it possible for children to learn naturally by being immersed in their favorite games, cartoons, or other material belongs to this movement (S. Ahn, 2010; M. Cha, 2009). In essence, they mobilize students' physical reactions, feelings, and emotions to create new things by evoking and provoking them. Conversely, studies such as that of S. Choi (2006) raise questions about the effectiveness of curriculum-separate and one-shot programs, and argue that creativity should be dealt with in all subjects. They assert that creativity as a part of the curriculum is connected to subject curriculums, in that creativity cannot be fostered without knowledge (H. Kang, 2011; Y. Lee, 2001; M. Shin, 2011). It is stated that acquiring knowledge about the subject matter is a prerequisite to adopting a creative approach since creativity is possible when existing knowledge is utilized in a novel manner or when new connections between knowledge derived from various disciplines are discovered. This argument is relevant to the South Korean context, where elementary and secondary school education is composed of different subjects for a long time.

However, some scholars in the field of subject curriculum have argued that it is inappropriate to apply generalized principles of creativity to specific domains, and that in order to be creative in one particular domain, it is necessary to have unique and specialized skills and knowledge for that domain. These scholars challenge the idea of creativity as "a set of domain-general skills that can be applied broadly" or "as a general personality trait that colors a person's approach to any kind of task or problem" (Baer, 2016, para. 1; B. Kim, 2010). Many scholars in the field of subject curriculum have attempted to define characteristics of creativity suitable for their subject area (e.g., E. Kim, 2003; M. Kim, 2004; M. Shin, 2009; J. Sohn, 2010).

In the meantime, studies on the relationship between creativity and academic achievements are visible (e.g., S. Lee, 2005). If creativity is viewed as unique thoughts different from existing ones, it can be considered as non-essential for children focused on passing entrance examinations. In this case, even if creativity can be taught, the fundamental question of whether creativity education is necessary arises. Although there are a number of studies on the correlation between creativity and academic achievements, opinions on this issue remain divided (J. Lee, 2006b; I. Song, 2003).

3.2.3. Critically analyzing studies on creativity and creativity education

The aforementioned studies on creativity focused on identifying definitions, characteristics, and components of creativity based on psychology and introducing these ideas into curriculum studies. However, some studies raise questions about these dominant flows or illuminate other flows. For instance, some studies review creativity from a philosophical point of view, criticizing the excessive focus on psychology in current creativity research. These studies attempt to reconceptualize creativity based on Whitehead's process philosophy (M. Seo, 2014) or Deleuze's

creation philosophy (J. Jung & B. Kim, 2015). J. Jung and B. Kim (2015) assert that previous studies pertaining to creativity had a superficial view, regarding creativity as "the characteristic needed to be taught as a part of the cognitive domain and a method for problem-solving" (p. 93). As such, the authors explored the implications of Deleuze's "becoming" for creativity in education.

Furthermore, although most studies consider creativity to be positive and benevolent, a few studies insist that creativity could be negative and malicious. These studies believe that creativity can be used to deliberately harm others, or that creative products and ideas can be used maliciously regardless of the creator's original intent (B. Choi, 2017). They are concerned with appropriate educational responses to this and suggest emphasizing character education and ensuring an adequate understanding of the dark side of creativity. For example, B. Choi (2017) defines creativity as a purposeful act, or rather, an act intended to achieve specific results. In contrast, "malicious creativity" is defined as when the purpose of creativity is not moral in the first place, and "negative creativity" when results of creativity are not intended but have caused physical, psychological and financial harm to others and society. To prevent such educational implications, the study urges educators to be aware that creativity is not necessarily positive, and that creativity has a great social ripple effect. Also, it emphasizes to give creative students an opportunity to recognize the inherent psychological mechanism of standing by their action despite its bad results as well as cultivating a sense of social responsibility in their mind. As such, the negativity and malignancy of creativity are being discussed in terms of its impact on other people and human society and considered to be alleviated by conscious human efforts.

Other studies focus on the bias against creativity in education fields (H. ChoHan, 2008; K. Han & K. Yoo, 2013). K. Han and K. Yoo (2013), for example, aver that surviving in the South

Korean school culture, where well-studied students following the curriculum have achieved recognition for a long time, is challenging for creative students. Students who disagree with the answers the textbook says or who are curious about the contents that are not in the textbook annoy teachers. This is because they interfere with teachers moving on to the next contents and with the learning of other students who try to do well on the test. It is nearly impossible for students to become creative in an atmosphere which prevents students from thinking differently by constraining their thinking to the metrics of authoritarianism and control.

Finally, some studies have conducted discourse analyses to understand which discourses of creativity had been formed in South Korean education. J. Son (2014) pointed out that, since creativity was recognized as private property that could maximize profits, individual and national investments into creativity development have increased. However, these efforts have been encroached by market logic, and creativity as a narrowly defined "capacity" was taught by optimizing it for a small number of people. As such, creativity discourse using economic logic tends to minimize educational logic. K. So et al. (2016) critically examined South Korean creativity education policies and identified four types of discourses: national competitiveness, educational problem solving, character, and self-realization. They found that discourses on political and economic benefits were more dominant than character and self-realization discourses. B. Choi and S. Kim (2014) examined the ways in which the concept of creativity is recognized and utilized in the arts and cultural education policy context. Their study showed that there is an innate tension between creativity in the arts and culture field and creativity as a policy concept.

3.2.4. Summary and discussion

In curriculum studies, creativity has been viewed as an urgent need since creativity is essential for South Korea and Koreans to be competitive in a rapidly changing world. Discussion distinguishing levels of creativity, such as Big-C and little-c, became a theoretical background for creativity education in school, which had been only dealt with in the gifted education until recently. Accordingly, creativity became the main topic of the South Korean curriculum beginning in the early 2000s. Research on the South Korean curriculum focused on explaining definitions, characteristics, and components of creativity based on American psychology. There are differences in understanding and educating creativity, depending on the underlying research traditions. The dominant approach has been to view creativity as a cognitive ability and affective feature attributed to individuals (J. Yun, 2018). From this perspective, identifying the distinctive characteristics of students and developing them are considered to be the essence of creativity education. In recent years, however, new perspectives have emerged that view creativity as a procedural feature of thinking and problem-solving or as resulting from environmental features surrounding and facilitating creation. In this position, experts recommend integrating the steps of the problem-solving process into the teaching process or changing the learning environment to increase creativity.

Separate programs utilizing games, cartoons, and animations were deemed sufficient to cultivate creativity in the early stages of creativity education; however, nowadays, teaching creativity through subject curriculum is the preferred method. This tendency is closely linked with policy discourse since the 2010s that creativity ought to be fostered through subject instruction. Whether creativity raised through subject curriculum is domain-general creativity that can be transferred or domain-specific creativity limited to the subject area is still a

controversy.

Furthermore, there have been critical examinations of previous research in the field of curriculum studies since the early 2010s. Some studies investigated the meaning and value that society has placed on creativity based on the assumption that the meaning and value of creativity are socially constructed rather than existing in themselves (e.g., B. Choi & S. Kim, 2014; K. So et al., 2016). In addition, some studies presented a self-reflective voice arguing that the positive aspects of creativity have overshadowed the negative ones, while warning of its risks.

It is worth noting that the current educational landscape in South Korea predominantly discusses creativity education by borrowing from the Western concept of creativity. Herein, creativity is often regarded as a universally applicable concept, but creativity as a mental ability is not a concept that has been accepted in all ages and societies. Instead, creativity is understood differently according to time, domain, and culture (Albert & Runco, 1999; Lubart, 1999; Niu & Kaufman, 2013; Niu & Sternberg, 2002). In other words, its contemporary meaning has gained prominence through specific historical and cultural movements (Hickey-Moody, 2013b)[6], though its ubiquity makes us regard creativity as a historical concept. The

[6] From ancient to contemporary times, people have dealt with creativity in different ways in diverse contexts. In general, conceptions of creativity are divided into three distinct historical periods: the earliest mention of the Renaissance, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and the 19th century to modern times (Dacey, 2011). In ancient Greece, creativity was understood as an inspiration from the gods or a mysterious and incomprehensible ability. It was believed that the gods present divine ideas to the world through human minds and that "those who felt a creative impulse" express it with the assistance of muses (Dacey, 2011, p. 608). As Christianity emerged, standpoints linking creativity to the Biblical story of creation became dominant (Runco & Albert, 2010). Genesis, the first book of the Bible, starts with God's creation from the void, which is one of the most important doctrines of Christianity. As such, creativity at that time largely belonged to the realm of the divine. Man was able to "rework the stuff of the original creation within the limits God has established" (Weiner, 2000, p. 26), but man was not credited with the ability to make something entirely new (Niu & Sternberg, 2006; Y. Hong, 2008).

The view of creativity as an inspiration from God continued without any critical challenge for 1200 years, but it went through a radical change during the Renaissance (Runco & Albert, 2010). After the Renaissance, creativity began to be understood as an individual's excellent ability, and all works were attributed not to God but to a creator (e.g., Vasari, 2008). However, this age did not completely relinquish the belief in the one and only God; therefore, creations were still under God's purview, and artistic works were considered results of seeking divine ideas

current understanding of creativity in South Korean education is based on "the *laissez-faire* economic liberalism that emphasizes individualism as a matter of competition, choice, and freedom" (McNulty, 2019, p. 84). When creativity education is embodied in this concept, the values of the Western middle class, such as "resilience, self-reliance, persistence, and control over one's environment—in addition to future orientation and greater individualism" (Craft, 2003, pp. 120–121) infiltrate education. Indeed, in South Korean education, it has become regarded as foolish to conform to traditional values and not to willfully act, while setting and achieving one's own purpose independently from social norms is highly evaluated. Additionally, creativity is characterized as a private possession of individuals who use it as a means to socially benefit in their struggle against others, where the idea that the most creative human may win looms large in our value system. Although South Korean educational studies seem to discuss creativity in a depoliticized and neutral language, the concept of creativity that is rooted in neoliberalism can serve to reinforce the current economic system and order (jagodzinski, 2015; Russell, 2015).

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represented in nature and freeing them from materials, as seen in Michelangelo's Prisoners (Weiner, 2000). Nevertheless, these works were explained not as magic presented by the gods but as the manifestation of intelligence and dispositions of geniuses. This change in perspective was deeply tied to social changes at the time, such as the decline of serfdom, the advent of Mercantilisms, and weakened papacy due to the Protestant Reformation, which leveled the playing field for the relativization of previous assumptions and subversion of social orders (Dacey, 2011; Runco & Albert, 2010; Weiner, 2000). In addition, the scientific works of Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton, which revealed heretofore unknown concepts such as heliocentric theory and the law of gravity, convinced people of the human ability to discover new concepts and changed cultural and religious beliefs (Albert & Runco, 1999).

In modern times, the concept of individual creativity totally isolated from that of a God (Albert & Runco, 1999; Weiner, 2000). The change was implicated with the advent of new concepts, such as Darwin's theory of evolution and Marx's theory of history, as well as incipient secularism, which substantially influenced people's conceptions of creativity. Additionally, the focus on creativity became regularized in the United States during World War II and in the 1950s at the onset of mass consumption (Y. Hong, 2008). Sputnik Shock made creativity stand out at the state level as an essential ability in which everyone should be trained. After the Soviet Union beat the US in the race to launch the first satellite, the ability to create new technology and information by skillfully blending existing knowledge and experience was underlined. In addition, the mass consumption age dovetailing with the end of the world war and the onset of the cold war raised the uncertainty that could not be solved in a short period of time, which linked creativity with survival and prosperity. Since then, creativity was imparted with a new meaning, shifting from the accidental achievements of few geniuses to the status of daily skill that ordinary citizens should and could be educated in (Torrance, 1962).

It should also be examined that South Korean educational research assumes creativity as an ability attributed to an individual and its realization. The repetitive use of "creative rhetoric" employed in academic journals shows that creativity is understood as a cognitive and affective characteristic that human beings must possess (Y. Cho & J. Jeong, 2012). By treating creativity as being tied to human agents, however, we may lose the opportunity to construct radically different experiences and senses that are delinked from the traditional vantage and phenomenological experience of humans (Wallin, 2014). Put differently, such a conception of creativity makes educators indifferent to "differences happen[ing] at the pre-individual level before things/bodies even have an identity to speak of" (Beighton, 2017, p. 113). Further, it is in this way that the inhumanity of human beings can be suppressed by tethering the material and affective potential of children to the pre-established image of humans, such as that of being autonomous, independent, rational, and civilized subjects. Even though creativity education might aspire to respect differences, the conception of creativity inherent in this type of education keeps it from recognizing senses that are too strange and bizarre insofar as its conceptual limits are bounded under a scheme of "humanness."

Admittedly, ecological perspectives on creativity have pointed out that the collective characteristics of creativity cannot be fully explained in terms of individual qualification (S. Han, 2006; C. Park, 2014). They argue that creativity is not entirely individual and occurs in the middle of interactions between individuals and surroundings, like rhythm. Rhythm emerges when several notes with different phonetic values, strengths, and speeds meet, and cannot be attributed to an independent note (Russell, 2015). We cannot feel rhythms when there is a single note, but only when several notes move over time and make patterns. Recent research avoids affixing creativity to individual bodies as if it were a faculty or attribute–one that some

individual bodies merely hold by their 'nature'–and instead looks to creativity as a kind of movement that is generated 'between' rather than 'in'" (Russell, 2015, p. 347). Although the ecological perspective recognizes the coevolution of individuals and society, it still assumes that the individual's functional configuration of its variables and their boundary is not challenged in its relationship to the surroundings. In a closed-circuit system, an individual merely negotiates with others in a way that is beneficial to itself. As Clough (2008) contends, "closed to information, the organism autopoietically engages the environment, insofar as they sustain homeostasis and equilibrium for itself" (p. 11). However, considering that "each encounter is a violent penetration of bodies or souls [in which] one is wounded, changed, modified" (Goodchild, 1996, p. 207) or a mutual invagination, the concept of creativity from the ecological perspective cannot adequately address the process in which the body creates a new style of life by combining itself with others. As a result, educators may become unaware of the creative process in which the body loses itself and acts through what is not itself, surrounded by intensities of others that it cannot comprehend (Deleuze, 1978).

4. Transmission of creativity as an order-word at the level of the school curriculum

Within the creativity assemblage, there are machines that "anticipate [students' lives] or move them back, slow them down or speed them up, separate or combine them, delimit them in a different way" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 86). In other words, to ensure that creativity as an order-word can intervene in a student's body, the school curriculum introduces elements such as textbooks, learning materials, and test tools, or reconfigures the relationship between the elements. This chapter explores learning materials, assessment tools, documentaries, and more to examine how creativity functions as an order-word in the school curriculum and how it impacts students.

South Korea's school curriculum has long been divided into subject and non-subject areas (K. So, 2016b), and creativity as an order-word is also delivered in different ways depending on each area. Therefore, in this chapter, the transmission pattern of an order-word will be divided into two. One is regarding subject education that transforms students' thoughts and emotions into labor by merging existing subjects around social issues or combining them with entertainment designed to stimulate their enjoyment. The other involves integrating extracurricular activities with career education to shape students into self-developing subjects.

4.1. Subject machines: Re-forming themselves in terms of benefits and enjoyment to transform intellectual and affective activities into a productive endeavor

The South Korean national curriculum is mainly composed of subjects; each subject has its own traditional practices. However, these traditions have become unsustainable as they are judged to be unsuitable for cultivating creative talents. Subject education makes changes by adopting various devices and technologies in order to transmit creativity as an order-word. The

introduction of several devices (e.g., Problem-based learning, flipped learning, gamification, etc.) and state-of-the-art IT technologies (e.g., 3D printers, Augmented Reality, Virtual Reality) are examples. There are two major aspects of how these devices and technologies work. One aspect is to link thinking to the logic of usefulness and productivity by combining and organizing subject knowledge around social problems; the other aspect is to add entertainment and use the positive affects generated by entertaining as a learning resource.

4.1.1. Convergence education: Fettering intellectual activities to the logic of utility and productivity

Problem-Based Learning (PBL) is the most frequently used method to restructure the subjects, based on the idea that creativity is closely related to creative problem-solving ability. PBL is a learner-centered teaching method that promotes an active engagement of learners with the content through solving practical problems. It is said that PBL can draw students' attention by starting with the problems that students are familiar with and subsequently increasing their learning ability by promoting the spontaneity and purposefulness of learners. Additionally, students are expected to know the real-life value of scientific knowledge by contextualizing knowledge. Consequently, many related programs have been developed and implemented.

For example, one teacher planned a program for the second-grade science class of middle school to "use Arduino coding and a passive sampler to measure the concentration of fine dust and ultrafine dust in the classroom, and to find solutions to create a classroom environment safe from fine dust" (MoE & KOFAC, 2020, pp. 279–320).

> After reading news online about the government's measures to reduce fine dust, a boy recalled his cousin who became ill because of fine dust, and remembered his grandmother's instructions to "keep windows closed and remain indoors when fine dust is severe." The boy thought that "while the government put efforts for minimizing damage caused by fine dust, the measures for reducing fine dust in school classrooms are still insufficient. The high concentration of fine dust in classrooms, where students spend a significant amount of time in learning, will harm students' health or cause learning difficulties..." (MoE & KOFAC, 2020, p. 287)

As fine dust is a problem that is closely related to students' lives, it can easily arouse their interest. After receiving the problem, students fill in details in a table specifying the troubleshooting steps and distribute roles among the members.

Table 1: *Troubleshooting table* (MoE & KOFAC, 2020, p. 315)

	What is the problem that our team solves?	What is our tentative answer to it?	What do we already know about the problem?	What should we know more to solve the problem?	What should we do to get essential knowledge and solve the problem?
Opinions of our team					
Teacher's Feedback					

In the second class, students design a dust measuring device with Arduino and install a passive sampler that can measure ultrafine dust. In the third class, a new or reinforced solution is determined by utilizing measurement data. In fourth to sixth classes, students craft a slogan or draw a poster on how to reduce fine dust and ultrafine dust and advertise it on campus using NFC tag chips.

During PBL, students must grasp problems by themselves and solve them in cooperation with their peers. In the process, subjects such as Korean, English, and mathematics cannot be taught in a way used previously, and curriculum is restructured around the social issues. In other words, the basic concepts and knowledge of each subject are carefully selected and rearranged around activities that aim to solve social problems or create new values. Such integrated curriculum is expected to open a new field where disparate knowledge once bound by the logic of each subject results in a new form, exhibiting new connections (K. Lee, 2018). Knowledge extracted out of the original generative structure creates a new plane, that allows comprehensive understanding of phenomena. However, the potential impacts of PBL should be considered. In reality, most of the problems presented in PBL are critical issues in contemporary society, such as climate change, water shortage, fine dust problems, and reduced biodiversity. These problems are caused and disseminated through capitalist activities and can be perceived as cracks that reveal contradictions and inconsistencies in capitalism (S. Shin, 2021). If PBL in education reveals such cracks, students can fundamentally reflect on the political and economic system we are living in and move forward to seek alternatives. Nevertheless, these issues are treated as something that should be quickly sutured rather than as an opportunity to rupture the capitalist system, and the alternatives that are explored in the context of education are designed in a way that falls short of challenging the global capitalist system. In other words, students' energies are being infinitely used to maintain the current system. In this vein, PBL's capability is restricted, contributing only to maintain capitalism's complete control of not only our current lives but also the horizon of our thoughts and social imagination.

This aspect of PBL learning resonates with "capitalist realism," a concept proposed by Mark Fisher (2009). In his book of the same name, *Capitalist Realism* (2009), Fisher defines capitalist

realism as "the widespread sense that not only is capitalism the only viable political and economic system, but also that it is now impossible even to imagine a coherent alternative to it" (Fisher, 2009, p. 2). In other words, people gradually accept capitalism itself as an invincible nature and environment, and that it is impossible to imagine an alternative to capitalism even though they might witness the end of the system. As education, whose mission is to open students' minds to the possibilities of the world, is being conditioned in capitalism—capitalist realism acts as an invisible wall that constrains our thinking and behavior, eroding the imagination by portraying capitalism as a smoothly functioning and solid system.

Furthermore, creativity in these settings is obsessively bound to "pragmatism" trying to fill the perceived "deficiency" (jagodzinski, 2010a, p. 78).

> A PBL approach to educational research combines intellectual pursuits together with applied solutions to everyday problems. The combination of intellectual and practical domains is characteristic of professionalization trends. In this way, discourses of relevance, motivation and utility combine with science (a conflation of science and engineering) to render a particular professionalized world view. As a result, it has begun to make sense to look at the world in terms of problems to be solved. When we see the world in terms of problems to be solved, then knowledge pursuit must be justified in terms of applicability and utility. Applications for grant funding increasingly require an answer to the question 'So what?' which means, 'What good will this do us?' The PBL approach also circumscribes what counts as knowledge and reinforces the attitude that education ought to be about engineering: solving existing problems (Fendler, 2018, p. 1181).

PBL considers knowledge that is irrelevant to problem-solving as having no value and captures art under the logic of practicality. Therefore, it becomes impossible for students to think about creativity that is not restrained by the framework of functionality (jagodzinski, 2010a, p. 80).

Academic knowledge as a means of solving problems

How knowledge is accessed as a means of solving problems is clearly revealed in the recent combination of PBL and flipped learning. The schools conducting PBL sometimes introduce flipped learning to secure sufficient time for activities and improve student engagement. Flipped learning is an instructional method that encourages students to study contents before class by providing related materials and lecture videos. As a synthesis of the terms "Flipped learning" and "Problem-Based Learning," the combined learning method is termed as FPBL (MoE & KOFAC, 2020). Through FPBL, it is possible to reduce the time necessary for delivering subject knowledge, and students work on the project more intensively. For example, in the fine dust problem-solving class, the teacher reduces the time dedicated by students to learn how to produce a dust measuring device in a class by asking them to watch a concise overview video about the Arduino kit and its functions before attending the lecture.

In this process, knowledge is utilized as resources for problem-solving, which presupposes that knowledge is the result of recognizing the truth, and that it "continues in the same state […] as if it were independent of the condition assigned to it or of the new value which is added to it" (Deleuze, 1994, p. 153). However, this approach misunderstands the nature of knowledge. In reality, knowledge is one tentative solution engendered under the conditions of problems which continuously generate differences at the level of ideals. Even after grounding, however, "far from disappearing in this overlay, a problem insists and persists in these solutions" (Deleuze, 1994, p. 163). For this reason, the "grounded" status of knowledge could easily metamorphosize, and one who encounters knowledge identifies the fundamental problem and hence participates in the movement of establishing new ground (C. Gim & J. Bae, 2012). Nevertheless, to use knowledge as a mere tool is nothing more than taking an example out of context and arbitrarily erecting it

into models (Deleuze, 1994, p. 158). In other words, the establishment of models for thinking limits opportunities to generate new knowledge by considering a single provisional solution and representation as valid in itself (J. Park et al., 2019).

Art as "an aesthetic vapor into all facets of lived-life" (jagodzinski, 2012, p. 62)

How art is reterritorialized in the process of problem-solving can be examined clearly through STEAM education. STEAM education is a pedagogical approach that aims to nurture creative talents toward solving real-life problems through classes that integrate science, technology, engineering, art, and mathematics (Yakman, 2010). STEAM education is similar to the PBL in that it draws various subjects into relation with certain issues and problems; however, while STEAM education reflects all five subjects, the integrated subject in PBL varies depending on the issues considered.

For example, in the "Rescue Robot Design Project" (MoE et al., 2014), students are supposed to watch a disaster movie (e.g., *Tower* (2012)) and discuss what steps to take in the disaster situation portrayed in the movie. After such a discussion, teachers present a real problem; subsequently, students plan to design a rescue robot. One of these real problems is specified below:

> A year after the Fukushima nuclear disaster, robots were deployed at the site since the environment was dangerous to humans. The robots were deployed with tasks such as moving nuclear fuel to safe places, desalinizing the plant, repairing damaged parts of the nuclear power plant, processing contaminated water, filling the entire containment structure with water for cooling, and completing the extraction of nuclear fuel. Recently, however, the robots were found to be damaged on stranded inside the nuclear power plant. What were the reasons for these robot failures? Is the robots' failures a structural problem or due to the nuclear power plant? (MoE et al., 2014, p. 4)

Lastly, students write a synopsis about their project in which their own rescue robot is used. In this program, the elements of science, technology, engineering, art, and mathematics are reflected as follows.

Table 2: *The elements of STEAM* (MoE et al., 2014, p. 3)

	Contents
S (Science)	● The scientific principles of robots ● The science laws related to the operation of robots
T (Technology)	● The development process of humanoid robots ● Robotic sensors
E (Engineering)	● Designing humanoid robots to tackle disasters ● Exploring configuration devices of robots
A (Arts)	● Design of humanoid robots ● Writing synopsis in which a robot is the main character
M (Math)	● The algorithm of robots ● Calculating the appropriate mass and size of robots

As observed in the above Table 2, art has been treated as a design element in which the end-product is arranged or shaped. In other words, "art becomes a gas or liquid that enters like an aesthetic vapor into all facets of lived-life: fashion, design, politics, entrepreneurship, humanitarianism, and the environment" (jagodzinski, 2012, p. 62; Michaud, 2007). The tendency to relegate art to the status of design has something to do with the aestheticization of the world. In contemporary consumer capitalism society, the external appearance of products or an image given to products becomes more important than the actual products (jagodzinski, 2008; E. Kang, 2020). In other words, goods become symbolized, standing for more than what the products themselves are, and the "sur(face) aesthetic increases the shine of things, attracting the eye of

desire" (jagodzinski, 2008, p. 151). Companies have recently started to focus more on marketing, designs, and consumer behavior studies to provoke consumers' desires and impulses (Klein, 2000). As such aestheticization infiltrates into the STEAM education, students learn how to mobilize art for forming surface appearances beyond the reality of objects through manipulation of signs (jagodzinski, 2010b, p. 1).

In this process, however, art loses its value as a redoubtable force. According to Giorgio Agamben (1999), art has the surprising and even bizarre power to create existence and the world through work. In *The Man Without Content* (1999), Agamben points out that the Greeks considered the artistic process as *poeisis*. *Poeisis* is the power that brings something into a state of existence, constructing a world for human life. It is not a willful and practical production of humans within a given world (called *praxis*) but an origin of something without purpose. As the once differentiated terms *poeisis* and *praxis* became indistinguishable in the Western cultural tradition, however, art lost "the very notion of pro-duction as the non-representational opening of what is in a manner unequal to the creative impulse or willing action of the artist" (jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013, p. 86). With the absence of pro-duction, art is the rendering of a world transformed in an artist's image rather than building a new world for human dwelling. In modern times, the ability of art as *poeisis* to determine culture itself has been weakened, but it ceases to simply function as one side of culture. For Agamben, if we overlook the poeitic aspects of art, we will be trapped in the inherent cycle of the will to achieve *good,* which makes it impossible to open the space of truth by manifesting things from the darkness (Agamben, 1999; Murray, 2010). Nevertheless, in STEAM, art is subject to human will with its magical powers being severed, only sustaining the given world and falling short of going as far as creating new aesthetics.

4.1.2. Combined with entertainment: Exploiting affective activities for achieving pre-determined outcomes

Creativity can be developed through specially designed one-off projects or interdisciplinary programs; however, it has been argued that creativity should be fostered in everyday classes of all subjects (S. Choi, 2006; H. Kang, 2011). Accordingly, creative teaching and learning methods that can be used in general classes have been devised. These methods mainly focus on drawing students' inherent interests and abilities and processing them in a productive way. Specifically, students' energy is drawn and managed through a number of pedagogically designed devices (e.g., gamification) or state-of-the-art IT technologies. The devices and technologies are expected to make students' learning experiences vivid and immersive, blurring the boundary between learning and playing.

Adopting gamification to make learning fun and engaging

In 2018, one of the teacher researchers' associations for creativity education developed a creativity education program called "Exploring our bodies with gamification" (E. Kim et al., 2018). Here, gamification refers to "activities that adopt game elements to evoke interest and motivation, block distractions, […] promote learning, and solve problems" (D. Kim, 2020). In this program, sixth grade elementary school students are supposed to learn the structure and function of human bodies through various games. These include 14 quests prepared for six classes, and each group performs two quests at a time, 20 minutes per quest. Quests include making paper models of a human skeleton, building bones and muscles using straws and envelopes, solving problems in textbooks by observing human models (digestion, circulation,

respiration, and excretion), and experiencing the human body through Virtuali-tee, an augmented reality-based application.[7]

As game has become pervasive, children feel comfortable learning through games. Immediate feedback and learning environments optimized for individual learners' choices promote student immersion in the task and enhance learning outcomes. However, it is necessary to think about whether or not gamification restricts students' potential. While every single game is unfolded differently depending on who plays it and how they react to quests, it never deviates from its primary structure. In other words, a "drift" beyond designed steps cannot be imagined, and the virtual has no choice but to be enveloped in a particular way. When designing a human skeleton, for example, students may have an idea for a new dance movement or storyline, but to move swiftly on to the next quest, they have to disregard this inspiration and answer the game's requests. Of course, combinations of children's choices vary from time to time, which can lead to unpredictable outcomes. However, the "process-oriented evaluation" conducted by teachers during the games eventually force students to control their behavior, leading to the variation being arrayed into a series of routines. With the regular evaluation of students' performance and competence, gamification subtly encourages competition among students and manipulates students' hopes for a better life (jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013).

Using advanced technology to enhance students' learning experience

In South Korean education, the use of various IT technologies is encouraged for developing students' creativity; this is a result of the Fourth Industrial Revolution discourse that has

[7] Virtuali-tee is an augmented reality-based application that enables users to explore the functioning of organs in a human body, helping students to learn anatomy.

gradually emerged since 2010. Accordingly, students visit virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) experience centers, that enable them to virtually experience unfamiliar things, such as outer space and dinosaurs. In school, teachers also utilize applications such as "Augment" (D. Shin, 2016); "Augment" is an AR application that integrates 3D models into the actual environment. In a math class, students learn three dimensional figures by looking at the top, bottom, and side of the figures via the application. The use of AR is expected to increase students' interest and participation in classes since study topics seem and feel realistic through AR.

When using VR and AR, the possibility of creating a new reality increases as the firm distinction between the real and virtual becomes blurred, resulting in human perceptions of reality being cracked. By defamiliarizing tendencies of the bodies in the world, VR and AR leads to an "unexpected" and "accidental" combination of students and the world. Additionally, inhuman machines can become "the threshold to many possible worlds" (Braidotti, 2013, p. 94) by allowing the "radical transversal relations that generate new modes of subjectivity" (Braidotti, 2013, p. 92). For example, in the field of art, an experiment attempting to communicate with animals (especially bats) through advanced technology was conducted. The artist Eduardo Kac set up a complex interface, *called batbot*, between humans and bats, which received and released ultrasounds in the same way as bats, while visualizing and displaying information about bat behavior on the screen. The experiment allowed humans to experience the sensory conditions of different species, that provided the opportunity for humans (the Anthropos) to encounter unfamiliar sensory conditions, thereby making them unstable and creating new capacities and sensory experiences beyond the current ones (H. Jeon, 2015).

However, the use of VR and AR in South Korean education seems to be territorialized in a way that strengthens the boundaries of the existing world, rather than dismantling "already defined" relationships or eliciting unexpected new combinations. As an example, augment 3D may disrupt human perception and cause people to view things inhumanely, but it is used primarily to facilitate the efficient learning of stereoscopic shapes. Put differently, the South Korean education remains to anthropomorphize strangers which VR and AR makes perceptible or to find reflection of humans in them, rather than pursuing "new ethical relations to life that do not reflect in the image of human" with VR and AR in hybrid ecologies (Wallin, 2014, p. 157). Consequently, the unfamiliar affects and senses aroused by VR and AR are bounded by an image of human life again. In summary, although schools in South Korea embrace up-to-date software and hardware technologies, they allow a limited function to a technology/machine, expecting them to only promote the efficiency of existing educational practices. Thus, experimenting with new value systems becomes impossible.

4.1.3. Summary and discussion

The South Korean educational reform for creativity was part of the deterritorialization movement of neoliberal capitalism, and as the collective assemblage of enunciation commanded "Be creative!", schools disbanded the existing codes. Accordingly, the contents and teaching methods in elementary and secondary education were reorganized and reterritorialized. The programs and materials designed by KOFAC showed how school curriculum was de/re/territorialized to form the creativity assemblage and what changes they brought about in "ways of doing, forms of perceiving, affective intensities, and more" (Highmore, 2010, p. 128).

Education programs to promote creativity selected the basic concepts and knowledge of each subject and rearranged them around activities that aim to solve social problems or create new values. In this process, ostensibly impractical contents have been reduced or fused with subjects in the context of "interdisciplinary" application and its intrinsic logic of deterritorialization. Education for creativity not only reconstructs curriculums, but also introduces new teaching techniques or technologies to the classes. Teaching techniques, such as gamification, play a role in invigorating students' interest and providing scaffolds; and technology, such as VR and AR, expands students' experiences beyond human common senses.

The (in)corporeal transformations of various machines contributed to extracting, processing, managing, and engineering the potential energy of students in a specific way. For example, several pedagogically designed devices, like gamification, draw out students' latent abilities. The devices activate students' ability to affect and be affected by giving children the feeling of freedom, simultaneously channeling their invigorated energy into the preestablished purpose through deftly set up environments. Additionally, the revised curriculum also encourages students to view and approach their lives and the world only with the logic of utility and practicality. FPBL and STEAM education make children accept capitalist realism and seal the cracks of the current society, rather than causing them to rupture, leading to a new society. Through the current education system, students come to see the world as a resource to be monetized and to form not a productive relation of "becoming" but goal means relation.

The extraction and administration of students' potentials is closely related to a post-industrial society, "a changeover from a goods-producing society to an information or knowledge society" (Bell, 1973, p. 487). Within the knowledge economy, capitalism has no choice but to invent new concepts to inspire needs and drive consumerism. Additionally, creativity is considered crucial to

address the ongoing demand for innovation (Russell, 2015). Capital power exploits the matter and energy from the new creation to transform it into capital, and captures, habituates, and co-opts the new, which eventually makes it common and banal (jagodzinski, 2010a). South Korean schooling is also placed under the demand for capital, and a part of this machinic process shifts creativity into a one-way and limited problem-solving process, focusing primarily on utility and productivity. Thus, capitalism reterritorializes new ideas of creativity upon pre-constituted circuits of organization and flow. Although this seemingly empowers these individuals and helps develop their potential, these movements frame what kinds of creativity are valuable and where humanity's creative energies should go. In summary, our imagining of all possibilities is processed through the logic of capital; thus, only the relative deterritorialization of capitalism can be achieved. In this vein, "creativity under capitalism is not creative at all because it only produces *more of the same* form of society; it merely replicates existing capitalist registers into ever-deeper recesses of socioeconomic life" (Mould, 2018, p. 41).

4.2. Extra activity machines: Creating a self-developing subject in conjunction with career education

In regard to the cultivation of creative talents, one of the most prominent phenomena in the 2010s is the close connection between creativity and career education (C. Park & Y. Kim, 2013). This phenomenon started in the late 2000s. The 2009 revised national curriculum, for example, introduced "career activities" as a part of "creative experiential activities" (MEST, 2009b). This curriculum of "career activities" enables students to explore career paths that fit their aptitudes and talents by letting students see, hear, feel, and think various things for themselves to create a new (MEST, 2009b). The subject named "Career and Occupation" was also introduced in the

middle school as an elective subject, in addition to "career activities" in creative experiential activities and the "exam-free semester" in middle school (E. Jung et al., 2018; J. Moon & K. So, 2013). As *the first comprehensive plan for career education (2010-2013)* (Interagency Team, 2010) was announced, and the Park Geun-hye administration (2013–2017) advocated happiness education that develops students' dreams and talents under the banner of promoting creative economy; consequently, the status between creativity education and career education became relatively equal. The most explicit example of this trend is the "exam-free semester system" introduced in 2013. This system intends to facilitate students' self-directed career designs by allowing them to recognize their dreams and talents without the burden of examinations for a period of one semester (Interagency Team, 2013; MoE, 2013a). Even the "high school credit system," which will be introduced nationwide in 2025 (MoE, 2017), can be perceived in a similar context. Each of them are clearly different in character, but the activities are mainly focused on the following three contents: 1) To form an integrated image of the self by learning more about one's interests, aptitudes, personality, values, etc. through career-related tests, 2) to obtain information about the occupational world and place the self within a standardized occupational classification system, and 3) to explore the real world of work through career-related experience and to make a reasonable career decision based on understanding about oneself and the occupational world (MoE, 2012). The three areas of learning are expected to help students to contribute to the creative economy by actively expressing their aptitudes and talents.

4.2.1. Career-related tests: Developing a sense of self through psychological categories

Since 1997, the South Korean government has built a website named the "Career Net" (https://www.career.go.kr/) that allows elementary and secondary school students to obtain information pertaining to career paths and college admission and to receive various career-related tests and associated counseling. MoE (2013b) encourages all students to take career-related tests more than twice a year and to get professional counseling on the results. As the inspection is free, it is easy for many students to avail of these resources. There are six different tests, all of which are divided into elementary and secondary versions: *the Vocational Personality Test, Work Value Test, Career Maturity Test, Vocational Interest Test (H), Vocational Interest Test (K), and Career Development Competencies Assessment*. Most tests are designed to be completed in approximately 20 minutes. The following section mainly focuses on the *Vocational Personality Test* and *Vocational Interest Test (H)* to investigate how they function as an apparatus of capturing students' career-related aptitude.

The Vocational Personality Test

The *Vocational Personality Test* is designed to assess children's abilities and inform upon children's potential for different occupations. The test for middle school students consists of 66 questions; for high school students, the test consists of 88 questions, wherein statements such as "I can bend my body well," "I can style hair well," "I can think of a developmental figure by seeing solid figures" are answered on a 7-point scale. The test exemplifies the ability level corresponding to 2 (difficult) and 6 (easy) for each question so that students can judge their current state against a 7-point scale. For example, when asked if "I can think of a developmental

figure by seeing solid figures," a student is supposed to check 2 if they find it difficult to draw the figure of a triangular prism, while checking 6 indicates that they can draw the figure of a soccer ball. Students' abilities are presented based on 11 categories: physical and athletic ability, dexterity, spatial perception, musical ability, creativity, language ability, logical-mathematical ability, self-reflection, interpersonal skills, affinity toward nature, and artistic and visual ability. The scores of each area are presented in percentages, and the top three areas are specified, with recommended occupational areas and methods to supplement each ability. For example, if a student had a high score in affinity toward nature, creativity, and interpersonal skills, occupations such as animal trainers, veterinarians (affinity toward nature), insect food product developers/cooks (affinity toward nature, creativity), and veterinary technicians (affinity toward nature, interpersonal skills) would be suggested as recommended occupations. Furthermore, if a student indicated a job that s/he is interested in, the result also shows their current proficiency level in the categories that are required for the job, and the necessity and methods of supplementation. When a student indicates "mail carrier" as the desired job, the abilities needed for a mail carrier, such as physical and athletic ability and interpersonal skills, are presented, and if they are lacking in physical and athletic ability, the program suggests activities such as climbing, stretching, and jogging to develop the ability.

It is necessary to think whether the differences in abilities that students generate can be properly recognized by dividing children's abilities into several types and displaying their degree of aptitude in such areas. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), an essence of being that makes it describable as "this," that is, as what Deleuze and Guattari term a "haecceity," are not those conceptually identifiable contents but rather an intense state of individuation that drives qualitative differences and the transformation of bodies (Deleuze & Parnet, 1977). Put

differently, every being has an ontological ability to continuously change, and there are differences-in-itself which cannot be easily organized or captured through the division of ontological and affective modes into silos of capability (Deleuze, 1994). Nevertheless, the *Vocational Personality Test* attempts to conceptualize differences based on identity, similarity, and opposition, that eventually replaces difference-in-itself with conceptualized differences. The test only addresses difference-in-degree which is predicated on an underlying image of ontology and articulated with a single measure rather than considering difference-in-kind without any reference point from which difference is distinguished (Deleuze, 1994). Differences have been regarded as incidental when compared to identity in the *Vocational Personality Test*, and what the test deals with is only the relative degree of difference distinguished from a core identity (E. Kim, 2019, p. 2). Given that our beings "realiz[e] from within difference particular identities under particular conditions," and that "those identities do not cast themselves adrift from difference [but be] suffused with difference" (May, 2005, p. 129), privileging identity over difference can paradoxically envelop differences in a representational schema bound to its derivative reference from a prevailing model for thinking being.

The Vocational Interest Test (H) which interrupts students reaching Body without Organs (BwO)

The *Vocational Interest Test (H)* provides information on types of interests and detailed occupations related to those types. Specifically, the test matches students with occupations suited to their abilities and talents by examining what kind of activities they feel (un)pleasant about in their daily lives. The test consists of 155 questions, and each question presents an activity like "expressing my thoughts in writing," "writing a report using a table or graph," and "raising

companion animals" with a Likert scale-style of response ("I hate it very much," "I hate it," "I like it," and "I like it very much"). Each question is classified into six themes based on the Holland Occupational Themes (RIASEC), which makes it possible to confirm themes to which a student positively responds. The test result provides students with the top three themes (i.e., themes with the highest response), and at the same time matches each theme with the related occupations, categorized into 17 groups. For example, students who like activities such as writing, dancing, singing, and acting are classified as Type A (Art type), characterized as "having rich sensitivity," "being interested in art fields (art, music, literature, etc.)," "having a unique personality," "feeling interested in topics in which they can demonstrate creativity," and "expressing emotions candidly and freely." Based on this, the result recommends singer, painter, broadcasting writer, actor, and film director as future occupations, in addition to providing information regarding how to realize the career.

The *Vocational Interest Test (H)* assumes that if a student finds an area to which his/her body positively responds to; subsequently, schools should educate the body, helping to enhance the potentials of the body. This test attempts to clearly recognize individual differences existing between children and pays attention to each uniqueness. Additionally, it instills in students' mind a sense that all humans have different temperaments and can have different occupations depending on their own characteristics, which is especially valuable in South Korea, where only a few professions are highlighted and attract a majority of students (J. Lee, D. Han, & Y. Park, 2016). However, the test is likely to hinder the students' ability to transform. Indeed, it is difficult to pin down the feelings about an activity, and no one can say clearly where "like" ends and "hate" begins. However, if the body only chooses something it likes by consciously

separating what brings it pleasure and displeasure, the body may miss the opportunities to become by compounding its transformative potential with what it thinks it does not like.

Even when a body encounters an activity that does not match its current state and may feel uncomfortable and abominable, such feelings themselves do not signify that the activity does not fit with the body in nature, and that the activity cannot increase the capacity of the body in future. Rather, if the body endures such feelings and finds a chance to connect other bodies in an unpredictable way, it could increase the affective power to transform by cracking the boundaries that have already been demarcated, thereby estranging accustomed relationships. Put differently, performing unpleasant activities can liberate the body from automatic reactions and habitual behaviors and enables it to become *Body without Organs* (BwO). "The BwO can be understood as the unknown potential of 'becoming,' as that which remains once we have broken with the dominant patterns of the subjectified self" (Evans, 2015, p. 41). Every actual body holds a virtual dimension beneath its substantial configuration. It is a genetic ground of the actual body, like "a vast reservoir of potential traits, connections, affects, movements, etc." (Saussy & Lenoir, 2018, p. 152). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) adopted the term "*Body without Organs*" from Antonin Artaud as the name for the matter and energy that exists before and under the coordination of the organs. Only when a body makes itself BwO, it can be renewed without being trapped in a specific state.

Admittedly, the experiments for freeing the body are not easy and might induce a pain-causing process. "Yoga is [such] a BwO experience leading towards new becomings" (Maylynno, 2017, para. 5) which is accompanied by pain. One of the yoga poses, *Yoganidrasana*, which involves crossing one's feet behind the head, placing them across the neck, and holding one's hands behind the back, keeps external rotators and hamstring muscles from doing habituated

movements and allows them to go into a zone of transformation. Someone who does not usually use these muscles can feel pain, but repetitive practice can increase the range of motion and activate the flow of the body's power-fullness. In this posture, one retreats from external stimuli like a tortoise going into its shell and allows one to gradually feel a sense of connection with the universe. Similarly, students can break the organic relations of the body and becomes the BwO by actively coupling with affective objects and by somehow enduring and adjusting "the uncomfortable feelings" with an activity, which may be a difficult process. However, the *Vocational Interest Test (H)* gives students a chance to avoid these difficulties and gain stability by dismissing unpleasurable activities as essentially discordant.

In order for the body to actualize its virtuality, education should help students to actualize a full BwO with caution by gradually assembling the parts, elements, particles, and molecules (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). In other words, the body should go through a process of deterritorialization without destroying organic tissues completely during learning process. Produced by careful dismantling, the full BwO expands the potentials of the body through redistributing intensities, redirecting forces, and reforming connections, habits, and traits. Conversely, too sudden or violent destratification only generates an empty BwO which falls short to produce the point at which it could take the organism apart (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Moreover, eliminating any distinction between parts altogether produces the cancerous BwO which is excessive sedimentation, extracting the homogenized materials from a destratified body and reproducing only the same (Protevi, 2000b). In the end, the latter two do not liberate desires flowing in the body but instead suppress them. To free the body, precautions are needed in education.

4.2.2. "Career and Occupation": Placing the self within a standardized occupational classification system

Career and occupation has long operated as an elective subject in middle and high schools, and it is often dealt with in creative experiential activity even if it is not designated as an elective subject (J. Kim et al., 2015; E. Jung, et al., 2018). Its brief history is as follows: career and occupation was separated as an independent subject from high school technology and home economics in the 7th national curriculum (MoE, 1997b). It was established as a middle school elective subject in the 2009 revised curriculum as the demand for expanding career education increased and the call for developing students' career competencies attracted national attention. According to the survey on the condition of career education in elementary and secondary education, 93.6% of middle school students and 85.2% of high school students attended the career and occupation class as of 2018, and career and occupation classes showed the highest attendance rate among career-related activities in school (E. Jung et al., 2018).

Most career and occupation classes utilize a textbook which schools select from various authorized textbooks. South Korea has the system of official approval and sanction on textbooks so that only minor differences exist between the authorized textbooks. That is, all textbooks are composed of four units: "self-understanding and social competence development," "understanding of the occupational world," "career exploration," and "career design and preparation." Additionally, middle school and high school textbooks have the same structure. The following paragraph aims to explore one career and occupation textbook for middle school (S. Kim et al., 2018) and high school (D. Jung et al., 2018).

The first chapter of the career and occupation textbook aims to explore the characteristics of the self and form a unified self-image (S. Kim et al., 2018; D. Jung et al., 2018). This is in

parallel with the career-related tests. It consists of various activities to explore one's own strengths, weaknesses, abilities, and characteristics, followed by the comprehensive analysis of the results to integrate them. Students are encouraged to build positive self-awareness based on an integrated self-identity. The second chapter explores the occupational world of South Korean society. It states that students may be difficult to get a job if they do not understand the changes and requirements of the professional world properly because society is changing rapidly with the development of science and technology, and many traditional jobs are disappearing while new ones are emerging. Therefore, the middle school textbook enables students to have time to understand the structure and conditions of the current occupational world by exploring the National Competence Standard (NCS) provided by the government (S. Kim et al., 2018). The high school textbook encourages students to predict what occupations will exist in the future in their areas of interest and what qualifications the occupation will require (D. Jung et al., 2018). Furthermore, there is a separate chapter that advises students to consider launching a start-up or creating a new job in preparation for the precarious future.

For this part, time is allocated for students to explore their interests and the occupational world to enable them to decide their career path. The separation of the "I" as an integrated organism and "the occupational world" as an external environment to which the organism should adapt to underlies the way time is allocated in this part. Within this separation, occupations are conceptualized as activities that organisms strategically perform based on their attributes for a certain period to survive in the environment, and career education is a process in which organisms improve themselves and develop the power to change the environment in order their survivability. However, it is suspicious that the "I" is an integrated one in-itself. Rather, following Deleuze (1994), we might imagine the subject as a multiplicity that allows alliances

between heterogeneous parts so that it is always fractured, dispersed, and ramified. If one attempts to fix it into one state, a body has to "defend itself in not matching up to its own idea of, and ideal for, itself" (Davies, 2014, p. 36). In other words, putting the fictional subject ahead of its action and movement to strategically achieve a goal narrows spaces of possibility, which limits the creative evolution of the body. Creating a new style of life is more like "extract[ing] variable singularities from […] multiplicities of lived experience" (Smith, 2012, p. 185) than constructing an integrated self and realizing an essence of the substance. It should be accompanied by "stepping back from habitual ways of acting and reacting" and actualizing potentials by performing a new subjectivity with the other bodies (Davies, 2014, p. 36). Nevertheless, if such a struggle against the self is not undertaken, all the efforts to direct one's career fall into self-replication.

The career and occupation textbooks portray "occupations" in a highly molar way. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) distinguish two different types of political bodies in terms of "their perceptibility, representational legibility, mode of organization and consistency" (Merrimam, 2019, p. 66). Molar entities are "highly organized, easily represented and expressed, and are perceived as clearly demarcated assemblages," while molecular movements are "unruly, operating below the threshold of perception and associated with becomings of innumerable kinds" (Merriman, 2019, pp. 66–67). According to the distinction, an occupation dealt with in the textbook is a molar one which is named after certain relations that individuals compose with in their relationship with the world. For example, when someone is helping or leading another person's learning, s/he is called a teacher. However, under such effable and administrable regimes, there are always affects and intensities of teaching that vary from person to person, and that of one person fluctuate with who they are teaching. For this reason, if there are ten thousand

teachers, there are ten thousand types of teaching methods. Even if similar characteristics of teaching can be drawn from all methods, there are always molecular differences that are irreducible to the inductive characteristics. However, by arraying different activities into identifiable patterns and mobilizing universality, the occupation reduces and flattens the wide range of variations existing in the real world of jobs, which positions itself as the standard for understanding different activities. In this vein, presenting standardized features of jobs can be risky in that it makes students keep appraising themselves in light of the features; students may feel that they are not suitable for certain jobs or will put efforts that are limited to imitating a formalized appearance.

4.2.3. Experience in career-related fields: Managing and optimizing the self to synchronize with the professional world

Based on an understanding of the occupational world, students are asked to specify a desired job and to study to get the job in a self-directed manner. In this process, students are first encouraged to find out which high school or college they should go to, which expert they should meet to understand their work, or which job site they should visit to understand the nature of the job. It is emphasized that students experience the world of work outside school during the exam-free semester; additionally, a special lecture series including experts as speakers should be held in school more frequently for high school students (N. Park, 2020). In these processes, teachers play a role of providing information and arranging various events. This paragraph tries to explore what happens during career experience through an EBS documentary, *Education opening the future. Education opening the future* (2016) which was designed to present the future direction of

education by examining various educational agendas and introducing best practices of public education. In this context, it also introduced the best practices of career experience events.

Osan-si's Innovation Support Education has been operating a system for supporting the exam-free semester called "School of [experiencing] tomorrow in advance" since 2015 (J. Lee, S. Lee, & Y. Park, 2016). The total budget for this system is approximately 120 million won per year, including costs of materials for activities at job sites, training coaches, and vehicles. Accordingly, 92 job experience sites in 30 different areas are established, and vehicles such as taxis and buses for movement are supported (students pay partial fees). Fifty-five trained parents-career coaches accompany student groups; these coaches receive 40 hours training in advance and have a responsibility to conduct inspections before activities proceed. Parents-coaches have three main duties: to secure safety during all elements of activities and ensuring that activities are conducted in an orderly and systemized manner; to promote activities and boost students' mood; to conduct pre- and post-activity reflection to allow students to deepen their learning by preparing for and reflecting on activities. With these supports, one group of students visit a car maintenance center to see how the actual mechanics tune up a car, and go under the car to check the drain cock. The other group visits Osan-si City Hall's in-house broadcasting station, and have an opportunity to control cameras or to broadcast news as an anchor.

Through such activities, students' views are widened as there is a huge gap between learning about occupations and experiencing them in reality. Additionally, pre- and post-activity reflection conducted by parents-coaches, for example, including creating a mind map of related concepts arranged around the selected occupation, allows students to systematically organize their experiences. However, it is difficult for students to form new apperceptions, events, and assemblages through one-off career experiences. There should be plenty of time for students to

feel the gestures and movements of experts, acquire new bodily habits, and create their own unique way of interacting with the world (Cutler & MacKenzie, 2011). Otherwise, the experience falls short of generating sensations, and simply prepares students to given representations of the world. Furthermore, the solitary field trip only shows a fragment of a professional life to students; consequently, they are unable to understand the socioeconomic conditions surrounding a particular job.

The Gangdong Center for Career Experience operates a youth business club to enhance children's abilities and self-directed competence as future workers (J. Lee, D. Han, & Y. Park, 2016). Activities of the club include encouraging product planning, product production, product sales and even sharing and donating products to the community through a flea market. It started in May 2015 with 10 students from different schools, who were divided into management, marketing, and design teams, similar to the functioning of actual companies. The main activities were organizing a flea market with the community (February 27–28, 2016), which was held 2–3 times a week at most and 2–3 times a month at least. First, they explored other flea markets for planning their flea market, which enabled them to conceive the overall purpose and theme of flea markets; subsequently, they experienced the development and production of goods by completing vocational training for a cultural planner, barista, and candle designer. These activities were expected to develop students' understanding of the market economy, helping them to contribute to local communities by providing interesting cultural contents to local residents and returning profits to low-income students in the form of scholarships.

These activities present the creative ethos (self-development, innovative spirit, entrepreneurialism, and freedom) (Fougere & Solitander, 2010), instilling the fantasy of a rose-colored future in which they are one step ahead of others owing to creativity. Based on this

ethos, students conceptualize their lives as an enterprise and decide to become independent entrepreneurs. They are "striving to be themselves, finding meaningful work, searching for communities that let them validate their identities" (p. 47). Even if students are not consciously enthusiastic about creativity, they would view the image of a creative life in a positive light. In other words, students have no choice but to discipline themselves to manage and develop themselves with the anxiety of being left behind due to their lack of creativity. At this point, the issues of inequality insidiously shift to the side of productiveness and competitiveness. In the advanced industrial structure and the continuation of employment-free growth, individuals inevitably experience various failures in their lives. In the creative ethos in which every student is an enterprise, however, their failure is not a matter of social structure but of individuals who do not manage their lives well and do not win the competition. They only hear that they should be "held up not as poverty-stricken social malcontents but as triumphant 'pioneers of the new economy'" (Haiven, 2014, p. 201). As such, creativity works in a way that rehabilitates and further strengthens neoliberalism at the point where neoliberalism fails (Mould, 2018).

After completing career experiences, students are supposed to make reasonable decisions based on their own characteristics (personal factors), surrounding environments (environmental factors), and a variety of information about the occupational world (vocational factors). The rational decision-making includes determining measurable alternatives which can be realized and implemented, based on the given information (D. Jung et al., 2018, p. 169). Career decisions should be followed by career designs, such as exploring high schools and colleges based on students' current grades and lists of activities. In the overall process, students should also be encouraged to systematically record all activities such as taking career-related tests, career counseling, and career experience on the website called *Edupot* (now https://www.all.go.kr/).

Teachers are supposed to approve the records of students, using the outcomes of these activities as a reference point for planning character education and career and vocational education. The contents to be documented include the motivation, appreciation of career consultation, experience of visiting an advanced school and companies, vocational training, and details of other experiences (MoE, 2013b).

There is a positive possibility that the documentation as a machine can contribute to "produce a multiplicity of differentiated knowledge from a specific event" (Taguchi, 2009, p. 67). As disparate experiences are interwoven into one pedagogical documentation, a sense of the experiences and student subjectivity are constituted, which impacts actions as well. In other words, it can be seen as "a direct material engagement with the world" (Barad, 2006, p. 49). However, simultaneously, the apparatus may function to incorporate students into an institutionalized and stratified life. The compulsory framework suggested by institutions is made use of for documentation, and it may "offer constraints on or limitations to what is produced as [self] knowledge, and even produce exclusions of ways of knowing" (p. 67). For instance, students' school record (portfolio) is used as evidence that shows his/her "self-directedness" in the admissions officer system and the comprehensive school records screening system. In other words, pedagogical documents are used to appreciate how clearly a student recognizes their goal and has worked hard for it. However, ironically, to get a good evaluation, students cannot help but identify a major and college that they want to enroll in from the first year of high school; consequently, they systematically arrange their experiences in accordance with it (N. Park, 2020). Even if someone decides their career path after agonizing for a while, s/he may not be able to select it as their experiences up to that point have not been recorded in a linear way. Additionally, there are implicit rules for the kind of activities that can and cannot be written;

therefore, the activities do not contribute significantly to college admission have no value and are consequently slightly pursued.

4.2.4. Summary and discussion

Reasonable and strategic career decision-making in creative career education means that a student is pinned down by the model of life around which experiences are made to converge. Given that the "I" is not the one at the center of all experiences but emerges through such experiences, clarifying "I" prior to such an experience is an impossible task. Additionally, the goal-oriented performance can make students become blind to the entities lying outside the periphery of the goal, which may lead to their failure in seizing the possibilities of new becomings (Kidd, 2015). Preloaded with representation, this creative career education cannot carry a body to exceed their limits.

The film *Queen of Walking* (2016) illustrates the hasty conclusion of career education. Lee Man-bok, the protagonist of *Queen of Walking*, is a high school student who walks for 2 hours to attend classes as she cannot use public travel services due to severe motion sickness. The homeroom teacher who comes across her story urges her to join track and field club and become a "race walker," deciding that Man-bok has a talent for walking. The fact that Lee Man-bok does not hate walking and does often walk becomes excellent evidence for the homeroom teacher to judge that she should be a race walker. Regarding another student who likes to play a recorder, the homeroom teacher recommends her to major in music. This shows a tendency to hastily connect students' interest or talent in something with a specific major and occupation (N. Park, 2020, p. 169). Teachers commit themselves to find a job for their students that allows the students to realize their passions. They seem to think of it as their mission to determine students'

talents and help them realize their dreams. In the atmosphere where doing nothing for the future is regarded with unhappiness, students have no choice but to accept teachers' recommendations and follow the suggested way as a shortcut to becoming "a professional."

This case is also observed in real life. *Einstein* (2015–2019) is a reality entertainment program that observes gifted children. It shows their daily lives and surroundings to explore what brought out their potential. For instance, the show sheds light on the strange behaviors of a 9-year-old boy who loves elevators and studies them, such as sensing the speed of the elevators' going up and down, the sound of doors opening and closing, and the shape of the elevator buttons. He likes the elevator since he considers it a magical space. Whenever the elevator closes and opens, it seems to him to move in a moment because it carries him to another space. This is a moment for him to move away from the overdetermined way of thinking which sees the elevator as only a "device to carry people or cargo up and down using power," becoming able to produce new perceptions and conceptions. This is to consider the becoming-elevator of the child. After observing his life, however, the program gives the child an opportunity to meet college students majoring in elevators and visit elevator companies. The intention of the activity is to let his parents, who cannot understand his behavior, know the meaning of the behavior so that they become reassured of the value of their child's eccentric life. However, this activity ironically limits the child's potential by thinking of it only in relation to the existing professional world. Should his being attracted to elevators necessarily be connected to being a major in industrial mechanics or working in elevator mechanics? Is it not possible for him to become an artist who produces new signs through the perceptions formed through becoming-elevator? This narrow matching of the child and careers blocks the infinite possibilities of becomings and makes a child simply repeat a normalized way of life under the name of self-directed career construction.

To develop the creative power of children that is required to direct their own career, education should "enrich the implications of children's current learning by analyzing in detail what kind of signs they meet and which differences they create in what contexts to unfold multifarious learning after that time" (C. Gim & J. Bae, 2016, p. 266). In other words, teachers should focus on the increase and decrease of students' affective power continuously and push students to new intensities so that they become open to the-not-yet-known. Additionally, they should create an environment for playful relationships with human and non-human others, fostering an amorphous force that responds sensitively to possibilities, changes, nuances, etc.

The example of such an affective education can be found in the film *Baseball Girl* (2019). The main character of *Baseball Girl,* Joo Soo-in, is a female high school baseball player who is nicknamed "genius baseball girl." Her only dream is to join a professional baseball team after graduation and continue to play baseball. However, on account of being a woman, she is unable to obtain an opportunity to be assessed in terms of her talent, even though no existing rule bans women from playing on a professional baseball team. Not only the prejudice against women but also the physical requirements of the professional league make it difficult for her to qualify for the team. No matter how hard she tries, the size of her body makes it impossible for her to pitch a ball more than 130km/h. Her male friends, who were initially less skilled than her, gradually surpassed her. Due to the environment where a pitcher is judged only by one standard, that is, the speed of a ball, most pitchers except a few do not have the opportunity to play baseball. In this situation, the career counseling that was given to her suggested that "[i]t is not shameful to quickly abandon an off chance but a wise decision." In this context, it was necessary for her to gauge the level of her ability and the requirements of the occupational world, and to

consequently make a reasonable judgment. Thus, in this scenario, not giving up baseball due to her strong attachment to the game is regarded as stupid.

Without any substantial assistance, all Joo Soo-in could do was to overwork her body to increase her pitching speed to become as fast as male pitchers. However, a new coach, Choi Jin-tae, observes her and judges that she is a player who can throw a ball with a spin using her waist and lower body. According to the coach, if she anomalously mixes a knuckleball to her pitching,[8] the batters will feel very threatened by her pitching. Joo Soo-in was unaware whether her ball was good at spinning because she was concentrating on throwing fast and strongly, and she did not have the opportunity to develop her strengths and experiment with her pitching. However, by adding a knuckleball to her skill set, she develops a technique that baffles batters even if her other pitches are slow, in turn creating and becoming a new type of pitcher. Thus, Joo Soo-in was able to undergo a journey to create new strengths, away from the standards and scales created by the majority of this society. With the advice of her coach Choi Jin-tae, Joo Soo-in no longer aimed to beat boys by speed but by throwing an unhittable knuckle ball. Similarly, for nurturing creativity, it is important for teachers to pay attention to the molecular movements of students and to help them increase their power of action in a way that has not yet been predicted, rather than to fit students into certain features of occupations defined in a molar way.

[8] The knuckleball is a pitch without rotation, and the ball that does not rotate but moves unpredictably with the resistance of the air.

5. Operation of the creativity assemblage in South Korean society and paranoic investments of desires

As the collective assemblage of enunciation has changed and creativity became an order-word, educational institutions have been rearranged (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Creativity as an order-word has functioned to take a neoliberal worldview for granted, to demarcate what education should or should not be like, and to constitute pedagogical relations. Consequently, teachers comprehensively reconstruct the school curriculum and develop new subjects by themselves to provide classes which are suitable for the characteristics of each student. They also attempt to use diverse teaching methods in classes, such as discussion, science labs, and project-based learning, and conduct process-oriented evaluation. Alongside subject-specific education, teachers encourage student-led activities such as career exploration and club activities. During activities, teachers keep anecdotal records about students' learning experiences and behavior, which is later submitted to colleges for admission screening. From the perspective of students, elective course options have been gradually expanded; various experience-based activities and related performance assessments are conducted in classes; the time dedicated to activities apart from subject education has increased, which require students to determine what they are good at and interested in. Consequently, students do not have to take the CSAT for all subjects but choose which tests to take. Students have to submit school records and undertake university examinations, such as in-person interviews, essay writings, and other practice tests.

These changes are closely related to neoliberal governance that emphasizes the free choice of individuals and infinite competition (D. Seo, 2009; E. Kim, 2012). Even though the discourses and practices of creative talent development are closely related to neoliberal governance, however, they cannot directly cast and mold children as the self-managing subject. As the

creativity assemblage exists in tandem with the broader assemblages surrounding it (Delanda, 2006), the assemblage produces effects that cannot be explained only by its strategic planning. These institutional discourses and practices contribute to the formation of children's subjectivity as being distorted, overturned, and appropriated in unexpected ways by the educational fever of the South Korean society.

SKY Castle, which aired in South Korea in 2018, provides insight into how creativity assemblages function as part of various assemblages within South Korean society. Popular culture is not mere fiction, rather it is "a complete expression of the religious, metaphysical, political and economic tendencies of an epoch" (Benjamin, GSVI: 219, as cited in S. Ha, 2010, p. 145). In other words, movies, television shows, and entertainment programs are artifacts that are part of the larger assemblages to which creativity belongs, not only being influenced by society but also creating new changes. It implies that the production of popular culture and the formation and operation of the creativity assemblage are intricately linked. Thus, this chapter explores popular culture as a means of examining the effects of the creativity assemblage and the flow of various desires in South Korean society.

Combination of creativity assemblage and other assemblages sketched in SKY Castle

SKY Castle is a TV series depicting the stories of affluent wives living in a stone mansion called SKY Castle, who commit themselves to getting their children into a prestigious university. In protagonist Han Seo-jin's dialogue to her husband, Kang Jun-sang, she insists that "[the present scenario is] not like your era when you took an achievement test. (…) How can you not have a strategy to ensure your daughter's admission into the best medical school?" (Episode 1); the children in the TV show are situated in the institutional context of creative career education.

Kang Jun-sang got admitted to the Seoul National University College of Medicine when it employed a grade-oriented university screening system for granting admission, in which students were only required to get high grades in an academic achievement test. For this reason, he could not understand the reason behind his wife's intense involvement in their daughter's college admissions. Their daughter, Kang Ye-seo, is supposed to face the comprehensive school records screening system that evaluates students' talents, aptitudes, and relevant activities in non-academic fields beyond academic grades. Put differently, she not only needs a high CSAT score but also needs to prepare for required documents including transcripts of high school records, essays, and a letter of self-introduction, as well as achieving a high grade in university examinations. This change is caused by the idea that a person who is only qualified at selecting an answer from a given list is not equipped to survive in the 21st century's competitive agon; consequently, presently, there is a tendency to set a high value on a person who performs a task by developing their own approaches and creating new knowledge.

The desires of parents in *SKY Castle* are framed by institutional discourses or practices. They plan and optimize their children's life as well as their own life in line with the educational system. However, parents' desires are not entirely subjugated under the system; rather, they appropriate the system according to their desires, which eventually discourages the political intentions of the system. In other words, parents and children's subjectivity is not passively determined by the system, but is constantly conflicting and compromising with it. For example, Do-hun's mother hires his classmate Kim Hye-na to take performance assessments on behalf of her son (Episode 7). Although she accepts the changes in evaluation methods by which Do-hun is judged, she discourages what the assessment originally intends, such as observing children's learning process, making students actively demonstrate what they know, and evaluating

children's performance in various ways. Han Seo-jin hires a private coordinator to strategically plan activities, such as club activities and volunteer activities, which would be included in Yeo-seo's high school anecdotal records (portfolio) (Episode 7). The comprehensive school records screening system is designed to evaluate students' personality and self-directed learning ability; however, its goal is warped by parents who take advantage of the loopholes in the system by using their socioeconomic status and information power. Additionally, the relation between parents and the system becomes more complicated as the desires of shadow education workers jump into the relationship. The shadow education market, represented by Kim Joo-young, provides educational products and services in line with the changes in the educational system and the needs of parents, gradually creating new educational needs and driving the lives of parents and children in a certain direction. In other words, the shadow education service providers induce parents' consumption of multiple educational services by stirring up fears that their child may fall behind other students. Consequently, they intervene in or even manipulate the everyday life and plans of parents and students who use such services.

These cases are not just fictional; similar cases have been frequently reported to the media. Since the late 1990s, performance assessments have been introduced to schools and have evaluated children's different abilities in a way that best measures their abilities. However, the attempts have ironically forced children to perform various kinds of assessments as well as paper-based exams. In other words, various assessments, like book reviews, sewing, and dribbling have been imposed on students in each subject. Consequently, while some parents replace their child in the tasks, some students have art and athletic tutors to help them prepare for such assessments.

> The educational reform of the Kim Dae-jung administration (1998–2003), that proclaimed that "If you do just one thing well, you can get admitted to college," has led to the situation where "even if you do everything well, it would not be sure whether you get admitted to college," in addition to the obsession of "whatever it is, giving it a try." The current college entrance system, which considers numerous elements, including school records, CSAT, in-person interviews, and practice tests, requires students to have a manager mother. "The current college entrance system, which is so complex that even presidents and professors at universities do not know exactly how to get into their own university, is instigating shadow education," stated Kwon Dae-bong, a professor at Korea University. Private tutoring is provided for specialty subjects and developing aptitude. (…). According to the mother of a second-year elementary school student, "In the physical education of the first grade of middle school, students are evaluated for dribbling. However, students do not have time to play soccer after becoming middle school students. They should accomplish dribbling in elementary school itself." Similarly, many mothers recommend doing many activities in advance. It is the "wisdom" of mothers these days to make sure that every subject, such as music, physical education, and computer education, is accomplished by children in elementary school for maintaining impeccable "school records" (Y. Kim, 2002).

This situation intensified after the introduction of the comprehensive school record screening system. The documentary *Finding the private coordinator, Kim Joo-young* (2019), which aired on SBS right after *SKY Castle* broadcasted on television, dealt with college admission consulting in Daechi-dong (one of the leading areas providing shadow education in South Korea), that has sharply increased around 2015. According to the documentary, with the introduction of the comprehensive school records screening system, consultations about which private tutoring is most appropriate for children started to predominate. This was because the screening processes, screening methods, and the ratio of each screening factor widely vary from department to department, and from college to college. There are more than 3000 ways to qualify for an admission (J. Hong & J. Choi, 2019). In other words, if you know the admission criteria well, your child can get admitted into a high-ranking university by fulfilling the criteria regardless of their actual grades. Accordingly, parents desperately seek out those who provide information

regarding entrance strategies; consequently, the college admission consulting business has boomed. The consultants usually suggest which universities and departments students can get enrolled in based on their current grades and provide guidance regarding the various activities that students should complete for ensuring college admissions. As this became known nationwide through *SKY Castle*, parental inquiries on tutoring accelerated at private institutes, and the MoE conducted an audit of the institutes in question (M. Jung, 2019). In this process, raising creative children who are aware of their dreams and talents, learn self-directedly, and solve problems in a way that is not contrived and managed, becomes impossible. Further, a child who is selected as the most promising student might in fact be a passive student supported by affluent parents and tutors.

5.1. Educational fever as a long-standing stratified desire in South Korean society

The South Korean government was aware of the situation in which educational policies and discourses were twisted and appropriated by the educational fever of parents to help their child prevail in the competition (MEST, 2008). The MoE aimed to correct parents' pathological attitude toward children's education by making another educational policy and auditing private institutions. The "normalization of education," which is often emphasized in creativity education policies, involves such a policy development and audit culture. However, the MoE's perspective of the educational fever as simple ignorance and greed of some parents should be reconsidered. The educational fever of entrance competition should be regarded as kind of affect generated from the confluence of various desires, discourses, and practices (J. Bak & H. Kim, 2020), and the fascist desire that circulates within the larger assemblages that inform upon that of education (C. Kang, 2008). Additionally, conceptions of creativity in the South Korean educational context

have not been entirely defined by governmental policies and discourses but have been shaped and sustained in connection with such affects and desires generated from a severe struggle for existence. Therefore, it is necessary to examine how the educational fever of entrance competition has been formed and how it has influenced the conceptions of creativity.

To examine the educational fever of parents, it is necessary to understand the background of parents who had middle school going children in the 2000s. Such parents are generally referred to as the baby boomer generation. This generation was born in the postwar era (1955–1963); subsequently, in the 1970s, South Korea witnessed rapid growth in the economy and industrialization (Statistics Korea, 2012). The baby boomers in South Korea benefited from this growth and in turn contributed to the growth of South Korean society based on their high population ratio and the drive for power. For the South Korean baby boomer generation, one's academic background was directly related to economic and social success (D. Kim, 2016). This perception has not changed over time, in that almost all the baby boomers who have become parents desperately crave for their children to attend college.

Understanding the situation in South Korea after the Korean War would be helpful to grasp the baby boomer generation's perceptions regarding education. Through the long colonial period and the Korean War (1950–1953), the traditional hierarchy and cultures of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910) were dismantled. Additionally, elite groups and their exclusive occupation of private schools disappeared (S. Oh, 2015, 2020). In the West, there have been elite classes that have had a long tradition of privilege supported by private schools and the form of cultural literacy they afford. A direct link was forged between social class and enrollment in private schools, and private schools were catalysts of inequality in that they reproduced the cultural capital of elites. Conversely, in South Korea, the elite groups in the Joseon Dynasty were

neutralized in the colonial period, and the Confucian culture in which they were involved dissipated, losing its prestige as a "dominant culture." Additionally, during Japanese Rule, the highly centralized educational administration system was established, and since then, schools have been standardized and homogenized nationwide. Consequently, it can be said that people's lives in South Korea began in fairly equal conditions after liberation.

Additionally, a massive social change occurred at the moment of liberation (S. Oh, 2015). Overseas residents who had been drafted into the military by force or had been abroad for the independence movements returned to South Korea. This movement saw people from various classes and regions brought together in a few big cities. To rebuild society in this chaotic situation, a significant amount of "manpower" was needed. For instance, there were thousands of jobs to be filled after the Japanese were ousted from various positions, such as jobs in government service, teaching, etc. The distribution of jobs was mainly predicated on candidates' academic backgrounds (Y. Kim et al., 1980, pp. 228–229). This social practice stemmed from the educational and recruitment system established in the colonial period. From the Japanese model of centralization, South Korean education inherited the conditions whereby the opportunity to acquire academic certificates became open to all, but when acquired, it granted people discriminatory opportunities to access social capital. As the system was gradually established, an awareness of the relation between education and social mobility spread among South Koreans. In other words, education became a means of intermediating social mobility and economic effects. To survive in the postwar South Korean society where welfare or social safety nets were largely absent, parents had no choice but to show selfish, strategic, and competitive behavior to ensure their children's admission into high-ranking universities (D. Kim, 1990).

The baby boomer generation had access to secondary education from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. Since the late 1960s, middle school education had been rapidly expanded based on the "Middle School Non-Examination Entrance System" in 1968 and the "High School Equalization Policy" in 1974.[9] These two policies dramatically increased the number of students who had proper qualifications to compete for college admissions. Furthermore, the 1970s and 1980s were eras when people with a graduate certification enjoyed a large wage premium in the labor market. The average amount of graduates' wages was 50% to 100% higher than those who did not have a diploma (D. Kim, 2016, pp. 314–315). For this reason, companies asked for the expansion of higher education to secure high-quality human resources with a lower wage. In response, the government proposed the 7–30 educational reform that promoted the "College Graduation Quota System" in 1980. Consequently, the number of university students increased by approximately 40%. The expansion of secondary education and higher education triggered the explosion of the population participating in the same academic competition (Seth, 2002). As the expansion of university enrollment capacity was made without considering the industrial structure of the time and demand of the labor market, many problems occurred subsequently. The credential inflation caused the devaluation of educational credentials and a decrease in advantage given to degree holders. However, the baby boomer generation did not care much about this contradictory fact because at the time, South Korea experienced an unexpected

9 With the implementation of the compulsory education policy for elementary schools in 1959, the demand for middle school education exploded (A. Nam, n.d.). Competition for middle school entrance became fierce to the extent that students' runaway and suicide attempts occurred during the entrance examination season. When criticism of the entrance examination was raised, voicing that young students were being pushed into fierce competition, the government announced the middle school non-examination entrance system on July 15, 1968. As the number of students entering middle school increased rapidly, the demand for high school education sharply increased accordingly, and the competition for high-school admissions became more intense (S. Kim & H. Kim, 2015). This was an anticipated result after the introduction of the middle school non-examination entrance system. Accordingly, the MoE announced the "high school equalization policy" in 1973, which stated that students would be assigned to high schools according to their applications and home addresses.

economic boom due to the "three lows"—low interest rate, low oil price, and low dollar (High Yen) (H. Kim, 2020). Similarly, education not only afforded social mobility to baby boomers but also economic effects and a significant symbolic prestige value in everyday life (S. Oh, 2015).

5.2. The encounter between educational fever and creativity assemblage

In the late 1990s, South Korea was facing mass unemployment caused by the economic crisis that swept across East Asia. South Koreans experienced the terrible reality that "even a salaryman with a college diploma can be cut off at any time" and the betrayal of the myth of education for social mobility (H. Kim, 2020). Nevertheless, it was also true that graduate certifications became the criteria for the discriminatory distribution of crises and a buffer against problems and uncertainties for degree holders since even if one were not able to avoid unemployment or lose one's job, s/he would receive a large amount of honorary retirement allowance due to their academic background. In the meantime, the social and public discourse referred to the family (father, mother, and their child) as a unit of survival that should overcome the crisis with strong solidarity (J. Song, 2006). As South Korea traditionally did not have welfare or other networks of social security, the family became the last bastion of the national economy (D. Kim, 2001; S. Park, 2009). At that time, South Korean society was mainly composed of nuclear families based on the gendered division of labor. A husband was an income source responsible for the family's welfare and economic status, and a wife was a stay-at-home mother who played the role of a professional manager of the family. The role sharing was deeply related to social conditions in which the participation of women in public affairs was somewhat blocked despite the fact that opportunities for women to get a college education had been expanded (T. Yoon, 1996). Marriage was accepted as natural rather than a cultural necessity.

Nevertheless, managing a family was not simply a private concern. Housewives contributed to the household's economy in a way that effectively managed the given income as a reasonable consumer. Educating children was the core part of the household's economy. This is because "child farming" was regarded as an investment that guaranteed a bright future for the family; therefore, parents' economic power, information power, and all other resources were mobilized to achieve their child's college admission (Y. Lee, 2007). Mothers were allocated the role of a consumer of education services; this included collecting information on shadow education and wisely selecting which shadow education best fit the characteristics of their child and family's finances (S. Park, 2007).

Amidst this situation, neoliberal education that aimed to foster creativity was introduced. The mother's "management" of the child's school life became increasingly necessary due to the increase of elements reflected in the admission criteria. Currently, customized shadow education services, that consult on detailed future plans and offer specialized academy systems, are established in areas such as Daechi-dong and Mok-dong (G. Cho, 2020). These specialized academies are small-sized institutes that receive relatively small enrollment numbers, charging high tuition fees. They claim their management ability of a child's future as their main asset. Such institutes not only teach major subjects but also manage the overall life of the student, optimizing the students' life for college admission. This includes various fields such as consulting about studying abroad, consulting about enrolling in special purpose high schools and autonomous high schools, preparing educational roadmaps for pre-school children and elementary school students, and preparing students for various competitions (Y. Choi, 2010). Shadow education had been banned since the 7–30 educational reform measures were introduced in 1980 because South Koreans traditionally had a strong desire for equality and fairness.

However, this prohibition was ruled unconstitutional on April 27, 2000 because it not only infringed on parents' right to educate their child but also limited the right to express the personality of children and adolescents who want to learn, as well as the freedom of choice of occupation and the right to pursue happiness for individuals who wanted to work as a private tutor (Extracurricular Lesson Ban Case, 2000). In other words, it was recognized that broader education options were necessary to diversify education and help the self-realization of children (J. Lee, 2004). Accordingly, the situation in which the shadow education market can expand without any restrictions was established (S. Park, 2007). The emergence of the admissions officer system and the comprehensive school record screening system also intensified this phenomenon.

SKY Castle is situated within this educational context. *SKY Castle*'s families mostly include child-centered nuclear families (not couple-centered families). "A family with three generations of doctors" is considered important, and all family members desire for their child to enter medical school. In *SKY Castle's* families, women place the maximum importance on their role as mothers among all their different roles, and the role of managing their children's grades to ensure their college admission becomes more important than the role of sensitively responding to and empathizing with their children's emotional needs. Therefore, the daily life of these mothers is almost exclusively tailored to their children's education, and their social circles mainly include the parents of their children's friends. In such relationships, parents of a high-achieving child have greater power. Therefore, mothers generally intervene in children's regular exam scores, performance assessments, and extracurricular activities so that children can achieve their goals without wasting time or failing. This scenario creates the conditions of competition not only between children but also between parents. In contemporary South Korean life, competition is

accelerating and intensifying. In this vein, the grades of children whose mother is employed or whose parents cannot adjust their schedule to accommodate anything related to their child's educational activities cannot stay on top. This is demonstrated in Han Seo-jin's statement: "I taught for a short while before getting married but quit after I got pregnant. I thought that South Korea's curriculum was designed assuming a full-time mother is always there to help the child." Additionally, shadow education service providers collect a significant amount of information related to college admissions on behalf of the mother, judge the possibility of success of the child's admission applications, and provide customized education services to realize the possibilities of educational advancement. Shadow education service employees constantly attempt to create capital by stimulating and mitigating the desires and anxiety of parents. In this situation, mothers are under pressure to make reasonable choices as consumers of education services for their children. Without meta-narratives to determine how they should live, mothers have to listen to their inner voices to make good decisions for ensuring a better life for their children, which are ceaselessly followed by more choices. "You are under the tyranny of choice—you are free to choose anything but have to make a better choice. However, as the desire for a better choice lacks [the absolute purpose and principles], constant anxiety is created" (J. Bak & H. Kim, 2020, p. 113).

5.3. Paranoid investments of desire of the echo generations[10]

[10] "The echo generation refers to the demographic cohort which is defined as people born from 1979 to 1992. The generation is usually a child of the baby boomers (1955–1963), and 'echo' is a modifier to explain the reincrease in the number of births which occurred decades after the post-war baby boom. Compared to baby boomers, the echo generation grew in an economically rich environment with a high level of education. However, due to the economic recession and low growth in the 2000s, employment prospects for this generation were dim, and marriage or childbirth was delayed" (Ministry of Economy and Finance, 2020).

The desires of parents for education that advances their children's prospects of prosperity within the atmosphere of capitalism, which have flowed through the assemblages of South Korean society, have created a unique movement in their encounter with the educational system and have channeled the desire and energy of the children in a specific direction. In other words, parents see children and adolescents as passive objects from a protectionist view and block creative interactions of children with the world in a way that systemizes them in the "desire economy" of the "adult" as the majority (J. Kang & J. Park, 2015, p. 123). The paranoid investment of desire is also evident among students at *SKY Castle*.

The first example of this is Kang Ye-seo, a child who has internalized the dominant discourse about creative talents. As a creative person, Kang Ye-seo understands what she is good at and what she likes, and pursues such interests through self-direction. However, looking at her closely, the true picture of political slogans such as "discover your dreams and talents" and "carve out a career for yourself" comes to light. First, although Kang Ye-seo seems to firmly decide her future dream and devote all her energies to becoming a doctor, her desire to enroll in SNU College of Medicine is annexed by the desires of her grandmother and mother. It is difficult to find a clue about what caused her admiration for the medical profession or to hear her voice about the type of doctor she wants to become throughout the series. She simply aims at achieving the highest rank in her university and major because she is good at studying. In her life, any desire other than achieving competitiveness and admission in SNU College of Medicine are not observed. Interests in sexuality, appearance, and celebrities, which children of that age generally demonstrate, are rarely revealed. Every action or choice has no function other than as a means of going on to university. For example, Kang Ye-seo takes part in a book club for merely enhancing her profile. Further, the book Kang Ye-seo reads in the book club is only used to justify her

competitive spirit and to show off her intellectual ability. Her choice of Nietzsche (1885)'s *Will to Power* signals her superiority over her classmates, and reading such a difficult book becomes linked to her self-esteem. Regardless of her motive to join the club, reading a book has the potential to have ripple effects on her current life because it may force her to think. However, it seems that Kang Ye-seo is not influenced by the ideas in the book as she merely maintains the current form of her life.

Additionally, Kang Ye-seo's performance is strategic in that she quickly judges whether a specific activity will help her to receive extra admission points. She does so to appear as a learner who has been interested in and is constantly exploring the field of medicine, and a learner with the personality suitable for being a good doctor. However, in order to achieve this desire, she must submit a long list of diverse activities, such as practicing at her father's hospital, listening to lectures on writing a scientific thesis, or performing volunteer activities. In the process, the value of practical training and volunteer activities in themselves are at risk of being deprived. They are mere tools for improving her resume for going on to the next stage and enhancing her profile (R. Lee, 2019). Every action is utilitarian, and using others for her purpose is justified. Despite achieving high results through such concentrated activities, Kang Ye-seo cannot put down her guard and exhibits neurotic attitudes. This is because she only perceives her learning by relative ranking and is worried about being bested by others. She cannot rest. Therefore, for excellent students, to decide on one's career faster than others and to go farther and higher becomes a monological aspiration.

In the case of Kim Hye-na, despite her excellent abilities, she does not have parents to support her. She is frustrated and angry because her abilities are not properly evaluated and is subjected to unfair treatment at school. The despair and anger that Kim Hye-na feels were visible in South

Korean society through the ex-Minister of Justice, Cho Kuk's scandal in 2019. During the confirmation hearing on Justice minister nominee, his daughter's corrupt university admission was disclosed. When his daughter was in an English language high school, she interned for several weeks at various research centers. After completing one internship program, she published a paper; she was the first-named author with co-authors. People wondered how she had won internship opportunities that were not easily given to others, in addition to wondering whether it was possible that only a few weeks of experiments allowed her to be named before professors and graduate students as an author of a paper. Even though the documents showing her contribution to the study are ultimately found to be manipulated, the research paper was said to be a decisive factor in her admission to Korea University. The general public expressed strong dismay on learning about the admission of the social leader's child via the admissions officer system. The students of Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University (together, these universities are known as SKY) held candlelight vigils as it was revealed that Cho Kuk's daughter was admitted into the university by falsifying documents. They urged the resignation of the nominee and inquiry into the corrupt university admission processes. At the time, many people were unable to understand the intense anger of these students regarding this situation. However, considering that these students have endured in an era where "survival" is the grammar of life and have experienced high rewards only given to a small number of people who have benefitted from an environment of constant competition, their behavior becomes understandable (H. Kim, 2015). Such an injustice threatens their "safety," making them vulnerable to victimization by the elite. Explosively venting anger about unfair cases and corrupt figures is thus in the light of preserving their life. Nevertheless, it is difficult to state whether their activities are alternative movements to change or subvert the existing system. Rather, it can

be seen as a class recovery strategy to recapture the deprived status of the existing system (S. Jung & J. Kim, 2017).

Such a class recovery strategy has terrible consequences. After noticing that Kang Ye-seo got a perfect score in the midterm examination with the test papers which the private coordinator Kim Joo-young had illegally obtained, Kim Hye-na visited Kim Joo-young, demanding to fail Kang Ye-seo so that her chances of obtaining admission into the SNU College of Medicine are hampered, in return for maintaining confidentiality. It is observed that Kim Hye-na did not need any advantageous consultation but a fair competition which would enable her to go to SNU College of Medicine based on her own qualifications. However, Kim Hye-na's demand bothered Kim Joo-young to the extent that Kim Joo-young eventually killed Kim Hye-na, thus ensuring her control over children and parents and eliminating an obstacle in achieving her goal of ensuring Kang Ye-seo's entrance into the SNU medical school.

On the other hand, Kang Ye-bin, the younger sister of Kang Ye-seo, despite receiving generous support from her parents, shows lower grades. She has been dissatisfied with a stringent learning schedule without any break and constant comparison to her sister who is a good student. The lack of affection and excessive stress leads her to engage in criminal behaviors such as stealing goods at a convenience store. The act of stealing snacks from convenience stores with friends is her weak attempt to draw a line of flight from the "severe" way of life given to her. In other words, this act exemplifies shaking the molar line forced on her and drawing a flexible molecular line beyond it. However, Kang Ye-bin's actions are not able to draw a line of flight that provide an escape from inertia, but are instead captured again within rigid, molar lines (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Han Seo-jin is aware about Kang Ye-bin's theft; however, she regards it simply as an act of stress relief that is required for Kang Ye-bin to return to studying.

She secretly pays the price of the stolen snacks to the owner of convenience store, which prevents such acts from cracking the dominant order. Further, Kang Ye-bin's wildness easily disappears when her parents praise her for passing the test of a private institution with Kim Hye-na's tutoring. Kang Ye-bin used to show antagonism against counting success and failure in a certain way; however, when she is able to achieve success in the dominant way, she compromises with reality. This indicates that her deterritorialization is reterritorialized by adjusting her molecular movements to the molar segment, rather than moving toward the absolute deterritorialization that creates a new way of life.

Taken together, children's bodies and desires are stratified in the assemblage of South Korean education. They perceive their coordinates only in the light of whether they are faster/slower than their contemporaries or whether their grades are higher/lower than others. In other words, they run as others run, and only a single desire for speed or height operates in the gravitational field that produces a force on all bodies. In this field, children have no time to think and choose for themselves, and even have no freedom to fail. Those who are faster than others enjoy superiority over lagging students, but no matter how fast they are, all their movements have a relative speed which is dragged by gravity or inertia without having its own speed (J. Lee, 2010). In other words, none of them are free from the gravity of speed and they do not have singular speed and rhythm.

Until Kim Joo-young's murder of Kim Hye-na, the children's unique desires rarely become apparent in the TV series. Some moments showing children's desires are as follows: Cha Seo-joon and Cha Ki-joon distributed sample exam questions that their father Cha Min-hyuk insidiously got from Han Seo-jin in exchange for pairing with Cha Seo-joon with Kang Ye-seo for student leader candidacy. To get better grades than their friends, it is assumed that Cha Seo-

joon and Cha Ki-joon would not share the samples but exclusively possess them; however, it is observed that they distributed them free of charge to their friends. When Cha Min-hyuk inquired about the reason for their behavior, they replied, “Our friends were really worried about their grades, so we shared the questions with them.” The sharing of important materials is an act of opening up of life, veering away from the dichotomy of many/few, high/low, and fast/slow. In other words, it can be seen as an act of solidarity with others, which can create an alternative movement that escapes the molar flow. Admittedly, Cha Seo-joon and Cha Ki-joon’s action is not strong enough to break down all the boundaries of the older generation. Nevertheless, these attempts can generate a new peer culture.

Unfortunately, however, there are more reactionary and negative movements in reality than active and positive movements. For example, recently, there has been a growing cultural phenomenon of shaming other students who get a lower grade. According to H. Lee et al. (2019), one student insults another student who has not received a good performance assessment score by mockingly questioning “Is that a score?” (p. 72). Students internalize the dominant value system, comply with its desires, and show superiority to others who do not meet the standards. However, the sense of superiority is the other side of inferiority; therefore, it is often reported that young people in their 20s are experiencing an academic inferiority complex and live with the perception of being a loser (H. Cho, 2012).

The youth who proceeded through arduous elementary and secondary education no longer want to produce resistant practices and another form of life by enduring pain and taking a risk. Rather, they tend to accept the “fate” that they fall short of changing the future and stabilize their life in a peripheral form (S. Jung & J. Kim, 2017). Here, the tendency of the youth to accept and utilize the existing norms that are already realized rather than to try to actualize their potential

and maintain a full life is considered a virtue. Their agony is not about freely imagining the future and choosing the direction of their life but about exploring the social resources needed to survive the competition. The state of the echo generation can be seen to be closely connected with Nietzsche's *ressentiment*. According to Nietzsche (2007), *ressentiment* refers to the feeling of hate and revenge that arises in a person from jealousy about what a stronger person enjoys as well as the fact that they cannot have it. The emotion of *ressentiment* makes people cynical and self-destructive, making it difficult to create new forms of life, language, and values. South Korean youths do not even attempt to think new ideas or experiment with living life because the prospect of imagining an alternative future in the current scenario is daunting, even impossible. These youths with *ressentiment* consider competition itself as bad, and put forth "ordinary" and "simple" as the core values for their current life (S. Jung & J. Kim, 2017).

5.4. Summary and discussion

As the discourses and practices of the South Korean government's education for fostering creativity encountered the desires of parents and private educators, situations similar to those portrayed in *SKY Castle* have been created, and the bodies and desires of children have been stratified in one direction. In other words, the desire of parents (or students) to own cultural capital and the desire of shadow education to sell services exemplify the frustrated outcome of policy discourse and practice of the South Korean government. Specifically, the policies attempted to diversify the curriculum and evaluation methods to instill a hope among students that if you just do one thing (that matches your specialty and aptitude) well, you could have a satisfactory life. However, the desire of adults to use the opportunities for their own interests paradoxically increased the number of things that students should do well. Consequently, all

students are forced to seek "structured diversities," which eventually makes them follow one form of life and compete with each other for limited sources. These distortions and subversions seem to not only neutralize the intentions of the South Korean government to secure creative talents but also results in students losing their ability to create new forms of life. Given this scenario, is there no way that everyone can get away from the structure of running in one direction and the winner taking all?

Perhaps being creative in this context would paradoxically require that we stop running or rather, run slowly. Standing still, slowing down, and being left behind seems problematic in the world where speed is competitive power and money. However, only through stopping or slowing down can one get out of the forced speed and acquire a new speed and direction on one's own. Kim Ye-seul exemplifies this stoppage. On March 10, 2010, Kim Ye-seul, a junior in Korea University Business School, posted a long handwritten poster on the school bulletin board that began with the following statement: "Today, I reject university." She dropped out of a prestigious university "in order to refrain from being chosen as a commodity, to choose to become a useless person." Her complete statement is as follows:

> Who asks for this diploma and credentials? Why do you ask? The society says that "there are many ways," "show your personality," "if you try hard, the way will be open," and "opportunities are all equal." However, all stable and good jobs are under the control of large corporations and prestigious universities, the latter providing certifications to students who will be employed by the former. Companies and capital, which inevitably see people as tools for making money, need one standard of low cost and high efficiency for evaluating all human beings at once. This standard is the academic background and qualifications that job seekers possess; the university has become an exclusive business that provides it. In a society where speed is both competitive power and money, there is no reason to have a holistic interest in office workers (...) Business is an effort to be chosen in the market. To be chosen, you have to prove how useful you are according to the prevailing

> standards and to sell yourself. Humanity, dreams, and self-esteem are not useful parts for profit-making in a company; they are merely cumbersome. Samsung and other large corporations demand creative talent, talent with the spirit of challenge, and moral talent; however, what they actually want is the trick of dolphins tamed in large aquariums (Y. Kim, 2011, pp. 48–49).

Although her main criticism is aimed at the employment structure requiring university diplomas and certificates, given that universities cannot be free from the needs of global capital and corporations, and that elementary and secondary education is under the control of universities in the society of academic cliquism, her criticism could be similarly applied to elementary and secondary education. She points out that the educational and recruiting system ostensibly tells students to show their personality, but everyone is in fact forced to run the same track toward the same value. Put differently, by making students possess a number of "already structured differences" if possible, the discourse contributes to incorporating the youth into the existing system, and the creative talents recognized in such a system are cheap personnel who reproduce the same. Thus, she decided to stop running the race that prevents people from producing differences and started to ask questions about her life.

The force that escapes the power of inertia which captures the body can be said as "clinamen" in Epicurus' terminology (J. Lee, 2010). Her decision, which shattered the existing conceptions, shocked many people at the time. Some people thought that she had made a foolish choice, chalking it to youthful inexperience. However, she stated that her declaration was not an immature act by a young person but the result of 3 years of careful thought, and was a means to create the opportunity to communicate with a great number of people. It made a small crack in the system; subsequently, many people came together and began to share their experiences with each other. After her dropping out of university, the media rushed to report on her withdrawal,

creating a place where many people's stories could gather. Of course, many had negative views regarding the support showed to Kim Ye-seul by some sections of society (K. Uhm, 2010); for example, whether such repercussions could be aroused if she was not a Korea University student and that the cheers of older generations for Kim Ye-seul came from the desire to get compensated for their "cowardice" through her "courage." Additionally, the people in their 20s showed a cynical attitude toward her because her dropout did not invalidate her admission into Korea University and even helped her to earn social recognition and fame (In South Korea, college admission is more important than college graduation). However, considering these reactions, it can be said that her action certainly alarmed people about the current form of life and made them uncomfortable: is not this the power of true creativity?

6. Schizophrenic desires that escape and crack creativity assemblage

The preceding chapters examined how various machines of the South Korean education assemblage have been arranged to cultivate creative talent and how desires are captured within it. This chapter sheds light on schizophrenic desires that have been not completely captured by the South Korean education assemblage. It is difficult to detect schizophrenic desires in the stratified field of education because therein, desires are often put aside and suppressed due to their perceived inappropriateness and monstrous nature. For example, *iljins* (delinquent teens) who violate school rules and engage in prohibited actions such as drinking, smoking, getting tattoos, or even committing violence against other students are suspended or expelled from school. Fortunately, however, a few recent novels and films have tried to describe the life of youths who have not adapted well to South Korean education and have gone astray. They describe the somewhat cynical, self-deprecating, and bizarre movements of such youths; this is in stark contrast to the vibrant and hopeful atmosphere of the official educational discourses about youths. These films and novels provide an opportunity to investigate the potentialities of these atypical youths. In addition, the media (e.g., TV, YouTube, etc.) has generally been interested in the non-mainstream enunciations of youth culture and have broadcasted them alongside others' reactions. In this chapter, I examine the disenchantment, play, idleness, flight, and solidarity of youths through movies, novels, entertainment programs, and so on. This approach is important as in order to create an entirely new conception of creativity, the study "must adopt as its own those revolutions going on elsewhere, in other domains, or those that are being prepared" (Deleuze, 2004b, p. 138).

The patterns of schizophrenic desire can be divided into three groups. The first involves giving up the self-discipline aimed at conformity and instead creating a brand-new culture within

cyberspace; the second purposefully fails to perform productive and useful tasks, thereby discrediting the system. The third entails removing oneself from the system, creating a different form of relationship with oneself and others.

6.1. Giving up the self-discipline aimed at conformity and creating a brand-new culture within cyberspace

6.1.1. The disenchantment of *ing-yeo*s

Those who have not adapted to the school or social systems created by neoliberal logic spend time in cyberspace, connect with others who are in similar situations, and form a network by affecting and being affected with each other. The first film to be investigated is *INGtoogi: The Battle of Internet Trolls* (2013), which was directed by Uhm Tae-hwa. Based on information from the actual INGtoogi Competition held in 2011, this film intends to show various groups' unusual cultures (e.g., *keyboard warriors*, *mukbang* hosts, and K-pop fans, etc.). The INGtoogi Competition was a martial arts competition that encouraged *ing-yeos* in the online world not to hide behind the screen but instead to come to the ring and to fight fair.

The film begins with a scene in which Tae-sik (username: Chitkongpot), an active member of the online martial arts community (*gyeokgael*), is confronted by another user (Jutjonseun) in reality. The two men had been fighting each other for 15 days in the online community. The fight starts with Jutjonseun's contemptuous comments on Chitkongpot's photo, which had been uploaded in order to show off his body. After the quarrel, Jutjonseun lays in ambush for Chitkongpot with his friend Marianne, who, with Jutjonseun, lies to Chitkongpot, saying that he wants to buy a game item, to draw him out. Jutjonseun attacks Chitkongpot at the scene of the

item trade, and the surprise attack was filmed and distributed on the Internet. Through this event, Chitkongpot becomes a laughingstock on the Internet and develops an odd behavior due to the traumatic incident and becomes afraid of being physically assaulted again. From then on, Chitkongpot tried to find Jutjonseun to exact revenge on him. The process of this search is the main focus of this movie.

People who work actively in online communities, such as Chitkongpot and Jutjonseun, have been referred to as "*ing-yeo*" (which means "redundance" or "surplus") in South Korea since the late 2000s. *Ing-yeo* is a term that originally meant what is left, extra, and so on, but it has become a concept that refers to "the people who lost or were excluded from competition" since the 2010s (W. Baek, 2013, p. 15), or "some beings who cannot be sold or put to work and are even inappropriate as consumers" (T. Choi, 2013, p. 85).

> To be 'redundant' means to be supernumerary, unneeded, of no use – whatever the needs and uses are that set the standard of usefulness and indispensability. The others do not need you; they can do as well, and better, without you. There is no self-evident reason for your being around and no obvious justification for your claim to the right to stay around. To be declared redundant means to have been disposed of because of being disposable – just like the empty and non-refundable plastic bottle or once-used syringe, an unattractive commodity with no buyers, or a substandard or stained product without use thrown off the assembly line by the quality inspectors. 'Redundancy' shares its semantic space with 'rejects,' 'wastrels,' 'garbage,' 'refuse' – with waste. The destination of the unemployed, of the 'reserve army of labour', was to be called back into active service. The destination of waste is the waste-yard, the rubbish heap (Bauman, 2004, p. 12).

Similar to what Bauman says, *ing-yeo* is a term that refers to unproductive people without social use. *Ing-yeo* does not refer only to youths in the post-liberal capitalist era but also to those who call themselves *ing-yeo* and look down on themselves (S. Baek et al., 2011, p. 15).

Ing-yeos have appeared with the help of recently developed high-speed communication networks and several platforms that have opened a virtual space where schizophrenic desires can gather (T. Choi, 2013). Activity in cyberspace is not only inexpensive but also has the advantage of allowing people to meet and communicate with others who have similar interests. Because of these advantages, *ing-yeos* flock to cyberspace and gain professional knowledge of subjects of interest through communication and even produce new knowledge and cultures (S. Lee & S. Hong, 2014). In addition, their activities are recorded and accumulated, which makes it possible to create a new alternative flow. Although these desires can be easily scattered because they often do not have a pre-determined direction, their activities are sometimes formidable to the extent that they subvert social structures and norms. The online martial arts community in the film where Chitkongpot and Jutjonseun gather is an example of this cyberspace.

In the online community, users interact with nicknames, and not their real names. This "masking" enables them to adopt certain roles as they please and participate in role-playing with the character they create (G. Lee, 2012). One can be identified and recognized by others through the repetition of specific and consistent performances because there is no modifier to explain oneself such as name, age, gender, or alma mater in these cyberspace domains. Players constantly write, comment on other people's writings, and post content to reveal their existence. If one does not like their modes of existence in cyberspace, they can also create a different life by simply removing all previous posts and establishing a new nickname. Thus, the cyberspace battle between Chitkongpot and Jutjonseun can be seen as revealing their existence through such conversations.

However, the activity in cyberspace is not always innovative. The space is easily centralized and reflects the dominant system (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), which is evident in the self-

loathing of *ing-yeos*. Looking into Jutjonseun's past, Chitkongpot learns that Jutjonseun was a member of a K-pop idol group (a boy group) called *Volcano* in the past, and Marianne, who helped with Jutjonseun's surprise attack, was a member of the same group. Jutjonseun had been treated unfairly by an entertainment company, which is the reason for his depression. According to Marianne, the main reason Jutjonseun fought Chitkongpot was his realization that Chitkongpot had something in common with him. He could not tolerate Chitkongpot, who is judged to be like himself—a loser who could not survive among intense competition. The despair, defeat, inferiority, and depression that Jutjonseun experiences comes from his internalization of the norms that the world values. This arouses feelings of self-resentment for those who do not match the norms. Chitkongpot detests himself as well, although Chitkongpot never wants to admit that he is an *ing-yeo* and even considers other *ing-yeos* to be pathetic. As he denies and suppresses his feelings and desires, he fails to realize an alternative way of life. This is an attitude of weak people who do not have their own style and try only to hide their inferiority.

Chitkongpot asks Jutjonseun for a duel to face him fairly in the upcoming INGtoogi competition. Chitkongpot even refuses his mother's request to leave South Korea, where only the top 1% can survive, and go to Costa Rica, where the happiness index is far greater. In fact, the INGtoogi competition can be seen as an attempt to raise the existence of unpredictable *ing-yeos* to the surface and attune them to certain rules. Keyboard warriors often show behaviors such as posting aggressive or inconsistent comments and spamming (G. Lee, 2012). For example, they prevent people from soundly exchanging opinions by repeatedly posting pointless comments under a particular post. Most people are reluctant to engage in this behavior because it interferes with orderly communication in society. In this context, the INGtoogi competition encourages

ing-yeos to stop hiding behind the screen and stop interfering with the "normal" communication of society. It allocates a small space to *ing-yeos,* intending to maintain the existing order without fully accepting them. In other words, rather than trying to understand their strange behavior according to their own logic, the INGtoogi competition is one way of assimilating *ing-yeos* into society and visualizing what remains unidentifiable and unpredictable in order to subject them to normative forms of social control.

However, Jutjonseun does not show up on the day of the competition, and Marianne lets Chitkongpot know that Jutjonseun committed suicide due to his depression. Greatly impacted by this news, Chitkongpot assaults a person on the road. Chitkongpot blames his life circumstances on Jutjonseun and so attempts to make up for his perceived deficits by winning martial arts competitions and establishing himself as a winner. Upon receiving the news of Jutjonseun's death, however, Chitkongpot realizes that Jutjonseun was not an enemy or a villain who ruined his life, but in fact an underdog like himself who suffered from depression at the expense of the logic of the larger social system. As his illusion of being a victim is shattered, he loses access to a place to which he can attribute his failure. Through the collapse of this fantasy, however, he faces the reality of the situation for the first time and shifts from villainizing Jutjonseun to reviling society in general. In the process of fighting a passerby, Chitkongpot transcends the syndrome that he had had since he was hit by Jutjonseun, showing that he had become able to look at the situation straight even though he could not point to a clear object at which he took a swing because power relationships are dispersed throughout the system.

The world will be surprised and embarrassed as the *ing-yeos* begin to awaken and reveal their existence. This is because their existence shows the incompleteness of the system itself, which constantly strives for the maintenance of its accidental and arbitrary form. These individuals are

like a war machine that keeps itself away from captivity of the state and "constantly throw[s] off lines of flight that move systems off territorial bindings and away from coded behavior" (Protevi, 2000a, p. 176). Nevertheless, not all these potentials of *ing-yeo*s to undermine the system are actualized. First, *ing-yeos* internalize social standards, causing them to dislike themselves and other *ing-yeos* in light of such standards. During the epic INGtoogi, Chitkongpot and Jutjonseun constantly display this self-disgust. Second, the forces escaping from the dominant assemblage could be re-captured by the apparatus of capitalism.

6.1.2. The play of *ing-yeo*s

Not all *ing-yeos* succeed in escaping from the social system and norms, but some of them stray out of captivity by passionately spending a tremendous amount of time and energy creating something in cyberspace. This group of people takes pride in their surplus status; they play their own games by appropriating the label "*ing-yeos*" ascribed to them by the capitalist society. For example, there is considerable content, such as individuals broadcasting eating shows (*mukbang*), drawing and sharing bizarre cartoons (*Byeong-mat* manga), geeking out on idol groups, or creating memes, in addition to acting as a keyboard warrior like Chitkongpot and Jutjonseun (T. Choi, 2013; P. Dan et al., 2010; S. Baek et al., 2011). In this section, the following points are examined: (1) *Byeong-mat* cartoons that develop unexpected stories about human beings who are clumsy and silly; and (2) *odeokhu,* who are attracted to a particular object, collect a vast amount of information and many goods related to it, and even establish a new world by adding various content and interpretations to it.

Byeong-mat *cartoon*

The *byeong-mat* cartoon appeared in the online community in the 2000s. Until then, comic books were mainly published and consumed offline, but the situation changed with the development of the Internet and the formation of the largest webtoon market (O. Kim, 2011). Webtoon is a neologism that combines "web" and "cartoon" and started with individuals serializing creative comics on their own blogs (K. Kim & K. Choi, 2009). The cartoons posted by bloggers at the time quickly dominated the comics market, which was possible because the content was free, readers could actively communicate with cartoonists through comments, and people could easily repost the cartoons on other sites. As the pattern of production and consumption of cartoons has changed, spaces have been developed where cartoons without formal content and formats can be produced and consumed; one such informal format is *byeong-mat* cartoon.

The epithet *byeong-mat* is a term that combines "*beong* (dumbass)" and "*mat* (flavor)" referring to "something incoherent, poor, and ridiculous" (S. Kim, 2011, p. 105). A cartoon that is modified by *byeong-mat* is somewhat ridiculous and unexpected but simultaneously has a certain "flavor" that is sufficient to attract people. One representative *byeong-mat* cartoons is the *Lee Mal-nyeon Series*. Lee Mal-nyeon, who is the author of the series, had long been an *ing-yeo* in the online community (J. Kim, 2010). Based on information he gathered from his online experience, he began drawing a cartoon series and posting his work in the community. After the eighth episode was posted, he was contacted by a cartoon manager of Yahoo! and became a paid webtoon writer. His webtoon series was difficult for ordinary people to understand and contained expressions that only those who had been active in the online community could recognize. Thus, people who were not in the community did not know when to laugh.

Figure 2: *Life* (M. Lee, 2014, p. 146)

Figure 3: *Self-reliance* (M. Lee, 2014, p. 62)

Generally, *byeong-mat* cartoons feature coarsely formed drawings and absurd developments in content (S. Kim, 2011, p. 105). First, *byeong-mat* cartoons feature unrefined drawing styles rather than the elaborate and careful style of traditional cartoons. *Byeong-mat* cartoons often seem to be incomplete. Second, while traditional stories develop their narratives based on the four steps of composition, that is, "Introduction – Development – Turn – Conclusion," the *byeong-mat* cartoon suddenly ends in vain due to unexpected events. In [Figure 2], the last scene perplexes people because it violates the general expectation that life will improve if one studies hard and graduates from a prestigious university. On the contrary, the life of Bully A, who gives up studying right from the beginning, ends up similar to that of Bully B, who studies hard. In [Figure 3], the doctor's prescription makes people laugh by solving the mother's request to cultivate her son's self-reliance in an extraordinary way that eventually causes more problems. It is difficult to figure out when, where, and how things pan out. When the *byeong-mat* cartoon was established, its featured form and contents became a code that was shared between the sender and the receiver (N. Hong & J. Park, 2014).

Furthermore, the characters that appear in *byeong-mat* cartoons do not fit with the image of youths who win public recognition. They often cross etiquette lines, are sensitive about insignificant things, and are somewhat clumsy. In an episode of *Beat box virus* (M. Lee, 2011), a senior assistant appears who is only good at defecating. In the company bathroom, he tries to harmonize the sound of his defecation with that of the person in the next stall. However, it turns out that the person next to him is the chairman of the company, and the chairman ends up promoting him as praise for achieving a beatbox with the sound of defecation. Such behaviors are undesirable considering our social norms and cultural practices, and revealing them in public is even considered shameful and disgusting. However, the characters in the *byeong-mat* cartoons

do pathetic things that ordinary people can never do without hesitation, which makes people laugh as well as feel catharsis. Additionally, such an unexpected person encounters sudden events for no reason, and they have an uncommon way to cope with such events. Events that follow a certain situation often extend well beyond the expected range, and the way in which the events are organized into a series and the meaning that is formed are quite different from those features found in everyday comics, resulting in new perceptions and senses. While clichés give a sense of stability by fulfilling expectations, the *byeong-mat* cartoon evokes unfamiliar perceptions and senses through such developments (T. Choi, 2013).

The *byeong-mat* cartoon sometimes conceals real-life incidents within the plot. Such incidents are resolved in a strange way that, in other formats, would never be considered or would be sneered at. By parodying political and social issues that are familiar to the public, cartoons draw people's attention and inspire communication. More importantly, they reveal multiple virtual senses. Placing differences in relation to "real-life incidents" helps people realize that various understandings can be generated by structuring a series of singularities in a different way. The accidental event that links to series can topple the public's current sense and produce different concepts by forming a new structure of sense (Deleuze, 2003). In general, a society has a single way of making senses from divergent and independent series and relating them together, and any perspectives that deviate from the dominant one are regarded as nonsense (J. Lee, 1998, p. 163). However, the nonsense can be regarded not as incorrect but as a counter-actualization, which is the foundation of the power of creation. In this vein, the *byeong-mat* cartoon makes use of absurd elements to constitute nonsense that is not easily represented, allowing us to critically view various practices and form new events, senses, and subjectivities.

Odeokhu

Within cyberspace, people who are immersed in a specific object of interest and actively work with it are called *odeokhu* or *deokhu*. Here, *odeokhu* is a South Korean-style adaptation of Japanese *otaku* (オタク), which means "a person who treats an object with excessive passion and satisfies themselves with actions and accidents beyond the common sense of others" (H. Cho & B. An, 2012, p. 521). Until the early 1990s, *otaku* was understood as a social phenomenon that was unique to Japan emerging in the 1970s. *Otaku* refers to a group of people who are deeply interested in cartoons, animation, the material culture of toys, games, and special filming materials, and further analyzes and reinterprets them to find hidden meaning (H. Cho & B. An, 2011). However, over time, the *otaku* phenomenon gradually become globalized (Allison, 2006), and a group called *otaku* began to form in South Korea as well. It was after an event called Comic World in the 1990s that the term *otaku* became known to the public. This event was the South Korean version of the Comic Market (コミケ), which is held twice a year in Japan to establish a network of nationwide cartoon circles and identifying and bringing together cartoon fans (H. Cho & B. An, 2011; C. Lim & Y. Lee, 2013). Following this event, the Japanese term *otaku* was transformed and redefined as "*odeokhu*" around 2005 when the term saw widespread use among online communities (C. Lim & Y. Lee, 2013).

Generally, *odeokhu* gather with people who have similar interests to actively search for information about their common object of their fascination and create derivative and new content (S. Hwang & J. Kim, 2015; C. Lim & Y. Lee, 2013). For example, unlike ordinary viewers who follow the storyline of animation focusing on understanding the intended message, *odeokhu* indulge in a specific character and analyze their features or explore clues and Easter eggs hidden by the original writer and director. *Odeokhu* sometimes find connectivity between animation

elements that the writer and director have not even considered, which in turn expands the world of an animation. This process can be seen as creating a new body of knowledge in response to the surplus and affective power of the images. Additionally, *odeokhu* continue to share clues or interpretations they found with the online community (S. Hwang & J. Kim, 2015). These interpretations intermingle with each other and create an enormous world surrounding the animation. Although this world is connected to the original animation, it could gradually become independent, and new secondary creations unrelated to the original can emerge.

The lives of *odeokhu* became known to the public through a talk show called *Martian Virus. Martian Virus* is a South Korean television talk show that was broadcast on tvN from March 31, 2009, to November 26, 2013, depicting the daily lives of Martians, who have completely different lifestyles from typical South Koreans (S. Choi et al., 2010). The Martian who appeared in the 44th episode (broadcast on January 27, 2010) was a 21-year-old man named Lee Jin-gyu who had fallen in love with a character featured in Japanese animation six years prior. The character of his affection, Fate Testarossa, is one of the magical girls from the animated television show, *Magic Girl Lyrical Nanoha*. Not only did Lee Jin-gyu work hard in the online community, but he also invested 90% of the money he earned from a part-time job (approximately 15 million won) to goods featuring Fate such as alarm clocks, towels, mugs, mousepads, cell phone straps, mp3 cases, and bedsheets. Lee Jin-gyu filled his living spaces with images of his virtual lover. These goods helped him feel like he was in a relationship with Fate. For example, Lee Jin-gyu wakes to the sound of Fate coming through the alarm clock, eats food with Fate through the mug, listens to songs with Fate through the mp3 case, and falls asleep with her through the bedsheets. In addition, he also has a *dakimakura* (a large pillow of real human size) with Fate on it. Lee Jin-gyu bought two tickets to an amusement park and put the

dakimakura on a ride and ordered two plates at a restaurant for her. He said that his dream is for her to enter reality, marry him, and go on honeymoon with him. Even with these odd tastes and commitments, he won the second prize at the 2009 Odeokhu Contest, which was hosted by the Hankyoreh Newspaper.

The three hosts of *Martian Virus* reveal what "ordinary people" think about Lee Jin-gyu. At the beginning of the episode, they were seen trying to understand Lee Jin-gyu's odd behaviors within their own frame of reference. For example, one host tries to find a reason for Lee Jin-gyu's actions by asking, "Do you do this so you can feel like someone is next to you?" However, they ultimately criticize him when his words and actions deviate from the normal scope of life they have established. They even try to correct and normalize him by saying, "you can't just fall in love with virtual people," "like her, but do so to the extent that you don't cross the line," or "meet another real woman." They consider it ridiculous to feel love for a virtual character who does not exist in the real world. However, Lee Jin-gyu is incredulous about the hosts' perspectives and says that his tastes are a little different from others, and he hoped others might understand this.

Overwhelmingly, the South Korean public considers *odeokhu* like Lee Jin-gyu to be sexual perverts. This is because they seem to be unable to distinguish between reality and the virtual world while additionally enjoying obscene images. For this reason, even other *odeokhu* are averse to sharing and creating lascivious and perverted images or having feelings of love toward animated characters. In fact, Lee Jin-gyu's case has caused considerable controversy even among *odeokhu*. After the program was televised, he received a substantial amount of shame and was even expelled from the online community for tarnishing the image of *odeokhu*. However, with some distance from the image of *odeokhu* reproduced in the media and some of the phenomenal

aspects that are overly emphasized, one can see that Lee Jin-gyu is creatively "becoming" together with Fate. That is, he has created a new relationship with the heterogeneous body and increased the capacity of his existence. Lee Jin-gyu thinks that he has a direct relationship with Fate and has developed his life in a corresponding way. In this process, Fate's characteristics or modes of life as illustrated in the animation affect Lee Jin-gyu's life. For example, the affects go back and forth between Fate and Lee Jin-gyu, allowing him to be familiar with Japanese culture and to speak Japanese, which he could not do before connecting with the animation. Fate influences the formation of Lee Jin-gyu's "subjectivity" by touching his potential capabilities that have not been actualized. What he loves and connects to penetrates him and becomes entangled with his story. Fate also has a new role, breaking away from the limited characteristics and functions given by the animation itself. Through the connection with Lee Jin-gyu, Fate deviates from the role of competing with Nanoha and collecting Jewelseeds (as is the plot of the show) and expands her functions to motivate and revitalize the lives of *odeokhu*.

In this vein, Fate and Lee Jin-gyu are forming "a bloc of becoming" that increases the capabilities of each of their existence by actively connecting to each other. The "bloc of becoming" here does not necessarily occur between humans; even two completely heterogeneous species can create unexpected bonds by forming an "in-between space" that does not converge around one center (E. Kim, 2014). Some may doubt whether a fictional character can affect and be affected by others, but the screened images have an ability to reorganize the libidinal flows of the body by impressing on its imagination (jagodzinski, 2010b). The images of the animation have intensities that the author or director could not intentionally construct and could differently affect individual viewers who have had different histories (Garner, 2019). Here, Fate is a type of multiplicity through which viewers can connect individually with content, which leads to various

reactions and interpretations of the animation. Within the bloc of becoming, Lee Jin-gyu advances toward a different material, psychological, and social state than where he was before. Thus, Lee Jin-gyu organizes aspects of the material world that he can feel and resist, which consequently changes him as well as those who intra-act with him.

Looking at other YouTube videos related to Lee Jin-gyu, one can see him visiting the house of another *odeokhu* who has collected several goods or inviting other YouTubers to his house to introduce the items he has collected to them. *Odeokhu* tend to show off their collections and try to be recognized by other *odeokhu*. They constantly interact with people interested in these goods and engage in activities such as trading used items. In the process of showing and trading goods with each other, the items play a role in gathering people interested in the animation so that *odeokhu* can form a discerning eye for animation and related goods. The unique codes that circulate between them gradually help them establish their own world. In short, these items play an important role in building an *odeokhu* world where similar people gather due to their tangibility and portability. Thus, goods collection may be understood as a method adopted by *odeokhu* to constitute the social relationships of desire, perception, and production, rather than simply being deceived by capitalism's marketing strategy.

In the 2010s, the term *odeokhu* changed to "*deokhu*" or "*deok,*" and its meaning has changed as well. It no longer narrowly refers to people who are immersed in Japanese cartoons and Japanese console games but started to refer to "a person who has accumulated professional knowledge or skills by joyfully investing time and energy in his or her field of interest" (J. Heo, 2018, p. 88). Accordingly, terms such as "*gwang* (mania)," "*pyein* (a crippled person)," and "*ppasuni/paddori* (fan of the K-pop idol groups)" used in the past have mixed and are used without strict distinction (H. Cho & B. An, 2010). Furthermore, unlike before, an atmosphere of

high regard for such individuals' passion and expertise is being formed. The best demonstration of this change is the program called *People of Full Capacity,* which aired on MBC from November 13, 2015 to September 8, 2016, and intensively highlights the culture of various *deokhu*. This program covers the appearances and features of *deokhu* in various fields such as robotics, military, zombies, and so on. While these *deokhu* were regarded as eccentric people who are difficult for the public to understand and had previously been identified as "Martians," they are now viewed positively by the public and modified by the label "of capacity." At the same time, economic and moral values are attributed to their daily lives. Their tremendous purchasing power could not be ignored and neither could the analyses and suggestions they develop based on their collected information, as these often go beyond the level of experts. Their purchasing power and expertise began to adversely influence the mainstream culture. Accordingly, companies became sensitive to the potentialities of *deokhu* (H. Cho & B. An, 2010). *Deokhu* has been upgraded from "loser" to "capable person," and there are moves to scout *deokhu* in the job market. Being immersed in an object has become a credential, and activities that were once hidden below the surface have emerged. Such an elevation of *deokhu* enables youth to constantly experiment with different ways of life while simultaneously binding their experiments to specific values.

6.2. Discrediting the system by intentionally failing to perform productive and useful tasks

Some youths recognize that their failure comes not from their incompetence but from the structure of this world, unlike the protagonists of the *INGtoogi*. Additionally, youths want to resist the social system that made them losers in their own way. A few novels describe their

cynicism about the social system and active resistance to it. For example, Kim Sagwa's *The Grass Lies Down* (2009) draws the desires of the youths who are actively doing nothing to counter the system.

The main character of *The Grass Lies Down* feels that their whole life is going completely wrong. The central protagonist reasons that if her whole life is in a mess despite the fact that she has done nothing wrong, there is a problem with the world. She is disillusioned with her family, who does not agonize over the reason or value of lives and simply follows the standardized way of life. She writes novels and wins prizes with the hope that literature has the power to change the world, which values only money. However, when she becomes a novelist and meets fellow authors, she becomes frustrated to see that they are also snobby. They have no interest in the role or value of literature at all. After that point, she vows to "change me, not change the world" (p. 22) and decides to pretend to follow the way of life that the world expects. She clearly recognizes that many problems in her life are not her own fault but are caused by the majoritarian social structure. This realization was why she tried to change the world with the power of literature when she was a college student. However, the fact that literature cannot crack the system and is easily consumed as a commodity frustrates her. She no longer tries to change the world and aims to live a parasitic life reliant on her affluent younger sister. She seems to be absorbed into the current social system, resigned to the fact that the world will not change. However, she does not internalize the survival logic at all. As the central character ("I") writes "…those who once had money continue to have money, and those who didn't have money never have money. So, I can extort money from the people who have it. They won't even run out of money before they die" (p. 55). She seems to follow the social system, but she is still holding firm on her creed and pretending to succumb to the world. She does not invest herself into any

productive behavior but looks through the trash can of her sister, who easily buys and throws away whatever she needs. She deceives the world and, in contrast, uses it.

One day she encounters a man who has a crook in his back on the road and follows him. He is the unnamed painter Pul (grass). Pul has a pure soul and is more interested in the patterns of car tires than the price or brand of cars, even in this world where everything is judged by money. The two recognize each other's pure souls, fall in love, and create a bond in which they seem to be the only people in the world. They start living together right away, making love, wandering the streets, drawing, writing, and drinking. The narrator feels she was able to enjoy life as long as she was in a relationship with Pul, so she wanted to experiment with their love and art against the world. To this end, the narrator says, "So, I will not let money destroy our love. I will starve in love, beautifully. It is my dream" (pp. 158–159).

Their love would be irresponsible from the world's perspective. This is because they simply spend their time and energy on love, even though they must work hard to make money and contribute to their family, community, and country. However, the attitude of the main characters can also be seen as the "profane" strategy developed by Agamben (2007), who points out that the essence of religion is that it "removes things, places, animals, or people from common use and transfers them to a separate sphere" (23). The sacred is moved into such a sphere and is unavailable for common use; so it is only when there is "profanation" that blurs the divide between the sacred and the secular and turns it into common use, that new uses can be created. According to this logic, the lives of South Korean youths, including their bodies, energy, and time, are sacredly distinguished to increase productivity for capitalism as religion. Therefore, as one can see in the South Korean TV drama, *SKY Castle*, South Korean youths should postpone all desires such as eating, sleeping, and loving as a method of self-development. In recent years,

even romantic relationships and marriage have been evaluated against whether they facilitate economic activities. In contrast to this tendency, the narrator and Pul secularize their lives again by using them however they want, which opens room for free use with no regard to the purpose of capitalism. In other words, the characters open space for using time and energy in different ways by recklessly squandering them on such secular affects as love.

The love of the narrator and Pul was never eternal because their way of being is different from the logic of the world. They gradually become so poor that they can no longer afford basic food and shelter, and the narrator ultimately becomes an alcoholic.

> Life began to fall upside down. We both knew clearly that something was going wrong, but we could not give up. We had to maintain that unstable path. That was the only way we could face the world. We knew instinctively that if we surrendered in fear of trivial problems—hunger, discomfort, and an opaque future—we would soon be swallowed up. The world was like a starving child who is always unsatisfied. No, it was hunger itself. It was coming after us. We must push life completely into uncertainty to the point of not knowing where we are. In that way, the bare face of life that had been hidden in the middle of the collapse began to emerge. I did not miss that moment. A pure life, not a single piece taken away. But was it a life? Was it just an illusion? It was beautiful anyway (pp. 163–164).

The narrator could not stand the fact that Pul's paintings were winning contests and Pul began spending time with others because she thought love, poverty, and uncertainty were the only truths of life, and this caused conflict between the two. In the end, the logic of reality destroys the lovers' "dream" as it flips into a nightmare scenario of addiction and destitution.

Certainly, the behavior of the narrator and Pul "contrasts with the limiting and reductive image of creativity appropriated through alliances with capital and the reterritorializing forces of the creative economy" (Lines, 2008, p. 136). Capitalism breaks through all the shackles of the codes

that have tied the flow of bodies, as the existence of codes is an obstacle for extracting surplus values. Nevertheless, it does not allow the released flows to fluctuate but leashes them again on behalf of itself. In other words, capitalism is ready to divert the amorphous flows into production, and through this reterritorializing process, what Marx called the "continual revolution of the means of production" (as cited in Holland, 1999, p. 80) occurs. However, the narrator and Pul can stop the danger of resistance itself becoming conventional by intentionally practicing "not doing" as well as breaking away from a social system (M. Kim, 2019). Sometimes, the creative characters supported by Deleuze and Guattari may appear as lethargic and idiot-like, similar to Bartleby of *Bartleby, the Scrivener* (1853), because they deviate from existing territories, and they are useless and unproductive. This creativity can also be quite shocking to those who have vested interests in the present order and do not want to risk their lives. For this reason, the reactionary force that tries to survive as painlessly as possible while complying with the existing dominant values resists, and it tries to separate the active power from what it can do in connection with the said power. Nevertheless, this shock is valuable in that it forces us to think and expands the potentials of life.

6.3. Escaping the system and creating an alternative lifestyle

Some of the youths who failed to adapt to the school system or social system are not simply caught up in *ressentiment* (Neitszche, 2007) or depression but rather escaped from it. They appear to have torn themselves from tradition to repurpose themselves in another place or, in solidarity with others, to open a new world.

6.3.1. Liberating oneself from reproducing representations

Little Forest is a film released in 2018 by director Yim Soon-rye. The film is a remake based on the original released in Japan and was recontextualized according to the situation in South Korea. As soon as it was released, it attracted many youths and mobilized 1.5 million viewers (D. Jeong, 2018). The popularity is closely related to the phenomenon of returning to rural life that has become popularized in recent years. The film depicts what happens when Song Hye-won, who went to the city for study, returns to her hometown. Alongside her work at a convenience store, Song Hye-won prepares for the teacher certification examination after graduation. Ultimately, she fails the examination. Harboring vast disappointment, Song Hye-won cannot even celebrate her boyfriend's success in the exam. Instead, she returns home as if she were being chased. There, she meets her friends Jaeha, who has also returned to his hometown, and Joo Eunsuk who had become a banker, never having left the area. Song Hye-won spends winter, spring, summer, and autumn with her friends while farming, cooking, and eating.

The film conveys a situation in which Song Hye-won has no choice but to return to her hometown through a very short recollection. Song Hye-won was in a similar situation to the adolescents in *SKY Castle* in that she was under the pressure of excessive competition, even though there are specific differences between what is required for college admission and that for employment. To study for the examination, Song Hye-won had to suppress all other desires in her life and as such, felt both physically and emotionally starved. City life aggravates these difficulties in that it is a place in which people rush to get a chance at "the good life." In South Korea, most provinces, outside of a few metropolises, are underdeveloped and stagnant, so many youths must leave their hometowns to go to college or to get a job. As many people gather in a limited space and competition in education/employment is intensified, the basic cost of living

increases. Housing costs and living expenses that had not been incurred when living with one's parents become a substantial responsibility. Many youths have no choice but to live in poor environments without satisfying their basic needs such as food and shelter. In addition, those youths who want to get a company job are pressured to acquire the right qualifications and compete with others for limited positions.

Constant competition without any support makes Song Hye-won hungry in the literal sense. Unable to withstand this hunger, Song Hye-won eventually leaves city life and returns to her hometown. There, she gradually begins to forge new paths by restoring deep connections with her body and nature. The first thing Song Hye-won does is take care of her body by simply feeding herself. In a competitive situation where others will pass you by if you hesitate for a moment, it is quite inefficient to spend time preparing meals for yourself. For this reason, many youths buy lunch boxes at convenience stores or heat up ready-to-eat meals. Although youths sometimes take time to find and visit "gourmet restaurants," these activities are simply compensating for the stress of everyday life with sensual pleasures or recharging so that one can work again rather than pushing oneself into an unfamiliar experience and liberating suppressed potential.

Song Hye-won consumes food that is made from seasonal ingredients taken directly from nature into her body: in winter, she makes cabbage soups and pancakes with Chinese cabbage and green onion harvested in the snow; in spring, she plants potatoes and puts flakes of dough made from them into clear soup. Eating food with seasonal ingredients that she has herself harvested makes her feel better, even if the food is not gourmet quality. This is because the ingredients are not only fresh, but their original taste is felt deeper than artificial seasonings and chemical flavoring. Song Hye-won's practice can be interpreted as trying to form a unique

rhythm, away from the demands to control one's body and mind according to the refrain and speed of the city. In other words, the habitual tendencies of youths regarding what to eat and how to eat, such as eating simple foods and eating as quickly as possible are transformed. This escape works as an opportunity to actualize the potential latent power through the formation of new habits, which in turn form a new subjectivity.

At the same time, this counter-practice helps Song Hye-won escape from the dominant network of the food industry, which has a specific order. This industry tries to take ingredients and make, distribute, and supply food in the most economical and efficient way. In this process, however, consumers are completely cut off from nature and consume ingredients or food as a simple product, which makes them live without a direct relationship with nature. Eating food made from raw materials that have been collected directly from nature is a departure from the familiarly domesticated food culture, allowing the body to form new relationships and partnerships with nature. This is because "what you eat and drink" and "how you touch and prepare vegetables" are not only related to various power/knowledge relationships but also to the process of materializing yourself and the world (Rossholt, 2012). For example, Song Hye-won's hometown has no superstore that sells ingredients out of season or from abroad, so it is necessary to look for and know which crops can be grown and harvested in each season. To get the necessary ingredients, Song Hye-won carefully takes care of the crops until they are fruitful, practicing such farming techniques as leveling off the ground, enriching the soil with fertilizer, watering the seeds, pulling up weeds, and so on. Additionally, farming is sensitive to external environments such as sunlight, rain, and wind, which affect crop cultivation, and farmers must accept and cope with situations that are not controlled by human will. Those who have cultivated this relationship with nature to eat three meals a day have a different attitude from those who

take and eat food that they do not know who cultivated or how it was distributed. Indeed, Song Hye-won says “thanks for the meal” out loud to nature before eating or recognizing that she is also a crop growing on this land. In addition, what one eats and drinks constitutes the human body and further affects the subjectivity of the person (Lala, 2021). The food we consume not only changes our body, such as our body odor and skin texture, but also leads us into a network of relationships surrounding food, changing the way we perceive and occupy the world.

Since the movie was released, the alternative style of life depicted by *Little Forest* has been well received by many youths, arousing aspirations for returning to rural areas. However, these youths’ aspirations are too easily captured by capitalist marketing strategies. Indeed, many youths who are tired of the busy life of the city have recently registered for travel products such as “Living on Jeju Island for a month” to take care of their body and mind. This leisure culture seems to parallel Song Hye-won’s journey on the surface, but in fact, it ultimately results in reincorporating tired workers into the system and even increasing productivity by activating their latent potentials. This is quite different from the lines of flight that Song Hye-won draws and their separation from the current socioeconomic system and creation of new lifestyles. The leisure culture encourages people to interact with nature, but only with the images of nature that are already represented by capitalism (Agamben, 1993) through which workers’ stress levels may decrease but are never pushed to the point of encountering *a world without us*. In other words, the leisure culture realigns people who cannot keep up with the system right now and are complicit with capitalism to secure a workforce that can be put into work at any time. Consequently, youths continue to oscillate within the pendulum of labor–leisure and tension–relaxation.

6.3.2. Solidarity with others

An individual's escape is vulnerable to criticism in that it attacks the dominant perspective of the society. Repeated exposure to criticism may make one want to return to their prior life. However, if these flights come together, they do not merely create simple happenings but lead to the creation of new aesthetics. Accordingly, in recent years, it has often been the case that some youths form a community without existing social codes such as kinship, regionalism, and school affairs, to experiment with new lifestyles and establish new relationships with heterogeneous people.

A representative example of the solidarity to experiment with these alternative lives is "*Udongsa* (people in our neighborhood)." *Udongsa* was created in 2011 by six young people who were considering a return to rural areas (Y. Jin & B. Kyung, 2013). At the time, they felt something was wrong with their work life in the city and vaguely wanted to return to rural areas and engage in farming. However, they thought that if they returned to rural areas without any preparation, they would not succeed; so they decided to live together and prepare for such a change rather than immediately returning to rural areas. They purchased a house in Geom-an, Incheon, through joint investment and loans and started living together in September 2011. They then sought ways to live a different life by reading and discussing books together.

To carry out these experiments, they needed to be economically independent. They focused on "how to reduce unnecessary consumption" rather than "how to earn and spend more money" (J. You, 2020). Although this was an era of excessive consumption where frugality was identified with poverty, they believed that using goods together through a communal life and maintaining frugality could save their lives while greatly decreasing living expenses. They reduced their cost of living by sharing what they had rather than "monopolizing things and excluding them from

other people's use." This decision was made because they believed that possession of a thing makes many people poor except for the item's owner, and that this prohibits true experiments for development. Of course, ownership itself was not prohibited, and each person decided what to share and how much (J. Kim, 2015). There were no established rules for this because enacting rules provides an easy excuse to criticize others. Instead, they emphasized reflecting on each other and forming relationships to allow the community members to continually find a new balance. As the cost of maintaining life was reduced, their need to make money for consumption was also reduced, allowing the young people to quit their jobs and gradually find what they really wanted to do.

Raising questions such as "How can we spend less?" rather than "How can we increase productivity?" and "How can we increase profits?" has the power to reconsider existing elements of life. If one asks a different question than before, everything that has been territorialized based on that one question would be de-territorialized, and accordingly, a new reterritorialization will be sought. That is, it became possible to conceive of new ways to relate to people, materials, situations, and places, and to devise creative ways to negotiate meetings and form a community. As they spent less time and energy on earning and spending, the youths tried to do things that they wanted to do but could not have done so far. Since the purpose was not just to do nothing, they learned new skills such as baking, using appropriate technology, alternative medicine, and so on, and enriched the community with their abilities. These self-sustaining attempts accelerated experimentations with new lifestyles by achieving economic independence and helping members not to give up drawing lines of flight. As the instances of escape from capitalism increase, they do not cease to exist but instead create a new pattern of life that becomes visible to others.

In addition to their activities at *Udongsa*, they conducted various experiments as well. For example, they established *Café 50* in Seocho-gu, Seoul, in April 2012 to communicate with people with similar concerns (Special Coverage Team of Ohmynews, 2013). The reason the name of the café was *Café 50* was that 50 people invested one million won each to create a cooperative. In this space, various events, such as reading books, discussing special issues, or sharing talents with people who are interested in creating alternative lives, are constantly being held. The fact that their experiment has been successful to some extent encourages people to find their own path in life.

6.4. Summary and discussion

South Korean schools expect students to commit themselves to become future laborers through the questionable logic that "if you study to death and win a victory, you will live well" (S. Woo, 2009). Trapped in the logic of survival without alternative ideas about a good life, students have no choice but to compete with others and repeat certain forms of opposition and reactivity, which are expected to increase employability. However, students who do not fully accept this logic and lack the ability to follow the status quo, or lack parental support, are likely to fail and become *ing-yeo*. For example, while most children receive shadow education even outside of school, children from families who cannot afford to register their child in private tutoring are not only likely to fall behind in their studies, but also do not know how to spend their unlimited hours (S. Lee & S. Hong, 2014).

Cyberspace allows youth to easily kill time. Here, youth break away from all the regulations that evaluate them in actual society and create different orders unique to this world alongside other *ing-yeo*. However, as seen in *INGtoogi*, many of the *ing-yeo*s that gather in this cyberspace

still look at themselves and others based on the logic of the mainstream world. That is, they are ashamed of excess vitality, are depressed, or fight each other while judging other *ing-yeo*s as being pathetic. This means that *ing-yeo*s have not reached their virtual potentials even though they have found a new virtual space. Nevertheless, there are a few cases in which such individuals actively embrace such a surplus lifestyle and create new events, senses, and solidarity. For example, *byeong-mat* cartoons create their own way of structuring events that is different from the dominant narrative strategy; *odeokhu* expand their ability to affect and be affected by appropriating resources from the mainstream culture and forming blocs of becoming with various heterogenous entities.

Overall, these trials create cracks in the existing systems that have been concretely organized by creating nonsense based on the strange combination of elements or by imposing different uses to elements whose uses were already specified. Desires and energy are invested in a way that cannot solve problems or produce surplus values but instead change the problems themselves and cast doubt on what the values are. However, this movement has an aspect that can be easily captured by capitalism. Companies quickly seize the youths' movements and are eager to capitalize upon them. The information and ideas they spend a tremendous amount of time on to produce and accumulate become resources that companies can easily extort and use. In addition, the youth work on platforms run by large companies, but the platforms can code all their activities and process them to create capital value. Therefore, efforts are needed to prevent these energies from being captured as a driving force to maintain the existing society or from preemptively hindering the opening of a new future.

In contrast, it is also possible to find an attempt to actively cultivate a new form of life by escaping from the current South Korean society. For example, some youths have become freed

from the tension of surviving infinite competition, poured out their hearts in love, and returned to farming in order to take care for their bodies and minds. These attempts deactivate an image of youths represented by the pre-established system and create an alternative microscopic world as distanced as possible from the net of domination. However, some of these efforts are captured by capital as well; the capital turns alternative lifestyles into experiential products that serve to recharge young people tired of labor and return them to the system. Those youths who have something in common form a community to draw lines of flight that are not easily captured by capital. They configure people, materials, situations, and places in a different way, forming a community that does not operate solely with market values and senses differences that were previously latent within society.

7. Final thoughts

7.1. Summary

Based on the idea of schizoanalysis, this study examined how the South Korean education assemblage is reorganized with an emphasis on the cultivation of creative talents and how desires are tethered and structured in the process. For this purpose, it collected a variety of data, including policy documents, academic journals, etc. pertaining to creativity education since 1995, when it began to be emphasized in South Korean education. This study explored those data in terms of how various and heterogeneous forces within South Korean education shape and transmit "creativity" as an order-word, and how creativity assemblage intervenes in the desires and bodies of students. The mapping of the creativity assemblage was followed by a closer examination of the desires that are drawn into and paranoically invested in the assemblage and the molecular movements breaking through from it. By asking how the landscape of South Korean creativity education has been constituted and "how the material repetition of the territory informs upon the kinds of subjects thinkable institutionally," the study sought a possibility of counter-actualization (that is always and already part of the territory) and to break away from the dogmatic ideas of creativity (Wallin, 2014, pp. 150–151).

South Korean government policies interpret the current situation in South Korea under neoliberal logic, define creativity in accordance with it, and provide guidelines on how various elements in education should be arranged, connected, and combined in order to enhance creativity. Specifically, in educational policy documents, the emphasis on creativity is based on a viewpoint that conceptualizes the world as an environment characterized by infinite competition between free individuals and nations. Every student is hereby regarded as fundamentally free, autonomous, and competitive and survives by actively creating a brand-new life with minimal

governmental interventions. South Korean education, which focuses on accurately delivering knowledge, is described as having been uncompetitive in that it ignores and homogenizes students' interests and talents. Thus, a new education for creativity is characterized by the deregulation, diversification, and flexibility of instruction, which allows students to freely choose what they want and to dictate their own career paths. Accordingly, teachers are referred to as experts in educational methods for facilitating and supporting students' spontaneous learning rather than as masters of content.

Such discourse makes it difficult to cast doubt on the assumption that we live in a world wherein everyone struggles against everyone else. It is impossible to think about education as being free from competition; furthermore, the other roles that education can play—beyond helping students process their potentials to produce surplus value—are difficult to imagine. Within this discourse, students who do not have a strong sense of purpose are framed as unhappy, and teachers are kept from considering "why" and "what" to teach.

As creativity became a political priority, the research community experienced a matching growth in interest. Prior to 2000, studies on creativity were limited to the field of gifted education; however, these days, such research has expanded further into the field of general schooling, revolving around the field of educational psychology. The discussion of creativity in school education mainly relied on Western psychology studies to determine "what creativity in school education should be cultivated;" The question of "how such defined creativity can be developed" was explored in relation to existing subject education and career education. Influenced by different Western psychological theories, creativity is defined as a cognitive and affective characteristic attributed to an individual or as a processual characteristic of thinking to solve problems in a unique way and an environmental characteristic in which activities occur. In

line with this, creativity education became concerned with the self-directed development of each student's unique characteristics or training on how to think in a particular way. Further, from 2000 onwards, creativity, which was dealt with via special programs in extra-curricular activities, gradually expanded to be dealt with in all subject classes. These discussions and the policy discourses have reciprocally influenced and brought about specific methods of practice. For example, the discussion regarding creativity as a cognitive and affective character of individuals has reimagined creativity education in a way that seeks individual aptitude and talent and provides a more tailored, individualized education. In addition, discussions that see creativity as a characteristic of the problem-solving process have made it possible to devise new courses and programs that apply the problem-solving process to teaching. When this process is reversed, the political rhetoric that individual creativity should be complemented by an emphasis on character and its contribution to the development of society leads to research that explores the relationship between creativity and character within academia.

The academic discourse tends to view creativity as a resource that belongs to individuals and to highly value individuals who discover, process, and use this resource in a purposeful manner. In other words, creativity is referred to as a willing action of an individual to confirm one's vitality and change the world in accordance with their self-image (jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013). However, the conception of creativity makes educators indifferent to "differences happen[ing] at the pre-individual level before things/bodies even have an identity to speak of" (Beighton, 2017, p. 113). As such, South Korean curriculum studies blocks the chances to construct radically different experiences and senses that are delinked from the traditional vantage and phenomenological experience of humans (Wallin, 2014).

In response to changes in policy discourse and academic discourse, various educational elements that comprise the school curriculum have been reorganized, or new elements have been introduced. Since 2010, for example, policy discourse has advocated the cultivation of creativity throughout all subjects and to achieve this, subject teachers are being urged to utilize new teaching methods such as discussion, practice, and experience. Moreover, the existing course structure was deemed insufficient for the development of creativity, and a series of changes were necessary to the organization, status, and role of the various elements within the course. Consequently, the school curriculum adopts a methodology that converges various subjects with a focus on social issues in order to promote creative thinking. By this process, ostensibly impractical contents have been reduced or fused with subjects in the context of "interdisciplinary" application and its intrinsic logic of deterritorialization. It has become more vital than ever for school subjects to demonstrate their legitimacy and value in terms of utility and productivity and to show how subject knowledge is applicable to solving social problems and creating new capital. In the wake of this transformation, a new code of practicality has been established in which students judge the value of knowledge and learn to relate it to other ideas as resources for their own vitality. Additionally, teachers' authoritative mastery of their subject knowledge was no longer recognized. While prior conceptualizations of the teacher focused on the importance of their subject knowledge and teaching skills, the current image of the teacher involves understanding the disposition of each student and helping them stand out from others. In this situation, teachers design pedagogical opportunities in a way that seeks to understand and invigorate students' interests while providing opportunities for scaffolding such as gamification. These pedagogical approaches combined with entertainment maximally extract children's amorphous energy, territorializing it by involving students in activities designed to invest their

energy in a pre-established way. For example, embedding game characteristics in learning activities increases student engagement and spurs emotion, action, and thought by making learning fun and interactive; however, the instant feedback and rewards of such gamification places a limit on what a series of emotions, actions, and thoughts may become. As such, students' various connections with the world are fettered to a desirable change that teachers have preprogrammed.

School curriculum is not only changing the contents and methods of existing subject education to cultivate creative talents but is also creating and introducing programs that previously did not exist. A special feature of the new program is its close relationship with career education; representative examples of such innovations include career and occupation (an optional subject), creative experiential activities, exam-free semesters, and so forth. These activities mainly focus on helping students with self-realization by letting them recognize what they like and do well and finding ways for them to develop and self-directedly act on their plans. Students are expected to form a coherent image of the self and realize it in the world through such programs. These programs seem to value the self-dominance of the liberating subject and to respect the unique personality of each student. Ironically, however, extra-curricular activities expect students to map their lives through "given" or molar identitarian categories for self-formation, thereby representationally counting life and reflecting already constructed forms of life, which ultimately serves as a maneuver to re-bind the desires released by the processes of decoding and deterritorialization (jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013; MacCormack, 2012; Wallin, 2014). As an Oedipalizing factor, the programs subjugate schizophrenic desires by tethering the subjective formation of students to the dominant codes of society and deploying the forged self to existing

social structures. Herein, the realization of the self contributes to the maintenance of the current society and the acceptance of the self as "normal."

The contemporary assemblage of South Korean education has played a unique role in operating with other machines in South Korean society. Since liberation, South Korean education has provided an excellent labor force for the state/corporations and differentially distributed resources to the members of society. Middle-class parents who experienced a dramatic rise in their social status through South Korean education had a desire to maintain such social statuses by investing in their children's education. Shadow education has become a parasite that feeds on parents' desire for their children's success by driving and enlarging desires for social status. In this context, the formation of the creativity assemblage create space for parents and shadow education to interfere in the students' competition through their financial and information power. The creativity assemblage diversified the method of developing the potential of young people and evaluating their learning process. Paradoxically, however, the changes created a circumstance where a child can gain an advantage in the competition if parents quickly identify the evaluation criteria and preemptively design their children's learning process in accordance with those criteria. Parents and shadow education therefore set up the child's future hopes, design strategies for entrance exams, and create a portfolio on behalf of the child. The intervention of parents and shadow education pre-emptively blocks students from drifting and codifies their energy along a particular institutional pathway, which accelerates the competition for a few structured differences. Students become proficient in re-territorializing their conscious learning experiences into a consistent narrative line to prove themselves as self-directed and competitive subjects. Consequently, creative talents who have been raised through the South Korean educational system not only circulate along the codified lines of society but also grow

into beings who are closed to the world outside of the concept of "I." Furthermore, the majority of students who are left behind in competition tend to be obsessed with inferiority or hatred rather than committing themselves to "reset[ting] their coordinates and reinvent[ing] their possibilities" (Beighton, 2017, pp. 119–120). This, in turn, reproduces and cements the existing social system.

Among the paranoid investments of desires that tether differences to socially accepted reference points, schizophrenic desires are constantly evasive. Such a scenario can be seen in the recent development of digital media that has opened up a space where youths can freely meet and interact to create unique and even eccentric flows. Admittedly, many of them previously called themselves "losers" and "*ing-yeos* (surpluses)" because they were pushed out of the atmosphere of constant competition and the winner-take-all agon of university education. They are even disgusted with their own actions, judging themselves in light of the dominant ideas and carrying feelings of *ressentiment*. However, some youths live a different life based on unique avatars and usernames, taking advantage of anonymity, and even create unique subcultures such as *byeong-mat* cartoons and *odeokhu* cultures. *Byeong-mat* cartoons create a new mode of thinking by serializing events in an unconventional way; *odeokhu* creates a world distinct from that dominated by common sense through their unique ways of affecting and being affected by items. In this sense, cyberspace can be said to be a *holey space* in Deleuzoguattrian (1987) terms, referring to a space that appears when users burrow tunnels into the dark and hidden substrata of the internet. Herein, the regulation of the nation is incomplete and counteractions against social norms appear (Wallin, 2014).

Some youth recognize that the situations they encounter are not due to their fault or incompetence but to a fascist system that homogenizes heterogeneous desires toward pre-

constituted, structured differences. Youths today argue that they are forced to exploit their lives for the sake of "survival" without any social security in a world where everything, without exception, is converted into capital value. They attempt to use the sacred things preserved by capitalism, such as their time and energy, in a seemingly profane and worthless way to stop the one-way operation of the system that considers them valuable resources. They are unwilling to mobilize their talents and ideas to solve repetitive social problems, such as "how to increase productivity" or "how to create new values." Instead, they experiment on new relationships with people, places, environments, and materials to submit new questions and find new possible solutions. What is particularly important to them is not properly sealing the cracks in the current society, but wedging them open by continuing to ask other questions such as "Is surviving all that is expected of our lives?" and "Why should everything be useful?"

Nevertheless, todays' educational research and practice has been indifferent to the awakening, play, escape, and solidarity of contemporary youth. In a discussion on schooling, the productive connections of youth were not a main interest; even when they are emphasized, such connections are depicted as a serious problem requiring sanctions and correction, such as "the Internet addiction rate of adolescence is increasing, […] and students are exposed to various harmful and unhealthy information" (Strategy Committee for National Information & MEST, 2011, p. 17; Interagency Team, 2018) or "youths lack moral patterns of behavior, sound attitudes, and consciousness in cyberspace" (Interagency Team, 2020). Recently, such conversations have also focused on the context of "students' literacy," where concentration has been severely reduced compared to that of previous generations because youth are incessantly exposed to short videos. It has been pointed out that students have difficulty making sense of a written text due to a lack of reading experience, which leads to a loss of studying (H. Kim, 2021). In light of this, it can be

said that the activities performed by youths in virtual spaces have been recognized as inappropriate and interfering with study. Therefore, education guides them to learn subject knowledge by ceasing such activities or rather, by introducing various elements of the virtual world into education so that children can learn by playing and simultaneously move in the desirable direction of established society. For example, teachers itemize and modularize subject learning to systematize students' learning and to give students a sense of immersion and accomplishment, thereby increasing the efficiency of subject learning. However, the educational actions are problematic in that they do not respect various types of becoming and even subtly control youths' political and ethical activities. This is because they cut students off from their ability to change by replacing learning with success and achievement for individual items and modules (Beighton, 2017).

Worst of all, while education is indifferent to youths' potential, many companies pay attention to youth's vigorous energy and process it in a specific way to generate capital. For example, companies try to use the energetic activities of youths to market their products. Looking at the most recently published books related to marketing strategies, guidelines such as "provide simple activities related to products or services in which youths can participate and that they can play with" (20slab of University Tomorrow, 2020) are provided. Corporations assume that once a playground is set, youths will voluntarily produce and share various types of content during engagement with play, and that such content will rapidly and widely spread, resulting in excellent marketing effects. Additionally, crowdsourcing and various contests with subsequent awards allow companies to externalize the production process; these activities generate large profits by easily taking creative ideas from youths at a relatively low cost (H. Lee, 2020). The externalization of production leads to "the marginalization of wage labor and the valorization of

the ‘free labor’ of users” (Marazzi, 2011, p. 53) and enables companies to continuously secure a means of production. In the meantime, neoliberal principles such as what kinds of creativity are valuable and where humanity’s creative energies should go infiltrate the youths’ lives. In other words, “all our imaginings of becoming are measured through capital units” (Jeanes, 2006, p. 130).

Additionally, platforms where youths play, operated by large corporates, become a site for accumulating and mining users’ personal information about when, where, and how users search for, access, and create information. The data “can be used by marketers, attention that can be sold to advertisers and traffic that boosts share prices” (Dean, 2009, p. 24). This is because collecting, storing, classifying, processing, and analyzing these vast amounts of data can help corporations identify market trends and develop business strategies. Therefore, companies try to collect as much data as possible, and the flow of affections and activities on the platform themselves can be transformed into surplus value. In this sense, the lifetime and vitality of youths in the digital network are constantly exploited as labor force that they do not receive a fair price for (H. Lee, 2020).

Furthermore, digital media support the capital by preemptively exploiting the individuals’ psyche (Grusin, 2004). Based on the user’s profile obtained by analyzing big data through algorithms, the capital not only predicts the future but also pre-empts certain various possible futures (Amoore, 2011). That is, algorithms can identify types and characteristics of various bodies through “data mining” and activate certain tendencies and acceptance of the body before cognition by releasing and causing interruptive signs (Savat, 2008). For instance, recommended books and videos presented by Amazon and Netflix affect youths’ behavior and decision-making even before they are recognized (Lazzarato, 2014). Such interruptive signs “construct value, by

framing how [youths] engage with [a world], affecting and effecting others' orientations towards [a world] as legitimate" (Maguire & Matthews, 2012, p. 552). Through appropriating, inducting, and attuning the body, inner lives of youths become more manageable than they were previously (McNulty, 2019, p. 90), and the future has already been premediated.

Capitalism meets its arrogant greed and maintains its vitality by coordinating and appropriating the potential power of youths. For their part, youths gain instant gratification in that they do what they want to do and are sometimes paid for it. Unless they constantly renew themselves, however, they will eventually be discarded and replaced by others. Otherwise, they will be fettered by the shackles of unremitting production. In the violence of capitalism, which wants to discard and replace at a faster pace, only capital itself eventually benefits, which in turn deprives youths of the opportunity to restore their belief in the world and the possibility of thinking about alternative futures.

7.2. A new imagination for future education

To restore an ethics of life and belief in the world, we need to look back on how creativity and creativity education have functioned and in what direction we should move for progress. In other words, it is more necessary to consider how creativity conditions students' lives than to discuss what creativity is and how to teach it. Biesta's (2009) discussion on the three functions of education (qualification, socialization, and subjectification) can support this point. Qualification fosters knowledge, skills, understanding, and judgment that allows people to do something in students' minds, while socialization makes students a part of the social, cultural, and political order by delivering specific norms and values (pp. 39–40). In contrast, subjectification is an individuating "effect" of education, that is, it allows one to exist independent from the

established orders. According to Biesta (2009), educators should include not only qualification and socialization but also subjectification in discussing what constitutes a good education. However, creativity education thus far has been indifferent to the kinds of subjectivity that are possible in the current arrangement and composition of education. That is, South Korean education has discussed what qualities future laborers should have and how the qualities can be harmonized into the established order; however, it has not properly recognized how creativity education limits students' development. Critical studies on creativity education are needed beyond instrumental studies for creativity education to create possibilities for new realities. Thus, we need to reveal how creativity education captures and homogenizes differences and continuously seek counter-actualizing processes by showing where variations and infractions deviating from the territory of institutional education occur.

In addition, it is necessary to reconceptualize today's concept of creativity as it allows desires to be unfairly exploited by capitalism and invested paranoically within the state apparatus. First, creativity can be conceptualized as a force that stop fluxes and escapes stratification; it goes beyond being in sync with the current speed of capital circulation and accelerates it further. This conceptualization allows elementary and secondary education programs to pay attention to the rhizomatic connections created by students who were left behind and to encourage them to move out of their habitual patterns rather than to move forward faster and farther within the familiar circuits of progress under capitalism. This conception of creativity does not deny activities that efficiently solve given socioeconomic problems and create new capital values. Nevertheless, problem-solving and value-added creation without critical attention to what these activities serve could be nothing more than the "ability to multiply the given" rather than "the ability to promote new conditions for thoughts and actions in a way that can expand existential differences"

(Deleuze, 2000, as cited in Wallin, 2014, p. 152). Therefore, the suspension of highly patternized circuits of production that activate virtual potentials should be considered as a part of creativity.

Second, creativity can be conceptualized as a way to create problems distinct from the familiar terrain of societal problems and their ready-made solutions. For example, current society continuously asks, "how can we encourage consumption?" and "how can we reduce inconvenience?" Meanwhile, a creative person seeks other ways of life by asking, "how can we reduce unnecessary consumption in our lives?" and "why can we not tolerate inconvenience?" "Recalcitrant to the highly territorialized and patterned image of the [world] and its implicate break from material relations," such questions commence "a break in the repetition and expectation of constants […] by producing 'good connections' with the virtual problematic field of the milieu" (Wallin, 2014, pp. 147–148). Indeed, youths have already been asking these kinds of questions. However, their questions have not been recognized as something related to creativity. They have typically been labeled with the modifiers "critical" and "resistive" and are often considered disruptive to the smooth function of a capitalist society. This is because posing such questions threatens the transcendental apparatus, like the nation-state, which pursues the concentration of power, values, and centrism (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) and halts the tendency to mobilize molecular movements to sustain current organizations. However, the defiant questions open the closed circuit of desires to virtual creativity, in that they cause a person to imagine a different way of territorialization from capitalism and allow for different values and lifestyles to be discordant and coexist without hostility by creating cracks from which new ideas can sprout.

Third, beyond raising problems, creativity has been conceptualized as a productive capacity to create senses, events, and assemblages in different ways. Becoming creative is not just equated

with dismantling and destroying established habits, norms, and patterns but with pushing lines of flight to their limits to form a new world (jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013). For producing such a world, it is important to create anomalous sense-events and new modes of perceptions, rather than following common sense. These movements might be perceived as quite bizarre and strange under South Korean creativity education, which is rooted in a standardized definition of human beings; they might even be considered incompetent and foolish in South Korean society, where creativity has been conceptualized as the ability to monetize everything and to invigorate a consumerist lifestyle (Mould, 2018, p. 11). However, these attempts can impact coded and territorialized thoughts and actions; furthermore, only through these shocks can the possibility of new relationships with other humans or non/inhuman beings open up. These lines of flight are particularly important at a time when the tension and destruction of the world are increasing due to human creativity.

Based on the reconceptualization of creativity, it is important to reconsider the current methods of fostering creative talent in South Korean education, which has continued to create new subjects and have students choose the subjects they want from among various options. This educational practice comes from the assumption that students know well what they want and are successful in guiding their own educational experiences. Student self-identification of interest areas is thought to improve their individuality and creativity. However, the presumption of the pre-determined self and prioritizing self-awareness as an after-effect over the process of subjectivity formation are contestable. Furthermore, the practice is problematic in that it reduces the molecular question of "how to help students create a relationship with subject knowledge" to the molar question of "what subjects should students choose between." Creativity is a characteristic of the relationship formed between students and subject knowledge or learning

contents. Therefore, to foster creativity, it is important to observe how students expand differences, break constraints, and create offshoots in their learning (Wallin, 2010) and to "modulat[e] scales and durations of experience non-resemblant with 'common sense' (that which everyone already knows)" (Wallin, 2014, p. 155). However, if the focus is limited to the selection of molar pathways, the molecular flows within the courses become obscured and even negated, and all educational failures become attributed to students' incompetence to choose properly. No matter how many subjects students can choose, becoming creative is impossible insofar as subject matters are regarded as given objects of understanding under which the process of differentiation is controlled. In this respect, education for creativity should emphasize multiplicities of movements in the course rather than increase the number of subjects itself. In a classroom, affective flows of desires and their ceaseless connections as an immanent outside are always present. Currently, teachers have had qualms about these flows and controlled them through various teaching methods. However, education for creativity should support them to become transversally associated, connected, and allied with each other and to form new assemblages (Evans et al., 2006; Wallin, 2013).

In the existing curriculum, the desirable connection of students with educational contents is to think about the utility of contents. In other words, the code of utility and productivity cut, extract, arrange, and organize the flows of schooling. However, thinking about knowledge as a tool makes students accept that knowledge itself is already complete, and that it can "constrict disciplinary thinking within highly coded territories of knowledge and production" (Wallin, 2013, p. 43). Therefore, education for creativity should help to create new answers by returning to the grounding problems and seriously interrogating what conditions draw such answers rather than simply regarding knowledge as a tool. In particular, students should be encouraged not to

rely on common sense (what everyone knows) but to produce new neural circuits, perceptual strategies, and thinking methods when forming these answers. For this purpose, it is necessary to reconsider the existing approach to art education. In South Korean education, art has been reduced to the creation of beautiful and functional objects and as a means of promoting capitalist consumption. This conception of art, however, limits the inherent potentials of art, such as allowing a body to overcome a threshold through producing inhuman and involuntary effects beyond human cognition, thereby expanding the realm of what a body is capable of (jagodzinski, 2012). Education should invent specific strategies to mobilize the power of art and actively intervene in senses so as to newly organize space, time, and activity forms (Y. Ahn, 2015). Additionally, it is also necessary to consider how to use advanced technologies in a different way (Pente, 2017). Technology enables us to speculate about a world without us by emitting heterogeneous intensities. In this sense, technology should be dealt with as a medium to help constantly explore heterogeneous perceptual strategies, and not as a tool to more efficiently implement human intentions.

Finding departments and careers in accordance with one's own future hope, aptitudes, talents, and learning experience has thus far been regarded as crucial in fostering creativity. In the emphasis on such career education, the premise exists that creativity is closely related to self-realization. However, no matter how individualized the activities to cultivate creative talent become, new experiments are bounded insofar as *a priori* conditions are given to such activities. The activities assume "I" as the focal point for numerous activities and the stratified and ossified grid of representation to coordinate such "I" and such "me," which re-territorializes free flows of desires into an institutional life. Therefore, it is important to be wary of forming one's identity

within the molar patterns of schooling and setting a pathway along which students can efficiently run even before educational activities begin.

Meanwhile, creativity proper may deviate from the characteristics of "human beings" taught in school education. "To become alongside 'non-Oedipalized' [subhumans] is to compose something queer or horrific" so that educators aspire to refine them as complete humans (Wallin, 2014, p. 146). For example, the boy who is obsessed with an elevator, presented in Chapter 4, may arouse concern in his teacher and parents in that he ignores the function of the elevator commonly accepted in society and connects to it differently. However, the strange performances of such unfulfilled beings can be ethical experiments on how life might be, and it is through such experiments that counter-actualization of the orthodox formation of human subjects is possible. Hence, educators need to be open-minded about these anomalous and bizarre forces and affects and to detect their emergence and steward their affective force along a line of experimentation.

In closing, education today must embark on a serious consideration of the risk of creativity. The current society calls on its members to continue to create new ideas. However, creating something new is only possible when a body is delinked from its patterned image and remade as a body without organs. The process of exposing one's body to such a powerful intensity is somewhat dangerous in that, without caution, it can lead to dismantling the organism itself. Many artists who continue to use drugs for incessant creation and eventually deconstruct their body embody this danger. Therefore, it is necessary to think more about the dark side of creativity itself to prevent the schizoid energies of youth from ending up in simple destruction.

The critical work carried out by this study has the effect of revealing how various contested notions coalesce into the dominant image of creativity and the control functions involved in the assemblage of creativity. It eventually serves as a contextual understanding of educational issues,

which helps prevent the perpetuation of the current situation; it encourages policy makers, curriculum developers, and educators to re-evaluate creativity education. Additionally, the work of palpating schizophrenic desires and juxtaposing them with the existing creativity assemblage has the potential to de/re/territorialize the creativity assemblage in a more ethical manner. It will help teachers to be sensitive to the schizophrenic movements that occur in the classroom and make them more equipped in dealing with ethical questions.

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