SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN’S VISUAL EXPRESSIONS:
THE SOCIO-CULTURAL MEANING AND FUNCTION OF KOREAN CHILD’S
DEPICTION OF NEGATIVE EMOTIONS IN DRAWINGS

A Dissertation in
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by
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ABSTRACT

Art is an effective tool for children to express their inner mind. However, little reliable research exists as to whether children really can express their actual emotions effectively and whether the emotions included in their drawings are the very emotions they wish to describe. While children’s drawings include emotional aspects either directly or indirectly, most children produce uniformly “happy drawings” in their art classes at school that are closely related to positive emotional expressions. This limited depiction of emotional states in school art is entirely different from what is observed in Korean children’s depiction of diverse emotional states in their manhwa. It is this phenomenon that more diverse emotional themes and expressions, both positive and negative, are daringly depicted in Korean children’s self-initiated drawings called manhwa (comics) that initiated the current study. To explore the essential nature of the social and cultural influence on one child’s drawings about a negative emotional theme, this study investigated (1) the emotional and drawing experiences of one Korean girl, (2) her socio-cultural values and expectations about negative emotional expressions and drawings she learned through her experience; and (3) how this socio-cultural learning affected her depiction of an angry emotional experience in two types of drawings (school-type drawing and manwha-type drawing done in school).

This qualitative case study was conducted through classroom observations and interviews with the case participant Suji, her friends, teachers, and parents over a three-month period. In addition, I collected Suji’s self-initiated manwha, her artwork made in
school, drawings about her angry emotional experience in school, and other artifacts and written materials.

The data were analyzed in three stages. Analysis was first performed on differences in the portrayal of the same assigned theme between Suji’s school-type drawing and her manwha-style drawing without the use of any contextual information, such as information about her personal life or her previous experiences in visual expressions of anger (Chapter 4). Next, I re-examined the differences in her two drawings using contextual information about Suji’s process of socialization of emotional expression (Chapter 5). Lastly, I attempted to understand Suji’s drawings about a negative emotional theme with information about her drawing experiences in and out of school (Chapter 6).

This study revealed that Suji used expressive strategies to depict her angry emotional experience in school in both types of drawings. Furthermore, Suji carefully selected each expressive strategy by considering its socio-cultural meaning and function. Her previous emotional and drawing experiences closely related to her decisions of what expressive strategies she employed. Implications of this study will assist art educators in understanding cultural influence on and the complex mechanism of children’s drawings.
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When I began my doctoral program, my husband was sick...very sick.
When I began my doctoral program, I had two children...one was an infant.
When I began my doctoral program, I was in the worst possible situation imaginable.
    I knew it was not a situation in which I could concentrate.
    But something made the situation possible such that I could study.
    Ironically, the time I spent studying was the only time for me to rest.
    It made me forget my difficult situation.
    Frankly speaking, it made me breathe.
I am thankful that I was given the opportunity to breathe during this time.

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“Wow, teacher, you ALSO love to draw manwha!” Suddenly my classroom was filled with 5th graders’ joyful shouting and applause after I had drawn my own comic characters on the chalkboard to help in their understanding of a lesson. At that time, I was...
not aware of the meaning of my act as an adult classroom teacher. Now I realize that I had opened the door to children’s visual manwha culture (Figure 1), which is almost never seen by Korean adults, because they are not interested.

To my surprise, many students including those who I did not expect to like drawing of any kind, started sharing their manwha with me. Their manwha culture was fascinating and somewhat mysterious. I observed that most children did not hesitate to draw manwha, even the older ones who, theoretically, at that age, become critical of their drawing skills and lose interest in art (Davis, 1997). They eagerly shared their stories, which included happy stories with skillfully depicted images as well as fearful, dirty, stupid, and sad stories that were clumsily drawn. Children talked freely and actively with each other about their stories, images, and drawing techniques. While some of their peers’ comments were harsh and critical, most children willingly accepted or easily ignored them. Others imitated drawings from their favorite commercial manwha or from their friends, and their copycat behaviors were not viewed negatively. I became interested in Korean children’s manwha culture because I believed that these children followed different rules of drawing and had different kinds of interactions when drawing manwha.

In my first research study (Kim, 2005) about a Korean boy’s story of drawing manwha across three years, I found, ironically, that Korean adults’ negative attitude toward children’s drawing manwha provided a feel-free zone of visual expression for children that benefited their drawing. They explored diverse themes in their manwha that were prohibited in art at school and learned a variety of expressive strategies from commercial manwha, their peers, and even on their own. In my case study, the participant drew his manwha characters in action rather than as realistic still objects. To make his
still two dimensional images seem alive, he used motion lines in a single frame and later learned from reading commercial manwha and drawing manwha with his friends how to effectively use several sequential frames and different shapes of frames to express the world as moving.

Because the Korean manwha culture is somewhat secretive and not mainstream, it signifies something more than the simple act of drawing itself. Children’s manwha cannot be understood as a simple relation between the drawer and the drawing product that is independent from the cultural context. Rather, children’s manwha is situated in social and cultural contexts that may be more significant than the visual expression itself. Therefore, through studying children’s manwha, we not only learn more about children’s visual expressions and their developmental meanings, but also begin to understand the socio-cultural influences and functions of their visual expressions and their implications for art education. As such, children’s manwha present an ideal context to investigate a wide range of social and cultural dynamics that surround their drawing practices.

**Evoking My Research Interest in Children’s Depiction of Negative Emotional Experience**

In the fall of 2003, I encountered several surprising pictures in the course Theories of Child Art that would be most influential in my dissertation. The pictures were drawn by Salvadoran children and described the horrific aspects of war. Even though the theme of the pictures was a bloody massacre of innocent civilians, the dead were all smiling (Figure 2). I wondered how these people could be depicted in that way. The initial astonishment of seeing the picture increased when our instructor, Dr. Thompson,
stated, “Children automatically draw a happy face.” Most of the class, as well as me, nodded in agreement. This drawing strategy, however, left me puzzled. If there are aspects of children’s drawings that are automatically done, what do they mean and how do they function in their art?

Figure 2: Salvadoran Child’s Drawing (the cover drawing of *Fire From the Sky*, 1986)

At the time, I was writing my Master’s thesis (Kim, 2004) about children’s self-initiated manhwa that use sequential frames. Needing a theoretical background on child development to analyze the Korean children’s drawings that I collected, I registered for the course Developmental Seminar in the Psychology program. To my initial disappointment, only issues of emotion and emotional regulation were discussed in the course, which did not seem to directly relate to research for my thesis. However, I began to realize that emotions and their expressions have very diverse aspects and are more complicated than I had previously thought.
I was especially attracted to functionalist approaches to emotions. Functionalists emphasize the importance of studying interrelations between children’s emotional experiences and their social environment. They especially attempt to explain social influences on the generation of emotions and insist that others’ approval and disapproval can powerfully influence individuals’ emotional experiences (Campos & Campos, 1989; Campos & Barrett, 1984; Campos, Mumme, Kermoian, & Campos, 1994). In addition, functionalists claim that previous studies on emotions focused mainly on emotions and emotional behaviors as the counterparts to emotion, where relations between emotions and physiological instincts and impulses were considered important and emotions were understood to be independent from the surrounding social context (Ekman, 1972, 1980; Izard, 1971). Children’s emotional experiences, however, include very complicated social as well as physiological aspects. Therefore, functionalists consider emotion not as an individual behavior independent of social context, but rather as a complex construct linked to a given social situation. Accordingly, how emotions are formed within a given social construct and its norms is of significance. As such, a functionalist perspective emphasizes how people regulate their emotions and emotional expressions.

Of interest to me was that socialization of emotion was a significant component of emotional development (Thompson, 1994). As children age, they consider the social context they are in when they express their emotions and try to manage them depending on the social expectations (Bergin et al., 2003; Campos et al., 1994; Cole, 1986; Eisenberg et al., 2000; Malatesta & Haviland, 1982; Parker et al., 2001; Thompson, 1994; Zeman & Garber, 1996; Zeman & Shipman, 1997). I realized that I did not express my emotions as I experienced them. I always considered how others would evaluate my
emotional expressions. Unconsciously, I have been interpreting situations, regulating my emotions, and managing others’ attention effectively as I understood the social function and effect of my emotional expressions.

Throughout my life, I have had many different relationships with diverse types of people and experienced thousands of emotional situations. In Korea, I knew how to express my emotions in socially acceptable ways within different situations. When negative emotions emerged within me, I knew that I had to manage these emotions more carefully. I usually did not show my negative emotions, especially socially sensitive ones such as anger, sadness, and jealousy. Consequently, other people might be unaware of the difficult times I had since my negative emotions were not fully externalized and shared with them.

I recalled the picture of the happy faces of the dead and wondered if those Salvadoran children drew their pictures in that way for particular reasons. In addition, could other children’s happy drawings also be a type of regulated visual expression, a socialized emotional expression that considered other people’s expectations or reactions? Functionalists believed that children could regulate their emotional expressions more and more prosocially as they developed their cognition and realized the social effects of emotional expressions. Therefore, I asked one question to myself: Was it possible that the products of children’s visual expressions about emotional themes took into consideration viewers’ reactions? That is, were they regulated in a socio-culturally expected way? If so, in contrast to what was commonly believed to be true, children’s drawings might not reflect their pure soul or real emotional states.
Since negative emotional expressions are socially less favored than positive emotional expressions (Malatesta & Haviland, 1982) and need to be regulated more than positive ones do (Zeman & Gaber, 1996), I assumed that children’s drawing about emotional themes, especially negative ones, might not be the products of expressive impulse or simply drawings of what children experienced in their lives, but rather, their drawings might be filled with many controlled themes, images, and expressive strategies and drawn in terms of others’ expectations of their emotional expressions and their visual expressions. If the themes, images, and expressive strategies in children’s drawings about emotional themes were carefully selected based on internalized socio-cultural values or meanings about their visual expression, rather than by internal expressive impulses, I believed that understanding what affected their choices in their visual expressions and how they had been constructed over time would facilitate our understanding of how children developed artistically.

Lowenfeld explained children’s selection of expressive strategies in a developmental perspective. According to Lowenfeld, my question about children’s repeated happy drawings can be explained as a natural result of children’s artistic development. Lowenfeld claimed that during the schematic stage (age 7 to 9) a child typically draws a picture of an object and person the same way time after time so it may be possible to assume that children in this schematic stage draw a happy face automatically without considering its emotional significance or its function. However, if they continued to use happy images and themes in their drawings, we need to understand what affected their decision to select these specific images or themes: Was it caused as a
result of individual child’s development, or was it accomplished by socio-cultural influence?

Among the many questions about children’s “automatically” distorted emotional drawings with external socio-cultural influence, I ultimately posed the question, “If there is space free from viewers’ expectations or socio-cultural norms about emotional and visual expressions, how would children draw emotional themes?” I wondered whether children would use the same schema, a happy emotional person or objects, in this type of drawing.

In my Master’s thesis, I researched Korean children’s self-initiated manhwa and found that children drew relatively more free themes including negative emotional ones not expressed in school drawings and that they did this type of drawing eagerly. Therefore, it was natural that I drew my attention to the comparison between visual expressions of negative emotional themes (e.g., anger) in Korean children’s school drawings and those in their self-initiated manwha drawings. Then exploring the socio-cultural meaning and function of their expressive strategies in drawing negative emotional themes in these two types of drawings resulted in a better understanding of the complicated relationship between children’s visual expressions and their specific socio-cultural context.

**Studying Suji and her Drawings**

I stood next to Ms. Lee as she introduced me to her students. I explained the reason I was there and what I wanted to study, mentioning, of course, manwha. The students then turned to point out four students, calling their names. Suddenly, the classroom became very noisy, as students were
indicating who was good at drawing manwha. I wasn’t able to recognize all of whom they were nominating, but I identified one boy since he was sitting in front of me. Ms. Lee immediately quieted the classroom as I tried to figure out the manwha artists in the classroom. She pointed to a seat in the last row and asked me to sit there. As I was walking to my assigned seat, I found a girl drawing manwha. It appeared that she had just started drawing as I was walking to my seat in order to catch my attention. The student’s name was Suji.

(9:50 a.m., May 1, 2006)

In the summer of 2004, I began my research in Ms. Lee’s sixth-grade classroom at Hangook Elementary School in Seoul, Korea in order to answer the following questions:

- How are children’s emotional expressions socialized in a specific context?
- How do children’s socialized ways of expressing emotion influence their depiction of a negative emotional theme?

The design of my study required observations for a length of time so that I could observe what negative emotional situations children experience; what values and expectations about negative expressions they have learned in their school life; and, as a result, how they understand the meaning and function of expressing their negative emotions. In addition, I also wanted to investigate how children depict a negative emotional theme using their emotional knowledge. Therefore, it was necessary to observe children in the classroom for an extended period since it was not known when observations of such behaviors would occur.

Ms. Lee’s entire class was the focus of my research because she and her students encountered many diverse emotional interactions and drawing practices. Therefore, it was important to observe the classroom context carefully. I paid careful attention to those students who specifically enjoyed drawing manwha because my investigation centered on
how children depict the same negative emotional theme in two different types of drawings — a school-type drawing and a manwha-type drawing.

It is not difficult to find young manwha artists in any Korean elementary school because most Korean children are exposed to manwha culture very early on (Kim, 2004, 2005, 2007; Park, 2004) and develop manwha drawing skills at a young age. Through my interest in Korean manwha culture, I visited over 50 elementary classrooms and interviewed many teachers and students, never failing to find at least one talented manwha artist in each class.

This was no exception in Ms. Lee’s class, where I easily found four outstanding manwha artists — Suji, Mina, Hyuck-jae, and Hyun-su. I was already familiar with the boys, Hyuck-jae and Hyun-su, because Ms. Lee told me about them before I met them. I came to know the girls, Suji and Mina, through other students in class who spoke about them and also through their own efforts to gain my attention. In particular, Suji demonstrated her enthusiasm to me actively, sharing her manwha with me and continually asking me to read and talk about her manwha. She also attempted to display her manwha drawings to me whenever I passed by.

These four manwha artists enjoyed drawing manwha in their everyday lives and all exhibited excellent drawing skills. They spent their free time drawing manwha and were pleased to see share it with others. Therefore, I thought that they would be perfect study participants and began to observe their emotional and art-making experiences.

From the first day of the study, I carefully observed these four children’s interactions with others in relation to their negative emotions and drawings. Ms. Lee
assisted in letting me observe at close range by assigning me a new seat every two to three weeks so that I could observe each child from a short distance.

Reflecting back on this, I would not have imagined that I would end up writing a dissertation on just one child’s case. Although I made effort to pay attention to each child equally, I collected more data on Suji since she showed the greatest interest in my study and energetically pursued me to help in my understanding of her emotional and drawing experiences. While most children have a busy after-school schedule, which makes it difficult to meet and talk with them, Suji made time to share her drawings with me, even at risk of being late to her next activity. Moreover, she brought her drawings from home for me to look at, without me asking for them. The rapport we had made it easy for me to contact her whenever I had questions about her emotional behaviors and drawings and she would always answer promptly. Thus, in analyzing the four students’ cases, it was natural to begin with Suji first since I had the most information about her to interpret her emotional experiences and drawings.

Another reason I analyzed and interpreted Suji’s case first was that I questioned her school-type drawing about her negative emotional experience. Through several formal and informal interviews, I knew that Suji was good at drawing all types of human figure. Suji’s drawings, especially her manwha, showed her mastery in drawing different kinds of human characters and various facial expressions, actions, movements, poses, clothes, and hair styles (Figure 23, 24, 26, 27 and 28). Moreover, although she already possessed excellent skills in drawing human figures, she continued to seek out ways to learn more. For instance, she would research and practice techniques to draw different emotionally characterized human figures from commercial manwha books (Figure 29).
While many will copy commercial manwha characters, I had never seen a student practice certain emotional aspects in order to capture the exact character’s state. Yet, even with Suji’s ability to depict any emotional theme more effectively than other students, her school-type drawing about a negative emotional theme was not of good quality and very confusing to me. Initially, I did not understand what she drew and why she depicted it as she did (Figure), so I decided to probe the depths of her emotional regulation and depiction in detail.

In order to analyze and interpret Suji’s drawings about her negative emotional experience, I needed more information about her. I began to observe her more carefully than the other three students so as to not miss any important moment related to her emotional regulation and depiction. In analyzing her drawings, more questions were raised, which resulted in a large amount of data that became too huge for me to control. Before this research study began, I would not have expected to collect such a vast amount of data on just one participant.

Next, I had to decide on whether to focus my study on just Suji herself or on all four participants equally. When my preliminary analysis of Suji’s drawings was near completion, I had already written close to 60 pages and would have another 100 pages to go. This situation presented a dilemma to me as I did not want to give up the collected data in order to understand the relationship between her socialization of emotional expression and depiction of emotional themes. Therefore, I decided to focus solely on Suji since I believed that her case would help in understanding other children’s visual expressions. As a result, the present dissertation centers just on Suji and her drawings.
the process of analyzing her emotional and drawing experiences, I found new insight into understanding children’s visual expressions.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Increasingly, researchers acknowledge the role that external influences—images absorbed from television and comic books, as well as ideas borrowed from peers and adults—play in children’s artistic expression. The impact of external influences is usually discussed as it relates to the graphic forms, modes, or strategies which children adopt for their purposes of expression... Influences related to the meaning, purposes, values, and assumptions about the art making process occur simultaneously with visual influences, and are transmitted through human interactions. (Tarr, 1995, p. 23)

Modernists’ romantic view of children’s visual expressions as innately innocent and free from the conventions of culture has been questioned by recent research (Wilson, 1997a, 1997b, 2002, 2004, 2007; Wilson & Wilson, 1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c, 1980, 1982, 1987; Wolf & Perry, 1988). Following the publication of Wilson and Wilson’s paper, “An Iconoclastic View of the Imagery Sources of Young People” (1977), many researchers began to pay attention to the various types of children’s artistic development and study the relationship between children’s visual expression and their external cultural influences. While evidence about cultural influence on child art has been reported for several decades, the discourse has focused mainly on the direct external cultural influences on children’s visual works. As such, most aspects of cultural influence on child art examined by art educators relate directly to children’s art-making, such as visual culture, including traditional art and popular media that children experience in their everyday life (Stokrocki, 2000; Wilson, 1997a, 1997b, 2002, 2004, 2007; Wilson & Wilson, 1977, 1979, 1982, 1987; Wolf & Perry, 1988) and interactions with peers and
adults during the process of making art (Kindler, 1994; Thompson & Bales, 1991; Thompson, 1995, 2002). In these studies, external influences that impact children’s artistic expression and how they are reflected in their graphic forms, modes, subject matters or strategies have been determined.

Children’s external visual influences such as expressed images and themes are easily recognized by viewers. In contrast, cultural influences are more difficult to identify since they are already deeply internalized by children through their previous experience. Types of cultural influence may relate to the meaning, purposes, values, and assumptions about the art making process which Tarr (1995) differentiated from visual influences and may play a significant role in children’s artistic growth and development. Thus, this study will attempt to explore other channels of cultural influence on children’s art-making process.

A socio-cultural perspective is useful to examine how children experience and internalize existing cultural values and how they are reflected in or influence children’s visual expressions. Based on Vygotsky’s (1978) definition of development as a process of socialization into an existing system of cultural meanings, other socio-cultural theorists such as Rogoff (2003) and Goncu (1999) examined how children internalize cultural beliefs or values on specific behaviors and how this internalization made social members’ behaviors socio-culturally expected. In order to determine what role culture plays in human development, Rogoff (2003) argued that identifying regularities in a specific culture is important. Moreover, these regularities can be found through studying everyday repeated social practices which reflect a specific social value system or cultural pattern. Exploring these types of cultural influences that carry on within everyday contexts
through repeated practice will allow realization of what cultural beliefs or values about children’s art making are internalized and how they impact their expressive decisions.

Specifically, this research study will investigate the process of children’s internalization of socio-cultural meanings about art making and their influence on children’s visual expression of negative emotion. Since negative emotional expression is a sensitive issue related to socialization, how do children who draw emotionally charged imagery consider its socio-cultural meaning and decide upon appropriate means of visual expression about it?

Art has been long regarded as an effective tool to express human emotions. This belief in regard to children’s art is expressed by the following quotes: “The child is speaking directly through his drawings, that is each line, shape, and form conveys the inner feelings as well as explicit themes of the young child” (Gardner, 1980, p. 94), and “Art has a great deal to do with people’s feelings” (Cohen & Gainer, 1995, p. 55). Yet, very little research exists about whether children really can actually and effectively express their diverse emotions and whether the emotions in their drawings are the very emotions that they wish to describe.

This research study is based on other aspects of cultural influence on children’s drawing aside from visually and externally easily recognizable ones and determines if children’s emotions can be expressed in their drawings as they are. Therefore, this study explores how culture affects children’s drawings. More specifically, how does a particular Korean emotional culture, which does not seem closely related to visual expression, influence Korean children’s expressive ways of depicting their negative emotional experience?
Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate how children’s visual expressions, particularly drawings, could be specifically socialized like other social behaviors, by exploring one Korean girl, Suji’s, school and manwha drawings about a negative emotional theme of anger. This research raised several questions, such as: What emotional culture related to expressions of anger exists in Korea? How did Suji come to understand the socio-cultural meaning and function of expressing anger within her cultural context? That is, how were her angry emotional expressions socialized? How did an internalized emotional culture affect her use of images and expressive strategies when she depicted angry experiences in her drawings in school, which were relatively strongly affected by socio-cultural expectations? How was anger depicted in her manwha multi-frame drawings that were made by her without direct adult involvement and were, therefore, relatively free from socio-cultural expectations? What were the implications for art education in understanding the expressive strategies used in these two types of drawings about negative emotions? These questions addressed how children’s internalized knowledge from other cultures (e.g. emotional culture) as well as their visual culture could influence their visual expression.

In order to examine Suji’s process of gaining knowledge about an emotional culture related to the emotion of anger (that is, their socialization in regard to the propriety of angry emotional expressions), her angry emotional experiences in her school and home life experiences would first be revealed. From a socio-cultural perspective, children construct knowledge and internalize socio-cultural values and beliefs through
diverse interactions with others and by participating in everyday activities that are socially constructed for the purpose of socializing members of society (Goncu, 1999; Rogoff, 2003). Therefore, information about how Suji interacted with others in angry emotional situations, what activities she participated in, and how her angry emotional expressions were socialized was gathered through observations, interviews with Suji, her friends, her parents, and her teachers, and other artifacts (e.g. her journals). The data informed the existing emotional culture in Korea and the process of Suji and her friends’ internalization of the specific emotional culture that prevailed in their society. Of interest were the descriptions of everyday child-child and adult-child(ren) emotional interactions at school and in the home; Suji’s angry emotional experiences or expressions at school and in her home; the teacher’s, parents’, and other children’s reactions to Suji’s angry emotional expressions; and the teacher’s and parents’ beliefs about her expression of anger. This study was not limited to art-making situations because it was assumed that children’s visual expressions about their emotional experiences could be influenced by their knowledge about that particular emotional expression from other socio-cultural contexts.

Second, Suji’s understanding of the socio-cultural meaning and function of expressing anger as it affected her expressive strategies for depicting angry emotional experiences in her drawings was investigated through analysis of two types of drawings, those from school and her own personal manwha drawings. It was assumed that school-type drawings and manwha-type drawings had different socio-cultural meanings and functions for children and that Suji would select different expressive strategies to depict the same emotional theme in these two types of drawing.
According to Wilson (1974) and Efland (1976), school art has its own unique form and function and is “produced in the school by children under the guidance and influence of a teacher” (Efland, 1976, p. 37). Therefore school art differs from children’s self-initiated art that is produced for their own purposes. School is one significant socializing agent in teaching children social roles. Since school art is organized by the school, it is not free from social pressure (Efland, 1976). In other words, children learn what is socially and culturally expected (i.e., they are socialized) through participating in art activities at school. In contrast, manhwa is one form of self-initiated art. Despite a negative view of children’s reading and drawing of manhwa in Korea, Korean children, ironically, are free to explore whatever they want to express when drawing manhwa (Kim, 2005). Therefore, many socio-culturally prohibited themes and expressions are allowed in this type of drawing.

Depending on how the meanings and functions of the subject matter in relation to the angry expression are understood and interpreted, expressive strategies used to depict them are then decided. From this study, expressive strategies used in school-type and manhwa-type drawings will inform how child’s knowledge of a specific emotional expression (anger) affects the entire process of decision making in depicting the related subject matter directly and indirectly.
Research Questions

In order to explore the essential nature of cultural influence on one child’s drawings—that is, to understand child’s drawing process as being socialized in a socially and culturally expected way-- the following research questions guided this qualitative research study. Primarily, how does one Korean girl, Suji, depict her angry experiences in two different types of drawing? In other words, how did socio-cultural values or expectations about emotional expressions and children's drawings influence her depiction of angry emotional themes in two different types of drawings (school-type drawing and manwha-type drawing done in school)? More specifically,

(Subquestions)

1. How did one Korean 6th grade girl, Suji, depict her angry emotional experience in her school and manwha drawings? What expressive strategies did she use and how were they used?

2. What display rules to express anger exist in Korea? How did Suji internalize this emotional culture through everyday activities? How was this internalization reflected in her expressive strategies in her two types of drawings about an angry emotional theme?

3. What socio-cultural values and expectations about children’s drawings exist in Korea? How did Suji’s internalized knowledge of them affect her decision-making of what expressive strategies to use in depicting her angry experience?
Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In order to examine the relationship between socialization of one Korean girl’s negative emotional expressions and her expressive strategies in depicting angry experiences in her drawings, an extensive and contextual understanding of research on socialization of emotional expression, emotions and children’s drawings, cultural influence on children’s drawing, and the socio-cultural perspective is needed. In this chapter, I begin with a brief overview of current academic literature on cultural influence in children’s drawing. In recent years, the impact of cultural context on children’s visual expression has explained children’s artistic development more fully than previous developmental theories. This review will confirm the importance of culture in children’s graphic expressions and present the need to consider social cultural factors in studying children’s expressive strategies in depicting negative emotional themes.

Next, I will explore the relationship between emotions and children’s drawings. The importance of this relationship has been emphasized, but its critical interpretation has not been thoroughly investigated. A review of literature will help in understanding how this relationship is characterized and the limitations of previous research. Based on this review, a new approach to explain children’s expressive strategies in depicting emotional themes is sought.

Following, research on socialization of emotional expression within the realm of psychology will be discussed. Art has long been considered an effective way to express
emotions. Within the art education arena, it has been accepted that children’s visual expressions are closely related to their emotions (Cohen & Gainer, 1995; Gardner, 1980; Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1987). However, this belief is not based on a full understanding about what emotion is, how it is expressed, and what influences emotional expressions. Therefore, to understand what influences Suji’s depiction of an angry emotional theme, how these expressions are socialized in Korean culture will be reviewed.

Finally, socio-cultural theory will be presented as the framework of this study in guiding the research process, from collection and analysis of data to the drawing of conclusions.

Part I. Children’s Visual Expressions: Review and Criticism

For much of the 20th century, child art has been studied from a developmental perspective that embodies a distinctive understanding of the artistic process and its contributions to children’s lives and learning. This historical review will clearly define the theoretical discourse that the current study is based upon, and the significance of the study in the field of art education.

Developmental Perspective on Child Art

Children are born creators and remain so until their native art impulses are killed by the imposition or imitation of adult standards concerned with skill and literal fact (Read, 1958, p. 206).
Children’s educational development is not understood in terms of things that should be known, rules that must be followed, or adult characteristics that ought to be adopted. Children’s development is seen as gradual and ‘natural’ progression which is best aided by adults who have an appreciation of and a respect for the ways of children (Darling, 1994, p. 3).

For almost 100 years, a developmental perspective on child art and art education has played a dominant role in explaining children’s artistic development (Freedman, 1997; Luehrman & Unrath, 2006). From this standpoint, all children are viewed to have natural creative power which should be protected from external influences. This belief was supported by many self-expressionists such as Cizek and Lowenfeld, who focused on the individual child’s unique expressive way and the growth of creativity. Cizek asserted that children should be encouraged to draw what they wish and see instead of what others expect them to draw (Viola, 1936). Likewise, Lowenfeld (1957) claimed that children’s artistic learning can be negatively affected by external influences (i.e., adult interference); as a result, their art making should be protected from socio-cultural influences.

Based on developmental psychology, Luquet (1927/2001), Lowenfeld (1957), and other researchers first paved the way for an age-based artistic developmental theory by dividing children’s expressive ability into several developmental stages and theorizing general characteristics of children’s graphic expressions. For instance, Lowenfeld suggests that most children follow a linear sequence of artistic development, progressing from scribbling to preschematic, schematic, gang, and pseudo-naturalistic stages, to a period of decision, and lastly to adolescent art. Accordingly, since all children have an
innate capacity to develop their expression, artistic development can be achieved naturally when the appropriate environment stimulates their innate interests or expressive desires.

While each developmentalist categorizes artistic developmental stages and explains their developmental characteristics in somewhat different ways, there is considerable agreement that graphic development progresses toward a norm of realism in art (Golomb, 2002; Reith, 1997). In other words as children’s cognition develops, their ability to recognize the visual similarity between a real object and their graphic representation also develops. Therefore, children develop skills to depict objects more and more realistically.

**Questioning the Developmental Perspective**

For over 150 years, scholars including educators, art educators, psychologists, and philosophers have been interested in the freshness and originality of children’s art making. Most studies on child art, however, have identified universal features of children’s art expression and artistic development detached from a specific socio-cultural context.

Over the last part of the 20th century, art educators have discovered and explicated many aspects of children’s artistic development more fully by considering the impact of cultural context on children’s visual expression. Studies based on the traditional developmental perspective consider children’s artistic development as genetic, universal, and occurring linearly while more recent studies consider societal and cultural factors within the learning contexts. Recently, diverse forms of artistic development have been

The basic assumptions of artistic development from a developmental perspective are that: 1) visual realism is understood as a specific and universal endpoint of artistic development, and 2) children’s artistic development can be achieved naturally (Kindler & Darras, 1998; Thompson, 2006). These assumptions were first questioned by Wilson and Wilson (1977, 1982) and Wolf and Perry (1988) and since the 1980s, researchers have continued to study and argue about these basic assumptions.

**Questioning Visual Realism as an Endpoint of Artistic Development**

Children’s cognitive development is not inconsistent with their artistic development (Cox, 1992; Reith, 1997). Psychologists are often interested in children’s artistic development from “intellectual realism” — drawing what they know — to “visual realism” (Luquet, 1927/2001) — drawing what they see. This common interest is based on the belief that children’s visual expressions become more detailed and accurate as they know more about the objects. However, understanding children’s drawings merely as a link to their cognitive capability does not accurately depict their “knowledge about objects” (Reith, 1997, p. 61). Reith (1997) found that when children were asked to trace representational and non-representational pictures as accurately as possible, their
reproductions of the representational models were less accurate and had more errors than
the non-representational ones. He concluded that when copying the representational
models, children did not pay attention to the line patterns because they were using their
knowledge of objects when drawing. In contrast, when copying non-representational
models, children paid more careful attention to the model, and their reproductions were
more accurate.

Children’s knowledge about objects can affect their depiction of what they see
negatively (Cox, 1992). Young children tend to include some aspects of objects which
they do not see, so that if they already know characteristics of a specific object, their
drawing is less accurate because they draw the object as they know it. For example, in
Cox’s (1992) study, although a handle of mug was turned away from children’s view,
young children depicted a mug with its handle.

Much evidence exists to prove the assumption of optical realism wrong; that is,
artistic development does not develop linearly towards visual realism, but rather, it can be
achieved in diverse ways (Golomb, 2002; Kim, 2005; Kindler, 1997, 1999; Kindler &

By now considerable evidence [exist], that visual realism is not a generally
achieved representational stage and that few adolescents reach it without
explicit training or copying of appropriate models (p. 23).

Art has been too narrowly defined within the developmental perspective (Kindler
& Darras, 1977) in which children’s drawings have been the main focus and other forms
of children’s art have been ignored (Thompson, 2006). Artistic developmental theories
are linear and limited in understanding and interpreting children’s diverse types of artistic
development. Therefore, new developmental models which consider socio-cultural aspects of children’s visual expression are needed.

**Questioning Self-Expression**

More recently, questions have been raised regarding the assumption that children’s self-expression is naturally achieved without external intervention. From a developmental perspective, self-expression is understood as expression based on the child’s own inner desire (Lowenfeld, 1957). Thus, any expression stimulated by any external factor is regarded as harmful to children’s artistic development because adult intervention and copying others’ images spoil their creativity by interrupting them in their effort to construct their own unique expressions.

However, it has been recently argued that external intervention may actually be helpful (Kim, 2005; Wilson & Wilson, 1977) where cultural influence is inevitable and adults’ intervention, copying, and other cultural influences can help children draw better or more easily. Wilson claims that the term “child art” is a product of Modernism (1997a, 2004, 2007) where modern art and belief in child art (i.e., self-expression, innocence, creativity, originality), once dominant during the 20th century, have become more and more uncertain (Wilson, 1997a). He considers child art as co-production and collaboration between the child and teacher or between the child and his visual culture, rather than as self-expression, and maintains that child’s art expression cannot be a child’s own original work. Thus, Wilson suggests reexamining the assumptions of visual
realism and natural development by analyzing visual culture, art, creativity, concepts of the child and childhood, and learning context.

**Socio-Cultural Influence on Child Art: Interests in the Socio-Cultural Nature of Children’s Artistic Development**

Since the 1970s, cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that human development is a cultural process. In order to explain human development, then, cultural as well as biological factors should be considered important (Goncu, 1999; Moll, 1990; Rogoff, 2003; Rogoff et al., 2003). In the field of art education, numerous cross-cultural studies illustrate how children’s visual expressions are influenced by their society and culture (Aronsson & Andersson, 1996; Court, 1989; Cox, 1998; Cox et al., 1999; Kindler & Darras, 1997; La Voy et al., 2001; Park, 2004; Stokrocki, 1994, 2000; Toku, 1998; Wilson, 1982, 19858, 1997a, 1997b, 2002, 2004; Wilson & Wilson, 1979c, 1987; Winner, 1989). Early studies found structural similarities in children’s drawings produced in different cultural contexts (Goodenough, 1926; Harris, 1963) and the existence of a universal artistic development (Thompson, 2006). However, observation of different trajectories and rates of artistic development illustrate that children’s expression can be influenced by their socio-cultural context.

Earlier studies about cultural influences on children’s visual expression defined cultural context widely and illustrated differences in children’s drawings produced across different countries with varied historical and cultural contexts. Recently, however, diverse types of socio-cultural influence on child art have been considered important,
resulting in dividing socio-cultural context into several levels and studying the interactions within one cultural context instead of between cultures or countries.

While interest in research on the cultural influence on child art has increased, discussion has not focused on developing a framework to organize or summarize this emerging body of literature. In this section, studies about socio-cultural influence on child art are divided into three categories. The first category relates to the influence of the socio-cultural context from a macro lens. These studies mainly explore how graphic models or expressive strategies used in the dominant visual culture (e.g., TV, movies, comics, advertisements) are reproduced in children’s drawings or affect their visual expressions (Cox, 1998; Stokroki, 1994; Toku, 1998; Wilson, 1982, 2002; Wilson & Wilson, 1979c, 19879). The second category focuses on the influence of the existing dominant socio-cultural value or belief in a specific context on children’s visual expressions (Aronsson & Andersson, 1996; Court, 1989; Cox et al., 1999; Kim & Kim, 2006; La Voy et al. 2001; Park, 2004; Stokrocki, 2000; Wilson, 19987a; Winner, 1989). Such studies attend to the socio-cultural valuse or beliefs reflected when children choose themes or expressive strategies, instead of the similarities that exist between the visual culture and the symbols and images of children’s drawings. The last category covers issues of children’s art learning as socio-culturally constructed, with external intervention, focusing on the meaning of interactions with others and the significance of interactions with others in children’s art learning and development (Boyatzis & Albertini, 2000; Kim, 2005, 2007; Kindler, 1995; Tarr, 1995; Thompson, 1995, 1997, 2002, 2003; Wilson, 1974, 1976, 2005; Wilson & Wilson, 1977; Zurmuehlen, 1990).
Influence of Visual Culture on Children’s Drawing

In 1977, Wilson and Wilson’s study “An Iconoclastic View of the Imagery Sources of Young People” confirmed what many art educators already knew but did not want to concede – that every child’s imagery is highly influenced by culture. Their cross-cultural studies provided visual evidence of the influence of graphic models of visual culture, including traditional art and popular culture, on children’s drawings. Since the external stimulus of visual culture, such as comics, increased children’s visual vocabulary, they paid attention to narrative drawings (1979a, 1979b, 1979c, 1980, 1981a, 1981b) and expanded this interest into non-Western (e.g. Japanese and Egyptian) children’s narrative and comic drawings.

Children use symbols and images that they experience in their everyday visual culture (Wilson & Wilson, 1982), which directly and strongly influences their visual expression. Each culture has its own style of art and unique expressive way. For example, Egyptian children who are exposed to their own ancient art use traditional drawing techniques, such as drawing the heads of human figures in profile and producing hourglass human figures with lines crossed inside their bodies (Wilson, 1998, 1992). Similarly, Warlpiri Aboriginal people who live in the desert areas of Australia share their knowledge about nature and hunting with the younger generation through symbolic and non-representational drawings on rocks or sand (Cox, 1998). For example, the Warlpiriri draw a person as “a curved U-shape which may be based on an aerial view of a seated person or on the imprint left by a person sitting cross-legged in the sand” (p. 75). In school, this traditional curved U-shape symbol is frequently observed in children’s
drawings. However, because of contact with Western culture through books and goods, Warlpiri children use both traditional and Western images and symbols and “the style of children’s drawings is very much dependent on the pictorial images around them at any particular time” (Cox, 1998, p. 78).

Toku (1998) analyzed spatial treatment in American and Japanese children’s drawings. When asked to depict the specific theme “My friends and me playing in the school yard,” Japanese children used different spatial treatment than Western children and exhibited additional expressive strategies that were unfamiliar from a Western perspective, such as exaggerated, bird’s-eye, and multi-perspective views. Toku concluded that such views are used in traditional Japanese art and popular comic art and provide important graphic models to Japanese children.

Japanese children’s visual expression is strongly influenced by the popular visual culture of comics (Golomb, 1992; Toku, 2001; Walsh, 2002; Wilson, 1997a, 1997b, 2002, 2003; Wilson & Wilson, 1987). Many researchers report that Japanese children have unusually sophisticated drawing skills along with rich visual vocabulary and ability to understand pictorial composition and narrative structure because of the popular comic culture, Manga. In Japanese culture, Manga provides strong and rich graphic models in that many popular comic images, symbols, and expressive strategies are found in Japanese children’s drawings.
Influence of Socio-Cultural Value or Belief on Children’s Drawing

Discourse about cultural influence on child art has focused mainly on direct visual influences on children’s drawing (Stokrocki, 2000; Wilson, 1997a, 1997b, 2002, 2004, 2007; Wilson & Wilson, 1977, 1979, 1984, 1987; Wolf & Perry, 1988). However, other forms of cultural influence, such as invisible dominant values or expectations in a specific cultural context, can also affect children’s expression.

In the field of art, the beliefs that “children love to draw human figures” or that “the meaning of human figures is very important in children’s drawing” have long been held. Yet, these beliefs cannot be applied to all cultural contexts (Court, 1989). When asked to draw a free theme, only 25% of rural Kenya children drew human figures while most drew livestock. Thus, Court concluded that human figures may not hold important meaning to Kenyan children since they are found less in their drawings than in Western children’s.

Traditional Navajo children in Arizona are influenced by their nomadic culture (Stokrocki, 1994, 2000). In art class, they choose subject matters and images related to outdoor activities and therefore are good at depicting animals running in a wide space. However, as their traditional culture changes with the influence of school activities such as sports and TV advertisements, Navajo children’s drawings have also changed. Stokroki concluded that what the Navajo culture values affects its children’s subject matter.
Another strong relation between what people value in a culture and children’s choice in drawing themes is found in “soccer madness” in Brazil, where interest in soccer “has reached an artistic level” (as cited in Stokrocki, 2000, p. 16).

Brazil was ready for soccer festivities. Television stations covered the team’s final preparations; cartoons lampooned individual team members; people cried when one soccer hero injured his knee; strands of green and yellow ribbons adorned the slums; and the school rented a large television screen to view the games (p. 16).

The socio-cultural value system – what social norms or values are transferred through everyday visual culture to children and how internalized socio-cultural norms or values affect children’s thematic choices or expressive strategies – is clearly seen in Brazil’s national passion for soccer and reflected in the fact that many male children draw soccer-related themes (Stokrocki, 2000).

In exploring socio-cultural influences on children’s expression, many researchers (Cox et al. 1999; Park, 2004; Wilson, 1987-1997a; Winner, 1989) have studied Asian children’s drawings (e.g. Japanese, Chinese, Taiwanese, and Korean) and found that Asian children have higher expressive skills than their Western counterparts. This marked contrast between the value and expectation about child art in Asian and Western cultures is what differentiates their respective teaching methods.

Chinese children display a precocious talent for expression like adults (Winner, 1989) and their outstanding drawing skills are related to the specific Chinese socio-cultural context that holds different values and expectations about child art. Chinese children’s high expressive techniques may be related to how art is taught in China, where elementary school children copy images drawn by the teacher on a blackboard. The focus of art education is on learning high level drawing skills and techniques, with the belief
that through mastery of expressive skills and techniques comes creative expression.
Therefore, free drawing is not valued in Chinese culture where the traditional value of
controlling one’s instinct is also applied to art education.

When comparing the drawing skills of Korean American children and American
children in a community art program, Park (2004) observed that Korean Americans
displayed more developed drawing skills than their American peers. Then, using
ethnography, Park studied how Korean young people learned how to draw in their
cultural context. She found that the Korean socio-cultural expectation requires children to
learn high drawing skills and be able to produce a specific style of drawing, which are
emphasized in the school curriculum. In addition, parents aware of this socio-cultural
expectation provide further art learning for them outside of school.

Differences in 7- and 8-year-old Japanese and American children’s drawings of
human figures were analyzed from a socio-cultural perspective (La Voy, Pedersen, Reitz,
Brauch, Luxenberg, & Nofsinger, 2001). Most Japanese children’s human figures were
depicted in detail but not smiling while American children drew the figures smiling. In
Japan, control of emotional expressions is emphasized so they tend not to reveal their
inner emotional states. Furthermore, in Japanese art education, strong attention is paid to
detailed depictions of objects. Thus, these learned socio-cultural expectations influence
how Japanese children depict human figures in their drawings.
Socio-Cultural Influence on Children’s Art Learning

With the importance of external intervention in children’s artistic development, the learning environment has gained increasing attention as opposed to the developmental perspective based on Piaget’s model of cognitive development. Vygotsky’s socio-cultural perspective provides an essential theoretical framework to this growing interest:

Every function in the child’s cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological), and then inside the child (intrapsychological). (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57)

Children’s cognitive development occurs in a social context through interactions with other people and then in psychological states through self-internalization (Vygotsky, 1978). In other words, interactions with others are considered the most important factor for learning. Therefore, understanding children’s social experiences and interactions in particular social contexts is of considerable importance in comprehending their cognitive developmental process. However, there has been little attention to the meaning and process of socio-cultural influence on children’s art learning in the field of art education:

When I reviewed literature related to children’s artistic development and learning to draw, I found that few studies demonstrated the path of how children learn to draw. Most cross-cultural studies were conducted by examining artifacts in the form of children’s productions, with little attention given to the how cultural and contextual factors transfer to children’s drawings and affect children’s learning to draw. (Park, 2004, p. 212)

Children’s diverse interactive experiences with others related to art making in their life play a significant role in their art learning and development. Literature on the meaning and function of children’s interaction with others will be reviewed in terms of peer interactions and interactions with adults. Moreover, since learning art through
interactions with others requires understanding of the meaning and function of copying, studies on children’s copying will also be reviewed.

Children’s art learning and peer interaction

Most research in child art has focused mainly on the child and his or her visual product where children’s art making is considered individual work (Dyson, 1989). Ordinary interactions in the art-making process have been deemed meaningless and ignored by art educators where “the presence of others, their comments and questions, their critical or appreciative responses, would have been reduced to background noise or erased entirely from an account of this drawing being made” (Thompson, 2006). However, children’s art making is not individual, but rather interdependent: through interactions with others, peer tutoring and collaboration occur in the process of art making (Thompson, 1995, 2002, 2003). Children learn art from observing other children’s drawing and being observed, talking and listening to other children, and teaching and sharing their skills and knowledge with each other (Thompson, 2002). This type of interactive learning is inevitable and is much more effective and important than was previously thought. Therefore, to understand child art, the interactions children have with peers and adults need to be explored.
Children’s art learning and interaction with adults

Children’s interaction with adults in art making was first examined by Cizek (Wilson, 2004) and Lowenfeld (1957). They believed that children’s creative expression is spoiled through interaction with adults and that the adult’s role in their art learning should be reduced or restricted in order to support children’s natural development.

However, children will internalize adults’ expectation of a specific type of child art even if their influence on children’s art expression is reduced (Wilson, 2004). Since external influence is inevitable, it is important to examine how interactions are formed between children and adults and what expectations are communicated by adults through these interactions.

Tarr (1995) and Kim (in press) investigated the nature, function, and influence of children’s interaction with adults which previous studies often overlooked and did so from a different perspective. Both found that “meaning about art” (Tarr, 1995, p. 25) is formed through interactions between children and teachers, and concluded that art activities planned by teachers transfer additional meaning and cultural values to children (Tarr, 1995; Kim, in press).

According to Tarr (1995),

Programs for young children are structured around a daily routine or schedule which happens in a predictable way on a day to day basis…these routines can also be seen as a means of transmitting cultural values and providing structures for the creation of meaning. (pp. 23-24)

Ritual interactions between children and teachers help children construct and internalize meanings and cultural value about art (Tarr, 1995). For instance, after looking at the teacher’s demonstration, children need to “decide whether they will transform their
own actions to match her [teacher’s] technique” (p. 25), that is, whether they will follow the model provided by the action of the teacher. Another interaction is the teacher’s instruction which “carried the implicit meaning that this was an important project in which everyone would participate, and to do so successfully” (p. 25). Lastly, by “making positive comments about a work in the presence of other children” (p. 25), children can understand the aesthetic values the teacher focuses on. Tarr (1995) suggests:

Through person-to-person interactions around art media, preschool children are learning far more than how to create their own symbols and schemas for recognizable objects within their environment. They are negotiating issues about the acceptance of specific kinds of art forms, self-concept, the work-related value of production, and order (p. 27).

In the past, the meaning and function of children’s interactions with adults were merely understood in relationship to direct art learning, such as learning techniques. However, since adults, especially teachers, play a significant role as socializing agents in children’s life, their interactions with children influence children’s understanding of art and their art expression (Kim, in press). For instance, 6th graders at one Korean elementary school came to understand the meaning of art as having skills and techniques in painting water color since it was observed that most of their art-related activities required advanced water color techniques, with the teacher’s interactions with the children focusing on such techniques.

**Summary**

Few changes in school art have been made in the past 50 years (Efland, 1976), making it difficult to “think beyond the developmental stages in art that we have taken
for granted for so long and that have implicitly limited the possibilities of experiences and materials that we have offered children” (Tarr, 2003, p. 8). The traditional developmental perspective understood children’s learning and development in art simply by examining their visual products. However, limitations and problems with the traditional developmental perspective have urged researchers to explore the meaning and function of children’s learning context in other ways.

Attention to the contexts of children’s art experience and recognizing art as a social practice requires constructing new knowledge about child art. Pearson (2001) maintains that the process of children’s making art has to be seen as a more complex process.

The only satisfactory way to accommodate all the conditions pertinent to knowing children’s drawing is to accept that it exists as social practice...We should understand children’s graphic practices as a form of social practice and should attend to the way this form of practice is related to other, non-graphic, practices (p. 348).

Since child art is understood as a form of social practice, investigation into the context around children is strongly suggested. This has led to several recent studies in art education on cultural aspects of children’s art learning and development.

Early studies focused on direct visual cultural influences on child art that come from dominant traditional art or popular visual art in a specific context. However, less visible influences, such as cultural meanings and values, should also be explored in depth.

There is considerable difference between the idea that “children’s visual expression is affected by visual culture existing in a specific context” and that “children’s visual expression is socialized according to social beliefs within a specific cultural context, as children are socialized in socio-culturally expected ways.” In the former case,
children’s visual expression is understood through visual culture, which includes both traditional art and popular art, and all other visual sources stimulating children, such as what they see and hear. On the other hand, from a broader socio-cultural perspective, children’s visual expression can be understood as “a social behavior” that is socialized through diverse interactive relationships. In this case, it is more important to explore how children’s appropriate behaviors are defined within a specific context and how social beliefs are transmitted to them.

**Part II: Emotions and Children’s Drawing**

The majority of studies on emotions and children’s drawings have analyzed the use of expressive strategies (e.g., color, shape, line, size, etc.) in depicting emotionally characterized humans or objects and focused on developmental meanings. Most of the research reviewed below is based on cognitive theories and artistic developmental perspectives where the child’s choice of expressive strategies is considered an individual decision according to the child’s developmental stage. First, studies based on the developmental perspective will be presented followed by those from a socio-cultural perspective.

**Developmental Approach to Expressive Strategies**

Previous studies on emotion and children’s drawing from a developmental perspective can be divided into studies on how children: 1) understand emotions
expressed in others’ drawings through reading aesthetic properties and symbols; and 2) systematically depict different emotionalized figures (e.g., happy, sad, angry, etc.) in their drawings by altering their expressive strategies such as size, color, shape, and line. Fundamentally, the studies reviewed are based on the belief that children’s understanding and use of expressive strategies reflect their artistic and cognitive development; therefore, their conclusions describe how age or developmental differences affect understanding and use of expressive strategies in depicting emotions.

Judging emotions expressed in others’ art

The popular task of asking children to label emotions expressed in art has been used to estimate children’s perception of artistic properties in drawings and their ability to make an aesthetic judgment (Blank, Massey, Gardner, & Winner, 1984; Callaghan, 1997, 2000; Carothers & Gardner, 1979; Goodman, 1968; Jolley & Thomas, 1994; Stanley, 2002; Winner, Blank, Massey, & Gardner, 1983; Winner, Rosenblatt, Windmueller, Davidson, & Gardner, 1986). Researchers believe that if children are sensitive to the properties of an aesthetic symbol, they can make an aesthetic judgment (Callaghan, 2000). Children do not develop sensitivity to formal properties of art until about age 10 (Carothers & Gardner, 1979; Winner, Blank, Massey, & Gardner, 1983; Winner, Rosenblatt, Windmueller, Davidson, & Gardner, 1986). Many researchers believe that if children are sensitive to the properties as an aesthetic symbol, they can make an aesthetic judgment (Callaghan, 2000).
The majority of studies on this subject follow a similar procedure, where children from different age groups are introduced to artwork that express a range of emotions and asked to judge the type of emotion expressed in them. Stanley (2002) explained that as children’s cognitive abilities develop, they can distinguish and label facial expressions and emotions in drawings more accurately. Callaghan (1997) asked children to match art to photographs of an actress expressing one of four emotions such as happiness sadness, excitement, and calmness, showing a better progressive performance across developmental levels from 5 years to adulthood. Jolley and Thomas (1994) asked children (5 to 17 years) to label the emotion expressed in art postcards and found that they comprehend the emotion terms and, by seven years of age, understand emotions expressed in abstract art. Winner’s (1982) research supported Jolley and Thomas, claiming that younger children prefer realistic art because they do not understand emotions expressed in abstract art.

One characteristic common in these studies is that, while they deal with emotion, it was merely used as a means to understand relationships between children’s artistic and cognitive development by investigating how children perceive formal aesthetic properties or symbols in art.

Expressive strategies to depict emotions

While many researchers have paid attention to the relationship between children’s perceptual and cognitive development and their graphic depictions, some researchers, especially psychologists, have explored whether children’s emotions can be reflected
through the content of their drawings (Burkitt, Marrett, & Davis, 2004), in particular, if expressive strategies such as size, color, line, and shape in children’s drawings are affected systematically by the feelings they hold toward the drawing topic or the objects.

The use of size and color

Children draw relatively large symbols for attractive or positive objects and small for unattractive or negative ones (Burkitt, Barrett, & Davis, 2004, 2005, 2006; Craddick, 1961, 1963). Others (Arnheim, 1954, 1956; Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1987; Golomb, 1992) have confirmed that different sizes in children’s drawings reflect their emotional evaluations of objects and events.

Children’s color choice is affected by their feeling towards the drawing topic (Arnheim, 1956, 1974; Burkitt, Barrett, & Davis, 2004, 2005, 2006; Golomb, 1992; Winston et al., 1995). They use their most preferred colors for objects about which they feel positively and their least preferred colors for objects about which they feel negatively. Other studies on children’s color selection have shown that children use different colors for different emotions or moods (Alschuler & Hattwick, 1969; Lawler & Lawler, 1965). For instance, warm red colors were used by children to express happiness and cool blue colors to express anxiety (Alschuler & Hattwick, 1969). When asked to choose between yellow and brown to match the pictures of a happy and sad girl, most three- and four-year olds chose yellow to represent happy and brown as sad (Lawler & Lawler, 1965).

While there are some specific patterns of children’s selecting colors to match emotions or moods, many exceptional cases have also been reported (Buckalew & Bell,
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1985; Golomb, 1992), making it difficult to conclude that children select specific colors systematically for different emotions or moods. However, it is clear that when children can distinguish different types of emotions, they try to use different types of colors in their depictions.

The use of shape and line

Children are able to depict a range of emotions and moods, and their early tendency in drawings of faces is to change of the shape of the mouth (Wilson & Wilson, 1982). Golomb (1992) found that when asked to draw a happy, a sad, and an angry child, children expressed those emotions not only by color but also more prominently by the use of additional details such as different shapes, line directions, and line qualities. She argued that children first accomplish their representation of emotions through a transformation of the human mouth in various forms, shapes, and positions. To depict happiness, children use an upturned and one-dimensional mouth. To represent sadness, a down-turned line is portrayed as the mouth. More frequently, zig-zag, wavelike lines for lips and sometimes teeth are depicted. Moreover, as children get older, their interest in modifying lips moves to details of the eyebrows and eyelashes.

Summary

Traditionally, the relationship between emotions and children’s drawings has been explored to find developmental meaning in the understanding and use of expressive
strategies. To examine how children’s artistic ability increases with age, research has centered on expressive strategies in the depiction of different emotions.

However, some limitations to this developmental approach are identified. First, while an increasing number of research studies report that children’s visual expression is strongly affected by diverse social and cultural factors, most are still based on the belief that children’s expression reflects their artistic and cognitive development and do not consider their socio-cultural development as a crucial factor.

Second, these developmental approaches are supported by the idea that emotion can be successfully depicted when children understand characteristics of different types of emotions or the function of expressive strategies. That is, the emphasis has been on whether children can distinguish emotions and understand how to depict them effectively rather than on what emotion really is, what socio-cultural meaning is involved in expressing emotions, and how children’s everyday experience of expressing emotions can affect their depiction of emotion-related themes in their drawings. In other words, few researchers have questioned the possibility that a child can depict his/her emotion which he or she really knows and can depict it as a different emotion on purpose, so others can misunderstand the type of emotion or feel confused about what emotion is really depicted.

Third, previous research is mostly based on children’s drawings collected from experimental settings using simple terms of emotion such as happy, sad, and angry. When asked to draw “a happy man” or “a sad man” without any contextual information, children do not know why he is happy or sad and, in fact, have no concern about it since the subject matter is isolated from their real daily emotional experience. Moreover, the
assigned subject matter is not related to emotional situations that they have experienced.

In general, previous studies on the relationship between emotions and children’s drawings in developmental perspective did not seriously examine how children’s knowledge about social meaning and function of emotional expressions gained from their real life experience can affect their drawings with emotional theme.

**Socio-Cultural Approach to Expressive Strategies**

Few studies on emotions and children’s drawings from a socio-cultural perspective exist. A review of this scant literature provides information on different aspects of children’s drawings that have not been paid much attention.

**Socio-cultural Influence on the Use of Expressive Strategies**

Children’s knowledge gained from previous emotional experience interferes in their drawings of emotional themes. Kim and Kim (2006) investigated how Korean 6th graders depict their most angry emotional experiences in three different settings. First, children were asked to depict a personally angry experience in a school drawing that was seen by the teacher and their peers. Next, they drew with a divider around them, which prohibited others from looking at their drawing. After these two drawing tasks, the children drew the same emotional theme in a multi-frame manwha drawing in front of others.
Many children noted in their journals that they felt uncomfortable when asked to draw the negative emotional experience because they did not want to share it with others. In fact, how children feel about the emotional subject matter has not been observed or explored in previous studies. After passing some time in silence, some children asked the researchers’ permission to draw their second angriest emotional experience. Kim and Kim interpreted this request as an attempt to minimize expected negative impact from their socio-culturally important others.

Children indicated that it was difficult to remember negative emotional experiences to draw particularly when they are asked to draw only positive emotional experiences in school. Interestingly, however, they did not hesitate to draw when asked to depict the same subject matter as a manwha drawing because they had relatively more fun and an easier time drawing the negative emotional theme in a manwha type of drawing. These findings allude to the possibility that children have the ability to understand different social meanings and functions of drawings and emotional expressions in their socio-cultural context and this ability influences their choices in expressive strategies and what aspects of emotional experience they draw.

Children today begin their social life much earlier than previous generations. “Increasing numbers of young children began to spend their days in the company of unrelated adults and peers, in preschools and day care settings” (Thompson, 2006, p. 230). As such, they have more opportunities to be exposed to complicated social interactions. Since today’s children are stimulated emotionally through such diverse social relationships, they need to deal with their emotional problems effectively. It is believed that art is an effective medium for children to identify, confront, access, and find
solutions to their emotional difficulties. While the function of art in accessing inner emotions is frequently discussed in the pretext of art therapy, common, “ordinary” children do not have opportunities to look at their emotional difficulties by expressing them in their artwork.

**Socio-Cultural Expectation about the Expression of Emotion in Children’s Drawings**

It is possible that children’s knowledge about the socio-cultural meaning and function of emotional expressions in their society may impact their decision in how to depict emotional themes (Kim & Kim, 2006). Thus, it is essential to understand what is communicated regarding emotional expressions in a specific culture and whether children are influenced by learning from this communication.

Silver’s (2001) drawing-a-story (DAS) test kit provides significant information on how people interpret the meaning of negative emotions expressed in children’s drawings and why expressing negative emotions in drawings may involve some social and psychological risk to children. The design of the DAS is based on the belief that drawing negative emotional content is an indication of clinical depression. Silver discovered a strong relationship between a negative emotional drawing and clinical depression when he administered the DAS test to children and adolescents and found that 56% of depressed participants, 32% of children with learning difficulties, 21% of emotionally problematic children, and 11% of children without any difficulties produced drawings related to suicide, life-threatening relationships, and strong negative emotions. Other studies (Heredia & Miljkovitch, 1998; Joiner, Schmidt & Barnett, 1996) also considered negative
emotional content in children’s drawing as an index of their emotional or mental distress. However, what is disregarded is the fact that even some “normal” children show interest in negative emotional content in their drawings.

Drawing a negative emotional experience is not easy for “normal,” common children. In reviewing her past and reflecting on emotions experienced when children were bullied by friends, Derry (2005) acknowledged that she felt writing was not adequate in reflecting on previous negative emotional experience but found drawing to be an effective tool “to elicit memories, emotionally difficult information, and perception of self” (p. 37). She confessed, however, that she might not have been able to draw these kinds of emotional problems during her own school years.

“[P]arents want to know whether there is a sense of joy or sadness in the [children’s] pictures,” and “people generally regard children’s drawing as charming and innocent” (Burkitt, Barrett, & Davis, 2005, p. 72). If children recognize such socio-cultural expectations about their drawings, the question that needs to be addressed is, “How many children can draw their real negative emotions voluntarily in school where their drawings are viewed by those who expect positive and socially appropriate behaviors?”

**Summary**

When children draw about real emotions, they respond differently to the drawing task by choosing their expressive strategies depending on the context they are drawing in (Kim & Kim, 2006). Unlike past studies, research on emotions depicted in children’s
drawings should be examined from a socio-cultural perspective. Furthermore, children are not only learning general meanings of emotional expressions but also other diverse meanings of such expressions in their everyday life. For instance, social expectations about children’s emotional expressions and their drawings exist and are experienced in society, but remain unseen. What these are, how they are learned, and why they are important in children’s artistic development remain to be determined.

**Part III: Socialization of Emotional Expression**

Literature on emotion and children’s drawing based on a developmental perspective uses emotional subject matters in their experiments as a mere simple concept. For example, researchers ask children to draw emotionally characterized human figures or objects, such as a happy, sad, or angry child or tree. In these instances, children do not know or even need to consider the related context of the assigned subject matter (Burkitt, Barrett, & Davis, 2004, 2005, 2006; Craddick, 1961, 1963; Davis, 1997; Golomb, 1992; Hsu, 1996; Russell & Bullock, 1985; Terwogt & Hoeksma, 1995; Wilson & Wilson, 1982; Winston et al., 1995). Therefore, specific emotions (up-turned or down-turned mouth, tears, colors, size) are effectively characterized in order for others to understand what emotion they are expressing.

Emotion can be successfully depicted when the drawing subject is meaningful to children (Burkitt, Barrett, & Davis, 2004, 2005, 2006; Craddick, 1961, 1963; Davis, 1997; Golomb, 1992). The most meaningful emotional subject for children may be their own emotional experience. However, few studies use children’s own emotional stories as
subject matter because researchers assume that children use the same expressive strategies in depicting imaginary and real emotional stories.

In most studies about emotional subject matters, a review of emotional theories is not included. A review of such theories and studies may provide a different perspective to understanding children’s ways in depicting emotions in their drawings. Therefore, in this section, what emotion is, how children’s emotional expression is socialized, and how cultural context affects children’s emotional expression are reviewed, followed by a discussion of how Korean children’s emotional expression is socialized through interaction with others in their cultural context.

What Is Emotion?

There is no consensus in the literature on a definition of emotion. The term is taken for granted in itself and, most often, emotion is defined with reference to a list: anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, and surprise. (Cabanac, 202, p. 69).

Happiness, love, anger, anxiety, fright, guilt, shame, sadness, envy, jealousy, disgust, pride, relief, hope, compassion are diverse emotions we feel, express, recognize, and experience in our lives. Even one emotional state can be distinguished by numerous forms and degrees depending on its origin, duration, and expression. For example, happiness can be displayed with different degrees of intensity, duration, and other qualities. That is, it can be considered in the context in which the emotion arises, whom the emotion is expressed towards, which outcomes are expected when the emotion is displayed, who is expected to observe the emotional situation, and whether a similar
emotional situation was experienced or not. Thompson (1994) explains this as “emotion dynamics”:

[T]he specific emotion indexes only part of the rich individual variability that exists in emotional behavior. In addition, individuals display variations in the intensity, persistence, modulation, onset and rise time, range, and ability of and recovery from emotional responses. (p. 25).

Many psychologists (Campos & Barrett, 1984; Lazarus, 1991; Lewis & Michalson, 1983; Myer, 1992) define the concept of emotion as involving a mixture of physiological arousal, expressive behavior, and conscious experiences. Lewis and Michalson (1983) explain that emotions can be subdivided into five components, namely: 1) emotion elicitors that are internal or external stimulus events to the individual which cause specific biological changes; 2) emotional receptors that appear through the nervous system and the specific neurophysiologic system attempts to modulate the emotional stimulus; 3) emotional states that involve considerable changes in physical and neurophysiologic activity when emotional triggers are activated; 4) emotional expression that involves facial, vocal, and other observable and potentially communicative behaviors and is influenced by social factors; and 5) emotional experience, or one’s interpretation and evaluation based on his or her perception of his/her emotional state and expression (Lewis & Michalson, 1983).

The philosophical orientation of discourse about emotion has been changing fast and is still in process (Campos et. al., 1994, p. 284). Among the discourses about how to define emotion, functionalists focus on “how culture is related to emotion” (p. 284). Functionalists define emotion as “the attempt by the person to establish, maintain, change, or terminate the relation between the person and the environment on matters of
significance to the person” (p. 285). Instead of emphasizing interpersonal criteria such as “feeling, vegetative reactions, facial indices of internal states” (p. 285), “emotions are conceptualized as flexible, contextually bound, and goal directed” (p. 284).

**Emotional Development**

In general, discussion of emotions and emotional development is based on two contrasting theoretical models (Hochschild, as cited in Lewis & Saarni, 1985). The biological model is primarily concerned with “the relationship of emotions to biological given instincts or impulses” (Lewis & Saarni, 1985, p. 2) while the socialization model focuses on emotions influenced by social relations and “how emotions become integrated within social structures and norms” (p. 2).

Within the biological model, the main focus is finding universal characteristics, such as, when can children understand basic emotions (e.g. happiness, sadness, anger, and fear) and how quickly and precisely can they recognize expressive behaviors, particularly facial expressions, accompanying particular emotional states (Ekman, 1972, 1980; Izard, 1971). In this model, the relationship between emotions and physiological instincts or impulses are considered important with emotion understood to be an independent concept not learned and influenced by the surrounding social context.

In contrast, the socialization model considers emotions not only as individual acts but also as the result of social interactions (Barbalet, 2001, p. 3). Saarni (1999) asserted that emotions are inseparable from social relationships and interactions. In this perspective, being aware of others’ emotions, identifying one’s own feelings, and
expressing emotions appropriately based on previous understanding are learned as social skills by children. Therefore, emotional development is also understood within social relationships and a specific cultural context.

A recently growing issue in developmental psychology is that development should be explained as “a process of socialization.” Many developmental psychologists including functionalists and social-constructivists consider emotion not merely as an independent individual behavior from a social context, but as a complex construct linked with a given social situation. Attention is then paid to how emotions are formed and socialized within a given social construct and norms (Bergin, Talley, & Hamer, 2003; Campos & Barrett, 1984; Campos, Mumme, Kermoian, & Campos, 1994; Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Eisenberg, Fabes, Gurthrie, & Rieser, 2000; Gordon, 1989; Lewis, 1989; Malatesta & Haviland, 1982; Parker, Hubbard, Ramsden, Relyea, Dearing, Smithmyer, & Schimmel, 2001; Russell, 1989; Saarni, 1989, 2000; Thompson, 1994; Zeman & Garber, 1996; Zeman & Shipman, 1997).

Functionalists and social-constructivists emphasize interrelationships between children’s emotional experiences and social environment. Functionalists especially attempt to explain social influence on the generation of emotions, insisting that others’ approval and disapproval can powerfully influence individuals’ emotional experiences (Campos & Campos, 1989; Campos & Barrett, 1984; Campos, Mumme, Kermoian, & Campos, 1994). That is, interpersonal factors rather than intrapersonal factors, which were the traditional domain of emotional theory, play a more important role in emotional development.
Social-constructivists also see emotions within a given context, but this approach places more emphasis on the process of learning social meaning of a situation-dependent emotional experience through an individual’s social exposure and cognitive development (Gordon, 1989; Saarni, 1999). Socio-constructivists study how social structure and child-rearing practices are related to children’s emotional experience. Therefore, it is important to understand emotional culture including beliefs, vocabulary, and norms about emotions in a particular society and how this specific emotional culture within a given culture and history is internalized, depending on age, gender, and class, through emotional experience selected by social agents (Gordon, 1989).

**Emotional Competence**

One important task in children’s emotional development is to attain emotional competence, which is broadly defined as the ability to understand one’s own and others’ emotions, the tendency to display emotions in a culturally and situationally appropriate manner, and the capability to inhibit or moderate emotional experience and expression to achieve goals in socially acceptable ways (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Garner, Jones and Miner (1994) used the term *situational knowledge* to explain children’s understanding of contexts and events which cause specific emotions. Children construct situational knowledge through their previous emotional experience and improve their emotional competence through repeated emotional experiences.

Emotional competence makes individuals negotiate their emotional expression through diverse interpersonal interactions, have more reinforced self-esteem in stressful
situations, and demonstrate their resilience (Saarni, 1999). The effects of emotional competence can be identified in individuals’ capacity to regulate their emotions. For a harmonious social life, children need to deal strategically with emotion-laden situations in socially accepted ways through changing both positive and negative emotions. Many researchers (Cassidy et. al., 1992; Garner & Spears, 2000) report that children tend to be more socially, emotionally, and academically competent when they can express positive and negative emotions well. Therefore, the acquisition of emotional competence is necessary for children to be valuable and effective members in social relationships.

**Socialization of Emotion**

The socialization of emotions is a significant component to emotional development (Thompson, 1994). If emotional competence is critical to the adjustment to society, gaining knowledge about emotion regulation and understanding it in a socially and culturally appropriate manner is important for children to becoming emotionally socialized. As children get older, they consider the social context in which they express emotions and try to manage their emotional expressions depending on social expectancies (Bergin et al., 2003; Campos et al., 1994; Cole, 1986; Eisenberg et al., 2000; Malatesta & Haviland, 1982; Parker et al., 2001; Thompson, 1994; Zeman & Garber, 1996; Zeman & Shipman, 1997). Namely, through the process of socialization of emotion, children learn how to regulate and express emotions, when to express emotions, and how to respond to emotionally-laden situations in socially acceptable ways.
Saarni (1989, 1999, 2000) insists that emotional competence is constructed through the development of lifelong interactions with others and that it cannot be isolated from the socio-cultural context. Depending on how others in the interactions with a given child evaluate and respond to the child’s emotional behaviors and how they express their emotions, the child can learn emotionally-laden beliefs and emotionally-expressive behaviors within a particular society (Zeman & Shipman, 1997). Since children internalize specific socio-cultural beliefs about emotions through diverse interactions with socializers, identifying how the surrounding culture socializes children’s emotional competence is significant to understand their emotional development.

**Expression of Anger and Emotional Competence**

Functionalists view emotions as “bidirectional processes of establishing, maintaining, and/or disrupting significant relationships between an organism and the (external or internal) environment” (Barrett & Campos, 1987, p. 558). Moreover, “the expression of emotion can affect the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships, and, conversely, the social environment can influence whether individuals regulate or display their emotions” (Zeman & Garber, 1996, p. 957). If so, how do children understand the influence of expressing anger on their interpersonal relationships and how do they regulate and display anger? In their research, *Display rules for anger, sadness, and pain: It depends on who is watching*, Zeman and Garber (1996) maintain:

Socialization of emotional expressivity typically involves teaching appropriate ways of managing negative emotional behaviors… Children who express sadness, anger, and physical pain inappropriately may present
with problems of depression, aggression, and somatization, respectively (p. 959).

Since children understand the negative social consequences that their expression of anger can cause, they use display rules more carefully and frequently to mask anger than any other emotion (as cited in Parker et al., 2001). Even very young children appear to learn that negative emotional expression is socially less favored than positive emotional expression (Malatesta & Haviland, 1982). Therefore, they learn the need to regulate their negative emotional expressions (Zeman & Garber, 1996).

Zeman and Garber (1996) investigated factors that influence children’s decisions to control or express their negative emotions such as anger, sadness, and physical pain. Children (boys and girls in first, third, and fifth grades) reported how they used display rules, reasons for their decisions, and how they expressed three negative emotions. It was found that children controlled their negative emotions significantly more in the presence of peers. Children controlled their negative emotions relatively less when they were with either their mother or father or when they were alone. Moreover, younger children expressed negative emotions significantly more often than older children and girls expressed these emotions more so than boys. Zeman and Garber (1996) explained why children use different display rules depending on their age, and gender, and the type of observer (mother, father, peer, alone):

When asked about their reasons for not expressing their feelings, children were most concerned about a negative interpersonal consequence such as ridicule or rejection. Thus, children’s decisions to express negative emotions were influenced by the reactions they expected to receive from others (p. 968).
Parker et al. (2001) examined the correspondence between children’s self-reported use and knowledge of display rules for anger in a hypothetical context using vignettes depicting anger-provoking peer interaction and a live context designed to simulate the vignette, and observed their real anger expression. When children were interviewed about their use and knowledge of display rules, they reported that they felt and expressed less anger, intended to hide their anger more, and dissembled their anger more in the live emotional situation. In other words, although they reported that they wanted to hide their anger in both the hypothetical and live contexts, they reported that they wanted to hide their anger less so in the hypothetical context than in the live context. The reason for this response is because “children may have experienced an increase in their social motivation or desire to get along with a real, as opposed to hypothetical, peer” (p. 550).

In summary, emotional development is closely related to interpersonal systems (Saarni, 1989). Therefore, expressing negative emotions including anger is expected to cause negative interpersonal interaction in which children need to deal with the negative emotion-laden situation strategically in socially accepted ways for a harmonious social life.

**Methods to Socialize Emotional Competence in Children**

The socialization of emotion, especially emotional competence, is an important factor in emotional development. Several studies show that the socialization of emotional expression happens even during early infancy where infants develop their expressiveness
in appropriate ways depending on cultural, familial, and gender demands (Ahn, 2003; Eisenberg et al., 1998; Malatesta & Haviland, 1982). Moreover, when children start formal schooling, they have already become acquainted with social expectations about how to regulate their emotional expressive behaviors by appropriately adapting to the particular social context (Saarni, 1999).

The process of children’s socialization of emotional competence is mediated by family experience and interactions with diverse (sub)cultures and activated by diverse methods (e.g. contingency learning, observation learning, self-regulation, symbolic expression, etc.) (Ahn, 2003). In this socializing process, interpersonal interactions play a significant role. In everyday life, children experience positive and negative emotions and continue to express their emotions with facial expressions, emotional behaviors, or language. Socializers’ responses to children’s emotional expressions (e.g. socializers’ emotional expressions to children or evaluation about children’s emotional behaviors) provide plenty of opportunity for the socialization of emotional competence.

Based on functionalist and social-constructivist approaches, Saarni (1999) demonstrated that the main theme in the development of emotional competence is to identify “an intimate connection between relationships and emotional development” (p. viii). Since social relationships are located at the core of emotion-eliciting situations and are related to social goals which individuals seek in emotional situations, understanding relationships is helpful in defining emotional experience. In fact, children learn what is emotionally competent within a given context, such as social norms about emotions, display rules, and strategies to regulate emotions, through interactions with social partners. Children do not achieve universally appropriate emotional competence but
relate to the specific socio-cultural context in which they live and develop, including various social interrelations.

Much attention has been given to the family in developmental studies of the process of emotion socialization. In most studies, children’s emotional development through interaction with others has focused on parents. However, the socialization of emotion is a multifaceted and complicated process (Eisenberg et al, 1998) and interactions with other people, such as teachers and peers, and the media, should also be studied.

**Parents**

Family is known as the most important environment for children’s emotional socialization (Zeman & Shipman, 1997). Family provides individuals an effective learning environment to learn what effects can be expected when they express their emotions. In this family emotional learning environment, parents’ child rearing practices strongly influence children’s emotion socialization.

Deanham (1998) introduced three methods of emotional socialization by parents: modeling, contingency, and coaching. Consistent with this is Eisenberg et al.’s (1998) thinking that children’s emotional competence can be socialized through parental reactions to their emotions, parental discussion of emotion, and parental expression of emotion.
Parental reactions to children’s emotions

Parental reactions to their children’s emotions can directly socialize children’s emotions and emotion-related behaviors (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Parents who are warm, sympathetic, and responsive usually have a child who is responsible for him- or herself (Denham, 1998; Gottman et al., 1997) while nonsupportive responses, such as those who are punitive, minimizing, and respond with distress to their children’s negative emotions (e.g. distress, fear, sadness, and anger), may cause socially/emotionally harmful results to children (Eisenberg et al., 1996; Gottman et al., 1996; Park & Kim, 2005).

Among children’s diverse emotional expressions, parents as socializers pay strong attention to their children’s negative emotional expressions. Children whose negative emotions have been continuously restricted learn how to consistently conceal their emotions from others and experience more reinforced physiological reactions in emotion-evoking situations. For instance, children can feel fear because emotional situations remind them of a previous negative memory (cited in Eisenberg et al., 1998), but parents’ negative or nonsupportive responses to their children’s negative emotions can cause poorly regulated or nonconstructive emotional behaviors (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 1996). Consequently, these children may have difficulties in regulating their emotions within social relationships (Eisenberg et al., 1998).

In contrast, supportive parental responses such as showing sympathy or teaching children how to cope with emotions within negative emotional-laden situations can reinforce children’s attitude to understand others’ thinking, feelings, and behaviors as well as dealing with emotional situations more constructively (Eisenberg et al., 1998).
Therefore, supportive parental responses can make their children more confident and more emotionally competent.

Parental discussion of emotions

As an example of an emotion socialization behavior, parental discussion of emotions in diverse emotional situations with children can also strongly influence children’s social/emotional development. As children talk to their parents about emotions, what emotion was experienced, why these emotions occurred, and what results can be expected after the emotion is expressed can all be identified (Eisenberg, et al., 1998; Malatesta & Haviland, 1985).

Children’s language skills to communicate with others are significant in alerting others to their emotional behaviors and in structuring emotional experience (Malatesta & Haviland, 1985). Parental discussion of emotion provides an effective environment in which children can develop emotional communicative language skills and understand the identity of emotions they experience. Parents can consciously or unconsciously highlight specific emotions and explain the reason and expected result of specific emotions or help their children regulate emotional experiences. Therefore, through interaction with parents, children develop language ability to communicate their emotions effectively with others in a particular emotional context.

Emotionally related discussions (both supportive and nonsupportive) in the family “serve to bring emotion into the domain of consciousness” (Malatesta & Haviland, 1985, p. 111). Thus, children raised in a family environment which encourages them to
communicate their emotions understand their own and others’ emotions better and express their emotions in more effective ways that are socially accepted. While parental discussion of emotion can directly influence younger children, there is little known about whether older children accept their parents’ discussion or coaching about their emotions.

Parental emotional coaching can help children to control their negative emotions, self-soothe, and regulate their emotions effectively (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven et. al, 1997). Parental discussion of emotions can also contribute to children’s competent emotional regulation (Thompson, 1990). According to Gruses and Goodnow, the appropriateness and quality of parental discussion of emotions affect children’s emotional development (cited in Eisenberg et al., 1998). As illustrated in these results, children learn to understand commonly used information about emotions and display rules reflected by social expectations, and discover strategic ways to regulate emotions through mediation by parental discussion of emotions, leading to emotional expressions that are socialized.

Parents’ emotional expressions

Parents’ emotional expressions can socialize children’s emotional expressions where parental expressivity is connected to children’s emotional expression in diverse ways. Eisenberg et al. (1998) explain that parental expressivity may: 1) affect children’s emotional expression directly, through processes such as imitation and contagion; 2) be a mediator or correlate with other aspects of parenting that affect children’s emotional and social competence (e.g. responsive mothers may tend to express positive emotion
frequently, or parents who value the expression of emotion may reinforce their children’s expressivity); 3) influence children’s abilities to interpret and understand others’ emotional reactions; and (4) influence children’s socio-emotional competence relatively directly through mechanisms such as shaping their feelings about themselves, others, and the social world (p. 258). Therefore, particular patterns of emotional expression displayed by parents are significant resources for children’s learning of emotional expressions. Much empirical evidence about the influence of parental emotional expressivity on children’s emotional competence has been reported. In regard to the relationship between children’s imitation of parents’ expressivity, Ahn (2003) showed that children easily imitate their parents’ negative emotional expression. Moreover, evidence on children’s expressivity mediated by parents has been documented widely (Eisenberg et al., 1998). For example, toddlers whose parents often express positive emotions tend to express more positive than negative emotions (Denham & Grout, cited in Eisenberg et al., 1998).

Parents’ filtering of children’s emotional experience

The three parental socializing methods reviewed above are based on direct interpersonal interactions between parents and their children. However, another important parental influence on children’s emotional experience is related to parents’ decision about what emotional situations their children would be exposed to (Saarni, 1999). Parents play the role of “filter” in their children’s exposure to emotional experiences. Examples that illustrate parents’ role as an “emotional filter” include deciding on which TV program their children are allowed to watch, screening which playmates they can have, and
deciding who will take care of the children while they are working (e.g. grandparents or daycare center) (Saarni, 1999). Depending on the parents’ values and expectations about their children’s experience, the emotional environment, which strongly influences children’s emotional competence, is formed.

**Teachers**

Although the role of parents as emotional socializers is strongly emphasized, few studies exist on how other socializers, particularly teachers, influence children’s understanding of emotions, emotional experience, and emotional expressions (Ahn, 2003; Eisenberg et al., 1998) and how children’s emotions are socialized by teachers within the classroom context (Ahn, 2003). Today, children begin their secondary group experience early (Choi & Woo, 2001). With the increase in the number of dual-income families, much of the parents’ role as an emotional socializer is shared with teachers (Leavitt & Power, cited in Ahn, 2003). Thus, teachers can manage the emotional environment in which children learn emotions, and the influence of teachers on children’s emotional development may be as strong as that of the parents.

Teachers use similar socializing methods as mothers (White & Howe, 1988). The socialization of children’s emotional competence by teachers can be understood from the teacher’s responses to the children’s emotions, the teacher’s discussion or coaching of emotions, and the teacher’s emotional expressions. It is also important to consider how teachers’ beliefs about children’s emotional development influence their filtering of emotional experiences for children.
Teachers’ responses to children

How teachers respond to children’s emotional expression can also influence children’s understanding, regulating, and expressing of emotions. Teachers tend to respond to children’s positive emotional expressions more reactively and these teachers’ responsive behaviors reinforce children’s positive emotional expressions in the classroom (Ahn, 2003; Choi & Woo, 2001; DeMorat, 1998; Honing & Wittmer, 1985; Honing & Wittmer, 1985). Moreover, Leavitt and Power observed that teachers in child care centers were more attentive, responsive, and interested in children’s desirable behaviors and positive emotional behaviors than negative emotional expressions (cited in Ahn, 2003). Similarly, Honing and Wittmer (1985) found that when toddlers approached their caregivers with negative emotions, in almost half of the cases, the caregivers did not show supportive responses to the children or overlooked the children’s negative emotional expression. These empirical results demonstrate that teachers believe that children need to learn how to control their negative emotions in the classroom.

Teachers’ discussion of emotion with children

Because teachers provide their students with diverse practices and teach which roles students have to play in the classroom, children attempt to seek direction, approval, and attention from them (Ahn, 2003; DeMorat 1988). Children learn appropriate emotional vocabulary and information from discussion of emotions with their teachers as well as parents. In the classroom, teachers explain what emotions children have by using
appropriate emotion terms, interpreting the situational reasons for emotions, and teaching social norms related to emotional expressions (Pollack & Thoits, 1989).

Moreover, when teachers talk about emotions with children, they usually focus on final emotional expression as a result of emotion regulation (Leavitt & Power, cited in Ahn, 2003). Therefore, children learn social norms related to emotions, such as how emotional expressions are interpreted, what results are expected, and what ways are appropriate to express emotions, through teachers’ discussion of emotions in the classroom.

Teachers’ emotional expressions

In studying kindergarten teachers’ emotional expressiveness, Choi and Woo (2001) found that teachers consciously expressed more positive emotions in their classroom and this expressive behavior in the school setting was somewhat different than that in their home. Similarly, teachers reinforce children’s positive emotional expressions by expressing several positive emotions in the classroom, which is an emotionally desirable environment for children (DeMorat, 1998). In fact, in the classroom, toddlers expressed positive emotions three times more often than negative emotions.
Summary

Teachers use the same socializing methods as parents in understanding children’s emotional competence and, therefore, the effects of socialization are similar. However, teachers’ socializing of children’s emotions is implemented with the intent to teach the social norms of emotions. Moreover, their response to children, discussion with them, and emotional expressions influence children’s learning of emotions to different degrees based on the type of authority they represent.

In addition to socializing children’s emotional competence through direct interaction, teachers’ management of the emotional climate in the classroom also needs to be considered. Depending on the teacher’s beliefs about emotions and emotional development, children’s emotional practices can be filtered and the teacher can construct a specific emotional environment. Therefore, it can be assumed that through experiencing filtered emotional practices and environments, children’s emotional expressions are indirectly socialized.

Peers

To understand the complicated process of socialization of children’s emotional competence, the influence of peer relationships on children’s emotions also needs to be examined. Most research focuses on the relationship between caregivers’ emotional socialization behaviors and children’s emotional development. However, it is difficult to conclude that particular caregivers’ socializing behaviors elicit particular emotional
behaviors in children. Although caregivers, such as parents and teachers, play an important role as socializers, interactions with adults do not comprise children’s whole emotional experience.

Recently, peers have been considered to be the most significant socializers. Although parental influence is a more powerful influential factor in younger children, as they get older, peer relationships become an important context for the socialization of emotion (Saarni, 1999). Moreover, emotional learning with friends is somewhat different from that with family (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven et al., 1997). Family is a powerful model for younger children to learn how to express their emotions and emotional responsibilities. However, when children reach school age and participate in peer interactions, they must learn somewhat different ways to express emotions from what they learned from interactions with adult socializers.

In regard to peers, many studies explain how emotional interactions between parents and their children are related to children’s social competence. A harmonious relationship with peers is considered an important measure of how socially competent a particular child is. Children who come from an emotionally responsible family can regulate their emotions and have good relationships with their peers (Gottman et al., 1997). Furthermore, socially popular children usually have warm parents who interact with their children responsibly and use inductive discipline instead of punishment (Denham et al., cited in Saarni, 1999). These studies show that children’s positive emotional interaction with their parents can produce solid relationships with peers.

Peer relationships also function as an important socializer. Asher and Rose explain that school-age children consider friendships important because they can acquire
partnership, agreement, championship, and justification (cited in Saarni, 1999). In order to keep these social relationships and maintain their interpersonal rewards, children should learn how to change their emotional behaviors, including emotion regulation. In fact, children who have close friends can effectively solve emotional conflicts, understand their own and others’ emotions, and show empathy. Moreover, these children can recognize that their emotional expressions can affect others and attempt to establish emotional rapport.

The meaning of emotional competence within peer groups is different from interactions with adult socializers (Zeman & Garber, 1996). Children tended to control their negative emotions more with their friends than with their parents. In this study, peers were categorized as general classmates or best friends and children’s emotional expressions were investigated in relation to general peers, not best friends. When children expected general peers to observe their emotions, they controlled their emotional expression more actively because they assumed the possibility of negative relationships. However, when children expressed their emotions in front of their best friends, they expected their friends to be more supportive and, thus, showed more free emotional expressions.

Although peer relationships influence children’s emotional competence in different ways, the empirical evidence is still insufficient in explaining the process of socialization of children’s emotional competence through diverse interaction channels. Moreover, books, media, narratives, and the internet are other powerful sources from which children learn how to read emotions, how to express emotions in social settings, and how to depict emotions.
Effects of Child Characteristics on Socialization of Emotional Expression

Saarni (1999) claimed that the process of socialization is bidirectional, meaning that parental behaviors toward children can affect as well influence them. For example, depending on the children’s developmental level, parents’ expectation about what their children should do can influence their decision about how they effectively reinforce their children’s emotional behaviors. In addition, many studies exist about individual differences expected to influence emotional-expressive behaviors and mediate the socialization of children’s emotion, such as age (Fabes et al., 1994; Eisenberg et al., 1996), gender (Brody, 1993; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Fuchs & Thelen, 1988; Garner et al., 1997; Malatesta-Magai et al., 1994), and temperament (Bohnert, Crnic, & Lim, 2003; Lee & Choi, 2005). This bidirectional influence of individual differences and socializing behavior explains not only parental socializing behaviors but also other socializers’ behavior. Following, I provide a brief overview of how age and gender differences affect the behavior of socializers, namely parents and teachers.

Age

In most societies, the life cycle is divided into age grades, which involves sociocultural beliefs about the stages of emotional development. This cultural belief about developmental distinctions based on age differences forms an “emotional culture” (Gordon, 1989, p. 330). Each emotional culture shows which emotions caregivers consider appropriate and natural for children and which emotions should be socialized at a particular age. More detailed age grading is found in modern societies, such as
preschool, kindergarten, elementary, middle school, and high school ages. This age-grading system restricts children’s opportunities to interact with diverse social members and limits their interpersonal interactions to only interactions with the same age group or with teachers. Therefore, through limited interactions, they observe and experience particular emotions instead of a diverse range of emotions. Today, however, children are situated within a context with more opportunities to observe and indirectly experience adult emotional situations and emotional language through TV and other mass media. Although situations have been changed, adult socializers tend to consider children’s particular age-based developmental level when they respond to emotional expressions or discuss emotions with them.

**Gender**

Parents report that they do not respond differently to their sons and daughters (Eisenberg et al, 1996); however, children’s gender somewhat influences parental responses to their children’s emotions. For instance, mothers of 2 to 3 1/2-year-old children responded to their sons’ anger with more attention and tended to reinforce the expression of anger while ignoring or prohibiting their daughters’ expressions of anger (Radke-Yarrow & Kochanska, 1990). This result revealed that parents’ expectations about their sons’ and daughters’ expressions of anger form different responsive patterns. Moreover, these distinctive reactive patterns influence children’s emotional expression and emotion regulation.
Differences in parents’ reactive patterns are also evident in the discussion of emotions with sons and daughters, which results in differences in children’s understanding and expression of emotions (Dunn et al., 1987; Flvush, 1989). Mothers discuss more positive emotions with their daughters and particular negative emotions such as anger and disgust with their sons (Flvush, 1989). Thus, daughters learn not to express anger and regulate their anger by substituting it with sadness. Similarly, Casey and Guller provide evidence that boys are taught not to show more fear than girls (cited in Eisenberg et al., 1998).

Studies about the influence of gender differences on teachers’ responses (Ahn, 2003; Botkin & Twardosz, 1988; Wittmore & Honing, 1988) illustrate that teachers show more negative emotional responses to boys and more positive reactions to girls. For example, teachers express more affection to girls than to boys. Gender differences are even found in teachers’ responses to children’s emotional expressions in day care centers (Ahn, 2003).

The reason for teachers’ differences in response results from children’s attempts to seek different responses from their teacher. Since boys and girls express emotions differently (e.g. boys cry more frequently and express more anger and fussiness than girls do, girls express sadness and positive emotions more frequently than boys do), teachers use different strategies to respond to their emotional expression accordingly.

Moreover, male and female children expect different responses to their emotions from their parents. For instance, boys expect their parents to be more accepting of their anger than their sadness (Fuchs & Thelen, 1988).
Although gender differences in parents’ and teachers’ emotional talk and responses to children’s emotional expressions, and in children’s expectations about adults’ responses to their emotions have been found, these differences do not appear universally. Rather, these gender differences may reflect particular cultural differences of socialization depending on the emotional situation or type of emotion (Choi & Woo, 2001).

**Socialization of Emotion in Korea**

Culture is a lifestyle commonly shared with one particular group and includes a pattern of thinking and behavior transferred and gained through its own symbolic system. Culture restricts human practices and behaviors and is also a product of human practices (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, cited in Choi, 2005). Accordingly, emotional culture influences cultural members’ emotional practices and behaviors. Therefore, depending on the characteristics of emotional culture shared by particular cultural group members, emotions can be understood, regulated, and expressed differently. However, most research on the socialization of emotion has been conducted with Western children and this culture of individualism may not explain why children who are considered emotionally incompetent in a specific cultural context can be extremely competent in another cultural context (Saarni, 1999).

What is considered emotionally competent behavior depends on the specific situation, subculture, and culture. Thus, information about Korean emotional culture and
the socialization of emotion in Korea is provided in the following section to help in understanding how Korean children deal with emotional subject matter in their drawings.

**Korean Emotional Culture: Exploring “Meta-Emotion” in Korea**

Emotional culture is defined as “a group’s set of beliefs, vocabulary, regulative norms, and other ideational resources pertaining to emotion” (Gordon, 1998, p. 322) and its understanding helps explain the socialization process of emotions. Social scientists consider humans as social beings who internalize collective or cultural values socially defined and attempt to understand group culture in order to understand individuals.

Korea is classified as a collective society like other Asian countries (e.g., China, Japan, Taiwan and Thailand). In general, in collectivistic societies, evaluations about self and others are based on how individuals harmonize with and adapt to a social network which emphasizes interpersonal dependence (Choi, 2005). Therefore, the ideal type of human being in collectivism is one who lives together in harmony with others and values social norms and social relationships (Lee, as cited in Choi, 2005).

Collectivism originates from and is closely related to traditional Confucian culture. Confucianism emphasizes principles, rules, and conventions more than individual intentions, and values patriarchal lineage (Ho, 1994). Since the father-son relationship is considered the most basic and important social relationship in Confucian culture (Azuma, cited in Kim & Choi, 1994), similar relationships such as elder-youngster, teacher-student, husband-wife, and other superordinate-subordinate relationships require
“benevolence, authority, responsibility, and wisdom from superordinates and loyalty, obedience, and dedication from subordinates” (Kim & Choi, 1994, p. 237).

In Korea, “the reverence for elders and the worship of ancestors” (Azuman, 1994, p. 275) is stressed strongly such that parents are very powerful authority figures and important socializers to children. For example, in the father-child relationship, fathers usually strictly request that their children obey and respect them unconditionally (Kim & Choi, 1994), illustrating the traditional Korean attitude of observing rules without question. Although some studies indicate that the structure of the Korean family is becoming horizontal –that is, fathers’ authority and control are weakening and matrimonial relationships are being emphasized more-- a hierarchical relationship based on age and gender and a clear division of roles are still characteristic of the Korean family (Choi et. al., 2003; Kim et. al., 2005;).

Subsequently, in a Korean culture context, what are competent ways to express emotions for effective social relationships and how do children learn and internalize them? First, as described above, social relationships to harmonize with others are strongly emphasized in Korea. Therefore, emotions should also be expressed to reinforce, rather than destroy, interpersonal relationships. The Korean saying, “Those who express anger become a loser” conveys that negative emotional expressions are considered to break harmonized social relationships such that if someone expresses anger first, he/she is considered to be absolutely wrong. In Korea, the most effective way to deal with anger is to control or suppress such negative emotions. Therefore, children’s negative emotional expressions would meet socializers’ negative or unsupportive responses. In Western culture, researchers have demonstrated that socializers’ negative and unsupportive
responses to children’s negative emotions (i.e., distress, fear, sadness, and anger) can negatively impact them socially and emotionally (Eisenberg et al., 1996; Gottman et al., 1997; Park & Kim, 2005). In Korean culture, on the contrary, socializers’ negative and unsupportive responses are formed according to cultural needs. Therefore, these types of response to suppress negative emotions can help children obtain emotional competence in Korea.

Moreover, in Korean society, sadness in males is traditionally considered as incompetence, illustrating the discriminatory relationship between men and women. Weeping and crying are considered feminine ways to express emotion; therefore, men are prohibited from expressing sadness in these ways.

Korean emotional culture even encourages individuals to control their positive emotions, asking individuals to be humble. Because expressing one’s happiness may make others feel shameful, envious, or jealous, individuals must express their positive emotions carefully. In sum, to be emotionally competent in Korea, individuals should learn how to read others’ minds and control their negative, as well as positive, emotions.

**Parental Socialization in Korea**

In Korean culture, the purpose of emotional socialization is significantly influenced by Confucianism. Unlike Western culture in which individuals’ uniqueness and distinction are emphasized, emotions are considered important in Korean culture to strengthen the union of individuals for a harmonious group relationship (Kim, as cited in Kim, Park, and Kwon et al., 2005). In Korean society, a harmonious relationship does not
mean horizontal relationships based on interpersonal understanding. Rather, a social
harmony through vertical relationships is sought. Thus, the purpose of emotion
socialization is to understand authorized others’ potential expectations and control one’s
own emotional expression according to this expectation. Therefore, Korean parents use
highly authorized methods to control their children’s emotional expression and transfer
their perspective and expectation to them. For example, in examining communication
patterns of mothers, Korean mothers asked their children questions to confirm whether
they understood what was taught, not to listen to their children’s opinion (as cited in Kim
to describe Korean parental socialization. Parents in children’s storybooks ignored their
children’s opinion, controlled their emotional expressions with physical punishment, and
enforced behaviors according to their standards without considering their children’s
capability and interests. Since traditional stories include specific cultural value systems,
Korean parental attitudes described in these storybooks provide believable information
about how Korean children’s emotional expressions have been socialized by parents.

Analysis of storybooks also reveals that Korean parents’ child rearing methods
have changed (Kim & Nam, 2005). Unlike parents in traditional stories, parents in
contemporary stories discuss emotions and understand their children’s opinion.
Moreover, they actively participate in their children’s emotional and social problem-
solving process. This result illustrates that Korean traditional past-centered Confucianism
is slowly transforming into a future-centered Confucianism through educational, social,
and political reforms and changes (Kim, Park, & Kwon et al., 2005). However, while
Korean society is becoming more individualistic, a traditional value system based on
collectivism still strongly influences individuals’ everyday lives (Choi, Lee, & Kim et al., 2003; Kim, Park, & Kwon et al., 2005).

**Teachers’ Socialization in Korea**

“A monarch, a teacher, and parents are the same.” In Korean Confucian society, teachers have powerful authority so any irreverent behaviors which can impair teachers’ authority are socially banned. Because of the lack of studies on Korean teachers’ beliefs about children’s emotional development and their socializing methods, it is difficult to understand how Korean children’s emotional competence is socialized through interactions with teachers. Instead, understanding the school environment and teachers’ social position in a Confucian society can help describe the process of emotional socialization by teachers in Korean society.

According to the great Chinese book, *The Three-Character Classic*, “one who teaches without strictness is a negligent teacher” (Ho, 1994, p. 297). In Confucian societies, the teacher is a strict authoritarian and the classroom is teacher-centered (Ho, 1994). Based on the Confucian ideal of filial piety, rigorous and strict discipline is used. Therefore, teachers are not to be questioned or challenged as they transfer knowledge to students, who are regarded as passive.

Similar to the parent-child family relationship, Korean teachers occupy a socially higher position than students do in their vertical relationship, and they use methods similar to those used by parents to socialize children’s emotional expressions. Moreover,
since the Korean value system assumes that negative emotions impair group harmony, teachers actively control children’s negative emotional expression.

**Summary**

In order to understand children’s depiction of negative emotional themes in their drawings, this section identified what emotion is, how children’s emotional expression is socialized and understood within Korean culture, and how Korean children’s emotional expression is socialized through interaction with others in their cultural context. This review depicts children’s emotional expression as a complicated psychological and socio-cultural process, indicating that understanding the strategies children use to express their emotions is difficult and requires attention.

**Part IV: Socio-Cultural Perspective**

A socio-cultural perspective based on Vygotsky’s theories plays an active role in many academic fields (e.g., education, psychology, social science, etc.) but in the field of art education, its importance has not been explored sufficiently (Stetsenko, 1995; Lange-Kuttner & Thomas, 1995; Zakin, 2005). Since the late twentieth century, many cases of artistic development that cannot be understood from a developmental perspective have been reported. Therefore, interest in socio-cultural learning, the relationship between
learning and context in children’s artistic development, and the need to explain children’s learning and development from different perspectives has increased.

Vygotsky’s theory provides an alternative perspective to understand children’s learning and development and has recently been adopted to understand children’s art making, art learning, and artistic development. Art has long been considered original, personal, and creative work of an individual with child art being understood as independent rather than sociocultural work. A socio-cultural perspective, however, helps art educators attend to the cultural aspect of children’s art learning and development.

Using Vygotsky’s socio-cultural perspective as the theoretical framework, the current study will examine how children’s drawings are influenced by socio-culturally learned expectations and values about negative emotional expressions which are not directly related with art learning. This perspective will help identify how art learning is connected with not only directly related art practices but also other indirectly related socio-cultural practices. This framework serves to guide the process of the research, from what is studied, what data will be collected, how the data will be analyzed, to what conclusions are drawn.

A brief review of Vygotsky’s theory and studies using his theory will reveal the outline of the study and how it will be conducted.

**Background to Vygotsky’s Socio-Cultural Theory**

In an attempt to explain how people learn, L.S. Vygotsky was interested in understanding the development of humans’ mental processes historically (Vygotsky,
1978) so his theory is also referred to as “cultural-historical theory” or “socio-cultural theory.” Although his idea was developed 100 years ago, it continues to influence educational thinking today.

Vygotsky’s unique perspective distinguishes his theories from other contemporary developmental theories such as those of Piaget, Watson and Skinner, Freud, and Koffka (Bodrova & Leong, 1996). Although Vygotsky’s theory left many questions unresolved through experimental data because of his early death, his theory continues to be elaborated and studied by many Western scholars as well as Russian researchers in various areas of psychology. Vygotsky’s theory was first introduced to Western psychologists who were interested in “the global aspects of Vygotsky’s theory” (Bodrova & Leong, 1996, p. 8) in the late 1960s, but more recent researchers use his theory in more specialized areas of psychology and education.

**Basic Concepts in Vygotsky’s Socio-Cultural Perspective**

**Historical Child**

In Vygotsky’s theory, children in all communities are defined as cultural participants who live in a specific historical time and space (Goncu, 1999; Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978). Therefore, it is very important to understand characteristics of “a historical child,” not “a general child” (Rogoff, 2003). Vygotsky was interested in how human cognition is developed phylogenetically, but paid more attention to finding the
social origins and cultural bases of individual development (Moll, 1990). While most mainstream developmental research describes “a generic child,” this description of a decontextualized child does not explain all characteristics of child development.

**Development**

Vygotsky understood human development as a very complex concept that has many components and possibilities of change in multifaceted directions. His concept of development was not linear or dependent upon the accumulation of separated changes but [A complex dialectical process characterized by periodicity, unevenness in the development of different functions, metamorphosis or qualitative transformation of one form into another, intertwining of external and internal factors, and adaptive processes (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 73).]

Vygotsky thought about development differently from his contemporaries Thorndike, Piaget, and Koffka in that he concentrated on “historically shaped and culturally transmitted psychology of human beings” (John-Steiner & Souberman, 1978, p. 122). Piaget also considered the child as an active organism, but Vygotsky assumed that children continue to change because they are transforming a world and themselves according to historical and cultural changes of their contextual environment. In other words, Piaget’s theory is based on humans’ universal stage-based development depending on relatively predictable biological changes while Vygotsky’s developmental theory is focused more on interactions between the changing socio-cultural context and biological characteristics. Therefore, Vygotsky (1978) claimed that in order to understand
children’s dialectical developmental process, interactions between the socio-cultural context and biological characteristics during each developmental stage should be considered.

**How Children Construct Knowledge**

Like other cognitive psychologists or educational researchers, Vygotsky was also interested in how children construct knowledge. Piaget claimed that because children’s biological development is a prerequisite for cognitive construction and understanding, environment or instruction can only play an indirect role in children’s cognitive development. In contrast, Vygotsky highlighted the importance of interactions within learning-instruction processes as auxiliary stimuli in children’s development. This contradicts Piaget’s belief that children’s learning is isolated from the learning context and that their constructing and understanding of knowledge develops prior to learning from other persons or contextual environments.

Vygotsky (1978) explained that children’s cognitive development occurs in a social context through interactions with other people and then in psychological states through self-internalization. That is, the construct of thinking and the thinking process begin through others’ mediation. Thus, interactions between a child and teacher are very important for children’s cognitive development, and their learning can appear in the social context before they are biologically ready to accomplish a task or grasp a concept on their own (Bodrova & Leong, 1996; Fielding, 1989; Zakin, 2005). If children’s social interactions are significant for individuals to construct knowledge, understanding what
social experience they have had and what kinds of social interactions they have in the social context is important to comprehend their cognitive developmental process. Vygotsky (1978) stated that children’s learning starts well before schooling so that all children’s learning in school has a previous history.

**Social Context**

In Vygotsky’s theory, children’s learning and thinking are influenced by the social context and should be understood in relation to specific socio-cultural and historical contexts (Luria, 1982; Moll, 1990). Because socio-cultural context provides the first interaction in children’s sequential cognitive development, understanding this context is vital.

Bodrova and Leong (1996) suggested that there are three levels to the social context: 1) the immediate interactive level, that is, the individual(s) the child is interacting with at the moment; 2) the structural level, which includes the social structures that influence the child such as the family and school; and 3) the general cultural or social level, which includes features of society at large such as language, numerical systems, and the use of technology (p. 9).

Social and cultural contexts can be identified at different levels, from direct interactions between individuals to a much wider socio-cultural structure. In other words, the socio-cultural context includes instruction-learning situations in school settings as well as diverse types of interaction such as interactions between individuals and between individual and cultural group in communities. These diverse socio-cultural contexts and
interactions can affect children’s thinking in different ways and should be considered in understanding children’s development (Bodrova & Leong, 1996; Luria, 1982; Moll, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978).

Guberman (1999) asserted that much research still focuses on only a pair of variables when examining children’s development. Vygotsky maintained that there are few general processes of logical thinking without cultural influence. Bodrova and Leong (1996) stated that “a child does not just become a thinker and a problem solver; she becomes a special kind of thinker, rememberer, listener, and communicator, which is a reflection of the social context” (p. 10). In order to present a more meaningful description of children’s development, their developmental process should be considered within a socio-cultural system, including diverse social interactions in a specific context.

Social context involves socially and historically developed activities and practices. Thus, through participation in these activities and practices, children obtain knowledge and skills transferred from previous generations. According to Vygotsky, the meaning of children’s development is to gain historically transferred information and knowledge and to use them to think (as cited in Bodrova & Leong, 1996). Therefore, the influence of previous generations influences the thinking process of contemporary children (Wertsch, 1990, 1991).

In conclusion, social context stimulates children’s initial learning and their development in a cultural-historical process that connects them with previous generations. Therefore, investigating social interactions within a specific socio-cultural context is central to understanding and interpreting children’s diverse development.
Learning

In Vygotsky’s theory, children’s development is closely related to social interactions so that contextual, collaborative, and co-constructed learning are concepts that are highlighted in his writing. Many scholars who consider maturation as the major developmental process insist that in order for children to understand knowledge beyond their present developmental level, they must first develop the capacity to operate at a higher intellectual level. As a result, new learning cannot occur unless children reach an appropriate developmental stage. Vygotsky, however, believed that “not only can development impact learning, but learning can impact development” (Bodrova & Leong, 1996, p. 12), meaning that the current developmental level may constrain children from learning new things, but co-structured and collaborative learning with a teacher or more competent others can accelerate their progress to the next developmental stage (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsh, 1990, 1991; Zakin, 2005). Vygotsky’s belief about children’s learning can be explained through the concept of zone of proximal development (ZPD).

It is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86).

ZPD shows that two children who have the same performing capability can learn differently depending on whether additional assistance is available (Vygotsky, 1978). Moreover, according to the type of assistance they get, children’s learning can proceed differently. Vygotsky (1978) explained that this new learning which can be accomplished in the ZPD is a form of potential which has not yet matured but will possibly be
developed in the future. Therefore, the ZPD is created through instruction but is also based on children’s developmental stages (Zakin, 2005).

Summary

Vygotsky paid attention to understanding how children’s learning and development are socially and culturally constructed and studied how humans think, learn, and function within their specific socio-cultural context (Zakin, 2005). Therefore, he focused on instruction which involves socio-cultural interaction rather than biological and innate development. Vygotsky’s theory is an advanced idea that provides a unique perspective on phenomena underlying developmental problems (Zakin, 2005).

Although Vygotsky did not discuss the issue of children’s art learning directly, his theory can provide a significant theoretical framework for understanding children’s drawing activities (Lange-Kuttner & Thomas, 1995). Vygotsky’s socio-cultural perspective presents provocative questions regarding the meaning and function of children’s drawing in a specific cultural context. In other words, it is important to understand what makes children, as social members within a specific cultural context, learn to draw pictures as they do and what they actually learn or gain from their drawing.
Extended Vygotsky’s Socio-Cultural Theory: Rogoff and Goncu

*Why Children Develop Differently in Different Contexts: The Role of Everyday Repeated Social Practices in Children’s Development*

Among many subsequent studies use Vygotsky’s perspective, Rogoff (2003) and Goncu (1999) have applied Vygotsky’s socio-cultural theory in cross-cultural studies to understand why and how children develop differently within diverse cultural contexts. They emphasize the importance of investigating children’s daily routines or repeated social practices to understand cultural influence on children’s development. They assume that each culture has its own goals for human development which vary considerably. Thus, each culture assists children in its own way to help them to achieve their own goals of development. Therefore, it is important to know what each culture’s goals of development are.

According to Rogoff and Goncu, children’s daily routines involve socio-cultural expectations about children’s development so it is possible to understand why they develop or behave as they do through exploring what they experience repeatedly in their everyday life. Rogoff (2003) argued that identifying regularities in a specific culture is important. These regularities can be found through studying everyday repeated social practices which reflect a specific social value system or a cultural pattern. For example, in Western societies, children’s art practices usually occur in school and it is believed that art is learned systematically through interactions with art teachers. However, there are children in non-Western cultures who learn traditional arts and crafts through participating in everyday cultural practices and observing others in their ordinary lives.
(Rogoff, 1990). With the age-grading system, children have progressively separated from many social practices and their social participation has been limited within the school (Rogoff, 2003, p. 8). This Western cultural pattern considers school-centered learning more important than learning through participating in cultural community activities, making children engage in learning through relationships between a few teachers and many children. However, when participating in social activities in non-Western cultures, learning is not only based on interactions with many experienced adults but also on specific patterns in which learning and using knowledge happen in the same space. In this non-Western alternative cultural pattern, children are allowed to take part in group decisions and their relationships with others are more horizontal. Rogoff maintained that identifying alternative patterns from other cultures may be useful to understand other cultures and cultural aspects of our lives we do not recognize.

Goncu also attempted to incorporate the concept of culture into developmental research based on Rogoff’s socio-cultural perspective, focusing mainly on children’s activities (e.g., children’s play and the function and meaning of these activities in children’s own community and culture). When children’s activities are investigated, it is important which strands of research are used. Goncu and Jain’s (2000) strands of research show Goncu’s research focus: 1) children’s peer group as culture is emphasized and connected with functions in their communities; 2) in order to understand the meaning and functions of children’s specific activities from socio-cultural perspectives in children’s communities, their activities are examined and compared with the community’s value; and 3) cultural myths and children’s activities are considered significant. Through these strands, culture is assumed to be “a system of meaning with the goal of exploring how
children become a part of this meaning system” (Goncu, 1999, p. 9). This means that culture should be understood as a system of meaning not as an independent variable where children’s own cultures are more important key variables than predominant universal developmental theories (Goncu, 1999, 2000). The purpose of Goncu’s studies is described as “constructing local theories of child development.”

Based on Vygotsky’s definition of development as the process of socialization into the existing system of cultural meanings, Goncu is interested in how children internalize cultural meanings such that children’s collaborative learning with other more competent social members in ZPD as well as their play is important in this process of internalization. (Goncu, 1999; Goncu & Gaskins, 1999; Goncu & Jain, 2000). Goncu (1999) emphasized the importance of understanding how members of society, including children, decide that one meaning is more valuable to participate in than other meanings. Accordingly, studying the process of internalization through socio-cultural engagements such as collaborations with other competent members of society and social activities is of importance. For this discourse, Leont’ev’s activity theory is used. According to Leont’ev, “activity [is] a unit of life in which an individual engages to satisfy a need” (as cited in Goncu, 1999, p. 12), meaning that internalizing cultural meanings, socialization, begins when individuals are satisfied with their needs.

Goncu (1999) raises questions about the roles of specific cultural activities which satisfy individual needs in children’s development. What activities are available for children in their communities? How do children engage in those activities? What do children learn as a result of their engagement? In order to understand why some activities are evaluated as more valuable than others, attention is paid to “the survival value of
activities for children” (Goncu, 1999, p. 12). Moreover, cultural activities reflect social expectations for children to accomplish and these are the basic units to analyze children’s development in a specific cultural context.

**Requested Research Attitudes to Investigate Cultural Influence on Children’s Learning and Development within a Socio-Cultural Perspective**

Researchers who investigate human development in a different cultural context should be well acquainted with the following information to avoid hasty and careless value judgments (Rogoff, 2003). First, researchers must overcome ethnocentrism in order to understand other cultures. Ethnocentrism refers to the tendency to understand other people’s ways in terms of the researcher’s own value system, rather than the cultural value system of the group researched. Most people tend to think that their judgments based on their own cultural perspectives are right and other cultural ways are wrong, perhaps even morally wrong. However, the purpose of cross-cultural studies is not to determine which cultural way is better or more developed but to “understand” differences between cultures.

Second, to understand cultural differences, one must distinguish between “judgments” and “explanations” (Rogoff, 2003). When peoples’ activities are interpreted in terms of the researcher’s cultural meaning system, observations of social activities become meaningless. Therefore, to understand and interpret people’s activities, discovering local cultural frameworks and goals through unbiased observation must be done (p. 17). For example, many studies about Korean children’s manhwa make rash conclusions without sufficient observations of children’s drawing activities. Although
children’s manhwa is isolated from adult and school cultures, it is judged from adults’ and academic researchers’ perspectives. Thus, results about children’s drawing manhwa are usually negative. Because children’s manhwa consist mainly of popular commercial manhwa images, their drawing activity is interpreted as uncreative, and is often prohibited. Rogoff (2003) maintains that separating “judgments” and “explanation” does not mean that every judgment is wrong; rather, judgments are needed after gathering sufficient information through observations.

Third, to avoid prejudiced assumptions, diverse goals of human development are acknowledged (Rogoff, 2003). Much research about human development assumes that development proceeds toward one ideal developmental goal for maturity. This assumption is based on the Western belief that school is important for people to develop. Therefore, knowledge and manners of thought learned in school are considered necessary for successful development. However, depending on the socio-cultural context, the goal of development can be defined differently and diverse developmental goals can be stimulated by another form of an educational system.

Fourth, ethnocentrism is addressed by the “communication between community ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’” (Rogoff, 2003, p. 24). In most cases, participants in a given culture usually take their social activities for granted, so they do not easily recognize their cultural identity. Similarly, because researchers as cultural outsiders pursue understanding of another culture based on their cultural value system, they also cannot access other cultures’ identities. This perspective can also be applied to understanding differences between sub-cultural groups in a community.
Finally, Rogoff emphasizes the need for “local and global understanding” through three research methods for cultural study: 1) emic approach, 2) imposed etic, and 3) derived etic (Berry, as cited in Rogoff, 2003, p. 30). First, cultural researchers should gather general information through imposed etic approaches using questionnaires, coding behaviors, and experiments. They then overcome their ethnocentric assumptions about other cultures through emic observation of other cultures to get an insider’s perspective. Finally, researchers should attempt to generalize a specific cultural pattern through derived etic understanding.

**Summary**

Children’s drawings are complex and difficult to fully understand. Mitchell (1994) claims that “we still do not know exactly what pictures are, what their relations to language is, how they operate on observers and on the world, how their history is to be understood, and what is to be done with or about them” (p. 3). Although child art has been investigated by numerous researchers, much of children’s visual expression is still mysterious.

Researchers increasingly recognize the role of external influences in children’s art expression but their impact is discussed in relation to apparent visual influences such as graphic forms, modes, or expressive strategies (Tarr, 1995). However, according to Tarr (1995),

Influences related to the meaning, purposes, values, and assumptions about the art making process occur simultaneously with visual influences, and are transmitted through human interactions (p. 23).
Thus, a socio-cultural perspective can provide important key concepts to understand what has not been clearly answered about children’s visual expression.

In this chapter, current academic literature is reviewed on the socialization of emotional expression, emotions and children’s drawings, the cultural influence on children’s drawings, and the socio-cultural perspective. This literature review is helpful and an important foundation to finding answers to the following research questions:

(1) How does a child depict angry emotional experiences in school and manwha drawings?

(2) What display rules of expressing anger exist in Korea and how are children’s drawings affected by them?

(3) What socio-cultural values and expectations about children’s drawings exist in Korea and how do they influence their drawings?
Chapter 3
METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research methods used to investigate the socio-cultural meaning and function of one Korean girl, Suji’s drawings of angry experiences. Following, the frameworks on which the study is based, research design and procedures, data collection, and analysis are reviewed.

Theoretical Framework

In this study, socio-cultural and ethnographic lenses are used to examine how children’s visual expressions are influenced by their visual and non-visual cultures and developed (socialized) in socio-culturally learned and expected ways.

Socio-Cultural Perspective

From a socio-cultural perspective, human behavior is studied as “situated behaviors, as activity in context” (Gaskins, 1995, p. 26). Accordingly, children’s visual expressions and their artistic development should be seen as situated in their particular context.

[C]ulture should be conceptualized as a system of meanings that provides the context for children’s development as one of is constituents rather than as a variable that exerts an influence on children’s development. In this view, then, culture cannot be separated for children’s development (Goncu, 1999, p. 10).
Different cultures have their own values that influence humans’ beliefs and practices (Gaskins, 1995). Since each culture has its own system of meanings, finding the meaning of children’s drawings needs to be conducted on the basis of “local theories within each culture” (Goncu, 1999, p. 10) in order to understand “how children are guided to reach culturally varied developmental goals established for them” (Goncu, 1999, p. 10).

Development is a process of socialization into the existing system of cultural meanings (Goncu, 1999). Children internalize cultural meanings which then influence their beliefs and practices. This ethnographic study investigated cultural meanings (i.e., norms, beliefs, values, and assumptions) about children’s drawings and their emotional expressions of anger within a Korean cultural context, how these meanings are internalized, and how they affect Korean children’s depictions of anger through Suji’s case.

**Ethnography: The Hallmark of Qualitative Research**

Children’s cultural meanings, such as “the beliefs and values shared by members of a group that guide their actions and their understandings of those actions” (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 95), were examined through ethnography, which “seeks to understand the culture of people or places” (p. 94). As “the hallmark of qualitative research” (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 95), ethnography is defined as:

[A]n approach to experiencing, interpreting and representing culture and society that informs and is informed by sets of different disciplinary agendas and theoretical principles. Rather than a method for the collecting of data, ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge
(about society, culture and individuals) that is based on ethnographers’ own experiences. It does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account for reality, but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers’ experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced (Pink, 2007, p. 22).

Our real world consists of multiple and layered dimensions, making it difficult to quantitatively describe cultural influences on children’s visual expressions based on only a few factors. Rossman and Rallis (2003) suggest that qualitative research can give insight into the multi-layered real world by “capturing people’s stories and weaving them together” (p. xiii). Qualitative research is performed to generate new understandings about our world where detailed and rich data are collected and transformed into information through analysis and interpretation for meaningful learning (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). This information then becomes knowledge “when put to practical use – to address recurring social issues” (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 5).

Because humans are influenced by all of their living experience, including what they see, hear, and feel (Maanen, 1998; Manen, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003;), children’s complicated living experiences cannot be fully explained through generated theory and knowledge within a controlled experimental setting. Thus, this study was conducted as an ongoing process of learning instead of generating theory or producing knowledge about children’s visual expressions. The eight characteristics common to qualitative research reflect what the current study strived to achieve (Rossman & Rallis, 2003):

1. Qualitative research orients toward the natural world so it needs data about sensory experience: what people see, feel, hear, taste, and smell. Therefore, qualitative researchers do not extricate people from their everyday worlds.
2. Qualitative research attempts to understand humans through multiple methods: talking with people, watching and listening as folks go about their everyday tasks, reading documents and records, and looking at physical space, clothing, tools, and decorations.

3. Qualitative research values the messiness of the lived world—it focuses on context. Therefore, it describes and interprets rather than measures and predicts.

4. In qualitative research, the role of the researcher is seriously considered. It needs to reflect on how research affects the ongoing flow of everyday life and is affected by it systematically.

5. Qualitative research is exquisitely sensitive to the researcher’s biography. It values the researcher’s unique perspective as a source of understanding rather than something to be cleaned from the study.

6. In qualitative research, a rigid and a priori framework on the social world is not imposed, that is, no formal hypotheses are cast prior to the study. Rather, it brings a conceptual framework and guiding questions, but this conceptual framework can be changed, modified, and refined once in the field as other questions are discovered.

7. Qualitative research relies on an inductive process rather than on deductive reasoning, including oversimplifying and trivializing the complexity of research. It is a reliance on sophisticated reasoning that is multifaceted and iterative, moving back and forth between the parts and the whole.

8. Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive. It focuses on description, analysis, and interpretation.

**Qualitative Research Design**

**Descriptive Case Study**

A case study is a research strategy that focuses on “in-depth and detailed explorations of single settings” (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 104). This research method is effective in investigating “a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context
when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994, p. 23) and when multiple sources of evidence are used. Since case studies are very useful for rich description and heuristic value, they can depict “real-life context” (Yin, 1994, p. 25) and provide explanatory information. In the current study, Suji’s depiction of her angry experience in school-type and manwha-type drawings was explored in depth.

**Multiple Methods Design**

Mixed or multiple methods enhance the validity of the research findings and expand the overall scope of the study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). In this study, multiple sources provided detailed and rich data about relations between Suji’s selection of expressive strategies to depict her negative emotional experience and socialization of her negative emotional expression. Extended observations of Suji’s practices, such as her daily interactions and conversations with others, related to angry emotional expressions and drawings in classroom were conducted along with in-depth interviews with her and her friends, teachers, and parents. The interviews explored Suji’s beliefs and values about her expression of anger and attempted to better understand her daily actions and interactions related to emotional expressions or drawings. In addition, her drawings, journals, and other artifacts were collected to provide further understanding of beliefs and values about her emotional and visual expressions and interpretation of their function in her daily practices. Table 1 summarizes the data sources and methodology used to investigate each of the research questions.
Table 1: Research Questions, Data Sources and Methods

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<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Data Sources and Methods</th>
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| 1. How did one Korean 6th grade girl, Suji, depict her angry emotional experience in her school and manwha drawings? What expressive strategies did she use and how were they used? | • Collection of three types drawings:  
(1) school drawings produced in art classes,  
(2) school drawings about her angry experience produced in the classroom,  
(2) manwha drawings about her angry experience produced in the classroom, and  
(3) self-initiated manwha produced in and outside of school |
| 2. What display rules to express anger exist in Korea? How did Suji internalize this emotional culture through everyday activities? How was this internalization reflected in her expressive strategies in her two types of drawings about an angry emotional theme? | • Observations  
• Interviews with Suji  
• Interviews with Suji’s friends  
• Interviews with teachers  
• Interviews with parents  
• Collection of artifacts and written materials |
| 3. What socio-cultural values and expectations about children’s drawings exist? How did Suji’s internalized knowledge of them affect her decision-making of what expressive strategies to use in depicting her angry experience? | • Observations  
• Interviews with Suji  
• Interviews with Suji’s friends  
• Interviews with teachers  
• Interviews with parents  
• Collection of Suji’s drawings  
• Collection of artifacts and written materials |

Researcher’s Role in the Study

In this study, my role as a researcher was to participate in Suji’s life involving diverse emotional interactions in school. Even though I first entered the site as a
researcher, I established rapport with Suji and her friends by participating in all of their activities such as listening to the teachers’ lectures alongside them in class, completing in-class assignments, playing games and chatting with them between classes, and cleaning the classroom with them. While Suji and her friends addressed me as “Teacher” and recognized me as a researcher, they were not uncomfortable around me; rather, they were willing informers to my study because, unlike most adults, I was interested in their manhwa. Therefore, I was able to observe Suji’s school life naturally and hear Suji and her friends’ inner voices through my interviews with them.

In contrast, my existence as a participant observer was somewhat distracting to the homeroom teacher. Based on my personal experience as an elementary school teacher, researchers in Korea do not have easy access to conduct extended classroom observations. In most elementary schools, the homeroom teacher teaches all the classes and has absolute authority in the classroom, which is isolated from outsiders. At times, teachers open their classrooms to others to demonstrate their teaching, but fear when their whole school life is exposed for lengthy periods of time. In this study, although I was permitted to enter the classroom of one of my colleagues, I witnessed her anxiety about revealing her everyday school life to me. In Korean schools, harsh punishment is frequently shown to children and she did not want to convey such a negative image of herself to me as she managed her students. Therefore, at times, I played the role of colleague rather than researcher and related to similar experiences and discussed her difficulties with her. Through this role switching, I was able to make her feel more comfortable about participating and seek her insights on what was observed in the classroom and what was said in interviews.
Research Procedure

Choosing the Research Site and Participants

Since conducting research in a school is uncommon in Korea unless the school is associated with a university, choosing a research site for the study depended on my ability to gain entry with the help of a mediator and to build relationships with the participants. In order to conduct my long-term qualitative research in an elementary classroom, a colleague, a first grade teacher in a Korean school, who had previously assisted on other studies, was willing to have me in her classroom and agreed to act as a mediator and informant in my study at her school. Since it was expected that older children might learn or internalize what is socio-culturally expected better than younger children, I was interested in investigating Korean fifth and sixth graders. Therefore, I asked her to express interest to her school principal about teaching fifth and sixth grades the following school year.

In Korea, most teachers are reluctant to teach sixth grade because of the difficulty of discipline and the burden of teaching (Kim, 2008). My colleague felt the same way, but because she had taught sixth grade in 2004 and was teaching first grade (considered the second hardest age group to teach) in 2005 when I recruited her, she had first choice as to what grade level to teach. She graciously complied with my request and was assigned to teach sixth grade in the 2006 school year. With her permission, I was allowed to observe her sixth graders’ everyday school life for three months. Moreover, she persuaded the art teacher to participate as well which allowed me to observe Suji and her friends’ art learning during art class, which was held in the same classroom.
Description of the Site

The sixth grade classroom of my colleague, Ms. Lee, at Hangook Elementary School in Seoul, Korea was the research site. Hangook School is located in the northern part of Seoul with 1629 students enrolled in grades 1 to 6, with 10 sixth grade classes.

At Hangook, class began at 8:20 a.m., 40 minutes earlier than other schools’ starting times. Most Korean elementary sixth graders have four 40-minute classes in the morning, 50 minutes for lunch, and one to three classes in the afternoon, depending on the day of the week. At Hangook, students had five classes in the morning followed by one or two classes in the afternoon.

A number of private learning institutes for English, math, art, music, computer, and other several subjects exist in the school’s area. In addition, Hangook has diverse after-school programs that most students attended.

Entering the Site

Gaining entry is very important in ethnographic field work. To obtain permission from the principal, I sent him a letter including a description of the purpose of my study and the research procedures. My academic advisor, Dr. Christine Thompson, also wrote a recommendation to the principal. Since I was in the United States at the time, Ms. Lee informed me through email that the principal expressed interest in my study and was willing to let me conduct research in his school.

In the spring of 2006, I visited Hangook Elementary School for the first time and met Ms. Lee and Mr. Han, the art teacher. After getting the teachers’ written consent to
participate in my study, I was introduced to her students in the classroom. Ms. Lee gave me the opportunity to explain the purpose of my visit and the methods and procedures of study in detail to the students. Suji and her friends showed strong interest in my research because manhwa was mentioned. Suji was pointed out as one of popular manhwa artists in the classroom. Consent forms with adequate information about my research were then sent to parents asking for permission.

**Description of the Participants**

**Suji**

Suji was one of four outstanding manwha artists in Ms. Lee’s classroom. I decided to focus exclusively on Suji in investigating the depiction of a negative emotional themes in school and manwha drawings because she was observed to use different display rules in expressing her anger in diverse emotional contexts and use different expressive strategies in depicting an angry emotional theme in drawings of: (1) self-initiated manwha for herself, (2) self-initiated manwha for others, and (3) drawings produced in art class and the private art institute. It appeared that Suji understood different socio-cultural meanings and functions of expressing negative emotions and drawings in different contexts and what were the most effective ways depending on the context.

Since the purpose of this study is to investigate how children’s visual expressions, especially drawings, can be specifically socialized like other social behaviors, it is
assumed that understanding what makes Suji use different display rules and expressive strategies selectively will lead to better insight into the process of socialization of visual expression.

Another reason in dealing particularly with Suji is that she was easily accessible to me. To understand the origin of her specific ways of expressing and depicting negative emotions, I needed information about her previous emotional and drawing experiences outside of school that I was not able to observe. Therefore, I needed a participant who could play the role as an informer as well. Suji was very interested in my research study and displayed a strong desire to participate compared to the other three students. For example, one day she initiated an almost two-hour long discussion of her self-initiated manwha, Argard, to me. It was only natural for me to consider her as my main study participant. In fact, understanding Suji’s drawings and her negative emotional states facilitates in understanding the socio-cultural meaning and function of other children’s drawings.

**Suji’s Friends**

Of the 35 sixth-grade children (16 girls, 19 boys) in Ms. Lee’s class, 25 (15 girls, 10 boys) were permitted to participate in the study. I observed their classroom activities and interactions and interviewed them once or twice individually or in a small group.
Suji’s Teachers

Ms. Lee was the homeroom teacher in one of the 10 sixth grade classes. She taught Korean, math, Korean history, physical education, music, and a practical course. Since she spent an average of six hours a day with her students, Ms. Lee was regarded as a strong socializer of her students’ emotional expression in school. In this way, she was an important participant in the study.

At Hangook School, one art teacher taught sixth grade and another taught fifth grade. All other students learned art from their homeroom teachers. Mr. Han was the sixth grade art teacher who participated in the study.

Suji’s Parent(s)

The influence of parents on a child’s emotional development and visual expression was also considered. Therefore, Suji’s mother was interviewed to learn what beliefs or expectations Suji’s parents had about their child, especially regarding Suji’s angry emotional expressions and visual expressions. An invitation letter with an informed consent form was sent to Suji’s home. Through this informational letter, Suji’s parents were asked permission for their children’s participation as well as their own participation through interviews. Both of Suji’s parents agreed to participate in this study, but only her mother was interviewed in Suji’s school.
Procedures of Study

Once participants’ consent was completed in spring of 2006, data collection on why one Korean child, Suji, depicted her angry emotional experiences as she did at Hangook Elementary School began that summer and continued until the fall of 2006.

From May to July, 2006, a total of 20 classroom observations about interactions between teachers and students related to the socialization of emotional expressions were conducted in Ms. Lee’s classroom from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. every Monday through Wednesday. These days were selected because I was commuting five hours each way to the school and art classes took place on Mondays. Depending on changes to the school schedule, I would sometimes visit the classroom other days of the week, including Saturdays.

Suji and her friends were mostly interviewed in their classroom or in the teachers’ lounge after the end of regular classes. These interviews took place during cleaning time after school so that their time in school would not be interrupted and they would leave school at the same time as other students. Each student participant was interviewed one to two times and Suji who was examined more closely because of her eagerness in drawing manwha was interviewed three to four times. During the three-month observation period, interviews with Suji’s teachers and her mother were also scheduled 3 or 4 days after interviewing their child.

Additional data collection following the three month span of time was done through email, Internet messenger and personal websites with Suji and her friends once I
left Korea. In fact, they preferred these methods over face-to-face interviews. Teachers also allowed me to contact them through email for additional information as needed.

Data Collection

Data collection first included initial observations of Ms. Lee’s class and Mr. Han’s art classes, formal and informal interviews with Suji, her friends, teachers, and her mother and informal conversations with the students to get a sense of the local context and Suji’s emotional and artistic experiences. In addition to observations, informal conversations and in-depth interviews, I designed an experimental art class to collect Suji and her friends’ drawings about an angry emotional theme and observed their art making during this assignment.

After the first month, the students were asked to freely draw a school drawing and a manwha drawing about “their most angry emotional experience in school.” This assignment was designed specifically for the research study, but was performed and collected during their regular art class.

I continued to conduct observations and interviews and collected artifacts from Suji and her friends in the next two months in conjunction with preliminary analysis of data collected within the first month. This follow-up data collection clarified findings from the preliminary data analysis, guiding the direction of the research, and helping me to gain in-depth understanding of reasons why a specific child, Suji, depicted her negative emotional experience as she did (So, 2006).
Observation and Field Notes

Observation and field notes in classroom

For more in-depth information about the process of socialization of Suji’s angry emotional expressions, observations of Suji's interactions with others such as teachers, friends, and the school environment were conducted throughout the school day. Descriptive field notes were taken during observations of all activities in Ms. Lee’s classroom. The content of these field notes included descriptions of the physical classroom setting, teacher’s verbal and nonverbal interactions with her students about emotion-related issues, the emotional nature of classroom activities prepared by the teacher, Suji and her friends’ emotional behavior in the classroom, and their verbal and nonverbal emotional interactions with peers.

Observation and field notes in art classes

Nine art classes were observed during the three-month observation period. The first three observations explored the social values or expectations about children’s art making that exist in this particular school and how children learned them. I paid attention to Suji’s interactions with the art teacher and her friends and the repeated practices Suji engaged in when making art. I also investigated cultural regularities related to Suji’s art making by observing how the teacher assigned subject matter in art class, how Suji and her friends responded to these assigned subject matters, what aspects of their drawings
the art teacher paid attention to, comments from the art teacher to the students, and conversations about their art-making process with peers.

In the fourth art class, I observed what type of emotional experience, positive or negative, was selected and reflected in students’ drawings during free drawing time. This drawing activity was led by Mr. Han and the whole process was observed.

During the fifth class, students drew “their most angry emotional experience” as a one frame school drawing in their sketchbook (45x60 cm). In the following class, they drew the same drawing theme as a multi-frame manwha drawing on letter sized paper. Observations of the last three classes were conducted to help clarify preliminary findings of the data analysis.

Although these experimental art lessons were designed by me, Mr. Han managed these classes as he normally did. All students participated in the art activities but only those whose parents gave consent were observed and only their drawings were collected.

**Videotape and photography**

Cultural beliefs are not only transmitted through direct interactions between humans. According to Pole (2004, p. 1), “for most of us, the world in which we live is experienced through our capacity to see and to make sense of what we see.” In most observational studies, the written medium is the only method considered and used by researchers. However, visual data such as video records and photographs can make our understanding of social life more effective (Pole, 2004). Therefore, along with observational field notes, the classroom’s activities, routines, environment, special school
events, children’s behaviors in and between classes and after school were videotaped and photographed. These visual methods provided a rich source of data about what was happening in the classroom. In addition, when students discussed their drawings with each other, I knew what particular image or specific part of a drawing their verbal and non-verbal comments referred to.

**Interviews**

Interviews were conducted with a total of 25 students including Suji, Suji’s friends, Ms. Lee, another art teacher who taught a group of talented students after school, one art teacher in a private art learning institute, and Suji’s mother over the course of the three-month period. The interview protocol is found in the appendix. Additional questions were asked as the students’ school lives were observed to answer my curiosities, confirm my observations, and understand what was going on in the classroom. All interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed electronically.

**Interviews with Suji and her friends**

Suji and her friends were first asked general open-ended questions about their opinions about school and manhwa drawings and their understanding of socio-cultural meaning and its function in expressing their anger in school. After the completion of their nine art classes, follow-up interviews took place about their drawings. Additional information was gathered through email, Internet messenger, or personal websites.
**Interviews with teachers and parents**

In the first interview with parents and teachers, general questions about their opinions about their child's drawings and angry expressions were asked. In the second interview, they were asked about their understanding and interpretations of Suji's drawings. Additional information from them was gathered by phone or Internet messenger.

**Documents**

Official handouts, educational materials, school brochures, and other school documents were collected to help inform me indirectly of reasons of why Suji depicted her angry experience as she did.

**Suji’s Artifacts**

Works of art (both free-time drawings like manhwa and classroom art activities produced in school), personal journals, the teacher’s report about Suji’s behavior and academic achievement, and other artifacts of Suji’s life in the classroom were collected. As a qualitative researcher, I collected materials that I believed would provide meaningful information to my work to any degree (Dellinger, 1998).
Research Questions and Collected Data

Data collected for each research question are summarized in Table 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Collected Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| How did one Korean 6th grade girl, Suji, depict her angry emotional experience in her school and manwha drawings? What expressive strategies did she use and how were they used? | • Suji’s school drawings produced in art class and special art club after school  
• Suji’s school-type drawing produced in her private art institute  
• Suji’s school-type drawing about a negative emotional theme (her angry experience in school) in art class  
• Suji’s manhwa drawing about a negative emotional theme (her angry experience in school) in art class  
• Suji’s self-initiated manwha |
| What display rules to express anger exist in Korea? How did Suji internalize this emotional culture through everyday activities? How was this internalization reflected in her expressive strategies in her two types of drawings about an angry emotional theme? | Suji’s knowledge gain of display rules in school:  
• Observations of Ms. Lee’s classroom practices including formal, structured events, activities, and speech  
• Interviews with Suji, her friends and Ms. Lee both formally and informally  
• Gathering aspects of material culture including artifacts and written material that may reveal information about the process of communicating Korean emotion culture through settings or events (i.e., documents, text books, diaries, personal objects, decorations, students’ assignments, school website)  
Suji’s knowledge gain of display rules at home:  
• Interviews with Suji and her mother both formally and informally  
• Gathering aspects of material culture including artifacts and written material that may reveal information about the process of communicating Korean emotional culture through everyday family events (i.e., diaries, personal objects)  
• Observation of Suji’s everyday conversations about ordinary family events |
| What socio-cultural values and expectations about children’s drawings exist? | Adults’ socio-cultural expectations of children’s drawings:  
• Observations of ordinary school art classes (i.e., noting art teacher’ verbal and nonverbal signs including Mr. Han’s beliefs about the two types of drawings)  
• Interviews with parents and teachers (homeroom teacher and art teachers) about their feelings and reactions to children’s drawings  
Suji’s understanding of socio-cultural expectations on her drawings:  
• Suji’s art work produced in art classes  
• Suji’s self-initiated manwha outside of art class  
• Observations of art class: noting Suji and her friends’ verbal and nonverbal signs including their beliefs about the two types of drawings and their everyday conversation in art classes  
• Interviews with Suji and her friends  
• Suji’s journals after each drawing task |
Data Analysis

Analyzing and interpreting qualitative data is the process of deep immersion in the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials you have collected; systematically organizing these materials into salient themes and patterns; bringing meaning so the themes tell a coherent story; and writing it all up so that others can read what you have learned (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 270).

Qualitative data analysis is essentially inductive rather than deductive (Creswell, 1998) because it is a process of “working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 145).

Observation and Interview Data

Because unanticipated ideas arose while I was conducting my observations and interviews, analysis of the data was an ongoing process (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Therefore, I repeatedly reviewed, organized, and coded the data into themes throughout the duration of my study.

Each day after data collection took place, my hand written field notes, journals, and interviews were transcribed electronically. The process of typing and reviewing the data helped me to familiarize myself with the data in order to detect emergent themes and patterns. Themes and questions were highlighted in the text and then were grouped into categories across all of the data sources according to how often they appeared (Dellinger,
Lastly, interpretation of the analyses was made to “move thematic analysis to a higher level of integration and synthesis” so that “meaning beyond the specifics of the data” (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 287) could be found in order to understand the multi-layered meanings of Korean children’s world of art.

**Visual Data-Drawings**

Unlike other ethnographic studies, this study collected image-based data (i.e., children’s drawings). In most art education research that uses children’s drawings, researchers decide how to analyze the specific images before collecting the data. For example, Burkitt et al. (2005) analyzed children’s use of size and colors in drawings of emotionally characterized figures. In this study, however, the students’ expressive strategies in relation to the socio-cultural context were analyzed without a standard to base them upon. Therefore, I borrowed methodology from qualitative text analysis.

Weber and Mitchell insist that all images are accumulated cultural text (cited in Warburton, 1998). If all images have socially communicative meanings and values as socio-cultural products between generations, the process of making images is similar to the process of making metaphors that can be communicated between members of society. Therefore, similar to finding communicative meanings and values from textual data, I analyzed my visual data likewise by looking at the visual data several times; writing detailed descriptions about each drawing (transcribing); detecting and grouping themes across the multiple sources of data (i.e., drawings, observations, interviews, journals); and making interpretations of the data. I borrowed from Warburton’s (1998) four stages
of analyzing implied meanings in cartoons: 1) describe what is seen in the drawing; 2) find implied meanings using other information (i.e., text) related to the drawing; 3) solidify implied meanings more systematically (i.e., confirm common social discourse made by the system of communication through extended and related information); and 4) establish narrative threads.

Students’ manwha drawings were analyzed using methodology from Wilson (2005) where the images, words, supplementary words, and characters in each frame were described followed by an interpretation of their implied meanings.
Chapter 4

A FIRST LOOK: SUJI’S DRAWINGS ABOUT AN ANGRY EXPERIENCE

The following three chapters (chapters 4, 5, and 6) describe the data analysis process to explore the multilayered socio-cultural meaning and function of one Korean girl, Suji’s, drawings about her angry emotional experiences.

To explore how her internalized display rules of expressing anger influence her drawings, Suji and her friends in Ms. Lee’s classroom were instructed to depict their angry emotional experience in two types of drawings: a general one-frame drawing preferred in school art and a multi-frame manwha drawing most often found in personal drawings and ignored in the context of school (Kim, 2005).

Because the visual narrative is communicated differently in these two types of drawings, viewers may take it for granted that the theme (i.e., an angry emotion) would be expressed differently in each drawing. In fact, I heard from several people before I began this research study who stated that comparing the two drawings would be meaningless, like comparing an apple to an orange. However, I believe that the clear-cut expressions in these two types of drawings may prevent viewers from paying attention to important information about children’s visual expressions. Therefore, in this study, I tried

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1 In order to seek academic feedback about my preliminary research idea, I met several professors from diverse academic areas. Some gave positive feedback and others did not. Three of the researchers who responded negatively to my idea and design were in the field of art education. Interestingly, all three critiqued that examining the two types of drawings—school drawing and manwha drawing—is comparing “an apple and an orange.”
to explore what socio-cultural meaning was included in each drawing through a two-step analysis.

First, analysis was performed on differences between Suji’s two types of drawings of the same assigned theme and how they were portrayed. I tried to uncover as many differences as possible between the two types of drawings, not only obvious differences such as how many frames it took to depict the theme or whether words were used in the illustration, but also differences that are not normally noticed by viewers. I focused on what expressive characteristics were used and the intent of the drawer’s visual narrative meanings. In this stage of analysis, I did not refer to any contextual information such as Suji’s personal information or her previous experiences in visual expressions of anger. I only focused on how the drawing theme was depicted in as much detail as possible.

In the second stage, I re-examined differences in the two types of drawings using contextual information because a child’s drawings are the product of his/her socio-cultural expressive needs as well as his/her individual expressive needs. In this step, I focused on how the socialization of emotional expression in everyday life is related to Suji’s visual expressions and how her understanding of socio-cultural expectations (including her socializers’ expectations) about her visual expressions influence the expressive strategies used in her drawings. From this, I attempted to interpret the socio-cultural meaning and function of Suji’s drawings of anger within the Korean cultural context.
Making Sense of Qualitative Visual Data

How carefully do we view children’s drawings? Do we look at all of their imagery or just some aspects of them? What imagery do we pay attention to and what imagery do we ignore? If it is assumed that an image is drawn with the drawer’s intention to communicate to others, viewers who pay attention to only some parts of the drawing may misunderstand or miss important information about the drawer and his or her visual expression.

Warburton (1998) claims that all images are accumulated cultural text. If images include socio-cultural communicative meanings and values, creating images should be understood as creating metaphors to communicate between members of society. In this study, analysis of Suji’s visual expressions requires finding the content and implied meanings communicated as a visual text.

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) maintain that “there is no single right way to analyze qualitative data, it is essential to find ways of using the data to think with” (p. 2). Therefore, in this chapter, I analyzed one child’s drawings using a variety of strategies to allow the data speak for itself (Wolcott, 1994). In order to make informed decisions, I employed diverse approaches to analyze Suji’s drawings and described the analytical process in detail. The visual data were analyzed step-wise. First, the visual texts were transformed into written texts and then themes or questions that appeared were listed and later grouped into categories by frequency. I treated all visual images – both depicted images as well as traces that were erased – as important text that conveys meanings.
Depiction of Angry Experience in Suji’s School-Type Drawing

What are we actually looking at?

Suji drew various images in her school drawing (Figure 3). Attention to all of the details in her drawing is required to clarify what the viewer is actually looking at and not miss any signs in her drawing. I first examined how her human characters were depicted and then examined objects, the composition, and any other signs within the drawing.
Human Characters

Suji, the drawer, is depicted in the lower middle of the drawing. She does not show her face; instead, the back of her head is depicted. Her hair is depicted in detail using several lines and a symbol, ‘╬,’ is marked on the back of her head.

The girl appears to be looking at a boy who is drawn relatively small compared to her so it is assumed that he is standing a distance away from her. Although he appears small, almost every part of his face and body are drawn in detail (e.g. eyebrows, nose, mouth, hair, jacket, pants, shoes, two arms, two hands, and fingers), but it is not clear what emotion he is expressing. On the boy’s face, a vague (possibly erased) short line is drawn between his eyes and a more distinct, longer vertical line is drawn under it. There is also another line which is drawn diagonally from the end of the short line to the end of the longer line. The short line appears to represent a nose and the longer line his mouth, or, perhaps, the short line was erased and it is the longer line that represents his nose. Whatever the case, it is almost impossible to detect what facial expression the boy has. If the three lines represent his mouth, the boy could be talking or smiling.

Aside from the boy’s facial expression, his bodily expression provides more clear clues to viewers about his inner emotional state. He is holding his left hand above his head with only his middle finger extended. Three short lines are drawn on top of the outstretched finger to add emphasis to his expression. The overall size of the boy’s figure, however, is too small for viewers to recognize these details if they are not closely paying attention.
Setting (Space)

The setting of Suji’s school-type drawing seems abstract and dream-like because the depicted space is not what we see and experience in our everyday surroundings. The drawing space is composed of land and sky that is divided by a horizon. The lower part where the two characters stand is drawn as a big round shape with two continent-like images on a grid. All of the objects, including the human characters, ignore physical rules. Compared to the size of the earth-like space, the 3 dimensional solids, airplane, ship, and human figures, are depicted rather large.

Objects

Suji’s school-type drawing is filled with many objects scattered over the drawing space. Some of objects are recognizable, others are not. On each of the continent-like images stands a three dimensional solid which looks like a building. The 3-D solid on the right is depicted from a bird’s eye view and the one on the left is drawn from the girl’s perspective. Six smaller objects are also found — four on the continent on the right and two on the continent on the left. What they represent and why they are located there are not easily determined.

Two images of a dollar bill fly over the earth-like space between the girl and the boy. A big ship partially drawn in 3-D is depicted behind the boy. On the left side of the ship, a 3-D shaped plane flies overhead. At the top right-hand corner of the drawing, a 3-D stairway extends toward the heavens. Most of the larger objects are depicted near the boy.
Other Signs

When viewing children’s drawings, we tend to only pay attention to clearly depicted images and what they represent. In other words, the meaning in the final image is mainly constructed by the viewers. In children’s drawings, however, not only do clearly identifiable signs intentionally drawn by the drawer exist, but also other unrecognizable signs such as erased images. If we ignore the underlying meaning of these other types of signs, how does it affect our understanding of the drawing? Because these signs can also contain functional meanings about children’s visual expression, they need to be examined as well to determine their implications for children’s visual expression. In this study, children were asked to draw in pencil instead of paint, so it was possible to more easily determine the number of other visual signs illustrated than if they were painted in color.

Several erased traces appear in Suji’s school-type drawing. Some are easily recognizable because they were not completely erased. Others were erased fully and almost invisible. Several of Suji’s traces were erased thoroughly and not immediately detected until the drawing was viewed in a dark room with a book light, which reflected the impressions made by Suji’s pencil.

There were recognizable erased traces on the 3-D objects of the two building-like solids, airplane, ship, stairway, and bills, indicating that Suji kept drawing and erasing to make these objects appear more three dimensional. In addition, ‘A2’ was drawn on the sail of the ship and a large arrow is seen on the airplane with many other erased traces of lines.
Erased traces more difficult to recognize are located in the middle of drawing and seem to be of human figures. Five figures were drawn and then completely erased. Although the girl in Suji’s final drawing was depicted with her back to the viewers and the boy drawn very small, the erased figures were drawn with their fronts facing the viewers. Among them, four look like girls and one is a boy. The four females look very similar to one another and all express anger strongly through their facial expressions and blowing hair. These erased images were restored using a light source. Two images appear in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Restored Images from Completely Erased Traces I

Figure 5 depicts the erased image of the male figure. His facial expression and gestures – humorous eyes, tongue sticking out, and hands in the air – appear as if he is making fun of someone.
Subject Matter: What Emotional Experience Was Selected?

I also investigated what Suji actually drew about and how her interpretation of the assigned theme affected her drawing by examining the angry experience in her drawing and the degree to which it was expressed. In many studies on children’s drawing, researchers assign a specific drawing theme and ask children to draw about it. Children have different experiences related to the assigned drawing theme, but how children’s individual experiences affect their interpretation and expressive decisions have not been examined. Therefore, looking into how children comprehend the assigned theme and what they finally select to draw will provide important information to understand children’s drawings.

In this study, Suji was asked to depict “her angry emotional experience in school.” It is difficult, however, to understand what emotional situation Suji actually drew in her school-type drawing. As already seen in Figure 1, there are few direct images which express her anger. Not only was situational information not fully provided but it is also not clear whether the girl thought to be Suji felt anger or not. For credibility, I showed the drawing to other researchers (Dr. Christine Thompson and Dr. Brent Wilson who are active researchers on child art and 10 art education graduate students at...
Pennsylvania State University) and asked for their interpretation on what emotion and what emotional experience Suji had drawn. All of them answered that it was difficult to say if an angry emotion was expressed and could not determine what emotional situation was represented. Dr. Wilson guessed that Suji drew something about a board game. Because it was difficult to identify what angry emotional event occurred and when, where, how, and why it occurred, it cannot be concluded that Suji depicted the assigned theme in her school-type drawing.

The title of Suji’s drawing, “In a Dream,” added to the confusion. Did she feel anger in her dream but not in real life? Why did she understand the assigned drawing theme in this way? Did she intend to choose this subject matter or did she just misunderstand what was assigned? Furthermore, it is not clear if she actually depicted her own angry emotional experience.

**Breakdown of Visual Data into Themes, Clusters, and Categories**

Wolcott (1994) uses the term “transformation” to explain qualitative data analysis. This term implies that there are a variety of strategies to explore and interpret qualitative data. Therefore, depending on how qualitative data is transformed, different results are possible. According to Wolcott, qualitative data analysis consists of three processes: description, analysis, and interpretation. Description is conducted based on the assumption that “data should speak for themselves” (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 8). In my detailed analysis of Suji’s drawing above, I attempted to listen to what the visual data were saying. However, several things could not be understood fully.
In this section, I moved beyond a description of the data to coding the data to find themes and patterns. According to Rossman and Rallis (2003), “[C]oding entails thinking through what you take as evidence of a category or theme” (p. 285). Below tables illustrate how the data were conceptually linked through coding (Table 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8). These tables illustrate my attempt to examine all signs in Suji’s school-type drawing and understand her intention without contextual information from observations and interviews. Since I believe that all signs, including images, words, and erased or corrected images, were produced intentionally by Suji, I did not want to dismiss any of them. There might have been signs which even Suji did not know the specific reason as to why she drew them, but I wanted to explore what she wanted to communicate or express through specific signs. Therefore, in examining her drawing multiple times, I came across these expressive patterns: (1) viewers identifying with the drawer, Suji; (2) indirect emotional expression; (3) viewers confused by Suji’s drawing; (4) good drawing technique; and (5) the use of expressive strategies to change the meaning and function of her drawing.
Table 3: Transforming Visual Texts into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HUMAN CHARACTER(1): GIRL</th>
<th>CODES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• A girl’s figure regarded as the drawer, Suji, is drawn in the lower middle part of the paper.</td>
<td>Viewers are induced to look at this emotional situation from Suji’s viewpoint. Viewers identifying with Suji Viewers empathizing with Suji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The back of the girl’s head is facing the viewer.</td>
<td>Indirect angry expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The girl’s facial expressions are not shown</td>
<td>Suji’s anger is not expressed directly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The girl’s shoulder line is depicted as raised.</td>
<td>Suji is expressing other types of emotions such as embarrassment or surprise instead of anger. Indirect angry expression Viewers confused in understanding Suji’s emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The symbol ‘╬’ is drawn on the back of her head.</td>
<td>Multiple interpretations about the emotional meaning of ‘╬’ are possible. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that this symbol expresses Suji’s anger. Indirect angry expression Viewers confused in understanding Suji’s emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Girl’s hair is depicted in detail using several lines drawn from top to bottom.</td>
<td>Suji paid attention to details and the realistic depiction of a human figure. Drawing technique</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4: Transforming Visual Texts into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HUMAN CHARACTER(2): BOY</th>
<th>CODES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• A boy is drawn in the upper middle part of the paper (on the opposite side of the girl/ in the direction the girl seems to be looking).</td>
<td>➢ The boy is facing the girl and the viewers. Viewers look at him from the girl’s viewpoint and think that he is stimulating Suji’s or their own emotion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Boy’s figure is relatively small in size (almost 5 times smaller than the girl).</td>
<td>➢ Suji considered describing the 3-D space using perspective. ➢ It is difficult to recognize the boy’s facial and bodily expressions without careful attention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Although the size of the boy’s figure is small, most of his face and body are depicted in detail.</td>
<td>➢ Ratio of each body part is depicted well and he is depicted in detail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• His face is shown but his facial expression is not clear.</td>
<td>➢ Boy’s emotion and his role in this emotional situation cannot be clearly detected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interpretations of the boy’s facial expression and his role in the emotional situation differ depending on how the lines on his face are understood.</td>
<td>➢ It is difficult to recognize the boy’s bodily expressions, which hold important information about this emotional situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Boy’s bodily expressions provide viewers with more clear clues about his inner emotional state than his facial expressions, but his bodily expressions are too small to recognize.</td>
<td>➢ Boy is making a rude gesture to Suji. It is inferred that he is stimulating Suji’s anger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The boy’s head is tilted with one hand raised with his middle finger extended.</td>
<td>➢ Suji intended to make viewers understand the boy’s negative role in this emotional situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Three shout lines are drawn over the middle finger.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: Transforming Visual Texts into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECTS</th>
<th>CODES</th>
<th>Drawings Technique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‣ Suji’s school-type drawing is filled with many objects that are scattered over the drawing space.</td>
<td>▶ The arrangement of objects interferes with viewers’ understanding of her drawing.</td>
<td>Viewers are confused by the drawing (adult viewers only?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‣ A 3-D solid that looks like a building stands on each of the two continent-like images.</td>
<td>▶ What exactly these images are and what role they play in this emotional situation are not clearly determined.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ The arrangement of objects interferes with viewers’ understanding of her drawing.</td>
<td>▶ Viewers are confused by the drawing (real or not?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ What exactly these images are and what role they play in this emotional situation are not clearly determined.</td>
<td>▶ Viewers are confused by the drawing (Is this a game? Only in game would it be possible for the characters to be able to own these objects.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ The right-hand 3-D solid is depicted from a bird’s eye view.</td>
<td>▶ Suji is good at depicting objects in 3-D and from different views.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ The left-hand 3-D solid is depicted from the girl’s view.</td>
<td>▶ The unreasonable size of the girl makes it difficult to believe the situation depicted is real.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ The two 3-D solids depicted from different viewpoints make viewers understand the girl’s eye-level.</td>
<td>▶ The girl’s eye-level is a little higher than the right-hand 3-D solid. The girl is positioned to overlook some objects nearby.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Objects under the girl’s eye-level seem to belong to the her while the others do not.</td>
<td>▶ Viewers are confused by the drawing (Game? Adult viewers only?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Four little objects are found on the right-hand continent and two on the left-hand side.</td>
<td>▶ What these little objects are and what rules were employed in their location cannot be easily detected.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Two images of a dollar are flying over the space between the girl and the boy.</td>
<td>▶ The reason for the American dollar bills in this drawing cannot be clearly detected.</td>
<td>Viewers are confused by the drawing (Game?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ A big ship is behind the boy and a plane is seen over it. They are illustrated in 3-D.</td>
<td>▶ The flying and changing figures of the dollar bill are depicted very skillfully.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ In the top right-hand corner of the drawing, there is a stairway (3-D) towards the heavens.</td>
<td>▶ Relationship among all objects in Suji’s drawing cannot be easily detected.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Most of the objects (buildings, money, ship, plane, and stairway) are depicted near the boy.</td>
<td>▶ Drawing Technique</td>
<td>Viewers are confused by the drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Since most objects are arranged around the boy, this may represent that he is a more powerful entity than the girl.</td>
<td>▶ Viewers are confused by the drawing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Girl as a weak entity
### Table 6: Transforming Visual Texts into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPACE (SETTINGS)</th>
<th>CODES</th>
<th>CODES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Overall, very abstract and dreamlike. • This drawing consists of an earth-like land and a sky divided by a horizon.</td>
<td>➢ It is difficult to understand where the emotional event takes place. ➢ Viewers may think that this is not Suji’s real emotional experience.</td>
<td>Viewers confused by Suji’s emotional state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The lower part where the two characters are standing is depicted as a big round shape with two continent-like images and a grid pattern.</td>
<td>➢ The two continent-like images and the grid pattern indicate that this space may represent earth. ➢ Objects are depicted in detail.</td>
<td>Drawing technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• All objects are arranged to ignore physical rules. In comparison to the size of the earth-like space, the 3-D building solids, airplane, ship, bills, and human figures are depicted relatively large.</td>
<td>➢ It is difficult to recognize the relations between the earth-like space and other objects.</td>
<td>Viewers are confused by the drawing (adult viewers only?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7: Transforming Visual Texts into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SELECTED ANGRY EXPERIENCE</th>
<th>CODES</th>
<th>CODES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The title “In a Dream”</td>
<td>➢ This title raises questions: Did Suji misunderstand what she was assigned to draw? Did she select this experience on purpose? Why? Was this a real experience for her or just a dream?</td>
<td>Viewers are confused by the drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Expressive Strategies Which Change the Meaning or Function of This Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Few and unclear information about her emotional experience.</td>
<td>➢ Did she really want viewers to understand her emotional experience through this drawing?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not an emotional situation in this school-type drawing.</td>
<td>➢ Why did she depict her emotional experience as not happening in her school drawing?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8: Transforming Visual Texts into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ERASED &amp; MULTI-SKETCHED TRACES</th>
<th>CODES</th>
<th>drawing technique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Many erased traces are found in the middle of the drawing but only some are recognizable for what they were. Recognizable erased traces vs. unrecognizable erased traces</td>
<td>What was drawn and why were they erased? Can change in meaning or function be inferred? Why were specific images erased more completely than others?</td>
<td>Expressive Strategies Which Change the Meaning or Function of This Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Recognizable erased traces” are usually found in 3-D objects (e.g. two building solids, airplane, ship, stairway, and bills).</td>
<td>Suji kept drawing and erasing lines in order to make the objects look more three dimensional.</td>
<td>Drawing Technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The letters ‘A2’ were roughly erased from the sail of the ship. Two big arrows pointed in different directions were drawn and erased. One arrow over the ship indicates the sky and the other besides the stairway is pointed down.</td>
<td>“A2” and “two arrows” are not concrete objects. Why were they drawn and then erased? The arrows could be understood to mean that the vessel is flying towards the sky and something is coming down from the sky. What does this mean?</td>
<td>Expressive Strategies Which Change the Meaning or Function of This Drawing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Most “unrecognizable erased traces” of humans are located in the middle of drawing near the human characters. These five human images face the viewer. The erased images of the girls are similar to one another and express anger strongly through their facial expressions and blowing hair. Restored images of the girls appear as follows:  
  - and
  - The restored image of the boy looks like this: | Five human images were drawn and completely erased. Why were they erased completely? Are there different meanings or functions between a front view and other side views? Why were strong and clear facial expressions of anger erased? Erased facial expressions appear to be manwha style. | Expressive Strategies Which Change the Meaning or Function of This Drawing |
| This boy appears to be making fun of someone through his humorous eyes, outstretched tongue, two hands up, etc. | If this boy’s facial expression was drawn as such, viewers could understand this emotional situation more clearly. Why did Suji not do so? | Indirect Emotional Expression |
Viewers Identifying with Suji: Empathy between drawer and viewers

In Suji’s school-type drawing, the girl depicted as Suji is shown with the back of her head facing us. From how she is positioned, she appears to look at the situation from a higher perspective, similar to the way we as viewers are looking at the drawing. From this perspective, viewers see the emotional situation from the girl’s viewpoint and possibly feel they are experiencing the same situation. If this is so, we may empathize with her and understand her anger. In contrast, if the girl was depicted as facing us and showed her anger, we may have felt discomfort. Thus, it is assumed that this depiction provided Suji a safe way to depict her negative emotion. However, a few questions still remain. Did Suji intend to induce “viewer empathy” on purpose? Did she use this method in other drawings?

Indirect Angry Expressions

A person’s emotional state can be identified directly through facial, bodily, and verbal expressions and also be inferred from contextual information. Suji expressed her emotional state in her school drawing contextually. That is, she provided viewers indirect information about how she felt in her drawing.

Although Suji depicted the girl’s expression with raised shoulders and with the symbol ‘╠╣’, this is not sufficient information to determine why she was angry. In fact, these expressions can also be understood as embarrassment or surprise, or, at the most, very slight anger. The symbol ‘╠╣’ is usually used in comics or animation to represent a swollen vein and can express anger, embarrassment, fear, or surprise. As such, the
meaning of this symbol in Suji’s drawing can be interpreted in many ways and, therefore, she did not directly express her anger in this drawing.

Because Suji’s school-type drawing presents few direct emotional expressions, what contextual information can viewers detect? The vagueness in her drawing does not provide appropriate information for viewers to understand her emotional state, thus inhibiting their understanding. For example, it is impossible that Suji is located on an earth-like space that seems smaller than her, which leads viewers to ask “Where is she now?” “What did she draw about?” “Is it a real situation or not?” The more information viewers seek, the more confused they become. Among the many images that puzzle viewers, it is the male figure which provides apparent and important information about Suji’s emotional state.

Since this boy is drawn small in size, many viewers are not able to easily recognize his facial and bodily expressions. In fact, only one person among 12 people I shared this picture with questioned his finger gesture and the rest did not pay attention to him. However, if viewers recognized his gesture, they would assume that Suji is experiencing a negative emotional state because of his rude behavior. Moreover, the three short lines around his outstretched middle finger imply that Suji wanted viewers to understand that the boy made her angry. However, this is only an indirect assumption. The question remains as to whether Suji really wanted viewers to understand her emotional situation given this indirect information. Viewers may think it natural that she would be angry and empathize with her. However, if the boy’s gesture is not recognized, viewers would not understand her drawing to be related to the assignment. Did she already know that viewers would be confused? If she had indeed expressed her angry
emotional experience, why did she do so indirectly? Or did she fail to draw what she intended because of a lack of drawing skills?

Viewers’ Confusion about Suji’s School-Type Drawing

Many aspects of Suji’s school-type drawing about her angry emotion cannot be understood clearly, which causes confusion in viewers:

1. **Why did Suji select this emotional story as her subject matter?** The same drawing theme, “Draw your angriest emotional experience in school,” was assigned to all study participants. Suji depicted her emotional experience, which was not clearly an angry one, in a dream. Did she misunderstand the drawing theme or were there other reasons she did not select an angry emotional experience in school as assigned?

2. **Why did Suji not depict her angry emotion directly?** Multiple interpretations are possible about the girl’s emotion depicted in Suji’s drawing. It appears that the emotion expressed by her is either embarrassment or surprise rather than anger.

3. **Why was the boy’s figure, which holds an important clue about this emotional situation, depicted very small?** The role of the boy in this emotional situation is not comprehensible. It can be assumed that the boy’s facial expression and gesture made Suji angry. However, his figure is depicted too small for viewers to clearly recognize.
(4) **Did Suji depict a real emotional experience or not?** The space and objects in Suji’s drawing do not seem real. In addition, the title of her drawing, “In a Dream,” indicates that this drawing may not be about Suji’s real experience.

(5) **Although Suji has good drawing skills, why did she depict this subject matter in this way?** Suji’s drawing appears unreal, but the way she depicted the human figures, objects, and space shows quality drawing skills. She knew how to draw all of the images in three dimensions and from different viewpoints.

To examine the difficulty in understanding Suji’s angry emotional state in her drawing, I rated the degree of clarity in her illustration using six scales explained in Table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>No clear visual evidence. (No facial or bodily expressions, no presence of symbols, words, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>One or more types of visual evidence is identified, but it is not clearly related to a specific angry emotion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>One or more types of visual evidence is identified which is slightly related to a specific angry emotion. (Angry emotion is slightly shown.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>One or more types of visual evidence is identified and related to a specific angry emotion. (Depicted emotional state is depicted indirectly and shown to be mild.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>One or more types of visual evidence is identified and clearly express a specific angry emotion. (Emotional state is illustrated indirectly and strongly or directly and mildly.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>One or more types of visual evidence is identified and very clearly expresses a specific angry emotion. (Emotional state is directly illustrated and is shown to be very strong.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three kinds of visual evidence were identified in Suji’s school-type drawing but provided little information on a specific angry emotion. The characters’ facial expressions are not used to express the drawer’s angry emotion. Instead, Suji’s negative emotional state is more easily conjectured through the characters’ bodily expressions, albeit indirectly. In her drawing, two bodily expressions are detected. First, the female character assumed to be Suji has her shoulders raised. This gesture is visual evidence which provides information about the girl’s emotional state, but it cannot be concluded that a specific angry emotion is being expressed. Rather, it can be interpreted as many different types of emotions, such as sadness, embarrassment, surprise, as well as anger. Second, the boy’s outstretched middle finger is considered very rude in our culture because it can cause bad feelings in others. Even though this gesture does not directly express Suji’s anger, it is assumed that she may be feeling some sort of negative emotion if this sign was intended for her. In addition to facial and bodily expressions, other forms of signs can represent characters’ emotional states. Peirce, a pioneer in the development of semiotics, identified over 60 classes of signs. Among them, icon, index, and symbol are most well known (Atkinson, 2002). An icon is a sign “by means of features of itself which resemble its object,” an index is a sign “by virtue of some factual or causal connection with its object,” and a symbol is a sign “because of some ‘rule’ of conventional or habitual association between itself and its object” (Hawkes, as cited in Atkinson, 2002, p. 22). These three types of signs can exist in a text together, but only one type of sign can prevail over the other signs. According to Peirce, two characters’ bodily expressions can be categorized as an icon because they have a visual resemblance to the real external emotional expressions of a human figure. In Suji’s drawing, besides
icons, the symbol ‘╬’ also signifies an emotional state. This sign is frequently used in commercial manwha or animations to express many emotional states in characters. This sign functions as a symbol, but the meaning of it is not understood by those who are not familiar with it. Depending on the context, this sign represents anger, surprise, aggression, or embarrassment. In Suji’s school-type drawing, the girl’s facial expression is not shown. While it is hard to determine what emotional state this sign represents, it can be assumed that if Suji really intended to express her anger through this drawing, she probably used it to illustrate this emotion. Yet, the vast number of ways to interpret this sign leaves doubts about whether this sign represents a specific angry emotional state. In summary, in her school-type drawing, Suji’s anger was rated only as a 2. Therefore, it can be concluded that Suji did not depict her angry emotional state clearly in her school-type drawing, so it may cause viewers to be confused.

Suji’s Good Drawing Skills

What are the expressive characteristics of this drawing? From an analysis of Suji’s school-type drawing, she appeared to pay relatively careful attention and detail to the realistic depiction of the human figures and objects instead of the emotional theme clearly assigned. For example, Suji depicted the female character’s hair in detail using several lines, but this aspect is not directly related to any emotional information about what Suji felt and expressed.
The depiction of the boy is another example that shows Suji’s drawing skills and concern about technique. In her drawing, the boy is depicted too little to be recognized, but his body parts are in proportion to each other.

In addition, most of the objects are depicted in three dimensions and the physical relationship between space and objects is described considering perspective. Therefore, I assumed that Suji was proficient at and used advanced drawing techniques in realistic drawings. In conclusion, Suji paid more attention to other drawing aspects, such as the composition of space and the realistic depiction of objects, than to the depiction of emotionally characterized human figures. These expressive characteristics raise the question of why she did so. If it is not a lack of drawing skill that caused viewers’ confusion about her drawing, then it needs to be investigated as to why she depicted the assigned drawing theme in this way.

Changes in Expressive Strategies Which Can Affect the Meaning and Function of a Drawing

In this study, erased images were considered meaningful data. In comparing erased and re-drawn images, I explored how meaning and function in Suji’s drawing changed:

1) Most of her erased images were of female human figures which were illustrated with a front view and with strong emotional expressions. However, the re-drawn image is depicted with her back facing the viewer. If the erased images were left in her final drawing, the degree and clarity
of the depicted angry emotional state would have been rated as 5 on the rating scale. Why did Suji change her drawing?

2) There are many types of visual evidence which show Suji’s advanced drawing skill, suggesting that she knows how to express what she wants. If this is true, why did she not choose more effective ways to express the assigned theme more obviously?

3) The human figures were erased more completely than other images that were removed. Why was this so?

In summary, Suji’s expressive decision (e.g. whether to erase a specific image or not) greatly affected the meaning and function of her drawing. However, the importance of this kind of expressive strategy has not been seriously considered in children’s drawings.
Figure 6: Suji’s Manwha Using the Assigned Drawing Theme

“Angry Emotional Experience in School” (Ball-point pen on paper, Letter Size)
What are we actually looking at?

In Suji’s manwha (Figure 6), a total of 14 frames were used to express her narrative about her angry emotional experience. A different type of analysis was conducted from her school-type drawing since a manwha multi-frame drawing involves sequential narrative. Therefore, the visual details in each frame were examined in detail. Next, categories of expressive characteristics based on all 14 frames were formed.

Frame #1

The first frame includes the title of the manwha (“I will win the game, Blue Marble”) and introductory images of a female and a male human characters. Blue Marble is a Korean board game similar to Monopoly. In this frame, the girl, who is suggested to be Suji herself, is depicted larger than the boy. She appears very angry or aggressive as illustrated by her hair standing up, up-turned eyebrows, and contorted, open mouth.

In contrast, the boy is depicted humorously. The inside part of his eyelids are shown, which, in Korean culture, reflects that he is making fun of someone. His tongue is also sticking out and his hands are up in the air. The boy’s facial and bodily expressions are aimed at the girl, who is turned towards the boy, suggesting that her anger is the result of the boy. However, this frame does not identify who the boy is. This initial frame was the only one retraced in permanent ink.

Frame #2
Frames 2 through 4 depict the two characters playing *Blue Marble*. In the second frame, Suji and the boy play "rock, paper and scissors" to decide who plays first. Although the boy’s hand is shown, Suji is the main figure in this frame and is drawn in detail and almost fully. Her hair is blowing more violently than in the first frame. Her eyebrows are pointed downward and the size of her eye is large. The other eye and eyebrow are covered by her hair. Her teeth are clenched and her mouth open and contorted. Her stretched arm shows how strongly she wants to win the game. Behind Suji, wind is illustrated, representing her strong passion or the effort she is exerting in the game. A balloon with sharp edges (가위! (“scissors!”)) is next to Suji’s head, depicting her shouting.

**Frame #3**

Unlike Suji’s strong negative facial expression and shouting in the previous frame, the third frame depicts the boy relatively relaxed and confident, smiling with somewhat humorous eyes and mouth. In the second frame, the girl has her whole arm stretched towards the boy violently and she occupies two-thirds of the frame space. In this frame, however, the boy’s arm does not reach out towards her and he just occupies one-fourth of the frame. The Korean word, “바위! (Ba-wy!),” which means “rock,” is shouted and the word balloon is located closer to the girl, so it is assumed that Suji is stating this word. The image of wind is drawn between the two characters, smaller in size than in the previous frame, and appears to blow from the boy to the girl this time. If
this image represents the boy’s inner mind or his attitude toward the game, it appears less strongly than Suji’s.

Frame #4

In the final game of “rock, paper and scissors,” one or both of the characters shouts, “Paper.” In this frame, only the characters’ hands are seen. In images in the three previous frames, the right hand belonged to Suji and the left hand was the boy’s. However, the positions of the hands change in this frame. An arrow points to the right hand with the word “older brother” and an arrow points to the left hand with the word “me” besides it. These words indicate the owner of each hand as well as the relationship between the two characters. In this frame, Suji’s brother gets to start the game “Blue Marble.”

Frame #5

Suji’s brother throws two die on the board. He seems to concentrate on the game and not consider Suji’s words and behaviors. Although his two eyebrows are raised and his hair drawn differently than previously, he does not appear to feel any negative emotion. His head is slanted a bit to his right, representing his serious attitude towards the game. His mouth is depicted as a short horizontal line and a nose is absent. In the upper right-hand corner of the frame, Suji’s figure is drawn small in size and she angrily shouts, “Don’t pretend to be cool!” Her eyes and mouth are depicted as triangles. The two small circles beside her face may represent her fists.
Frame #6

It is Suji’s turn at the game. The playing piece and the board or table are depicted in 2-D. Suji is depicted fully, moving her piece on the board and saying, “Huk! I’m in an uninhabited island.” Two small circles indicating sweat appear on Suji’s head. Unlike the preceding frames, Suji is depicted as more gentle. Her eyebrows are turned downwards and her hair is not blowing. Her whole figure is depicted as an in oblique angle and her hands are portrayed in different sizes to represent them pointing in different directions.

Frame #7

Suji is getting ready to go to bed, where she appears in bed with a blanket. The word, “밤 (night),” appears in a small box. Suji’s face is drawn up close and occupies most of the frame. She looks sad because of her down-turned eyebrows, small open mouth, and hair that is not blowing. She says to herself, “Hooo~ finally… I lost the game…”

Frame #8

Suji is sleeping peacefully on her side on the floor of a room. She is depicted in the distance with her body covered by a blanket. The sign, “Z,” which represents “sleeping,” is drawn multiple times around her. The Korean word, “음냐 (Um-nya),” also appears twice. This is an onomatopoeic word and represents her state of deep sleep. Her face is drawn very simply using only two lines for eyes and one curved line, “ε,” for her
mouth. In this frame, the girl’s entire room is shown, but no details are included. This frame mainly emphasizes Suji sleeping in a full shot.

**Frame #9**

In this frame, Suji sits up after waking. The Korean word, “벌떡 (Bul-duck),” in a sharp curled balloon on the left side of her head indicates that she sat up quickly because she was surprised about something. She asks herself, “Where… where am I?” Her facial expression represents she is thinking about what happened and where she is. Her hair is depicted more calmly than what is seen in the first, second, and sixth frames. The two dots under her horizontal eyebrows may be her eyes. The symbol “<” in the middle of her face likely represents her nose. In most cases, the image of a nose is not helpful in determining what emotion the face is expressing. In this frame, however, two very short lines on the nose used for shading represent that Suji is in a somewhat serious or negative emotional state. Under her nose, a short line symbolizes a slightly down-turned mouth.

Although her emotion in this frame may be negative, it appears differently than what she displayed in previous frames. In preceding frames, Suji is seen as angry or aggressive with her sharp blowing hair, up-turned eyebrows, big and long eyes, contorted, open mouth, and absence of a nose. In this frame, in contrast, she appears more calm with hair drawn less sharply, eyebrows even, small and round eyes, an almost unrecognizable down-turned mouth, and a sharp nose that is shaded by lines.

The bold question mark in the balloon emphasizes the extent of her surprise, embarrassment, or uncertainty about being in an unfamiliar context. The sign “~~~☼”
appears under the question mark. What this sign implies is not clear, but from other information about Suji’s psychological state and her context, it is assumed that it represents her surprise or embarrassment about the uncertainty of her situation.

**Frame #10**

Suji sees her brother on board the ship and shouts with delight or surprise, “Uh! He is my brother! Brother~” Her happiness is strongly expressed by her exaggerated facial and bodily expressions. She appears to be running after him because her upper body is leaning in the direction of her brother, who is on the ship, and her left arm is stretched towards him and her right hand is in a fist. Suji’s figure is depicted in profile to her brother. Her eye is drawn with two small circles in it and is wide open. Her down-turned eyebrow is illustrated high on her forehead. She is drawn with no nose and her mouth is wide open. Five short lines are drawn on her cheek, making it appear flushed, which indicates that she is excited and delighted to see him.

**Frame #11**

Suji is depicted as having fallen down with the words “쿵 (Koong)” and “아이쿠 (A-E-Ku).” She is drawn with her back to the viewer and stretched out on the ground. Her brother is on board and does not know that his sister is down there. The question mark over his head, knitted eyebrows, and big dark eyes represent his uncertainty.
Frame #12

The scene in this frame looks like what Suji drew for her school-type drawing. She is depicted with her back to the viewer and standing on an earth-like space. In this drawing, however, Suji is expressing an emotion, holding her hands out and crying out, “Wait~” and “Brother~ please take me out.” The boy’s figure on board the ship is drawn very small using only three geometric shapes. He occupies only 1/20 of the space of this frame. In Suji’s school-type drawing, the boy, now assumed to be her brother in that drawing, was also depicted very small in size. Although it was difficult to recognize him in the school drawing, he was not on board the ship but was making fun of Suji. In the manwha drawing, he does not show any bad behavior towards her nor does he recognize her existence.

Frame #13

The front view of Suji is shown up close and she is drawn with a wide open mouth, waving one hand up and down and holding money in the other hand, crying and shouting, “Brother, I will give you… money…” Her waving hand is illustrated with multiple images of her hand and motion lines. Each of her eyes (> <) has a tear drop.

Frame #14

In the last frame, the words, “It was a dream,” are written in a box at the upper right-hand corner. Suji is in her room and showing surprise with the sound, “へ” (Huck).” She realizes she had a bad dream and says, “I’m… back…” She is holding her pillow instead of money and waving the other hand up and down. She is drawn with two small
dots as her eyes, a square-shaped mouth, and three small triangles representing sweat over her head.

Subject Matter: What Emotional Experience Was Selected by Suji?

In her school-type drawing, Suji represented her angry emotional experience as a dream. In addition, since her drawing did not provide enough clear information, it was difficult to understand the emotional context and several questions were raised related to her real intention of her drawing. In her manwha-type drawing, it is easier to detect the emotional experience depicted and that it was a negative emotion. She drew the same subject matter in both drawings, but it was more clearly understood to be related to a negative feeling in her manwha.

However, it is still not obvious if the emotional story expresses an angry experience or another type of negative emotion such as embarrassment, aggressiveness, or sadness. Although many negative emotions similar to anger are detected in Suji’s manwha, she expressed them relatively more directly than in her school-type drawing. That is, she interpreted the assigned drawing theme differently in her two types of drawings. Moreover, she used different expressive strategies in depicting the same drawing theme. Was this due to the distinction between the two types of drawing or were there other reasons?
Break Down of Visual Data into Themes, Clusters, and Categories

I transformed the visual data of Suji’s manwha into textual data by describing all of the visual signs depicted in her drawing. Themes and patterns from this data analysis are presented in Tables 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.
Table 10: Transforming Visual Texts in Suji’s Manhwa into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HUMAN CHARACTER(1): GIRL</th>
<th>CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>#1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The girl (Suji) looks angry (blowing hair with sharp ends; up-turned eyebrows; contorted, open mouth)</td>
<td>➢ Because of her obvious facial expression and clues from sharply depicted body parts, viewers are able to understand what she felt. ➢ The front facing figure helps people clearly read her facial expression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji’s figure is depicted facing the front.</td>
<td>Direct Emotional Expression (Anger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji is depicted larger than the boy.</td>
<td>➢ Viewers feel Suji is relatively close to them. (closer psychological distance between Suji and viewer than between the boy and viewer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To determine who plays first, Suji plays “rock, paper and scissors” with her brother.</td>
<td>Direct and Clear Information about Context—What Suji did at the time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji’s figure is depicted in detail but some of her body parts are not realistic. (one eye, no nose, unrealistic blowing hair)</td>
<td>➢ Suji the drawer knows how to draw a human figure well. Although she did not depict the female figure realistically, viewers understand who she is, what she is doing, and what emotion she is showing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji looks very aggressive. • Each body part expresses her emotional state directly or indirectly. (Her loud shouting; “scissors;” more violent blowing hair than the first frame; larger eye size; contorted, open mouth with clenched teeth; a forced, stretched arm with the sign ‘╬’ on her fist)</td>
<td>➢ It appears that Suji used many expressive strategies to either make viewers understand what she did and felt or to satisfy herself about this drawing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji’s figure is depicted as the main figure.</td>
<td>Direct Emotional Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Only Suji’s hand is depicted.</td>
<td>➢ Her figure takes up almost half of the frame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The word balloon takes up a lot of space and has sharp points. This can represent Suji’s sharp and loud voice. She is expressing how much she wants to play first.</td>
<td>➢ Although her figure is not shown in this frame, visual clues help viewers understand her emotional state indirectly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The large word balloon is drawn with sharp points, suggesting that Suji is using a very loud and sharp voice to express how much she wants to take the first turn in the board game.</td>
<td>Indirect Emotional expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#4</td>
<td>• Only Suji’s and her brother’s hands are illustrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#5</td>
<td>• Suji’s hand is drawn on the left-hand side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#5</td>
<td>• Suji’s figure is depicted small in size in the upper right corner of the frame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#5</td>
<td>• Suji displays a strong, angry facial expression (Two small triangles as eyes, a long reversed triangle as her mouth, two small circles besides her face as her fists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#5</td>
<td>• Suji’s verbal expression (“Don’t pretend to be cool.”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6</td>
<td>• Suji is depicted fully.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6</td>
<td>• Suji moves her piece on the board and says, “Huk! I’m in an uninhibited island.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6</td>
<td>• Unlike previous frames, Suji is depicted as a gentle girl: (1) mild facial expression: Embarrassment or surprise. strong angry emotion not depicted, (2) Her hair is not blowing anymore and has sharp ends, (3) Her eyebrows are pointed down, (4) Her whole figure is drawn in an oblique angle.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6</td>
<td>• Suji corrected lines which represented a game board.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6</td>
<td>• Suji’s two hands are depicted in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
different sizes and in different directions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>on the board) more realistically.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| #7 | Suji’s face is depicted as a full shot.  
   | Her whole body except her face is covered in a blanket. | Viewers see Suji’s facial expression very well.  
   | Viewers’ Attention to Suji |
|   | She is in bed. | Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context |
| #8 | She seems very sad (down-turned eyebrows, small mouth, hair not blowing). | As a drawer, Suji draws facial expressions with different emotions effectively.  
   | Direct Emotional Expression |
|   | She says, “Hooo~ finally… I lost the game.” | High Drawing Technique |
| #9 | Suji’s sleeping figure is depicted in the distance.  
   | Her whole body except her face is covered in a blanket. | Suji depicts diverse drawing scenes using different methods  
   | Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context |
|   | The sign, “Z,” is drawn multiple times (23) around Suji.  
   | The Korean word, “음냐 (um-nya),” is also drawn.  
   | Suji’s facial expression is depicted very simply using only two lines for her eyes and a curved line, “ε,” for her mouth. | Suji knows how to express a specific scene effectively using different signs.  
   | High Drawing Technique |
| #9 | Suji is awake and has quickly sat up.  
   | Suji asks herself, “Where…where am I?”  
   | The Korean word, “벌떡 (Bul-Duck),” appears in a sharply curled word balloon to the left of her head. | These signs represent that Suji sat up very quickly because she was surprised by something.  
   | This scene provides information about her being in an embarrassing situation.  
   | Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context |
| [Suji’s facial expression] | Two small dots are drawn under horizontal eyebrows as eyes.  
   | The symbol “ε” represents her nose.  
   | Two very short lines are depicted on the nose.  
   | Under her nose, a short line represents a slightly down-turned mouth. | Suji’s facial expression indicates she is thinking about what happened and why she is here.  
   | Viewers are able to understand she is embarrassed in this situation.  
<p>| In the previous frames, her nose was not helpful in detecting what emotion her face was expressing, but in this frame, the two short lines on her nose represents that |
|   |   | Direct Emotional Expression |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Emotional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#10</td>
<td>Suji sees the boy on board the ship and shouts with delight or surprise, “Uh! He is my brother! Brother~”&lt;br&gt;Her upper body is leaning towards him with her left arm stretched out and her right hand in a fist.</td>
<td>These two symbols represent Suji’s uncertainty about the situation. Direct Emotional Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suji’s figure is depicted in profile towards her brother.</td>
<td>In an embarrassing situation, she is relieved that she has found her brother. Suji seems to know how to effectively express appropriate bodily expressions for a specific emotional situation using diverse signs. Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context High Drawing Technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suji’s eye is wide open and two tiny circles are drawn in it.&lt;br&gt;Her down-turned eyebrow is placed high on her forehead.&lt;br&gt;No nose&lt;br&gt;Her mouth is wide open.&lt;br&gt;Five short lines are illustrated on her cheek.</td>
<td>It appears that Suji knows how to effectively express appropriate facial expression for a specific emotional situation using diverse signs. High Drawing Technique Direct Emotional Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#11</td>
<td>Suji has fallen down, saying, “아이쿠” (A-E-Koo).&lt;br&gt;Her figure is depicted with her back facing the viewers.&lt;br&gt;She is stretched out on the ground.</td>
<td>Suji runs after her brother, but falls down under the ship. Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The scene in this frame appears similar to Suji’s school-type drawing. However, in this drawing, Suji expresses herself actively through shouting and waving her fists at her brother.&lt;br&gt;Which drawing accurately describes her real dream?&lt;br&gt;She expressed her negative emotions such as embarrassment, sadness, fear, and anger.</td>
<td>Viewers’ Empathy with Suji Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context Direct Emotional Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#12</td>
<td>Suji’s figure is depicted from the back.&lt;br&gt;Her back is displayed up close.&lt;br&gt;She is shaking her fists at her brother and crying, “Wait~” “Brother, take me off with you.”</td>
<td>Viewers’ Attention to Suji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The scene in this frame appears similar to Suji’s school-type drawing. However, in this drawing, Suji expresses herself actively through shouting and waving her fists at her brother.&lt;br&gt;Which drawing accurately describes her real dream?&lt;br&gt;She expressed her negative emotions such as embarrassment, sadness, fear, and anger.</td>
<td>Viewers’ Empathy with Suji Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context Direct Emotional Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#13</td>
<td>Suji’s front view is seen up close.</td>
<td>Viewers’ Attention to Suji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She is crying, “Brother, I will give you… money…so” and is holding money in her right hand.</td>
<td>Suji expresses her sadness, embarrassment, and fear using facial, bodily, and verbal expressions. Direct Emotional Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She is waving her left hand up and down.&lt;br&gt;In order to depict this waved hand, Suji</td>
<td>Suji effectively expresses appropriate bodily expression for a specific emotional situation High Drawing Technique</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
drew five multiple images of a hand and motion lines. using diverse signs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>[Facial Expression]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>• A tear drop appears in each of her eyes (&gt; &lt;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Her mouth is wide open.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• No nose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Suji effectively expresses appropriate facial expression for a specific emotional situation using diverse signs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Drawing Technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#14</td>
<td>• Suji wake up and says, “Huck,” “I’m…back…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• She is holding to her pillow instead of money in her right hand and is waving her left hand up and down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Suji realizes she had a bad dream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ She feels surprised and then happiness when she realizes she has awoken from her bad dream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Facial Expression]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Suji’s eyes are depicted as two small dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Her square-shaped mouth is open.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• No nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Three small triangles are drawn over Suji’s head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Suji effectively expresses appropriate facial expression for a specific emotional situation using diverse signs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Drawing Technique</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 11: Transforming Visual Texts in Suji’s Manhwa into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HUMAN CHARACTER(2): BOY</th>
<th>CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>#1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Boy looks joyful and seems to be making fun of someone – maybe Suji (humorous eyes, showing the inside part of his eyelids using his fingers, tongue sticking out, two hands-up).</td>
<td>➢ Viewers may feel the boy is making fun of them since he is drawn facing them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Boy’s figure is facing the viewers.</td>
<td>➢ Direct Emotional Expression (Joy/Fun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Viewers’ Empathy with Suji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#2</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Only the boy’s fist is depicted. Its size is twice bigger than the girl’s.</td>
<td>➢ Since the boy’s figure is not shown, viewers can pay attention to the girl’s figure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Viewers may think the boy is very strong because of his large sized hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#3</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Boy’s figure seems very relaxed.</td>
<td>➢ From his mild facial and body expressions, it is clear that, at least at this moment, he is not stimulating Suji’s negative emotions shown in previous frames.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• He is smiling with rounded and somewhat humorous eyes.</td>
<td>Emotional Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• His arm is not reaching out aggressively to the girl.</td>
<td>Viewers’ Attention to Suji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#5</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Boy is depicted as a full shot.</td>
<td>➢ This boy does not directly express any specific emotion. What do viewers expect in looking at this full shot of the boy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viewers’ Attention to Suji’s brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Boy is throwing two die on the board.</td>
<td>➢ In fact, in this frame, Suji’s brother does not seem to be stimulating her emotion negatively. According to information provided from Suji’s manhwa, she felt negative emotions because her situation was not expected (e.g. She wanted to win at “rock, paper, scissors” to play the board game first, but she lost.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• He is concentrating on the game and not considering Suji’s words and behaviors.</td>
<td>Direct (Clear) Information about Emotional Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Facial Expression]</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• His eyebrows are pointed upwards.</td>
<td>➢ From his facial expression only, it is difficult to clearly detect what emotion or thought he has.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• His hair is sharp and differs from previous figures.</td>
<td>Because of his up-turned eyebrows, he might be in a somewhat negative emotional state, but it is not known for sure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• His head leans to his right.</td>
<td>➢ Suji’s words, “Don’t pretend to be cool,” make viewers think that, although not described well here, the boy might have behaved badly towards Suji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• No nose</td>
<td>Indirect Emotional Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• His mouth is represented by a short horizontal line.</td>
<td>Viewers’ Confusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUMAN CHARACTER(2): BOY</td>
<td>CODE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6 #7 #8 #9</td>
<td>• Boy’s figure not found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Since this emotional event was narrated by Suji, viewers understand her emotional situation from her viewpoint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#10</td>
<td>• Boy is depicted as a small figure at the top of the frame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ The size difference between Suji and her brother represents the distance between them. Her brother appears far from Suji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• His upper body is drawn as an oblique line.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• He is holding something (Oblique line would be a part of it.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ It is not clearly depicted where her brother is. However, viewers are not confused long because the following frame shows the line represents a ship. In this frame, Suji meeting her brother is the more important issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• His two eyebrows are drawn horizontally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Two little dots depict his eyes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• No nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ According to his facial expression, the boy does not know Suji is trying to get his attention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ The boy has a similar facial expression from the previous frame. Suji may use this facial expression when characters do not understand what has happened to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• A triangle (▽) represents his mouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The sign, “~~~☼,” is seen on his forehead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ It cannot be determined if Suji’s brother heard her calling him or not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ The sign, “~~~☼,” represents the boy’s uncertainty about the situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#11</td>
<td>• The boy’s figure on board is depicted clearly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The boy’s brows are knitted in thought and his eyes are larger and darker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• A question mark in a word balloon appears over his head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ This frame provides information to explain an uncertain aspect of the previous frame. Suji’s brother is on board a big ship so he does not know she is there in the same space with him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#12</td>
<td>• The boy’s figure is depicted small and simply with only three geometric shapes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• His figure occupies only 1/20 of the frame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ It seems unreal that the ship Suji’s brother is on flew into the sky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ This scene is very similar to Suji’s school drawing. In this drawing, however, Suji’s brother does not show any bad behavior to make her angry and does not recognize her existence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#13 #14</td>
<td>- The boy’s figure is not present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 12:** Transforming Visual Texts in Suji’s Manhwa into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#1</th>
<th><strong>OBJECTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>CODE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Only two human figures appear. No objects.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#2</th>
<th><strong>OBJECTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>CODE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• An image of wind behind the girl.</td>
<td>➢ Since the wind is depicted behind the girl, it can be assumed that Suji did not depict a real cloud. This image might express Suji’s emotional status (anger or aggressiveness) or the fast movement in stretching her arm forward.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#3</th>
<th><strong>OBJECTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>CODE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|    | • Image of wind from behind the boy  
    • The size of this image is smaller than in the previous frame. | ➢ The wind is depicted as coming from the boy, so it is likely not a real cloud. This image might express his emotional status (anger or aggressiveness) or his arm movement. | Indirect Emotional Expression |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#4</th>
<th><strong>OBJECTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>CODE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Only two human figures shown. No objects.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#5</th>
<th><strong>OBJECTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>CODE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|    | • a table (2-D)  
    • two die (3-D) | ➢ Although the table is depicted simply in 2-D, the two die are drawn in 3-D. It is not difficult to recognize the two lines as a table. However, if the die were not depicted in 3-D, viewers would be confused as to what he is doing. | Mixed Drawing Techniques (2-D and 3-D)  
    Signs of direct information about the context |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#6</th>
<th><strong>OBJECTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>CODE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|    | • One playing piece (2-D)  
    • One table (2-D) | ➢ In this frame, although all objects are shown in 2-D, they are recognized as a playing piece and a table. Suji has advanced drawing skills, but she did not try to represent all objects in 3-D. | Mixed Drawing Techniques (2-D and 3-D)  
    Signs of direct information about the context |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#7</th>
<th><strong>OBJECTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>CODE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|    | • A pillow (3-D)  
    • A blanket (2-D or 3-D?) | ➢ This frame is the first scene after a change in time and space (day to night and playing space to bedroom). Therefore, it is important to make viewers understand these changes by recognizing the pillow and blanket.  
    ➢ Suji’s face and a part of her upper body are depicted up close, where all parts of her face are portrayed in detail. Therefore, the pillow under her head and the blanket covering her body may need to be depicted in detail. | Mixed Drawing Techniques (2-D and 3-D)  
    Signs of direct information about the context |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECTS</th>
<th>CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#8 A pillow (simple 3-D) • A blanket simply depicted as a square (2-D)</td>
<td>Suji’s whole body is captured as a long and full shot in this frame. Therefore, her facial expression and all objects are depicted using simple lines and geometric shapes. However, this scene appears in a 3-D space. Mixed Drawing Techniques (2-D and 3-D) Signs of direct information about the context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#9 A pillow (2-D) • A blanket (2-D)</td>
<td>Although Suji’s pillow and blanket are depicted using simple geometric shapes, viewers have no problem identifying what they are. Mixed Drawing Techniques Signs of direct information about the context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#10 A ship (only one oblique line, 1-D)</td>
<td>Since Suji finding her brother is a more important event than her brother boarding the ship, the image of the ship was not depicted in detail. Mixed Drawing Techniques Signs of direct information about the context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#11 A ship is depicted using only one simple geometric shape in 2-D.</td>
<td>Although the boy’s figure and the ship are not depicted in 3-D, viewers have no problem identifying them. Mixed Drawing Techniques Signs of direct information about the context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#12 Three dollar bills (2-D)</td>
<td>Because of the dollar signs on these three rectangles, viewers understand what Suji is holding in her hand. Signs of direct information about the context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#13 A pillow (2-D) • A blanket (2-D)</td>
<td>Since the same images are used in Frame 9, it is recognizable that Suji is holding her pillow instead of dollar bills and that she is covered in a blanket. These objects show change in time and space. Mixed Drawing Techniques Signs of direct information about the context</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13: Transforming Visual Texts in Suji’s Manhwa into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SETTING (SPACE)</th>
<th>CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>#1</strong></td>
<td>• Title, “I will win the game, Blue Marble”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Suji is playing a board game with her brother at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#2</strong></td>
<td>• No specific signs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#3</strong></td>
<td>➢ Since Suji is playing the game with her brother, it is easily assumed they are at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#4</strong></td>
<td>➢ This makes it clear that they are at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#5</strong></td>
<td>• A table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#6</strong></td>
<td>➢ Suji’s bedroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#7</strong></td>
<td>• A pillow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#8</strong></td>
<td>• A blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#9</strong></td>
<td>➢ According to the previous frame, this space should be Suji’s bedroom, but why is a ship shown?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#10</strong></td>
<td>• A vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#11</strong></td>
<td>➢ Viewers may be confused what happened or suspect this situation is Suji’s dream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#12</strong></td>
<td>• The lower part where Suji stands is depicted as a big round earth-like shape with three continent-like images and a grid pattern.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Viewers may suspect this situation is not real, but they are still confused.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#13</strong></td>
<td>• No specific signs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Viewers confusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>#14</strong></td>
<td>• A pillow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• A blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Suji may be back home from her dream.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 14: Transforming Visual Texts in Suji’s Manwha into Written Texts and Identifying Themes (5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OTHER SIGNS</th>
<th>CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **#1** • Suji drew this first frame with a pencil and then re-drew the images with a ballpoint pen. | ➢ What is different between the pencil and ballpoint pen drawings? Pencil drawings can be corrected using an eraser but ballpoint pen drawings are permanent, making it difficult to change the drawing. This shows Suji’s competence in drawing manwha. It may also mean that she did not worry about the need for corrections.  
Suji’s competence in drawing manwha  
Self-centered decision for visual expression |
| **#2** • A word balloon with sharp edges represents Suji shouting, “Scissors!,” “Rock!” and “Paper”  
**#3**  
**#4** • The word “me” is written by the left hand with an arrow pointing to it.  
• The word “brother” is written by the right hand with an arrow pointing to it. | ➢ Suji is loudly expressive as seen in the words and their size in the word balloon when playing a game to decide who starts the game.  
➢ Her emotional state is expressed verbally, facially and bodily.  
Direct Emotional Expression  
Manwha Drawing Techniques |
| **#4** • The word “me” is written by the left hand with an arrow pointing to it.  
• The word “brother” is written by the right hand with an arrow pointing to it. | ➢ This word balloon represents Suji’s disappointment in losing the game.  
➢ Suji identifies each hand for viewers.  
Manwha Drawing Techniques  
Direct information about the context |
| **#5** • The words “brother’s turn” appear in the upper left corner with an arrow | ➢ Suji tries to clearly explain the context with words.  
Direct information about the context |
| **#6** • The words “my turn” appear in the upper left hand corner with an arrow  
• Images of tears on Suji’s head | ➢ Suji tries to clearly explain the context with words.  
➢ These tears represent Suji’s disappointment or embarrassment because she confronted an unexpected situation.  
Direct information about the context  
Manwha Drawing Techniques |
| **#7** • The word “night” appears in the upper left corner | ➢ Suji tries to clearly explain the context with words.  
Direct information about the context |
| **#8** • Multiple images of “Z”  
• Korean word “음냐 (Um-Nya)” | ➢ Suji tries to explain the context with signs and words.  
Direct information about the context |
### OTHER SIGNS | CODE
---|---
#9 | • Different types of word balloon  
• A bold question mark in a word balloon.  
• The sign, “~~~☼,” is drawn under the bold question mark.  

- A bold question mark and the sign, “~~~☼,” represent Suji’s uncertainty about the situation.  
- Direct information about the context  
- Manwha Drawing Techniques

#10 | • The sign, “~~~☼,” is drawn in front of his forehead.  

- The sign, “~~~☼,” represents the boy’s uncertainty about the situation.  
- Direct Emotional Expression  
- Manwha Drawing Techniques

#12 | • Two motion lines after the ship  

- These motion lines represent a vivid situation and may emphasize Suji’s ardent passion.  
- Manwha Drawing Techniques  
- Indirect Emotional Expression

#13 | • Representation of Suji’s moving arm  

- Using multiple images and motion lines, Suji effectively represents her vigorous movement.  
- It could also emphasize the degree of her emotional state.  
- Manwha Drawing Techniques  
- Indirect Emotional Expression

#14 | • The words “It was a dream,” appear in the upper right-hand corner  

- Suji tries to clearly explain the context with words.  
- Direct information about the context

The complex and multiple layered meaning and function of Suji’s manwha-type drawing about her angry experience in school as shown in Table 10 through Table 14 can be categorized into four categories: (1) Viewers’ empathy with and attention to Suji; (2) Direct emotional expression; (3) Direct and clear information about emotional context; and (4) Good drawing techniques.

**Viewers’ Empathy with and Attention to Suji**
In her manwha and school drawings, Suji drew her back facing the viewers so that we are looking at the emotional situation from her perspective (viewers’ empathy with Suji). However, in her manwha drawing, her figure is drawn in close-up either in full front-facing view or largely so (Frames 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 and 14), suggesting that she wanted viewers to pay close attention to her facial expressions and clearly understand her emotional state.

**Direct Emotional Expression**

In her school-type drawing, Suji expressed her anger indirectly by using abstract symbols that can be interpreted in many ways. Since facial, bodily, and verbal expressions were not clearly depicted, viewers are only able to detect her angry emotional state based on contextual information (e.g. the boy appeared to be making fun of her, which made Suji feel bad or angry). In contrast, in her manwha, Suji’s negative emotions including anger were expressed in diverse ways, both directly and indirectly. In fact, Suji expressed several emotions in her manwha, such as anger or aggressiveness (Frames 1 through 5), sadness (Frames 7, 12, 13), embarrassment (Frames 6, 9), delight (Frame 10), disappointment (Frames 4, 12), surprise (Frame 14), pain (Frame 11), and other emotions. To clearly express a specific emotion, she used facial, bodily, and verbal expressions, as well as other signs appropriately. For example, in Frame 3, it is easily recognized that she is expressing her anger with a strong facial expression, a bodily expression of a stretched arm, shouting, and abstract symbols (.relu, +, and a cloud). Although indirect emotional expressions are found in a few frames, Suji’s emotional state was easily understood because of clear information from the emotional context.
Direct and Clear Information about Emotional Context: Viewers Clear Understanding of Emotional Context

Although Suji’s manwha did not reveal many details in each frame like her school drawing, her emotional situation is understood clearly and easily:

One day, Suji and her brother were about to play a board game, *Blue Marble*. In order to begin the game, they played “rock, scissors, and paper” as a pre-game. Suji really wanted to win this pre-game (Frames 1, 2) so her attitude toward this game seemed aggressive. Suji, however, lost, so her brother began the board game first (Frames 3, 4 and 5). Since her brother did well, Suji was jealous and felt angry (Frame 5). On Suji’s turn, she was unfortunately stuck on an inhibited island and, because of this decisive mistake; she lost and this made her sad. In bed at night, she kept thinking about the result of the game and finally fell asleep. When she got up, she was very confused and embarrassed with where she was. While she tried to figure out what had happened to her, she found her brother on board a ship. She ran and called after him to get his attention, but her brother did not recognize where the sound was coming from and Suji fell under the ship. Although Suji shouted loudly and offered him money, he flew into the sky without noticing her. She was sad, disappointed, and somewhat afraid of the situation so she cried. However, this whole situation was a nightmare. She was relieved after realizing it was only a dream.

In Suji’s manwha, there are some scenes where viewers may have been confused, but Suji used several strategies, such as visual images, words, and signs for clarification. These diverse forms of signs enabled viewers to follow the flow of her narrative.

As with her school drawing, I rated the degree and clarity of viewers’ understanding of the angry emotional experience depicted in the manwha drawing using a six-point rating scale (refer to Table 9 above). Because Suji’s emotional situation in her manwha changed in the type, degree, intensity, and duration of emotions throughout the 14 frames of her manwha, each frame was interpreted and rated separately instead of as a whole in order to comprehend how the main character’s anger was related to specific situations.
and emotions and the nature of the angry emotional experience as depicted in her
manwha (Table 15).

**Table 15: Visual Analysis of the Degree and Clarity of Depicted Emotional States in Suji’s Manwha**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Emotion</th>
<th>Visual Evidence</th>
<th>Scale (Anger)</th>
<th>Scale (Other emotions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial expression&lt;br&gt;② Boy’s facial &amp; bodily expressions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Anger or Aggressiveness</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial &amp; bodily expressions&lt;br&gt;② Sign: ¦&lt;br&gt;③ Sign: Wind&lt;br&gt;④ Verbal expression: high and sharp tone&lt;br&gt;⑤ Sign: !</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aggressiveness</td>
<td>① Verbal expression: high and sharp tone&lt;br&gt;② Sign: !</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Disappointment or Anger</td>
<td>① Situation: Girl loses game of “rock, paper, and scissors.”&lt;br&gt;② Sign in balloon: ……?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Anger or Jealousy</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial &amp; bodily expressions&lt;br&gt;② Verbal expression: “Don’t pretend to be cool!”&lt;br&gt;→ High and sharp tone</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Disappointment or Distress</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial &amp; bodily expressions&lt;br&gt;② Sign: sweat&lt;br&gt;③ Verbal expression: “Huck! I’m stuck in an uninhibited island.”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sadness or Regret</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial expression&lt;br&gt;② Verbal expression</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Calmness</td>
<td>① Signs: Sleeping Sounds and words (Z)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Surprise or embarrassment</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial expression&lt;br&gt;② Verbal expression&lt;br&gt;③ Signs: ？ ～～☀</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Happiness or delight</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial expression &amp; bodily expression&lt;br&gt;② Verbal Expression&lt;br&gt;③ Sign: a deep blush on girl’s face (/////)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pain</td>
<td>① Girl’s bodily expression&lt;br&gt;② Verbal expression</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sadness or Anger</td>
<td>① Situation&lt;br&gt;② Verbal expression&lt;br&gt;③ Girl’s bodily expression</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sadness or Anger</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial &amp; bodily expression&lt;br&gt;② Verbal expression&lt;br&gt;③ Sign: tears</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Embarrassment or Relief</td>
<td>① Girl’s facial &amp; bodily expression&lt;br&gt;② Verbal expression&lt;br&gt;③ Sign: sweat in the air</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Suji’s manwha drawing, she depicted her angry emotional experience strongly and clearly, especially in the beginning frames. Although signs to help viewers understand her anger were not used in all of the frames, they successfully informed viewers about why she felt anger and the degree of her anger. In three frames (Frames 1, 2, and 5) Suji’s anger is rated highly as a 4 or 5. In her school-type drawing, Suji’s anger was rated only as a 2. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that Suji depicted her angry emotional experience more clearly in her manwha drawing than in her school-type drawing.

In addition, Suji’s angry emotional situation was depicted as more complex in her manwha than in her school drawing. In her manwha, Suji showed how her anger was elicited and how it changed in degree, intensity, and type depending on the context of time and space. In fact, she did not display anger at the beginning (Frames, 2, 3, and 4), but rather aggressiveness in her desire to win. She held out hope of winning the game “rock, paper, scissors” and expressed her anger by her facial expression and tone of voice (Frame 5). When she realized that she would not win, her anger turned into disappointment and sadness. Her emotions from this experience remained as she went to bed and were the reason she had a nightmare. In her dream, she experienced other types of emotion such as embarrassment, happiness or delight, pain, relief and sadness.

What does Suji’s manwha-type drawing about her angry experience tell us? The expression of anger is just a small part of an angry emotional situation. Before expressing anger, there is a causal situation. After expressing anger, a connected emotional situation follows. In order to comprehend one’s angry emotional experience, many other emotions are elicited, regulated, and expressed before and after its expression. Suji’s manwha used
more frames to depict these other connected emotional situations, which allowed her to successfully describe what happened to her and why she felt angry.

**Good Drawing Techniques.**

Analysis of Suji’s manwha-type drawing reveals that she is good at many types of drawing techniques.

1) Suji knew how to effectively depict different poses of a human figure. In her manwha-type drawing, she did not depict all of the characters realistically; some body parts were missing or ignored. However, she was able to express different characteristics of each human figure well. For example, in Frame 6, although Suji ignored some details such as illustrating all five fingers, both of her hands were depicted in different sizes and directions, more vividly depicting her playing the board game. Moreover, the same character was depicted in different angles such as front-facing, in profile, back view, full shot, and close-up.

2) Suji knew how to depict different facial expressions using various expressive strategies. To express different facial emotions, she not only changed the direction, size, and shape of the eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, and hair, but also added symbols (abstract images and words) used in comic art.

3) Suji drew more images of human figures and symbols in her manwha-type drawing than in her school-type drawing as displayed in Table 16.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Images of human characters</th>
<th>Images in Suji’s Manwha-Type Drawing</th>
<th>Images in Suji’s School-Type Drawing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="School-Type Images" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Manwha-Type Images" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Comparison Images Used in Suji’s School-Type Drawing and her Manwha-Type Drawing
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Images of objects</th>
<th>Images of signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4) Suji knew how to depict the relationship between objects, including human figures and space. Depending on the distance, she changed the size of the objects so viewers would understand the emotional context better.

5) Suji knew how to depict objects in 2-D and 3-D, but in her manwha, she used these techniques selectively while in her school-type drawing, she tried to depict all of the objects in 3-D. For example, in Frame 5 of her manwha, the two die are drawn in 3-D but the playing board is not, but there is no difficulty in recognizing the two lines represent the playing board. However, if the die were not depicted in 3-D, viewers would be confused as to what the boy is doing. Similarly, in Frame 7, Suji’s pillow is drawn in 3-D, but not in Frames 8, 9, and 14 because viewers already know what it is.

6) Suji is confident in her drawing skills. In her manwha drawing, no corrections were found, such as erasing and re-drawing images. In fact, she used a permanent ballpoint pen.

In summary, Suji appears to have mastered many drawing techniques, not only traditional ones, but also comic techniques, and used them selectively.

**Summary: Questions about Suji’s drawings about angry experience**

In this chapter, I described in detail all the visual signs Suji drew in her two types of drawings. Next, I analyzed each drawing to discover expressive patterns used in each. Although school-type and manwha-type drawings are naturally different to begin with,
there were additional differences that were noticed when the drawing them was related to an emotion. Table 17 outlines the differences seen in Suji’s two types of drawings of an angry experience.

Table 17: Comparison of Expressive Strategies Used in Suji’s School-Type Drawing and her Manwha-Type Drawing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School-type drawing</th>
<th>Manwha-type drawing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Viewers’ Empathy with Suji</strong></td>
<td><strong>Viewers’ Empathy with Suji was More Actively Induced and Induced Viewers’ Attention to Suji</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suji’s figure was not depicted facing the viewer and therefore appeared to be looking at her emotional experience as a viewer/observer. In the viewers’ gaze is a boy who is gesturing rudely. If viewers are able to detect his action (he is depicted rather small), they would feel sympathy for Suji.</td>
<td>Suji depicts her back so that viewers are looking at the drawing from her perspective and induces them to actively attend to her everyday decisions. Viewers understand this emotional situation from Suji’s standpoint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect and unclear information about emotional context</strong></td>
<td><strong>Direct and clear information about emotional context</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not many clues are provided to allow viewers to clearly understand what happened to her and why she felt angry.</td>
<td>Suji depicted her complex angry emotional situation using many visual and non-visual clues, which made viewers pay attention. Therefore, viewers very clearly understand what happened to her and why she felt angry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect emotional expression</strong></td>
<td><strong>Direct emotional expression</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suji’s facial, verbal, and bodily expressions are not expressed or are not clearly expressed.</td>
<td>Suji’s facial, verbal, and bodily expressions are directly expressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Good drawing techniques</strong></td>
<td><strong>Good drawing techniques</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suji attempted to depict almost all of her objects in her school-type drawing in detail and in 3-D. However, despite these drawing techniques, many questions remain about the relationship among the characters, objects, and space.</td>
<td>Suji used many types of drawing techniques selectively in her scenes and her expressive decision was very effective in making viewers understand her emotional experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It appeared that Suji paid more attention to the depiction of objects than human characters.</td>
<td>Suji drew more human characters and depicted fewer objects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Patterns of expressive strategies in Suji’s drawings were identified through analysis of her two drawings, but questions remain as to an explanation of why they were selected and used in her drawings. Thus, the following two chapters analyze her drawings with contextual information to describe her socialization process of emotional expression and her art experience.
Chapter 5

A SECOND LOOK: THE SOCIALIZATION OF ANGRY EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION IN KOREA

[It is important for qualitative researchers to explore their data from a variety of perspectives, or at least be able to make informed decisions about the analytic strategy adopted for a particular project. (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 4)

In this chapter, the process and results of a second analysis of Suji’s drawings will be introduced. In the previous chapter, I attempted to analyze Suji’s two types of drawings about her angry school experience independent of any other information. However, many questions about the different expressive strategies used in her two drawings remained after this initial analysis, such as, why did Suji draw the same assigned theme in two types of drawings as she did? To answer this question more fully, and read between the visual and non-visual signs in her drawings, contextual information is needed in addition to information I gained from the drawings themselves.

This study, in fact, was designed to explore how even non-visual culture can influence children’s expressive decisions. For example, I questioned if the emotional culture children experience in their everyday lives influences their depiction of an emotional-related theme. Therefore, to understand the cultural influence on Suji’s drawings about an emotional theme, I investigated Korean children’s real emotional experiences in their everyday lives through observations and interviews and looked at Suji’s drawings again with this information to answer the remaining questions raised from my initial analysis of her drawings.
To comprehend how Suji’s negative emotions were expressed and why they were expressed in that way, I explored what display rules for expressing anger are socially and culturally expected in the Korean context and how Suji learned them by observing her repeatedly in everyday interactions with others and interviewing Suji herself, her teachers, friends, and parents. Therefore, this chapter consists of five subparts: Suji’s emotional experience at school, her emotional experience at home, brief information about Suji, her understanding of the meaning and function of expressing anger (how her angry emotional experience was socialized in the Korean cultural context), and a second analysis of Suji’s two drawings about her angry emotional experience in school.

**Emotional Culture in Suji’s Classroom**

For anyone who has spent time in a classroom, it is clear: the classroom is an emotional place! (Schutz, Cross, Hong, & Osbon, 2007, p. 223)

What angry emotional situations do students have in the classroom? How do they express their anger in the classroom? Is it directly or indirectly expressed with others’ help? What do they expect to gain and lose after expressing their anger in the classroom? How do their classroom emotional experiences influence their decision of expressing their anger?

Rogoff (2003) argues that identifying regularities in a specific culture can provide significant information to understand children and their behaviors. These regularities can be found in everyday repeated social practices, which reflect a specific social value system or a cultural pattern. Therefore, by identifying everyday repeated practices related to children’s negative emotional expressions, especially anger, in Suji’s classroom, I
attempted to determine what specific emotional culture she and her friends learned and internalized and how their emotional expressions are socialized depending on their understanding of this specific emotional culture.

Everyday practices in the classroom are planned and managed by the homeroom teacher; therefore, the teacher’s beliefs or expectations about children’s negative emotional expression are reflected in these classroom practices. To understand the emotional culture in Suji’s classroom, I will first provide brief information about Suji’s homeroom teacher, Ms. Lee, and her classroom context. Next, I will describe the emotional interactions Suji had in this classroom. Lastly, I will attempt to determine what emotional culture exists in Suji’s class and how students learned and internalized it.

Suji’s Homeroom Teacher, Ms. Lee

Ms. Lee is an experienced elementary school teacher who has been teaching for the past eight years. In chronological order, she has taught 1st grade, followed by 6th grade, 2nd grade, 5th grade, 3rd grade, 6th grade, and 1st grade. When I observed her class, she was teaching 6th graders at Hangook Elementary School. Interestingly, she was teaching older children following a year of teaching a younger grade. She explained this pattern of teaching saying that it is much easier to control older children than younger ones and that older children understand what she wants more quickly.

For Ms. Lee, the most difficult aspect of teaching older children is the preparation of several classes each day. Also, the difficult and large amount of content in each class requires that her students always pay attention to her. Therefore, she strictly disciplines
them to prevent interruptions in her class because even a small interruption would delay her teaching, which would result in taking time to make up.

In the first years of her teaching, Ms. Lee was enthusiastic about new teaching methods and interesting classroom activities, but her enthusiasm quickly waned. Her more experienced colleagues warned her to experiment carefully with new methods because, in Korea, if any physical accident happens in the classroom, the homeroom teacher is the one who is morally as well as financially responsible. After observing other teachers’ bad incidents in her school and herself experiencing a serious situation with her 6th grade class in 2002, she became fearful. That year, Ms. Lee had two problematic students. One boy was very aggressive and always filled with anger. Unable to control his anger, the boy started fights with the other children, especially when Ms. Lee left the classroom. She tried to talk to him several times, but every effort was useless. One day, when she was meeting with other teachers during recess, the boy broke a glass bottle and threatened another boy with one of the broken pieces. Fortunately, no one was hurt, but the memory made her nervous for a long time.

The other troublemaker was a female student who organized a group of girls and bullied others. These bullying incidents occurred when Ms. Lee was out of the classroom or during recess. As a result, she started to discipline her students so strictly that she did not allow them to move even at recess and closely monitored her students’ interactions to prevent emotional and physical conflicts in the classroom.
Ms. Lee’s Classroom

There were 35 children (16 girls, 19 boys) in Ms. Lee’s classroom. She taught Korean, math, Korean history, physical education, music, ethics, and a practical course and also managed extracurricular activities without an assistant teacher. Teachers for art, science, and English visited her classroom and taught their respective subject areas. Another teacher also came to teach a movie making class, at Ms. Lee’s discretion. However, Ms. Lee was responsible for managing all of her students in all of the classes, including extra classes and breaks; thus, it was nearly impossible for her to find time to talk to each child individually about his or her difficulties.

Ms. Lee’s students attended 33 classes from Monday through Saturday. The classroom schedule was as follows:

8:00-8:20  Arrival/Table time
8:30-8:40  Reading time
8:40-9:20  Class
9:20-9:30  Break
9:30-10:10 Class
10:10-10:20 Break
10:20-11:00 Class
11:00-11:10 Break
11:10-11:50 Class
11:50-12:00 Break
12:00-12:40 Class
12:40-1:20 Lunch
1:20-2:00 Class
2:00- Cleaning time and punishment time
**Daily Routine in Ms. Lee’s Classroom**

At 8:10 a.m., Ms. Lee arrives in the classroom. Two girls and one boy greet her with “Good morning, teacher!” Ms. Lee nods curtly to them and sternly asks, “Why did you come to school early? I told you that you should not come to school early!” The three students lower their heads. In order to prevent mishaps while she is not in the classroom, Ms. Lee requests that her students not come to school before 8:30 a.m. However, the entrance of the school is always open and students know the combination of the classroom lock. Therefore, if students want to enter the classroom before Ms. Lee, they are able. Regardless of Ms. Lee’s warning, some children come early because their parents drop them off before heading to work.

Ms. Lee writes the schedule of the day on the whiteboard. Although the timetable is decided at the beginning of semester, announced to students, and displayed on a classroom wall, Ms. Lee always changes the order of the classes or subjects. She announces the schedule every morning through a written message on the whiteboard. On the board, the following message is written: “May 30, Tuesday. (1) Prepare all textbooks for today’s classes. Korean, Korean History, English, Science, Physical Education (2) Read books quietly.” Later, she writes other messages on the board, such as, “Put your homework and journal on the front table. Check whether your name is on your notes or not! Kungman, Hyunsik, Jongyeoun, Junghhee, and Hyunjung, bring your report about student’s self-learning activities.” After writing these messages, Ms. Lee returns to her desk and prepares to teach.

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(* Classes which Ms. Lee teaches)
While Ms. Lee is writing on the board, more children enter the classroom and bow politely to Ms. Lee. The children read the messages on the board and follow their teacher’s order. Some students open their backpacks and take their textbooks out and others go to their private cabinets quietly and bring their textbooks back to their desk. The leaders of each small group stand up and collect their group members’ homework and journals and place them on Ms. Lee’s desk. After arranging their textbooks and submitting homework, the students start reading their books very quietly. At 8:32 a.m., when most have finished their morning work, the front door opens and Hyunjung enters the classroom and, without any words, she automatically stays standing by the door. At 8:42 a.m. when Ms. Lee starts teaching, the door opens again and Namsu enters with his head down. “Back to your seats and stay behind after class!” shouts Ms. Lee to Hyunjung and Namsu, writing their names on the board. They bow to Ms. Lee politely and go to their seats. Ms. Lee starts her class with a strict face and a low tone of voice.

(From 8:20 a.m. to 8:50 a.m., May 30, 2006)

Characteristics of Everyday Routines in Ms. Lee’s Classroom

Characteristics of everyday routines in Ms. Lee’s classroom were found from the classroom observations. In everyday interactions, although Ms. Lee did not state specific rules to her students directly, they seemed to already know what she wanted and behaved as if they understood her. What was characteristic about the everyday routines in Ms. Lee’s classroom? How did these characteristics influence her students’ angry emotional expressions? What did these characteristics reflect socio-culturally in relation to their socialization of angry emotional expression? In my analysis of three months of observations, I found three characteristic themes in the everyday routines in Ms. Lee’s classroom related to students’ possible learning of socio-culturally expected display rules for expressing anger.

Highly teacher-centered classroom based on Ms. Lee’s powerful authority
Ms. Lee exerted powerful authority so any irreverent behaviors which could impair her authority were strongly prohibited. Common in school environments in Confucian heritage societies, Ms. Lee’s class was strictly authoritarian and teacher-centered, and rigorous and strict discipline were used (Ho, 1994). In her class, students were punished daily for a variety of reasons. Whenever they made noise in the classroom, left their desks, used bad language, or did not complete their homework, punishment was prompt. The type of punishment most frequently used was “time-out,” where students stood in front of the classroom with their hands held up. Sometimes, Ms. Lee hit the students’ heads with her hands and pinched their cheeks. The harshest punishment that students were most afraid of was “Yundan.” On a small white board, there was always a shape of heart drawn by Ms. Lee. If she considered the classroom’s behavior to be very bad, she would write the names of the students inside the heart, which meant that they had to stay after class and receive “Yundan.”

On my first day of observations, I sensed the students’ fear of “Yundan.” For the first two months, however, this type of punishment did not occur. According to the students, Ms. Lee would typically administer “Yundan” at least three or four times a week, but she hesitated to use it while I was in the classroom. I finally had a chance to observe what this punishment was like. On this particular day, Ms. Lee was very angry because many students did not complete their homework, so she had them stay after class. First, she ordered the students to move the desks and chairs to the back of classroom to make an open space. Then, Ms. Lee shouted, “Pose for Yundan” and the students automatically moved into position with their feet apart, bent knees and arms stretched out front. They would have to keep this position for an extended period of time. After five
minutes, the students started to moan and after 20 minutes, most of them were crying, their bodies shaking and sweating. Since this type of punishment was used frequently by Ms. Lee, her students strived to pay attention to her and do what she expected in order to satisfy her.

Before I came into the classroom, Ms. Lee disciplined her students using many forms of punishment in order to retain her authority. However, she was reluctant to use such extreme types of punishment when I was around, but had no other alternative ways to discipline her students. As a result, the relationship between the two of us became uncomfortable over time.

Ms. Lee’s students became very passive because of the authority she exerted through harsh punishment. They learned that everything in the classroom was decided by her. For example, the classroom schedule always changed to accommodate Ms. Lee and no student ever complained.

Ms. Lee suddenly stops teaching science and requests her students to open their textbook for math.
Jaeyoung: Will we learn math now?
Ms. Lee: Why not?

(12:20 p.m., May 10, 2006)

Ms. Lee starts teaching Korean history.
Children: We don’t have Korean history class today!
Ms. Lee: Don’t you remember that you may learn Korean history everyday!
Students: Um… (They make the hum of conversation with embarrassment.)

(8:45 a.m., May 17, 2006)

Students understood that all decisions in the classroom were made by Ms. Lee, so even though they were the oldest in the school, they constantly asked questions
throughout the day about what she wanted from them and sought her permission before
doing anything.

Jaeyoung: Ms. Lee, do I need to write about the king Gangaeto and the king
Jangsu separately?
Cangu: Do I need to write about the king Gangaeto and the king Jangsu separately?
Jiwoo: Ms. Lee, what should I write about the king Sosurim?
Teacher: Just do what you want!
Jakyoung: Do we need to write about who won the war of Salsu and the war
in Ansi palace too?
Teacher: (She ignores other questions because she is getting annoyed.)
(12:25 a.m., May 2, 2006)

Teacher: Now, let’s write your stories related to this poem! Write your
experience including when and where it happened. Try to write
your stories with a dialogue.
Changu: Teacher, if I don’t have any related experience, how can I do it?
Teacher: Think about it more! What, Jisuk?
Jisuk: Do I need to write my stories to include dialogue?
Teacher: If you don’t want to, you don’t need to do it.
Jisuk: Do I need to choose only one story?
Teacher: You can write more.
Boram: Which experience? Do I need to write about stories only from
school?
Teacher: You can use your home experience! (She uses a higher voice this
time.)
(8:40 a.m., May 9, 2006)

In most cases, the students themselves could answer and decide for themselves
the answers to the questions they asked. The questions were all very trivial, such as “Can
I start taking notes?” “Can I get my book from my locker?” “How many lines do I need
to answer this question?” Their behaviors to try to get into their teacher’s mind may be
the result of the way Ms. Lee controlled the classroom environment. This leads to the
question of how this behavior pattern influenced their display of emotions in the
classroom.
Little individual interaction between teacher and students

Another characteristic of the classroom was that there were few individual interactions observed between the teacher and an individual student. Individual interactions require close proximity between people. Ms. Lee, however, was always positioned up front and only moved within this area of the classroom (see Figure 5). Moreover, most of her messages were transferred unilaterally from herself to the entire class, not to an individual student. In fact, Ms. Lee did not use verbal language and, instead, wrote on the board or used hand signals in her classroom.

Ms. Lee goes to the white board and writes, “Put your art materials on your desk.” As soon as she finished writing, students took their art supplies from their backpacks and placed them on their desks. (10:55 a.m., May 1, 2006)

All of the students in class were organized into small groups and communication between the teacher and students was mediated by group leaders, who spoke for their group members and also delivered the teacher’s message to individual students (Figure 7).
Figure 7: Ms. Lee’s Classroom and the Area of Her Movement
Ms. Lee calls the group leaders to stand up and asks them to collect their group members’ notebooks in order to check whether they finished their note-taking from the previous class. Each small group consists of four children who sit near each other. One student in each group stands up and starts collecting notebooks. Group leaders give the notebooks to their teacher, who is sitting at her desk in the front of the classroom. Ms. Lee says to them, “Go back to your group and collect journal notes at this time!” Again, group leaders collect their group members’ journal notes quickly and bring them to their teacher’s desk. They let her know which students did not submit a notebook or journal notes. Ms. Lee makes a list of their names.

(10:30 a.m., May 1, 2006).

Ms. Lee mainly spoke or asked questions to the entire class. Verbal interactions were only initiated when students sought her knowledge, asked for permission, or were about to be punished. Therefore, personal interactions between Ms. Lee and a student, such as being scolded for asking trivial questions or being punished, were viewed negatively.

**Limited interaction among students**

Another characteristic of the classroom is that even students in Ms. Lee’s class did not have active interactions with one another. It appeared they did not have the right to move from their positions, even during recess. All students’ individual movements, including going to the bathroom, and interactions with other children were strictly controlled by Ms. Lee. When they needed to contact her to submit homework or receive something from her, the group leaders did it for them. Therefore, students in her classroom interacted with a limited number of peers. Figure 6 represents student interactions that took place in Ms. Lee’s class during a 10-minute observation interval (Figure 8).
Figure 8: Interactions with Peers in Ms. Lee’s Classroom (11:00-11:10 a.m., May 10, 2006)
Ms. Lee was very sensitive about students leaving their desks. When she needed to leave the classroom, she would warn her students.

The school bell rings for break. Ms. Lee has a meeting with other teachers during this break time. Before leaving the classroom, she says, “I’m going to a teachers’ meeting. Read the textbook about Korea and underline the parts you consider important. When I’m back, I will check whether you did or not. If you don’t, you will have a very hard time! While I’m not here, don’t talk noisily, don’t run, don’t go to the restroom, and don’t even drink water. If you do, you will be punished! Understand?” The class responds, “Yes!” Ms. Lee goes to the meeting room on the same floor. Aside from a few students who need something from their private cabinet, no one leaves his desk. After a few minutes, Ms. Lee comes back to the classroom to check if they are doing what was assigned. She finds that some students have moved. She calls their names and asks them to sit down. She threatens, “Don’t desert your position, don’t run. You know that deserting your position is never allowed, right? You can have a talk with your friends!” She looks around the classroom and goes back to the meeting room. All students remain silent and read their textbook while underlining, as Ms. Lee had assigned.

(9:20 a.m., May 17, 2007)

**Teacher Beliefs Reflected in Everyday Routines**

Schutz et al. (2007) describe the connection between teachers’ beliefs about their classroom roles, the structure of their classroom activities, and the relationships they seek to develop in their classroom. However, because the nature of belief systems is very complex, it is difficult to observe what their beliefs are but they can be inferred from individuals’ ordinary speech or actions (Schutz et al., 2007).

In this study, to determine what display rules Suji learned from her school life, observations were made of Ms. Lee’s everyday routines to detect her beliefs about her role in the classroom. Ms. Lee’s classroom was highly teacher-centered based on powerful authority, so whenever students behaved unexpectedly, she promptly used harsh punishment to prevent its recurrence. Moreover, she avoided personal interactions with
individual students and controlled interactions among students by prohibiting them from leaving their desks.

Why did Ms. Lee construct this type of classroom context? Meyer and Turner (2007) maintain that “teachers’ relationships with students have been found to be associated with students’ academic achievement and school adjustment” (p. 248). Ms. Lee’s classroom setting seemed to focus on promoting her students’ academic achievement. In order to accomplish this, she needed a setting that allowed her to successfully teach a large amount of knowledge to her 6th grade students. Ms. Lee needed to keep this type of classroom context stable so there would be no wasted time with unnecessary interruptions and that her students would always be ready to learn. Interviews with Ms. Lee illustrate how important she considered the teaching of as much knowledge as possible to her students.

I always feel overwhelmed when preparing to teach. I am allowed a 10-minute break after teaching a 40-minute class and then I have to teach another 40-minute class and have a 10-minute break. It is very overwhelming to me. There are so many things to teach, but in order to do it all, I need to do everything fast, fast, fast. Only when I do so, can I teach 6 classes a day. Even though I try to hurry up, I can teach only 4 or 5 classes a day. I hope my students have many interesting memories this year. I want to make them excited. For example, I really want to make them play with their friends interestingly. I really wish for it, but I can’t do it...because I have to prepare them for academic tests and I must keep to the schedule of teaching as indicated by the national curriculum. It is almost impossible [to give freedom to students]. Moreover, I feel that I am unable to use classroom time as I wish and, in fact, I cannot…

(Interview with Ms. Lee, August 3, 2006)

Ms. Lee considered her role as knowledge transmitter as most important. It is commonly believed in Confucian heritage cultures that “a high value is placed on educational achievement, and that children are highly motivated to succeed in school”
Strongly influenced by Confucianism, Korean society has high expectations about their next generation’s educational achievements. Therefore, it is assumed that Ms. Lee is unable to free herself from this socio-cultural pressure.

In addition, Ms. Lee was very sensitive to her students’ safety. In her first year of teaching, she was passionate about teaching and attempted to be creative. However, she realized that the best teacher would be one who did not have any accidents in the classroom. If anything happens where students are hurt, the teacher may be fired regardless of how effective his or her teaching is. From then on, her classroom became a place where there was less risk for accidents.

To help her students achieve academically and experience a safe school life, Ms. Lee strictly controlled the classroom. The problem, however, was that she did not take into consideration the effect this kind of classroom culture would have on her students. In Korean school culture, students lose their individuality and creativity and behave differently from those who have different ideas from them (Lee, 1998). For example, within her classroom, students learned “punctuality, adherence of order, and discipline” instead of “elasticity, the right of choice, inquiry, and creativity.” How are emotional and visual expressions expressed in students who experience this type of classroom context?

**Emotional Culture of Angry Expression Constructed from Daily Routines**

At 9:20 on Tuesday morning, the school bell rings and Ms. Lee closes her book. It is break time, but no one moves. After a while, Ms. Lee walks toward the front door and says, “If you want to go to the restroom, line up at the front of the door.” Five boys and three girls make a line. Ms. Lee opens the door and
lets them leave. The rest of the classroom continues reading their books or chatting with friends who sit nearby. All of the sudden, the front door opens and Juwon rushes into the classroom. His pants are wet and he has tears in his eyes. He goes to Ms. Lee’s desk and says, “Teacher, Jiwoo and Bosung made me wet and made fun of me in the restroom!” Jiwoo and Bosung come back into the classroom. Without asking any questions, Ms. Lee says fiercely, “Jiwoo, Bosung, stay behind after class!” Jiwoo and Bosung answer, “Yes,” and show their bitter feelings to Juwon.

(9:20 a.m., May 2, 2006)

After school, 10 boys and 7 girls remain in the classroom. Along with Jiwoo and Bosung, the others are there because of their low quiz scores. Ms. Lee calls Jiwoo and Bosung and tells them, “Make a card! You should make it with your whole heart. If it is made crudely or ugly, it will be invalid!” Ms. Lee shows a card to them. “Teacher, what’s this?” asks the two boys. “It was made by someone to express his apologies to Eunju last time,” Ms. Lee replies.

(2:10 p.m., May 2, 2006)

The next day, Ms. Lee calls Juwon, Jiwoo and Bosung. The three boys walk to the front of classroom and stand by Ms. Lee. Ms. Lee tells the rest of the class, “Pay attention to them! Now, two of them will apologize to the one. These two boys made fun of their friend in the restroom yesterday.” To Jiwoo and Bosung, Ms. Lee says, “Give what you prepared to Juwon.” They hand their card to Juwon. “Will you take it?” Ms. Lee asks Juwon. “Um….yes,” Juwon answers softly. Ms. Lee does not appear to be satisfied with the boys’ apology and tells them firmly, “Don’t do this kind of behavior again!” “Yes,” answer the two boys. The rest of the students clap their hands.

(11:25 a.m., May 3, 2006)

Although Ms. Lee limited her students’ interactions and activities in and out of the classroom, she was not able to have control all of the time. In this case, Juwon could have expressed his anger directly to Jiwoo and Bosung, but he reported his problem to Ms. Lee instead and asked her to solve his angry emotional problem. Ms. Lee immediately took strong action in this situation so that the emotional conflict would not become more serious or delay any classroom activities. Eventually, Jiwoo and Bosung spent time after school and had to make a public apology to Juwon. Through this incident, Ms. Lee’s
students might learn socio-culturally expected display rule to express anger in school or the result of specific way of expressing anger.

Ms. Lee’s Beliefs about Children’s Negative Emotional Expressions

Most classroom structures are based on the relationship between one instructor and a large number of students. The classroom can be an unsuitable space for learning because the classroom, in essence, is a space for speech (Kim, 1998). In fact, each Korean elementary classroom has 30-50 potential “tellers” so it can be a very noisy space, like that of a marketplace. Therefore, teachers’ ability to manage the classroom help prevent moments that block learning, where students’ desire to talk with peers and their simultaneous talk with their teachers should be controlled. The best way to prevent students’ chatting and multiple speaking is to make all students work as one unit and to give only one student a chance to speak (Macbeth, 1990).

Ms. Lee felt overloaded with teaching her 6th grade class and also felt the additional burden of responsibility for her students’ safety. She also wanted to construct an effective classroom setting to avoid students’ multiple speaking. As a result, she used her authority and developed many management strategies based on her teaching experience, such as organizing small groups and limiting personal interactions in the classroom. Ms. Lee’s memory of previous students’ negative emotional conflicts also influenced her classroom management style and classroom routines.
The Meaning and Function of Angry Emotional Expressions in the Classroom

In Ms. Lee’s classroom context, how were students’ angry expressions interpreted and treated? Negative emotional conflict among children can damage a well-organized classroom setting because it causes individual talking among students. In addition, if these emotional conflicts are not solved smoothly and students choose violent ways to express their emotions, they may also threaten other students’ safety in the classroom.

During the period of observation in Ms. Lee’s classroom, several negative emotional conflicts and angry expressions from students were observed. A few patterns were detected as to how these negative emotional conflicts were treated by the students and Ms. Lee. First, whenever such situations occurred, students who felt depressed or angry informed Ms. Lee about their negative emotional state, instead of expressing it directly to the student who caused it. They would then wait for Ms. Lee to settle their emotional problems for them. Even when emotional conflicts were not reported to Ms. Lee by the wronged student, those who sat near him would immediately let her know. Second, Ms. Lee responded to and treated these emotional conflicts in an open court. As soon as she recognized students’ emotional conflicts or was informed about them, she called the concerned students to the front of classroom and had them stand holding their two hands above their heads. Sometimes, instead of calling students forward and solving the problem immediately, she would tell them to stay after class and continue teaching without spending time listening to the details of the emotional situation. Third, in most cases, only students who expressed any negative emotions who were reported to Ms. Lee
caught her attention. Those who demonstrated negative emotions, such as the use of bad language, high-toned voices, making fun of friends, throwing objects at others, and physical fighting, were called upon and punished by her. She did not listen to the reason for such behaviors so it seemed that expressing any negative emotion was judged by her as wrong and the person who expressed it as guilty.

Through these observed patterns, how children’s angry expressions are interpreted and treated in Ms. Lee’s classroom can be inferred. Ms. Lee organized her classroom as an effective space to successfully complete her tight schedule of teaching and maintain security of her students. Therefore, she did not allow for any time to be wasted on classroom incidents initiated by students’ negative emotional conflicts. Her belief about the meaning and function of children’s angry experience was reflected in her discipline strategies, which were internalized by her students through repeated everyday practice. First, her students were disciplined to report their peers’ negative emotional problems to her immediately. Second, they were instructed to wait for their teacher’s arbitration to solve their negative emotional problems and not to do so themselves. If they tried to solve it on their own, unexpected multiple speaking might occur, which would interrupt the teaching and learning going on in the classroom. Similarly, if students expressed their negative emotions as to how they felt, they could become more enraged. After all, Ms. Lee believed that students’ negative emotional expressions were needless obstacles in teaching and learning and those who expressed them were considered bad. As a result, such situations should be terminated as soon as possible. In sum, the expression of negative emotions in Ms. Lee’s classroom was associated with negative meanings and functions where her students understood that the expression of anger would
Suji’s Understanding of Emotional Competence

For Suji, what was a reasonable way to express her anger in her cultural context? What did she learn about emotional competence through her experience at school and at home? To understand the meaning and function of her specific way of expressing anger in her life, I will first provide brief information about Suji and then explore characteristics of her angry emotional expression and her understanding of emotional competence. Finally, I will attempt to examine her expressive strategies in depicting an angry emotional theme again with this contextual information.

Suji and Her School Life

When I transferred to this school in the fifth grade… new classmates looked at me acting like they were all that! Their responses were very strange. Among them, they ignored me so…I cannot say that we were friends. I just thought that they were just those who were in the same classroom.

(Interview with Suji, June 18, 2006)

Suji was in the 6th grade at the Hangook Elementary School in Seoul, the capital city of South Korea. Her parents decided to enter Suji in school one year earlier than most Korean children begin elementary school. Since she is an only child and is younger than other students in her class, Suji’s speaking and behaviors are more childish in comparison. Because her communication skills are not good, she is not able to express
her opinions logically and does not have positive relationships with other children, especially with girls. In addition, her academic ability is not high so she does not attract others’ attention easily. Moreover, her transfer to the school in the 5th grade made it difficult for her to make new friends.

Suji enjoys drawing manwha. During a difficult time in the 5th grade when she was without friends, Suji drew a long manwha titled Argard, based on a famous video game at the time. Through this manwha, she met a girl who also liked to draw manwha. Since both of them wanted to be manwha artists, they encouraged each other by sharing their manwha and ideas. Through this friend, Suji made a few more friends, and recalls 5th grade as fun.

The next school year, however, Suji was apart from her best friend. At the time I was introduced to her, Suji had spent two months in Ms. Lee’s class but was still struggling to make new friends. After class, she would play with her friends from other classes. One friend, Minju, whom she played with most in her current class, not only did not like manwha but also looked down on Suji’s interest in it. In fact, she interfered with Suji’s relationships with her other friends by speaking badly about them to her, which resulted in a conflicted relationship with Minju. If Minju continued to speak poorly about her friends, Suji would have difficulty making friends in her current class.

In class, Suji was very calm and did not interact much with the other students or with Ms. Lee. During free time, Suji would either draw or read manwha. Her classmates would speak to her only during group activities or if they wanted to borrow her manwha books.
Suji’s Angry Expressions in the Classroom

After a lecture in Korean history class, Ms. Lee says, “You have 15 minutes. Write the names of your group members on this paper and give each other a quiz about what you learned today!” Ms. Lee gives the handouts to the students. In order to do group work, pairs of students who sit in an odd row turn back to face the other pair of students behind them so that the four students face each other. Suji and her deskmate, Jiwoo, turned back to face In-su and Myoungsu. Suji takes the handout and states to her group, “Let’s decide who goes first. How about Rock, Paper, Scissors?” They determine that Suji, Jiwoo, Myoungsu and then In-su will be the order. Suji starts writing the group members’ names on the paper, but she does not know Myoungsu’s name so she asks, “Is your name…?” Jiwoo responds, “Don’t you know his name? He is Myungsu!” As soon as Suji finishes writing their names, Jiwoo takes the paper and asks one the question to Suji, “What is the law of Hopo established by Hunsun Daewon-gun in Lee Dynasty?” Suji answers without any confidence, “…paid a tax … to the aristocratic, Yangban, class…” All three boys criticize her answer sternly. In-su asks Suji, “Do you think that the Royal court paid a tax to Yangban? It’s completely nonsense! The Royal court imposed a new tax to Yangban!” Suji replied that was what she answered and the boys demean her again. Suji’s face becomes distorted and she appears angry. “I just made a little mistake! I know what it is!” says Suji with a sharp but not loud voice in order for other groups not to hear her. The boys ignore her defense and continue to criticize her answer. Suji controls her temper by taking a deep breath and then calls Ms. Lee to help her. Ms. Lee comes and arbitrates.

(10:25 a.m., June 19, 2004).

Suppression of Anger

In class, Suji always sat at her desk and worked diligently. She was not observed to move from her space, even during recess. She had a few interactions with friends and Ms. Lee. She only talked to her deskmate Jiwoo or In-su, who sat behind her. However, these conversations were very brief and she played the role of listener very well. In three months of observations, Suji did not express strongly any negative emotions so she did not reveal much about herself.
I observed several situations in which Suji was about to feel and express her anger, but she appeared to suppress it. In everyday school life, she was angry and complained about many things and although she expressed her anger at times, it was not considered by others to be serious. Why did Suji suppress her anger? Or, if she expressed it, why was it not recognized?

Suji expressed few angry expressions in the classroom. In fact, she did not commit any acts that would cause a negative emotional situation in the classroom. Most emotional conflicts occur during verbal and physical student interactions, but since Suji had few interactions with other students, she was never involved in any serious emotionally conflicted situations.

In most cases, if Suji felt bad or angry, she tried to avoid or ignore the situation:

During lunch time, Minju came to Suji’s seat and started speaking ill of Suji’s best friends, Heejin and Taeyoon, who were in the same class last year with Suji. “Hey Suji, don’t you think Heejin and Taeyoon are very childish? Have you read their manwha? They are all silly! You need to know about this. You think they are good friends, but they tell others bad things about you. Today, don’t play with them… Instead let’s go to my home. It will be fun!” Suji stared at Minju for a few seconds, but Minju does not recognize Suji’s discomfort. Minju says, “They are really bad ones. Everyone thinks like this. Don’t play with them. You can go to my home today, can’t you?” Suji answers Minju abruptly, “I have to finish this first. Let’s talk about it later,” turning back to her desk. Minju says a few more words to Suji, but Suji ignores her.

(1:05 p.m., May 30, 2009)

Since Suji ignored most negative emotional situations, she expressed just a few angry emotional states. Even when she expressed her anger or other negative emotions, the duration of those emotions was very brief and was expressed by staring at others or by distorted facial expressions of discomfort. Since her anger was expressed fleetingly, it was not easily recognized by others and it never developed to be something more.
Not only was Suji’s anger expressed quickly, but it was also expressed weakly. She did not use a loud or sharp voice, clear facial expressions or even physical touch. Therefore, Suji sometimes appeared embarrassed or sad rather than angry.

*Indirect Angry Expressions*

Instead of expressing her anger publicly and directly in the classroom, Suji usually expressed it at second hand. After Minju talked to Suji about her best friends Heejin and Taeyeon badly and left, Suji started talking to herself negatively with a downturned mouth. Whenever Suji differed in her ideas from others or felt that she was treated unfairly by Ms. Lee, she behaved like this instead of expressing her feelings promptly and directly to others in the situation.

She also would talk about her angry emotional state with her best friends, as illustrated in this interview.

Suji: I was angry at Minju a lot so I talked with Taeyeon about this after school.
Minam Kim (investigator): When you feel bad, you talk with someone about it, don’t you?
Suji: Yes. Um…. Usually I talk with my friends… Minju… no, no, no… the ones I used to play with.
MK: Do you talk about your bad feelings about Minju with only your friends? What about your teacher?
Suji: I also tried to talk with my teacher, but she just suggested waiting two days.
MK: For two days?
Suji: Yes. She told me she would solve this problem but she didn’t do it, so I got went to my friends. I talked to Taeyeon. She said, “Ah… she [Minju] is annoying to others by nature. Just leave her alone and then first she will do something mean…but later
she will stop. Just ignore her.” Ha, ha, ha… you know what Taeyeon said? “If I see her again, I will prod her eyes.”
(Interview with Suji, May 30, 2004).

As described above, Suji did not express her anger to others in the classroom. Although her uncomfortable feeling was initiated because of her classroom friends, she solved this emotional problem by talking with her best friends in other classes. Suji’s friends responded to her emotional problem about Minju with more excitement and anger and Suji seemed to like that.

Suji also asked for Ms. Lee to mediate the emotional conflict, as seen in the episode where her male group members verbally admonished her mistake. If she expressed her anger and caused a noisy situation in the classroom, Suji might have been punished by the teacher. Therefore, her decision to ask Ms. Lee to mediate the situation between herself and her friends was a relatively safe way to solve her emotional problem. Moreover, sometimes, this mediated result was better than the one she attempted to solve on her own since she would receive an apology from her friends.

Another indirect way Suji expressed her anger was by drawing manwha.

Sometimes, I feel very depressed… Whenever I am unable to say anything (Suji touches her chest with her hand), I repress those feelings in my mind…then…I do not even want to draw manwha. I lay down with a blanket over me. Depending on what I feel, drawing is not helpful. However, most times when I feel bad, I draw angry facial expressions [in my manwha] and (Suji clenches her fists.) hands. I usually draw them like this. (She draws a hand with five fingers) but…I draw a circle as a hand when I feel angry and feel bad!

(Interview with Suji, May 30, 2006).

Some [angry] emotional state was expressed in Su-o-mi [Suji’s self-initiated manwha drawing]. Wait. Where is it? Wait a minute, I will find it. Where is… Wait… I have almost found it. Su-o-mi expressed her anger… Here it is! Look at this! Here it is. Yes. Look at this. Su-o-mi expressed this [anger]. I drew this scene when I was very angry.
When I asked her to explain her manwha, she mentioned the relationship between her emotional state and her manwha story. When she felt angry, her manwha character, the heroine, expressed her anger strongly. By illustrating this, she felt better.

The Meaning and Function of Suji’s Angry Expressions in the Classroom

Suji did not express her anger in the classroom frequently. When it was expressed, it was difficult to recognize since she displayed her anger weakly and briefly. Moreover, she expressed it indirectly, such as through monologue, talking with her best friends, and asking for the teacher to mediate.

This type of angry expression was effective for Suji to reduce the possibility of losing friends. I interviewed Suji formally and informally several times, along with her mother and teacher Ms. Lee. The main issue in all of these interviews was that Suji was unable to make friends easily, as seen in the following:

I also want to play with other friends aside from Minju. Minju was my first friend I made in this class, but she discourages me from playing with others. She speaks ill of my friends I want to play with and if I do not agree with her, she tells them bad things about me.

(Interview with Suji, June 29, 2004).

Suji entered elementary school one year earlier than most other children so she is one year younger than her friends and she is the second [youngest] child in the family. Therefore, school friends, especially girls, although they are in a lower grade, girls are relatively smarter [more mature] and somewhat more mean than boys. Therefore, since Suji’s speaking and behaviors were childish, her relationships with children, especially girls made for a really big gap between herself and her peers. She felt it was difficult to have relationships with other girls so I let her take an art lesson with other girls in order to help her make female friends more easily.

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2004).
From the first time, I could recognize her easily because she made me worried about whether she could get along well with friends. She came to me to talk about herself several times. If you listen to her, she is not good at communicating her opinions clearly. I think she communicates with her friends as she does with me. Then, I thought she might be ignored by other, more mature girls… I worried about her, but in Suji’s case, although it is not clearly transmitted, she can make others understand what she claims to mean, so at least she is not ignored but… there is some atmosphere that children do not want to play with her actively. How can I say it? Anyway, there is something.

(Interview with Ms. Lee, August 3, 2004).

Suji had difficulty making friends at the beginning of school year because of her immature communication skills and behaviors. If Suji expressed her anger, she would have been punished promptly by Ms. Lee in front of her friends and it might have left a bad impression on her classmates. Since they already had a negative impression about her, this situation would have been risky. Therefore, Suji wanted to avoid this kind of a situation as much as possible.

Ms. Lee did not ask students why their anger was expressed because she did not want to spend time dealing with classroom disturbances. Therefore, in most cases, it was often concluded that the person who first expressed the anger was wrong and would be punished. Therefore, in this kind of context, Suji’s strategies of expressing anger might be very effective ones to avoid any unexpected conflicts with Mr. Lee.

If Suji had been a popular child among her peers, Minju would have tried to understand her emotional states so as to not ruin a good relationship when Suji expressed anger. However, since Suji did not have a close relationship with her classmates, there was a greater possibility that her classmates would give up in their interest in Suji instead of respect her emotions.
Emotional Culture in Suji’s Home

Children learn display rules through diverse social interactions with others. Although school life occupies a large part of Suji’s life, her emotional experience at home influenced her learning display rules more powerfully. Her angry expressions may be socialized based on both her emotional experiences at school and at home. I explore what Suji learned to be a viable way to express her anger through her home life and what meaning and function it has. Since I was not allowed to observe her home life, Suji’s understanding of her emotional competence at home was explored through interviews with Suji and her mother.

Suji and her Home Life

Suji lived only five minutes from school. She lived with her father, brother, and grandparents. At the time, Suji’s mother was not living with them. Suji and her brother visited their mother’s house once or twice a month on weekends. Because both parents were very busy, Suji did not have the time to talk to either of them. Her grandparents also spent most of their days with friends. After school, Suji stayed home alone with her brother until the evening or late night. Although her brother was only two years older than Suji, he always pretended to be the boss. He ordered her around, such as calling her out from her room to turn the TV channel for him. If she did not obey, he swore and became violent towards her. She disliked her brother, but was afraid of his abusive words and behaviors and therefore did not express any negative feelings towards him.
Traditionally, male family members are considered more important in Korea. The belief in this is stronger in the older generations. Thus, even though Suji asked her grandparents to talk to her brother, they ignored her. One day, she expressed her anger towards him and he reacted by using violence and bad language, creating an even worse situation. Even with his behaviors, their grandparents tended to scold Suji more frequently and took her brother’s side more often.

**Suji’s Angry Expressions At Home**

Suji: Look at this scene! When I was drawing this exciting scene… I was very busy drawing this manwha. My brother ordered me to do an errand for him. I felt bad. I didn’t like to do it, so I said “No” and just hung in there. Then he shouted, “Don’t you go fast! Buy xxx [I could not hear it.] now!”

MK: What? What did he want you to buy?
Suji: Snacks. Huh, huh, huh…. So I went out with money, but I felt angry. At that time, I wanted to make Su-o-mi [the heroine in her manwha which she was drawing at home.] die. Then, I drew her in dangerous situation. I did… ha ha ha…

MK: Didn’t you say, “No,” when he asked you to do something you didn’t like to do?
Suji: Yes, some times I did. (She seemed a little depressed.)
MK: Did he stop it?
Suji: He used to hit me… ha ha… I was hit by him.
MK: Is he much older than you?
Suji: No. He is just two years older than me.
MK: Have you ever expressed your anger to him?
Suji: No way!
MK: You have never done that?
Suji: Never! I will never do it even if I’m dead.
MK: You seem to know that expressing anger would not work on him.
Suji: Yes. I seek the best way to survive instinctively.
MK: So, you drew this kind of scene here [Suji’s manwha, Su-o-mi] in order to express your anger instead of expressing it directly to your brother?
Suji: Yes!

(Interview with Suji, May 30, 2004)
Suji’s angry expression? In fact, she complains about everything. She expressed anger in front of me. Actually, it’s almost a kind of irritation or complaining. She is like a baby. Since I see her just a few times a month, I try to accept these behaviors. Yes, she can express her anger.

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2004).

Children’s understanding of contexts and events cause specific emotions, termed situational knowledge, which is constructed through previous emotional experience and improve their emotional competence through repeated emotional experiences (Garner, Jones, & Miner, 1994). Children can negotiate their emotional expressions through diverse interpersonal interactions (Saarni, 1999).

Through interviews with Suji and her mother, I found characteristics of Suji’s everyday emotional interactions with family members and her angry expressions at home. At home, Suji used different display rules to express her anger depending on who her anger was expressed towards. These different types of angry expressions were constructed based on her situational knowledge. Because her parents did not spend much time with Suji, they tended to accept her. Thus, even when she expressed her anger directly towards her parents, she had no problem reinforcing her self-esteem in stressful situations and demonstrating her resilience.

However, her angry expression towards her older brother was not acceptable and created an even worse situation which could ruin her self-esteem and bring about more stressful situations. As a result, she did not express her anger clearly or used indirect expressions of anger at her brother (e.g., Suji expressed her anger for her brother to her parents or drew manwha stories to make herself feel better).
In conclusion, Suji understood competent ways to express her anger depending on the context and she used different display rules appropriately. Because she spent relatively long periods of time with her older brother at home, she learned that repressing her anger would be safer in that situation.

The Meaning and Function of Suji’s Angry Expressions at Home

Although Suji could express her anger directly when she was with her parents, she rarely had the chance. In contrast, she had frequent interactions with her older brother in her everyday life. Her brother taught Suji that expressing anger would not benefit her life so it was better to repress it or express it indirectly rather than directly. What she learned about emotional competence at home was very similar to what she found in school.

Summary

Through analysis of Suji’s emotional experiences both at school and at home, it was found that Suji understood that expressing anger in her life is not helpful. There are risks to expressing her anger directly, such as having poor relationships with classmates or being verbally and physically abused by her brother. Therefore, she either suppressed her anger or expressed it weakly and indirectly in most contexts except in situations where she was with friends or her parents who accepted her negative emotions with an open mind. Consequently, how did Suji’s understanding of emotional competence affect her depiction of an angry emotional theme in her two types of drawings? Next, I will
examine her drawings again with this contextual information about her socialization of her emotional expression in the following section.

A Second Look at Suji’s Drawings

From an initial analysis of Suji’s drawings, a few characteristics of her expressive strategies that depicted the assigned theme were found, but more questions were raised than answered. I realized that it was not possible to fully understand why Suji drew the assigned drawing theme as she did with only information provided by the drawings themselves. Therefore, the first part of this chapter explores what emotional experience Suji went through and how she was socialized to use a specific display rule to express this anger adeptly. In the second part of this chapter, I attempt once again to explain why Suji depicted her angry emotional experience with this additional information at hand. From this second analysis, I found many meaningful clues which helped me better understand Suji’s expressive strategies in depicting her negative emotion. I pose questions that remained from my first analysis and explore the relationship between Suji’s expressive strategies and her socialization of expressing anger.

A Second Look at Suji’s School-Type Drawing

Identifying with Suji: Empathy between the Drawer and the Viewer

In her school-type drawing, Suji is depicted facing away from the viewer. Therefore, although I was the third person in this emotional situation, it felt like I was
viewing this situation from her standpoint and I felt empathy for her. I questioned why Suji depicted her angry emotional situation in this way. That is, what is meaning and function of this expressive strategy in making viewers identify with her? Observing Suji’s socialized way of expressing anger in her everyday life provides clues to answer this question.

From intensive observations and interviews, I realized that Suji learned through experience that direct and strong expressions of anger are usually accompanied by negative results, such as punishment, abuse, or social rejection. As a result, she did not express her anger directly. For example, Suji would explain the emotional situation that took place between herself and her friends to her teacher Ms. Lee from her own viewpoint. Others would do the same from their perspective and punishment was served depending on who Ms. Lee believed was wronged. Suji tended to rely on her peers to solve her emotional problems instead of solving them on her own, making it necessary for them to express their solidarity with her. From this pattern of expressing anger, it can be inferred that Suji may be trying to provide information to help viewers understand the emotional situation from her viewpoint instead of depicting angry facial, verbal, or bodily expressions directly. If viewers understand the drawer’s emotional state from the context provided, their empathy can be induced to feel the same emotion as if they themselves had been through that same emotional situation.

In her school-type drawing, Suji depicts a male figure who is making a rude gesture that is emphasized with several short lines. Viewers undoubtedly would understand and empathize with Suji, thinking the boy had done something bad to her. As a result, Suji would be free from the anxiety of consequent punishment or blame for her
anger. In addition, she would not be concerned about how this instance reflects socially to her peers.

In contrast, if Suji’s angry figure faced viewers, they would focus more on the fact she is angry instead of why she became angry. I interviewed five groups of students from Ms. Lee’s class to discuss other students’ drawings about their angry emotional expression in school. From their responses to others’ drawings, I understood what Suji might have been afraid of in drawing the assigned theme. In fact, her peers showed interest in the characters that were drawn facing them, trying to figure out what they were doing and what situation was depicted.

Three Boys Talk about Suji’s Drawing

MK Look at this drawing carefully for one minute and please tell me whatever comes to your mind.

Chansung , Jiwoo, Seungho Yes (Three boys answered together.)

Chansung Who drew it?

Jiwoo I cannot see her face… I don’t know who she is… What is she doing? Where is this?

Chansung What are these things? (He points to the images of objects.)

Jiwoo ……. A-ha… look at this boy…. Hahaha… Look at what he is doing….

Chansung Hahaha… (He imitates the male figure’s gesture in Suji’s drawing and looks at me to ask for my explanation about this drawing.) Did she draw some school thing?

MK I’m also confused… what do you think about it?

Seungho Do you know Suji Kim? I think I saw her drawing this in art class. I’m not sure…

Chansung Then… who is he? (He points to the boy in drawing.)

Jiwoo Who might it be?

Seungho It looks like a Blue Marble game. Am I right?

MK Why do you think that?

Chansung You are right! Money… flight… earth… It’s a Blue Marble game!
Jiwoo  It looks strange. Why did she draw it?
Seungho  Did he make fun of her? (He asks the question to me, a researcher.)
Chansung  Right… so she might be upset… ha ha ha.

(Interview with three boys, June 23, 2006)

Three Boys’ Talk about Mina’s Drawing

When I studied Suji’s case, I also paid attention to other 3 children who enjoyed
drawing manwha in Suji’s class. Therefore when I had a group interview with students, I
showed these students’ drawings with Suji’s drawings to interviewees. In order to
provide information about what children pay attention to when they look at negative
emotional drawings, I added in interviewees’ conversation about Mina’s school-type
drawing (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Mina’s School-Type Dawing Using the Assigned Drawing Theme, “Angry Emotional
Experience in School” (Pencil on Paper, 42 cm X 60 cm)
MK Here is another drawing. Please, look at this drawing carefully for one minute and tell me whatever comes to your mind as you did before.

Seungho (As soon as he sees the drawing, he shouts.) Heeju Song! She may be Heeju Song! (He points to one of the three girls whose face is shown.)

Jiwoo It’s not mine!

Chansung Who do you think drew this?

Seungho It might be Taesun… probably it is Taesun Han! (He points to the girl facing the viewer.)

Chansung I don’t think so… she might be Soyeon Choi… (He points to the same girl.) Then… who is she? (He points to the girl furthest on the right.)

Jiwoo Look at this hair style! Look at this hair style! (She points to the second from the left.)

Seungho Yes. She is Heeju Song.

Chansung No, she doesn’t look like Heeju Song…

Jiwoo I agree.

Seungho These girls are fighting.

Chansung These three girls made fun of her. (pointing to the girl with her back facing the viewer) I saw this similar situation but… I cannot remember…exactly…

Jiwoo Ah! She is Taesun. (pointing to the middle girl.)

Chansung Ah! No… she is not Taesun.

Jiwoo Right! (He raises his one hand and looks at me.)

MK Yes. Tell me.

Jiwoo They were playing a ball game, Pee-Gu. These three girls were on the same team. This other girl was on the other team. The team these three girls were on won the game so they made fun of this girl.

MK Do you think that?

Jiwoo Yes.

I also don’t know what the situation was…

Chansung Ha ha ha… I think that this girl made fun of this one girl putting out her tongue… This girl [showing her back] didn’t hit anyone on the other team and then [three girls were] teasing her so she was upset.

MK A-ha… she was upset because other girls were teasing her…

Chansung Rather… she got cold feet…

(Interview with three boys, June 23, 2006)
If viewers understand that the main reason for the drawer’s angry emotional state is the result of other people or an external context, then this type of depiction of Suji’s back to induce our empathy is safe for her. However, the context provided is not clear and is lacking. Since the boy was depicted too far away to be easily recognized, Suji’s emotional state is not immediately obvious. In addition, the situation Suji is in and what relationship she has with the boy are vague. This lack of information compels viewers to question if Suji is actually expressing anger in this picture.

Indirect Angry Expressions

Suji’s indirect and passive expression about her angry emotional state is seen in observations of her emotional interactions with others in school and in interviews with Suji, her teachers, and her mother. In her everyday life, Suji tends to repress her negative emotional expressions or express them passively, fleetingly, and weakly. However, with her parents and best friends, Heejin and Taeyoon, she expresses her negative emotions strongly and freely.

Children tend to control their negative emotions more with their friends than with their parents (Zeman & Garber, 1996). When children expect peers (best friends or classmates) to observe their emotions, they control their emotional expression more actively because they assume that negative relationships may result (Zeman & Garber, 1996). In contrast, when their emotions are expressed in front of their best friends, they expect their friends to be more supportive and, thus, show more free emotional
expressions. By the same token, since parents are expected to be supportive, children tend to express their emotions more freely (Eisenberg et al., 1998).

Suji controlled her negative emotional expressions because she was concerned about potential negative relationships with peers in her new classroom. She also repressed her anger at home because of her brother’s harsh response to her anger. It can be assumed that since Suji expected her drawing to be viewed by her classmates since it was drawn at school, she also controlled her angry emotional expression in its depiction. From this, I speculated about her expressive strategies in depicting angry emotional expressions in other types of drawings, such as self-initiated ones that are drawn in her own space without peers’ consideration.

Confusions about Suji’s School-type Drawing

As explained above, Suji expressed her angry emotional state in her school drawing indirectly through contextual information. In addition, she used symbols to depict her angry characterization instead of direct facial, verbal, and bodily expressions. However, since the context she provided in her school-type drawing was deficient and the meaning of her symbols can be interpreted in multiple ways, it was difficult to understand whether Suji really did feel anger in the situation she portrayed. In Chapter 4, many aspects of Suji’s school-type drawing about her angry emotion are confusing, such as:

1) Why did Suji select this emotional story as her subject matter? (2) Why didn’t she depict her angry emotion directly? (3) Why was the boy’s figure, which holds an important clue about this emotional situation, depicted very small? (4) Did Suji depict a
real emotional experience? (5) Although Suji has good drawing skills, why did she depict this subject matter in this way?

Why did Suji select this emotional story as her subject matter?

The same drawing theme, “Draw your angriest emotional experience in school,” was assigned to all study participants. Yet, Suji depicted her emotional experience, which was not obviously an angry one, as a dream. In interviewing her, Suji avoided stating the reason why she selected this subject matter for the drawing assignment. Therefore, her reasoning can only be assumed.

Children were able to detect who and what was depicted in other classmates’ drawings. If Suji had depicted an angry emotional experience in her school life, some of her friends would have been described negatively. Because Suji had yet to develop close relationships with her peers, portraying this kind of subject matter was somewhat risky for her.

In Mina’s case, although she selected her angry emotional experience from school, she depicted her three friends straightforwardly and negatively. Because her illustration depicted competing teams, her teammates would have supported her if the identified girls from the other team complained about her drawing.
Why didn’t Suji depict her angry emotion directly?

Why Suji did not portray her anger directly in her school-type drawing is not clearly understood. She also did not depict her angry emotion indirectly so the viewer is left questioning if she is really feeling anger in the situation or if she is surprised, sad, or embarrassed. According to her everyday pattern of expressing emotions, it might be natural for Suji not to express her anger directly and to feel more comfortable if viewers understood her illustration to be something other than anger.

Why was the boy’s figure, which holds an important clue about this emotional situation, depicted very small?

The role of the boy in Suji’s school-type drawing is not clear. He is drawn too small to be recognized clearly. However, if he was depicted larger, the viewer would immediately understand that the reason for her anger is associated with this boy. If the boy is identified as Suji’s brother, her relationship with him can be assumed. According to Suji she did not have a positive relationship with him because of their past emotional interactions with each other. In school, Suji expressed and solved her emotional conflicts indirectly by asking her teacher for resolution, but at home, she had no support from her absent parents or grandparents, who respected her brother more. Therefore, when assigned to portray her angriest emotional experience, her subject matter quite possibly reflects a situation related to her brother since their emotional conflicts were never resolved. In interviews about her drawings, Suji stated that that she attempted to depict her brother in a negative light.
MK  You were asked to draw about your angry experience. Is this drawing about your angry experience?
Suji  Yes. Look at this. My brother’s rude gesture… ha ha ha.
MK  Ah… here you are! Do you think that other people can understand your depiction of an angry experience in this drawing?
Suji  Sure. Look at this and this (She points to the short lines above her brother’s middle finger and the symbol on the back of her head.). ha ha ha ha.
MK  This and this (I point to the same things she just pointed to.)
Suji  Sure!

(Interview with Suji, July 5, 2006)

Despite her willingness to depict her brother poorly, why did Suji draw him so that he would be difficult to recognize by others? Clues to her reason are offered in her interview, where she told me about her disdain for journal writing. In Korean elementary school, students write journals about their daily experiences and regularly submit them to their homeroom teacher to read. Suji had been writing daily journals since she started school and Ms. Lee read and commented about them once a week.

I do not write what I experienced as it had been done. If so, I would be punished. I do not write my story straight. I think that I must be punished. I have never been punished… but… if I write that my brother hit me, they [teachers] would ask why he hit me. They might inquisitively ask, “Why did he?” I never write about my experience frankly since teachers will read it in my daily journal.

(Interview with Suji, July 5, 2006).

Suji may have wanted to depict her angry experience with her brother, but, at the same time, she was afraid of other people knowing about her real experience and their response to it. As a result, she depicted her brother small in size to leave viewers guessing.
Did Suji Depict a Real Emotional Experience or Not?

According to Suji, she depicted an actual emotional experience in her school-type drawing. She believed that viewers would easily recognize the situation she illustrated to be related to the board game *Blue Marble*. Yet, her teachers, mother, and friends did not know this until they were told.

Although Suji Has Good Drawing Skills, Why Did She Depict This Subject Matter in This Way?

From an analysis of her school-type drawing, Suji pays relatively careful attention and detail to the realistic depiction of human figures and objects rather than to the emotional theme assigned. Evidence of Suji’s drawing skills as reflected in her depiction of three-dimensional objects and details of the human characters and objects suggests that it would have been possible for her to depict her angry emotional experience more realistically. Suji’s passive emotional expressions of anger in her everyday life partially explains why she did not depict her angry emotional situation clearly, but to understand her decision to use certain expressive strategies, it is necessary to explore her artistic experience related to her school-type drawing.

Why Did Suji Erase Human Figures Illustrated with a Front View and with a Strong Emotional Expression in her School-type Drawing?

In Suji’s school-type drawing, four female images and one male image were erased almost completely. If their images remained in her drawing, her angry emotional
state would have been easily and clearly distinguished by viewers. Because they were eventually erased, I was certain that she intended to depict her angry emotional experience indirectly and vaguely despite her drawing ability. Perhaps she wanted viewers to pay attention to the reason why she felt angry rather than who she was angry at in this particular situation.

**A Second Look at Expressive Strategies Used in Suji’s Manwha-Type Drawing**

Next, I will re-examine Suji’s manwha-type drawing (Figure 6) to understand the meaning and function of expressive strategies used.

**Induced Viewers’ Attention towards and Empathy with Suji**

Unlike her school-type drawing, Suji’s manwha drawing provoked my attention to Suji and caused me to empathize with her in diverse ways. Moreover, this inducement seemed direct. In several frames, I could not help but pay attention to her since her front view was portrayed and what she felt at each moment was fully explained through multiple frames. In fact, in this illustration, Suji not only expresses negative emotions but also positive ones directly in her everyday life. In addition, she replied that she did not express any negative emotions towards her brother; therefore, her angry expression depicted in her manwha drawing is considered to be different from what is portrayed in her real life. Compared to her school-type drawing, her manwha more actively seeks viewers’ empathy for her.
Direct and Clear Information about Emotional Context

In order for Suji to express anger safely in her life, it was necessary to justify her emotional reaction to other people. For this to occur, it was helpful to have clear and direct information about the emotional context. As a result, her manwha provided a better context from which I could understand her use of expressive strategies. It remains to be answered why she did not provide the same type of information about her emotional situation in her school-type drawing.

Direct Emotional Expressions

In her manwha-type drawing, Suji drew many direct emotional expressions including anger and other types of emotions, such as embarrassment, sadness, and happiness. These direct emotional expressions were not fully explained even with additional information about the socialization of Suji’s emotional expression. No evidence was found for any direct angry expression in her school-type drawing, but she depicted angry facial and bodily expressions and wrote angry verbal expressions even when she was not supposed to express them as such in Frames 1, 2, and 5 of her manwha. In these frames, even though there is no emotional conflict with others, she continues to feel and express her anger. As such, why did Suji depict her anger directly in her manwha-type drawing?
In her school-type drawing, Suji is shown to have good drawing skills through her depiction of 3-D objects, spatial relationships, and detailed description of human figures, yet her angry emotional states are not clearly depicted. In contrast, in her manwha drawing, Suji successfully depicts the human characters with diverse emotional states. For example, Suji’s figure is depicted in 12 of the 14 frames and each one is drawn with different emotions or different degrees of the same emotion. In addition, her figures are drawn from different points of view, such as a front facing view, in profile, a back facing view, and zoomed in or zoomed out.

Although Suji is able to depict the human characters’ emotional states effectively, why did she not implement these drawing skills in her school-type drawing? In fact, restored images which were erased by Suji in her school-type drawing show that she tried several times to express her angry emotional state directly through the facial expressions of herself and her brother, but eventually she changed her mind. What prompted this change in her use of expressive strategies and why did she use images of human figures that looked similar to the erased images in her manwha?

Summary

Understanding what emotional experiences Suji had at school and at home and what she internalized from her angry emotional experience significantly helped me explore the meaning and function of her use of expressive strategies in her two drawings. I attempted to answer questions that were initially brought up in my analysis of her
drawings in Chapter 4 by using additional contextual information about her emotional experience.

Interestingly, most questions about Suji’s expressive strategies in her school-type drawing can be answered. She paid more attention to information that would help her viewers understand the emotional situation from her own viewpoint instead of directly asserting her emotional state through the use of detailed and clear facial or bodily expressions to display her emotional state directly. This expressive strategy is similar to what she uses in real life in her expression of negative emotions. Thus, I conclude that Suji’s angry emotional theme in her school-type drawing reflects her understanding of socio-cultural meaning and function of expressing anger through the use of specific expressive strategies.

In contrast, the expressive strategies used in her manwha-type drawing are not explained fully even with additional information about her emotional experience. It appears that Suji used different display rules in her manwha-type drawing. To understand why Suji depicted the same assigned theme differently in her school-type drawing and her manwha-type drawing, I explored the artistic experience she had related to these two types of drawings.
Chapter 6

A THIRD LOOK: SUJI’S UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL MEANING AND FUNCTION OF HER DRAWINGS

In this study, I investigated the effect of non-visual culture, which is considered to be indirectly related to children’s drawings, on children’s visual expression by exploring the socio-cultural meaning and function of expressive strategies used in one Korean child’s (Suji) drawings. In Chapter 4, I transformed the visual data of Suji’s drawings into textual data to find expressive strategies she used in her two kinds of drawings by reading their meaning and function only with information from the drawings themselves. From this analysis, however, several questions remained unanswered.

Therefore, in Chapter 5 I explored how Suji’s angry emotional expressions were socialized through her everyday practices to comprehend the origin of her choice of expressive strategies. I re-examined her drawings with this contextual information at hand. The additional information provided better understanding as to why Suji depicted the assigned theme in her school-type drawing as she did; however, questions about her manwha-type drawing still remained.

In her school-type drawing, Suji depicted her angry emotion similarly to how she expressed her anger in everyday life. That is, there are common expressive patterns between how she expresses her anger in life and how she depicted her angry emotional state in her drawing. In contrast, in her manwha drawing, Suji depicted her angry emotional state differently from how she usually expresses anger in everyday life. Therefore, information about Suji’s socialization of an angry emotional expression did
not provide decisive clues to explain the meaning and function of expressive strategies
used in her manwha.

Why did Suji depict the same drawing theme far differently in her two types of
drawings? It appears she understands the difference in the meaning and function of visual
expressions when the same theme is depicted in her school-type drawing and in her
manwha-type drawing. While a school-type drawing, usually expressed within only one
frame space, is a different genre of drawing than manwha, which is expressed within
multiple frames, what other differences did Suji learn? For example, what and how did
Suji learn about these two different types of drawings in her life? Were they taught
equally importantly? What social expectations about these two types of drawing exist in
Korean culture and did Suji recognize them? Did her understanding of the meaning and
function of these two types of drawings affect her choice of expressive strategies in
depicting the same theme?

In this chapter, I explore Suji’s artistic drawing experience through observations
and interviews to answer the remaining questions presented in the previous chapters.
Since I believe that a child’s learning, specifically art learning, occurs throughout one’s
entire life and not just within the art classroom, I observed Suji’s art-related activities in
her everyday life both in and out of school, such as art activities prepared by Mr. Han, the
art teacher, and other art activities prepared by school administrators, her homeroom
teacher, peers, and her parents. In the analysis of my observations, I tried to find what
Suji and her friends repeatedly experienced related to their drawings and what socio-
cultural value and expectations were reflected in them. Moreover, interviews with Suji
and her friends, teachers, and parents informed me as to how Suji understood the
meaning and function of visual expressions in school drawings and manwha, and how her understanding affected her use of expressive strategies.

This chapter consists of three sections: (1) what Suji and her friends learn from art and art-related school activities, (2) what Suji learns from her own art experience, and (3) a third examination of Suji’s drawings using information about her artistic experience.

What Students Learn from Art and Art-Related Activities

From my observations, I categorized art activities Suji experienced with her friends into five types: (1) representative school art activities prepared by Mr. Han in his art classes; (2) art activities planned at the school level; (3) art activities planned by Ms. Lee, the homeroom teacher in teaching other subjects; (4) art-related activities that influence children’s understanding of the meaning and function of drawings indirectly, such as artwork displayed in school and other visual resources that children are exposed to in everyday life; and (5) additional art activities at private art institutes. In this section, I explore what Suji and her friends learned from these different kinds of art and art-related activities.

Art Activities in Art Class

The Structure of Korean 6th Grade Art

In Korea, art is a required subject from 1st through 10th grades. Elementary school art is taught as the subject “Creative Life” to 1st and 2nd graders and as “Art” to 3rd
through 6th graders. First and 2nd graders learn art from their homeroom teachers. Third through 6th graders learn art mostly from their homeroom teachers and sometimes, depending on the school, from art teachers assigned to teach it. Korean 6th graders attend two 40-minute art classes per week, but in most cases, these art classes are scheduled consecutively and taught as an 80-minute art class.

As with other subjects, at the beginning of every semester, a textbook for art developed by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development is given to all teachers who will be teaching art and their students (Figure 10). A teaching guidebook is also provided to art teachers to assist them in preparing to teach the textbook’s 12 units in one semester. For teachers who did not major in art or art education but are required to teach art, the textbook is greatly emphasized in class.

Figure 10: 6th Grade Korean Art Textbook


**Suji’s Art Teacher, Mr. Han**

Mr. Han was one of two art teachers at Hangook Elementary School and taught 6th grade art classes. Previously, he taught for 35 years as an elementary homeroom teacher. Although he has no background in art or art education, he began teaching 6th grade art in the past year because the school principal assigned him this somewhat easy teaching position out of respect for his seniority. Last year, the principal of Hangook asked other teachers to teach one of the subjects for the 5th and 6th grade homeroom teachers to reduce their teaching responsibility. Yet, because of the relatively heavy burden of teaching many subjects, most teachers avoid teaching those particular grade levels. In addition, teachers prefer to be homeroom teachers rather than special subject area teachers because homeroom teachers have closer interactions with students in their own classroom and also have a higher salary. Eventually, Mr. Han and another senior teacher expressed their willingness to become specialized teachers, with the condition that they teach art since it is considered an easier subject to teach compared to other subjects.

With no formal education in art, Mr. Han taught art as suggested by the art textbook. He sometimes referred to educational websites and prepared lessons shared by other art teachers. Even though he did not find himself good at art, he did not think it difficult to teach it to elementary students. He focuses on helping students improve on their art work. To have his students satisfied with their final work, Mr. Han believes it important to give them detailed directions.
At 11:08 a.m., Ms. Lee prepares to leave her classroom. Mr. Han opens the door and bows to Ms. Lee. She bows back and leaves the classroom quickly. Mr. Han attaches two sample artworks by students from a different class to the blackboard and starts writing on the board:

Title: Various Expressions – Pointillism using cotton swabs

Procedures

1. Sketch: Use a pencil, lightly
2. Outline: Mark points with dark colors
3. Fill inside with various colors: Opposite colors, family colors
4. Background: Paints, Brushes, Mark dots on only parts of background
5. After Completion: Boys’ works → Youngchul, Girls’ works → Jihyun

After writing, he turns to the students and says, “Today, we are going to do pointillism using cotton swabs. The procedure is, first, sketch! If you don’t have any idea, you can copy an image from a textbook. But don’t draw any manwha-like images and characters. It’s not good. Sketch your idea with a pencil very lightly. If you do your sketch too dark, your sketch will show even after marking the points with colors. It is also not good! What are you suppose to do after the sketch? Mark points along the outline of your sketch with dark colors. Some students use primary colors but it would be better to mix colors and use secondary colors! Next, fill the sketch with various colors such as opposite colors or family colors. And then paint [the background] and mark the dots in just part of it!”

After Mr. Han’s explanation, Hyosun raised her hand high and asks, “Jaewon wants to know what colors he needs to use for the inside.” “Similar colors!” Mr. Han answered and continues, “After completion, boys! You guys give your art work to Youngchul. Girls, you give your art work to Jihyun! Any questions?” Mr. Han then shouts, “Start!” As soon as Mr. Han asks students to start working, they start asking questions. “Make a sketch horizontally or vertically?” Mr. Han answers, “Up to you! You can copy images in textbooks such as a textbook for Korean.” Taejin asks, “How about the national flag of Korea?” “No. Don’t do it!” answers Mr. Han. “Can I draw characters [manwha-like commercial characters]?” asks Hanbyul. “No. I said that you should not draw it!” shouts Mr. Han. Children continue to ask him questions. Jihyun asks, “How about a flower vase?” “Good,” answers Mr. Han. He sits down and opens the art textbook. “Here are good images such as Changduk Palace” says Mr. Han. “May I draw a human figure?” asks Hanbyul again. “Yes,” says Mr. Han, “Stop questioning!” Jihyun raises her sketchbook over her head and asks, “Mr. Han, how about this sketch? Can I continue to work on it?” Mr. Han tells her, “Stop questioning!” The students finally calm down and concentrate on their sketches.

(11:08 a.m., May 8, 2006)
During my three-month observation period, I observed nine art classes in Ms. Lee’s classroom. The first three observations explored social values or expectations about students’ art making that exist in this particular classroom and how they were learned. I paid attention to their interactions with Mr. Han and their friends and the repeated practices they engaged in when making art. I also investigated cultural regularities related to their art making by observing how Mr. Han assigned subject matter in class, students’ responses to them, what aspects of their drawings he paid attention to, his comments, and students’ conversations with their peers about their art-making process.

From my observations, I characterized Mr. Han’s art classes and explored what socio-cultural values and expectations about children’s drawings existed and how Suji and her friends internalized them through repeated practice and interactions with Mr. Han.

**Characteristics of Mr. Han’s Art Class**

Teacher-Centered Art

As observed in Ms. Lee’s class, students also asked many questions to Mr. Han to confirm what type of art he really expected them to produce before they started. Since Mr. Han did not have as strong as an authority as Ms. Lee in the classroom, the students were more noisy and interacted with him more actively. Despite this atmosphere, most classroom decisions, including the students’ expressive decisions, were made by Mr.
Han. Students asked Mr. Han’s opinion and permission in developing their idea, sketching their ideas, choosing images and colors, and deciding whether to finish or not.

I observed a few teaching patterns in Mr. Han’s art classes and thought that these repeated practices would be related to specific student behaviors. At the beginning of art class, Mr. Han always wrote directions for their assignment, consisting of several steps. To move on to the next step, students needed Mr. Han’s permission. If they did not, he would provide negative feedback or assign a lower grade on their final project.

Mr. Han: (To Mina) “I told you not to start painting! Just make your sketch more detailed.” He points to a figure in her drawing and says sharply, “Do you really think that looks like running?”

Mina: (She erases the image of the human figure running and draws it again.)

Mr. Han: (To all students) “Make a very detailed sketch before painting. Draw as much detail so everyone can understand what situation you drew. It’s not time to start painting! You start painting after getting my permission!”

(11:10 a.m. May 20, 2006)

Jiwoo: “I’m done!”
Mr. Han: “No! Paint similar colors on it more!”
Chanyoung: “Mr. Han, I’m done, too.”
Mr. Han: “No! You also need to paint it more with similar colors!”
Hongsoon: “Mr. Han, I’m done! I didn’t paint the background.”
Mr. Han: “Why didn’t you paint the background?”
Hongsoon: “I don’t want to do it.”
Mr. Han: “No! Your background should be painted! Even when you think it’s fine, it is really not fine! If you do everything as you want, why are you here and why do you work here?”
Mr. Han: (Looking at Sungmin’s drawing) “Hey, who is it? It looks like a naked guy! Why did you not paint his clothes with other colors?”
Mr. Han: (Looking at Suhan’s drawing) “Why did you not draw any human figures? I assigned what you experienced but who’s experience is this drawing about?”
Mr. Han: (Looking at Jiyeon’s drawing) “What is it?”
Jiyeon “Turn it around. I wrote a story about it.”
Mr. Han “Didn’t I tell you to draw as detailed as possible in order to make everyone understand your drawing without any explanation? Why
does this guy not have arms? Do you always put your arms to your body tightly like this?”

In-sung: “Mr. Han, how about my sketch? Isn’t it enough?”

Jina: “Mr. Han, can I start painting?”

Mr. Han: “Okay. You can start painting.”

(11:30 a.m. May 20, 2006)

The instances above illustrate that students were not allowed to move on to the next procedure until Mr. Han allowed them to do so. To complete their art project during class, students needed to figure out Mr. Han’s expectations quickly. If students did not finish their art assignment during class, they were required to stay after to complete it and were scolded by Ms. Lee.

Mr. Han’s art classes were highly teacher-centered as evidenced by his walking around the classroom and correcting students’ art work as he wanted without asking for their thoughts, as illustrated in these two illustrations.

Mr. Han: (To Gysun.) “This tree looks good, but…” (He has Gysun’s cotton swab to make color dots on her drawing.)

Gysun: (She seems to not want Mr. Han’s help.)

Mr. Han: (He adds more red and green dots to Gysun’s tree.)

Gysun: (She looks at what Mr. Han does to her drawing and five minutes later, leaves her position to see her friend.)

Mr. Han: (After Gysun leaves, he sits at her chair and keeps making colorful dots.)

(11:25 a.m. May 8, 2006)

Mr. Han is carefully looking at Jiwon’s drawing and hands him a navy blue crayon without any word. Jiwon is embarrassed when he realizes that it is Mr. Han who handed him the crayon. Mr. Han signals with his chin a few times, seemingly expressing, “Use this crayon. Go ahead!” When Jiwon finishes coloring, Mr. Han hands him another one. After this takes place several more times, Mr. Han takes Jiwon’s drawing to the front of the classroom and displays it on the blackboard as a sample work.

(11:40 a.m. May 8, 2006)
Instead of respecting students’ individual ideas and offering suggestions to improve their art, Mr. Han instead modified their artwork as to how he wanted it, without asking their permission. From these one-sided decisions, his students learned that their expressive strategies should not differ from his, so it was required of them to quickly and clearly figure out what he expected of their visual expressions.

Watercolor Painting-based Art Lessons

Nine of the 13 art classes during the semester were observed. The 13 art activities covered during the semester were as follows (Table 18):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description of Activity</th>
<th>Materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Surrealist Drawing</td>
<td>Develop an idea and express it surrealistically</td>
<td>Water paints on paper after pencil sketch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Still Image</td>
<td>Bring objects such as fruits and plants and realistically depict them</td>
<td>Water paints on paper after pencil sketch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Observational Drawing</td>
<td>Draw one’s shoe</td>
<td>Pencil on paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Simplified Drawing</td>
<td>Draw an object such as a person or animal in detail and simplify it through two drawing steps</td>
<td>Watercolors on paper after pencil sketches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Plaster</td>
<td>Cast one’s profile in plaster</td>
<td>Plaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Collage</td>
<td>Collaborate in groups and decide on a theme for collaborative art making, cut pictures from magazines, and assemble them humorously</td>
<td>Magazine pictures glued on paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Decalcomania</td>
<td>Squeeze water colors on to black paper, fold and open, cut symmetrical images, add more lines or images with markers or crayons, and make a collage with a theme</td>
<td>Watercolors on paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Coloring Traditional</td>
<td>Color a copy of traditional Korean designs prepared by the art teacher</td>
<td>Markers, crayons or watercolors on paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Art Activity</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Art Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pointillism Painting</td>
<td>Sketch a landscape, referring to pictures in books, and paint with cotton swabs</td>
<td>Watercolors on paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Stamping</td>
<td>Seal cut one’s name with a rubber eraser</td>
<td>Rubber eraser and ink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>Sketch and paint one’s life experience on paper</td>
<td>Watercolors on paper after pencil sketch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Stenciling</td>
<td>Stencil a simple shape repeatedly on to a paper and make the figure of a natural object such as a flower, tree, bee, etc.</td>
<td>Watercolor stencil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Imitating the Cover Design of a Snack</td>
<td>Bring a favorite snack, copy its cover design on to paper with a pencil, paint it, put the painting into a transparent vinyl envelope, and put crumpled newspapers behind the painting in order to make it a real snack</td>
<td>Watercolors on paper after pencil drawing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these art activities, watercolors were the main art material in nine of the activities. Before painting with them, students were always asked to first sketch their idea with pencil. Mr. Han always required a detailed pencil sketch but when they painted them, the paints bled over the sketch lines and mixed together. Many students did not seem to know how to deal with this and became very disappointed that they ruined their paintings. Students were always busy trying to finish near the end of class. Since they did not have time to wait for the watercolors to dry, students often painted new colors over while their drawings were still wet, causing the colors to mix. At the end of art class, the phrase “Mine is ruined again!” was heard from several students.

Jawon: “Look at mine!”
MK: “Great!”
Chanyoung: “Wow, it would be very difficult to paint yours. How would you paint it?”
Jawon: “I don’t know… I don’t want to paint it…. It would be ruined!”
MK: “Why?”
Jawon: “I always do. If I paint, I’m always in trouble. Mine is always ruined!”
Suman: “Ms. Kim, Look at mine! Didn’t I sketch it well? But… you can
Mr. Han believed that watercolor painting is a necessary art practice in older elementary students and he expected his students to possess these skills. Yet, many were observed to have difficulty in watercolor painting and told me that watercolor painting made them embarrassed. According to Mr. Han,

Before the semester begins, I always check what I’m supposed to teach using the national textbook and teacher’s guide book. There is a flowchart of art curriculum which shows how to teach art sequentially. [According to the curriculum] children up to 2nd grade use crayons and sometime they use watercolors. However, it is really rare. When children become a third grader, there are a few art lessons using watercolors. From the 4th grade, children are supposed to use mainly watercolors. As you know, we have many art competitions at the school, community, and national levels. Those competitions always ask students to draw [paint] and they judge only watercolor paintings from the 4th grade. If some are drawn using crayons, they are excluded and not considered in the evaluation. Think about this. [In order to avoid unexpected mixed colors] draw an outline sketch with crayons and paint inside, then, even colors that have not yet dried would not mix together. However, this kind of drawing is evaluated as a lower level drawing than one using only watercolors.

For Mr. Han, the use of water colors in 6th grade art activities is necessary since such high-level skills are expected in Korean culture. While he stated that he followed the national art textbook and faithfully and that the national art curriculum emphasizes older children’s good painting skills, according to the teachers’ guidebook, an art teacher should give students the opportunity to choose their favorite materials to express their ideas.

Students can decide materials and tools in relation to what they want to express. Therefore, art teachers should not limit types of materials. When art teachers develop a unit plan for expression, they can suggest effective materials and tools for the unit but at that time, art teachers help students to understand the nature of diverse materials and how to use different tools.
and use them appropriately (Korean Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation, p. 9).

Communication of Teacher’s Expectation about Art Making

Interactions between Mr. Han and his students helped convey his expectations about specific types of art. As described above, if students did not follow his directions and complete their art during class, they were graded lower or received negative feedback. Therefore, students were sensitive to what Mr. Han expected from their art. When students’ art making did not satisfy his expectations, he actively tried to correct it.

Mr. Han often told his students, “You can draw as you want!” “Stop asking questions. Everything is dependent on your decision,” while in reality, they did not have many opportunities to make their own decisions in his classes. What they did learn from their interactions with Mr. Han was to copy the sample artwork displayed, use more shading and colors and leave no empty spaces, use water colors, and avoid manwha-like images.

Imitate Sample Artwork

At 11:25 a.m. after Mr. Han’s demonstration was done, children started sketching their ideas. Jihyun asked Mr. Han, “Can I draw flowers?” Mr. Han answers, “Sure.” Jihyun draws one large flower and stares at then erases it and asks Mr. Han again, “May I draw only one big flower?” Mr. Han is helping another student and answers, “What? You can draw whatever you want! Stop asking me questions!” However, Jihyun does not start sketching. She goes to the blackboard to look at the displayed artwork, observing them very carefully with her hands clasped behind her back. She goes back to her seat and starts her sketch. She draws trees
along a roadside, similar to one of displayed artwork. Two boys, In-su and Jaemin, go to the blackboard to look at displayed artwork as well.

(Observation, May 8, 2006)

Mr. Han always selects a few sample works from other classes and displays them on the blackboard (Figure 11). At the end of class, most students end up with artwork very comparable to the samples. Moreover, Mr. Han taught and encouraged students to make similar artwork like those displayed. When students made art as Mr. Han instructed, he displayed it on the blackboard as well (Figure 12). Moreover, since most of the sample artwork was related to nature, many of the students interviewed mostly remember drawing landscapes in art class (Interview with children, 2006).

Figure 11: Sample Artwork Displayed at the Beginning of Art Class (May 7, 2006)
Shading/More Color

Mr. Han: “Don’t you remember what I told you? I told that you must not paint this space with one primary color. Try to paint it with more secondary colors!”

Jina: “Now I cannot change it. I can’t!”

Mr. Han: “Try more. You have to add more colors and make better shading on it!”

(12:05 p.m. May 8, 2006)

Hyujin: “Can I hand in my drawing to you?” (She raises her drawing over her head to show to Mr. Han.)

Mr. Han: “No. Yours still has empty spaces! Paint it more.”

Hyujin: (She puts her art back on her desk and paints more.)

(12:00 p.m. June 19, 2006)

Although Mr. Han emphasized the use of colors and shading to create better artwork, his students did not seem to know how. Instead of teaching the process, he
oftentimes told students verbally or did it himself on the students’ own work without
clear explanations.

*Use Water Colors*

Hyujin: “May I use oil pastels?”
Mr. Han: “It would be better to use watercolors.”  
(11:52 a.m. May 1, 2006)

Mr. Han showed preference towards watercolors in his classes, as reflected in his
art lessons throughout the semester. He did not believe that oil pastels or crayons are an
appropriate art medium for 6th graders.

*Critical View of Manwha Drawings*

Mr. Han “What did you draw?” (He looks at Jaewon’s manwha-like
characters in his drawing.)
Jaewon: “It’s me.”
Hyujin: “It’s not good. You drew manwha!” (He leaves Jaewon, showing
his disappointment.)  
(12:00 p.m. Jun 19, 2006)

Mr. Han disapproved of manwha-like drawings in his art classes. He warned
students not to use manwha-like images in their drawings, especially prohibiting the
drawing of manwha-like characters. Mr. Han expressed his disappointment to students
who included such images in their drawings. Interestingly, it was these students who used
human figures in their drawings while most other students drew themes related to nature.
Art Activities Outside of Art Class

Outside of art class, Suji and her peers participated in other art activities in school, which also strongly influenced their beliefs about art making.

Repeated Art Competitions of Drawing a Poster

All Korean schools hold special art competitions, requesting children to draw an enlightening poster. The themes vary at each competition and include messages such as precaution against fires, saving water, peace education, unification of a nation, and the importance of science. As an elementary student, I also had to participate in these mandatory competitions every year. Since in my case, these enlightening poster competitions took place every year with the same themes such as anti-communism, traffic safety, precaution against fires, etc., I drew at least six posters of each theme before graduating. Suji and her classmates participated in this type of art competition twice before I started my research in their classroom.

During my time in the classroom, I observed a competition for environmental protection (see Figure 13). Ms. Lee got the official message for the date and theme of the next poster competition, “Protection of the environment,” and announced it via the blackboard. She did not mention what art materials students should use, but because they were experienced in competitions, the students knew what they would have to bring to school that day.
On the day of the poster competition, Ms. Lee canceled their second and third classes and had the students begin their drawings. They were given 80 minutes to sketch and paint their poster as Ms. Lee worked at her desk. Once they were done, students submitted their completed paintings to Ms. Lee, who determined the best poster after school according to specific rules, such as whether it was painted neatly, that the colors did not run together, and if the idea was creative. Teachers submitted their class’ best poster to Ms. Lee, who was responsible for choosing the best poster from the entire school. Mina, from Ms. Lee’s class, won the competition and the award ceremony was broadcast to all classes by classroom TV. When Mina returned to class with her prize, the other students celebrated with her and Ms. Lee displayed her poster on the bulletin board in front of the classroom for almost two months (Figure 14).
Almost every month, Ms. Lee’s students participate in competitive drawing. The goal of these types of art experiences is not to teach art, but rather to ask students to draw according to what the sponsor of the particular drawing competition requested. The standards of these poster paintings were very clear; for example, watercolors had to be painted within the assigned sketch and there are to be no accidental mixing of colors. I found that children employed these painting rules from art competitions to all types of their paintings. Moreover, they evaluated their own and their friends’ paintings according to these rules where students who possessed good water coloring techniques were admired. That is, more emphasis was placed on drawing or painting techniques than on the creativity of one’s idea.

Figure 14: Mina’s Poster about Unification of a Nation Had Been Displayed on the Front Blackboard for Almost One Month after Receiving an Award.
**Other Art Competitions**

There were other art competitions in which only talented students participated. Every other week, students listened to a school meeting in their classroom via TV and listened as the principal spoke about special school events from the previous week. The highlight in one meeting was the announcement of students who received prizes from various competitions in art, science, and math (Figure 15).

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**Figure 15:** Suji’s Third Place Landscape Drawing at a Local Art Competition (Watercolors on pencil sketch, 42 cm X 60 cm)

Ms. Kim is an art teacher who trains talented students nominated by their classroom teacher in local or national level art competitions. In an interview with her, she noted receiving 20 notifications of art competitions for talented students in one semester (Interview with Ms. Kim, June 27, 2006). Most of them requested that students draw
landscapes with watercolors. As such, every year Ms. Kim would ask each homeroom teacher to nominate students good at watercolor painting (Figure 16).

Because these official art competitions emphasized landscape watercolor painting, students may internalize that artistic children are those who have skills in detailed and realistic sketches of landscape and in watercolor painting. In fact, when I asked Ms. Lee’s students who was good at art in their class, most of them nominated Mina, Jywon, and Suji, all of whom showed excellent technique in drawing and watercolor painting. Students who have artistic talents in other areas, such as sculpture, photography, design, and comics, are not considered notable.
Art-Related Activities in Other Classes

Ms. Lee also prepared, although rarely, art-related activities in her other classes. During my classroom observation period, I observed three art-related activities in her classes — making a class T-shirt (Figure 17), a small bag doll (Figure 18), and drawing the organs of the human body in science class (Figure 19). All students made the same image using a stencil on their T-shirt, which required no special drawing skills. The doll assignment emphasized needlework and students were asked only to draw a simple facial expression, so Suji and her classmates did not have any difficulty. However, in science class, Ms. Lee asked them to copy images of internal organs of the human body from the science textbook, which required advanced drawing skills from the students. On this project, students’ drawing skills were compared with one another, so some students asked the more talented ones to help with their drawings. Suji helped her deskmate on this project.

Figure 17: Making a Class T-Shirt
Art-Related Activities in the School Environment

Drawings Displayed in the Hallway

One of six classrooms, Ms. Lee’s classroom was located on the fourth floor. In the hallway, two drawings of landscapes using watercolors on a pencil sketch are
displayed on the pillars, with one drawing facing Ms. Lee’s classroom. They appear to have been drawn by talented students and the drawing techniques of shading and perspective are used effectively.

On the other floors where the lower grade classrooms are located, more childlike drawings are displayed. These samples appear to teach artistic skills that are expected for each grade level. From looking at the displayed artwork, Suji and her classmates may feel that other 6th graders should be able to draw at that same level.

Manwha Culture in School

When I was introduced by Ms. Lee to her students, I explained what I wanted to study with them. Ms. Lee assigned a seat for me as one boy’s deskmate. He asked me, “Why do you want to study manwha? It is nothing. Useless, isn’t it?” When I asked him why he thought that, he answered, “All adults think children’s manwha is needless. No adult pays attention to our manwha.” Yet, he showed strong interest in me and my research.

Students are permitted to bring and read comic books in Ms. Lee’s classroom. Before school begins or during recess, many children are observed to be reading comic books (Figure 20 and 22). For example, one day during recess, I observed 16 of the 35 students in the classroom reading comics. Students also often draw manwha and discard them once recess is over (Figure 21).
Figure 20: Students’ Reading and Drawing of Manwha During Recess in Ms. Lee’s Classroom
Figure 21: Favorite Manwha Books among Students

Figure 22: Students’ Manwha Collected from the Recycling Bin
However, not all teachers allowed manwha in school. In an interview with Suji and her classmates, I learned that their previous teachers did not allow them to bring comics into the classroom, but since Ms. Lee incorporated manwha into her teaching, she seemed more receptive to it (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Ms. Lee Using Manwha-Like Images to Teach Students

MK “I saw many students reading comic books in the classroom.”
In-Su: “Ms. Lee did not say anything about our reading comic books. She is different!”
MK “Is she different? How?”
In-Su: “Other teachers did not allow us to bring comic books in school. If it was observed by them, we would have been killed.”
MK “Why do you think your teacher let you do it?”
In-Su: “I don’t know. She can draw manwha very well. She drew many manwha characters in her teaching.”

(Interview with In-su, May 9, 2006)

Another piece of evidence that children’s manwha culture is not welcome in school appears on a note on the bulletin board at the front entrance to the school (Figure 24). It lists the rules that students should follow: (1) Do not go to the store for computer games or manwha, (2) Do not buy superfluities; and (3) Recycle waste. Even though Suji and her classmates had relatively more freedom to enjoy manwha in their
classroom, they learned through many channels like this that their interest in manwha was not officially allowed in school or in society.

Additional Art Activities in Private Art Institutes

In fact, I wanted to be an artist, but I felt drawing was difficult more and more. I learned art from a private art institute through the 3rd grade. After stopping, my drawing skills became worse. When there was an art competition to draw an enlightening poster, I drew it from a private art institute. I drew enlightening posters about precautions against fires and on the importance of science. My art teacher in that institute taught me how to draw them well.

(Interview with In-Su, May 9, 2006)

I learned art from a private art institute during summer break in 5th grade for two months. I didn’t finish the entire curriculum. I quit in the middle. First, I drew a circle and then shaded it. Next, animals, human figures, shading using watercolors, changing the amount of water. Next I might draw human faces, portraits? And I learned to express motions. I didn’t draw real objects. I copied images in a book. What was that book? I went
there five days a week except on weekends. I learned how to draw an enlightening poster for two days and I drew watercolor paintings on the rest of the days. I drew there one hour a day. If I could not finish what was assigned, especially drawings, I continued to do it next day. I had been good at drawing for two months after I stopped learning art from that institute. Then I forgot to draw more and more. When I was learning art from the private art institute, I felt that I was much better than those who didn’t learn art [from a private art institute] because they drew really badly.

(Interview with Juman, May 29, 2006)

Right before summer break, my 5th grade teacher let us to bring home our art files, which had all of our drawings we made in school. My parents told me that I did a great job, but when they found some not very good drawings, they told me that I was not good at them so I needed to learn art from a private art institute. My older sister is a good student but she always told me that her bad art skills ruined her overall grade. She also said that she should have learned art in a private art institute as well.

(Interview with Eunju, July 5, 2006)

While interviewing Ms. Lee’s students, I was surprised at their many out of school learning experiences in art, such as enrollment at private art institutes (Figure 25). Those who thought that they were not good at art insisted that the primary reason was because they lacked additional art learning experiences at a private art institute, maintaining that they would be better artists if they had the opportunity to enroll. I wondered what learning experiences students had at private art institutes and what they learned about drawing. Therefore, I surveyed 32 of Ms. Lee’s students on their participation in private art institutes. Over half replied that they studied art at an after school private art institute, learning how to draw landscape, still life, and an enlightening poster. These types of experiences were very helpful in receiving a good grade in art class at school. Many of the respondents expected to learn more techniques needed for
watercolor painting and drawing observations and enlightening posters because most art activities in school require these techniques (Figure 25).

Interestingly, the decision to enroll in additional art learning outside of school is the result of parents’ active involvement in and strong expectation about their children’s learning. To gain a higher social position within Korean society, parents are very concerned about their child’s academic achievement. Therefore, they pay careful attention to what is expected in school and try to prepare their children in meeting that expectation. In regards to art learning, how parents understand and respond to the socio-cultural expectation about their child’s drawings is revealed in an interview conducted with an art teacher at a private art institute located near Hangook Elementary School.

We have many [Hangook] Elementary School students because we are located in front of it... For 6th graders, it is important to prepare creative art activities and activities that they like. However, an actual circumstance is, I think not only my institute but also at other private art institutes, we cannot teach art as parents expect. In fact, children do not learn art here
because gaining high points from art class in junior high school is important for children. In 6th grade, their art is not evaluated with points but it will be evaluated with points in junior high school. In order to prepare for it, [parents] ask me to teach skills required in junior high school. If I teach art that focuses on children’s creativity, they are unable to catch up with others and will score low points in art. I also feel that this way is not right and it’s kind of cramming teaching, however, a specific type of drawing is known as a “Good Drawing.” Therefore, I have to teach it. When children register for an art program here, parents directly tell me, “My child is not good at a landscape drawing, observational drawing, poster drawing. Please teach him to draw them well.” They ask me to teach art like that. I’m not the only one who teaches art in this way, other teachers do as well. There are many art competitions at Hangook Elementary School. At least once a month! A landscape or enlightening poster, they draw these things regularly. Children are supposed to draw a specific theme poster on a specific month. Therefore, I prepare students for it. I know what students will draw this month and that month. I let children draw the specific theme before the art competition.

(Interview with an art teacher in a private art institute, July 22, 2006)

Summary

Art activities that Suji and her peers experienced in their lives were observed to examine how they understand the meaning and function of school-type drawings and manwha in their socio-cultural context. In my observations and interviews, I realized that students, as well as their teachers and parents, are socialized to consider specific techniques (i.e., landscape drawings) and the need for additional art learning in drawings that are produced in school. In school, students’ drawings are not products of self-expression. Rather, students attempt to read into the theme and techniques that are socio-culturally expected to be used in their drawings. When they are unable to grasp these values and expectations of their visual expression, their drawings are forcibly corrected.
In contrast, with manwha drawings, students expressed a completely opposite attitude since these types of drawings are prohibited and not considered important. No one mentioned the need to draw manwha using specific techniques or a particular theme. Even though manwha exists as a powerful visual culture within students’ lives, in school, most of her teachers consider manwha to be meaningless and invisible.

What Suji Learned from her Art Experiences

Suji and Art

Suji loved to draw even when she was very young. For example, when mothers have a tea party, they give something to eat to their child in order to calm them. However, if there are papers and color pencils, Suji became very calm. She really loved to draw and her drawings looked great. She drew better than those in her same age group.

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2006)

Early in life, Suji displayed artistic talent for drawing. Her mother thought that Suji’s artistic talent would help her make friends more easily. Therefore, her mother provided Suji with early learning opportunities at a private art institute with other children. The main goal was to make friends, not to learn art itself. However, Suji became tired learning art at the institute and repeatedly stopped and re-registered for the program.

Suji liked to draw, but enjoyed manwha even more. She remembered first copying commercial manwha images when she was two or three years old. One day in kindergarten, Suji saw a friend drawing a manwha story and attempted to draw her own.
Her peers started showing interest and Suji felt that she could make friends with her manwha.

In the 5th grade, Suji had a difficult time making friends since she was a transfer student. Whenever she had time, she drew manwha. Argard was her first long story manwha based on a famous video game (Figure 32). Through this manwha, she met Taeyeon who also liked to draw manwha and they began sharing ideas.

In the 6th grade, Suji knew many of her classmates enjoyed reading and drawing comics, so she not only drew manwha, but also brought many comic books to school. Ms. Lee did not punish her for bringing comic books into the classroom as other classroom teachers did, so Suji interacted with her classmates, but none were close relationships. Her classmates spoke to Suji only when they wanted to borrow, watch her draw, or read her manwha.

At the private art institute, Suji learned drawing techniques to draw a landscape, still life, an observation, and other types of drawings, but she was bored because she did not have the right to decide how she drew. Therefore, she stopped going to the institute in the 4th grade but recently, registered for private art lessons to learn new techniques for school as well as fulfill her dream of becoming a manwha artist. Suji dreamed of majoring in art, but she felt she needed to acquire specific drawing techniques such as shading, perspective, and coloring. Even though she did not enjoy learning how to draw in this way, she continued to learn art at the private institute.

At the same time, Suji also realized that different drawing techniques are needed for manwha and learned these techniques on her own from commercial manwha and
animations. When she found good images or expressive strategies, she copied them in a notebook and practiced drawing them.

Among her peers, Suji was reputed to be a talented manwha artist. In the classroom, she had many opportunities to share her work, but only a few had read her self-initiated manwha stories.

**Suji’s School-type Drawing Experience**

The first thing Suji stated to me before we introduced each other was, “My dream is to enter a college of art!” Related to drawing, what did Suji experience in her life and how did these experiences influence her understanding of the meaning and function of drawing? In this section, I explore her drawing experience including school-type drawing and manwha drawing in and out of school.

**School-Type Drawing Experience**

Suji’s Weekly Art Schedule

Aside from time spent drawing manwha, Suji spent eight hours and 40 minutes a week making art (Table 19). Of this, over five hours were dedicated to learning art related to specific forms of drawing required for drawing landscapes, still life, and enlightening drawings. This experience may have influenced Suji to consider techniques when she drew school-type drawings similar to what she drew in school or at the private art institute.
In this chapter, I investigate how Suji understands school-type drawings and how they influenced her expressive strategies to depict a negative emotional theme in her school-type art. I focused on Suji’s experience related to drawings she produced in and out of school and investigated what she learned about the meaning and function of school-type drawings through interactions with others, including her art teachers, friends, and parents.

### Suji’s School-Type Drawing in and out of School

Suji found her school art classes boring and viewed them negatively. She did not appreciate Mr. Han interrupting her and changing her drawing at his will. Since his drawing skills were not any better than hers, Suji did not find that he helped her improve her drawing but rather, that he ruined her drawing. In addition, Suji was never satisfied with the drawings she produced in art class because of the limited time she had to develop, sketch, and paint her artwork (Figure 26). In fact, the quality of her school drawings was worse than that those she produced at the art institute.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>School Art Class</th>
<th>Once a week on Monday (1 hour and 30 minutes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Art Class at a Private</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monday through Friday (5 hours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Art Club</td>
<td></td>
<td>Once a week on Friday (40 minutes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft Class after School</td>
<td></td>
<td>Once a week on Friday (1 hour and 30 minutes)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I didn’t want to draw it like this. Mr. Han ruined mine. This is totally different from my sketch. I would have painted it differently from what he did. I don’t mind. Finishing quickly is important. I just try to finish drawing in art class quickly.

(I Interview with Suji, July 5, 2006).
In addition, Suji was not able to make her own decisions on her visual expression. Because there are so many students in the class, Mr. Han did not always interrupt and correct Suji, but during my classroom observations, he restrained her in the development of ideas, sketching, and painting many times.

“You can copy images in textbooks such as a textbook for Korean [for pointillism drawing],” says Mr. Han. Afterwards, children start asking questions to get Mr. Han’s permission on whether they can use their idea for a sketch or not. Suji hears what is communicated and places her textbook on her desk and reaches down to get her manwha from under her desk. She turns the pages to find an image for the current art project. Mr. Han sees her looking at a manwha book and shouts, “Don’t refer to manwha! Don’t draw manwha-type images!” He then picks a children’s book from the books at the corner of the classroom and hands it to Suji. She does not appear happy. Finally, Suji opens the book and copies an image of a school building from the book (the 2nd image of figure 26).

(11:08 a.m., May 8, 2006)

Suji’s Drawings from the Special Art Club

At Hangook Elementary School, Ms. Lee taught a special art club. At the beginning of every semester, she asks the homeroom teachers in each grade to nominate talented art students and teaches them drawing and painting techniques. This special art club operates like a private art institute within the school. Because Ms. Lee was in charge of the art competitions at school, she knew the rules of the competitions (i.e., specific images and techniques that were worth more points) and what was needed in students’ drawings to get awarded. Many students from her club are past prize winners at various art competitions.
In the club, Suji practiced shading and perspectives by drawing solids of basic shapes and simple drawing of familiar themes, such as trees, Korean traditional houses, flowers, and diverse objects, every week (Figure 27). Suji found this repeated practice of learning techniques tedious yet important.

![Examples of Suji’s Drawings from the Special Art Club](image)

**Figure 27**: Examples of Suji’s Drawings from the Special Art Club

Suji’s Drawings at the Private Art Institute

Suji performed similar art activities at the private art institute like she did at her school’s art club. Most art activities at the art institute related to drawing, where the main goal focused on learning techniques for realistic drawings of observations, still images, and landscapes (Figure 28, 29, 30 and 31).
Figure 28: Shading Practice Using Solid Basic Shapes
Figure 29: Practice in Drawing Still Images
Figure 30: Suji’s Landscape Drawings from the Art Institute
Figure 31: Drawing Practice of an Enlightening Drawing at the Art Institute
Since I had to draw what the art teacher at the private institute assigns, it was somewhat boring. The art teacher puts some objects such as a circular cone on the table and asks me to draw it. Then I draw it, again and again. I told her I didn’t want to draw those things and I finally quit that institute. However, one day, when I drew a shoe [in art class at school], I didn’t know how to draw the tied shoelaces realistically. I couldn’t depict it so I drew more simple images that I could draw easier. At that time, I regretted that I stopped learning [drawing techniques] so I re-registered at the art institute.

(Interview with Suji, July 19, 2006)

Suji felt what she learned at the private institute helped her perform better in art class at school. She understood the socio-cultural expectations of children’s drawings through her many art activities in school as well as in private art classes, as revealed in the following statement.

Landscape drawing is the most important drawing. I like to draw human figures but the art teachers told me that I should not draw any human figures in drawings. If I really want to draw them, I need to draw them very small. Look here, did you understand these little images were human figures? Like this, good landscape drawings should be depicted well using shading and perspective and no human figures, just tress, flowers, and what else? Something like these drawings!

(Interview with Suji, July 19, 2006)

**Suji’s Understanding about Socio-cultural Expectations about School-Type Drawings through Interactions with Others**

Suji’s Understanding of Art Teachers’ Expectations about School-Type Drawings

When I was in lower grades such as the first grade, the [art teachers] didn’t pay attention to [detailed and realistic drawings], but in higher grades, [art] teachers are concerned about it a lot. For example, when I finished drawing a tree, they let me know and help me change what was not depicted well or what was depicted wrong.
Art teachers like drawings about landscapes or still images. They don’t like a story drawing like manwha.

Suji learned to draw with two different art teachers, Mr. Han and Ms. Kim. She understood that both art teachers considered it important to learn drawing techniques to depict object realistically.

MK  “Think about friends, parents and art teachers. When you draw a picture, whose responses to your drawing are you concerned with most?”
Suji: “The art teacher at the art institute. If she said, ‘It’s not good,’ I have to change my final product again. In order to do it by myself, first, I must not get that response from her. School art teachers, too!”
MK  “What types of drawing do art teachers think of as a good drawing?”
Suji: “A landscape drawing!”

Suji’s Understanding of Friends’ Expectations about School-Type Drawings

As soon as the theme, a memorable life experience, is assigned by Mr. Han, Suji promptly starts sketching. She competently draws a landscape with a tree and human figures under the big tree. Sometimes, she erases a few lines and draws them again, but in general, she does not have any difficulty drawing this picture. Her deskmate, Jinchul, draws a few images and erases them repeatedly. For almost 10 minutes, Jinchul does not finish any image. In-Su is seated in the last row in the classroom. He leaves his seat and wanders around the classroom to look at others drawings. He reaches Suji who sits in the first row of the classroom. He finds Suji’s sketch and stops at her desk. “Wow! Who drew it? Suji Lee, did you draw it? You are really good at drawing!” says In-Su. Suji smiles a bit. Then, she brings water in a plastic bowl from the restroom and begins to paint on her pencil sketch. Jinchul turns towards Suji and asks, “Hey, Suji Lee, how can you draw a cabbage? Please teach me how to draw it.” Suji helps him to draw an image of a cabbage.
Jungmi is seated in the row behind Suji. She looks at Suji’s drawing and says loudly, “Look at this bottle of coca cola! Heesun, look at what she did! Look at this bottle of coca cola! It looks real!”

In every art class, Suji receives positive responses from her peers, mostly praising her realistic drawing techniques of her sketches. No observations of positive responses were seen for her final product, a painted drawing, which she sketched carefully but painted quickly. She appeared to enjoy her peers’ responses but did not express her satisfaction outwardly.

I am really concerned about what other kids are talking about my drawing. Last time I drew an angel, but In-su asked, “Is it an angel? It doesn’t look like angel!” I was very irritated at him saying this. I don’t think that he can draw better than me.

Suji worried what her friends thought about her drawings. When choosing what drawing her friends would like best, she chose a still image of a plant and fruits and an observation drawing of a shoe even though the drawing of the flying car was her favorite school drawing. Suji thought that her friends would pay more attention to drawing techniques as her art teachers do.

Suji’s Understanding of her Parents’ Expectations about School-Type Drawings

I always showed my drawings made in kindergarten and the first grade to my parents. Back then, my parents told me that they [drawings] were interesting. I have not shown my drawings to them in a long time. Now I learn art at a private art institute but I started it just two, no, no, four
months ago. When I draw pictures in all of the pages of my sketchbook [in a private art institute], then I will show this sketchbook [to my parents].

(Interview with Suji, July 19, 2006)

Why did Suji stop showing her drawings to her parents but is willing to show her sketchbook to her parents now? Was this decreased desire to share with her parents related to her understanding of their expectations about her school-type drawings? Suji’s mother provided meaningful information to these questions in an interview.

On June 23, 2006, I met Suji’s mother in the 6th grade teachers’ lounge at Hangook Elementary School to explore aspects of Suji’s drawings her mother paid attention to and how it affected her expectations about Suji’s school-type drawings. I displayed Suji’s drawings from art class at school and asked her what came to mind when she looked at each drawing.

She just drew apples and oranges. Did she really draw and paint it? (She appears disappointed about Suji’s drawing skills.) (She stares at Suji’s still image drawing for a while and finally says) “What was the drawing theme? Fruits or a plant?” (She points to the space at the top of the drawing paper.) “I wish she had drawn the whole plant up to here. I thought that because Suji drew well, you want to study her. How could she draw just part of plant as being cut… coloring like this… watercolor painting… Suji didn’t do this well.”

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2006)

Suji did not make many watercolor paintings. She is always just doodling a lot with pencils so I don’t think she is good at painting, watercolor painting, not colored pencil or oil pastel drawings. I don’t understand what she really wanted to draw. Yes. Yes. Yes. She is bad at coloring. What a spoiled drawing she made! (She puts Suji’s pointllism drawing aside.)

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2006)

These days, I think most children draw very well. Don’t you think like this? Private art institutes teach technique a lot. The reason parents make their child learn art there is because, first, [children need to draw]
something and have to complete it by painting...so specific techniques are really needed. Therefore, there are many mothers who want their child to learn them [drawing or painting techniques] at a private art institute. Children who are learning art at a private institute certainly differ from those who do not learn art there. They can draw better! These children don’t paint with simple colors. They know how to mix colors and make new colors and how much water they need to add in order to make colors they expect. That’s why we register our children for additional art lessons. However, [Suji] seems to lack these aspects. I think so, yes. I don’t know whether she is a good artist or not. (She looks at all of Suji’s school drawings again.) Her artistic ability does not reach the level of 6th grade.

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2006)

Suji’s mother critically studied her daughter’s drawings and most of her comments were disapproving and focused on Suji’s technique, especially her painting skills. Naturally, with this type of response from her mother, Suji would increasingly not be willing to openly share her drawings with her mother. In addition, if Suji knew that her mother paid attention to her painting skills, it would be difficult for Suji to show her school drawings that were painted quickly and not carefully.

**Suji’s Manwha Drawing Experience**

Although manwha is not considered a necessary art form to be taught, Suji and her friends enjoyed drawing manwha in and out of school. Among the students in the classroom, Suji produced manwha most eagerly. What was the meaning and function of drawing manwha for Suji and how did it influence her depiction of the negative emotional-related theme in this study? To determine this, I carefully observed her experiences, especially interactions with others regarding her manwha, what socio-cultural expectation was transferred to Suji from these interactions, and what meaning
and function of manwha she constructed based on her understanding of others’ expectations of her manwha.

In this section, I examine Suji’s interactions with others including peers, teachers, and parents and how she understood the socio-cultural expectations about manwha through these interactions. Next, I analyzed Suji’s manwha drawn in and out of school to determine the meaning and function of her manwha.

**Suji, Peer, and Manwha**

At first, I drew manwha only for myself, but one day, my friends took a peek at my manwha and said, “Interesting! Interesting!” Then, I began to draw some manwha in order to show to friends.

(Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006)

In the fall semester of the fifth grade, Suji was a lonely girl who had no friends. She thought that she could gain attention by drawing manwha and sharing them with her classmates in order to make friends.

It is easy to copy [commercial] manwha images so I used to do it. After seeing my friend drawing manwha using her own story, however, I started drawing manwha with my own stories. Many friends liked it.

(Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006)

In school, I found that boys liked action manwha! Therefore, I drew fighting scenes between robots and human characters in my manwha. Then they [boys] really liked it.

(Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006)

In my class, In-su and Minju like my manwha a lot and when I did a group assignment with friends, I drew an educational manwha with a character that looked like the flower Gumnang. I explained the characteristics of
Gumnag through a form of manwha. All of my group members said that it was interesting.

(Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006)

In class, Suji tried to talk to other classmates, but they often ignored her or listened inattentively to what she had to say. In contrast, when she drew manwha, her classmates immediately showed interest in her and her manwha. She wanted to see these reactions more often and gain friendships.

From interviews with Suji, she recognized that her classmates paid attention to her story when it was related to manwha. From this, Suji probably considers the importance of the story more so than her manwha characters, which she drew very well.

In addition, as discussed in Chapter 5, Suji had difficulty making female friends because of her lack of verbal communication skills. Therefore, Suji may have naturally tried to attract her male classmates’ attention instead. Boys and girls prefer different content characteristics in their drawings (Tuman, 1999). It has been found that girls prefer to draw about care and concern, social experience, and domestic life while boys draw about sports, danger, aggression, violence, and adventure more frequently. Therefore, boys’ drawings include more actions than girls’. In Suji’s case, she understood her male classmates’ content preferences and used it in her manwha to connect with them.

MK: “What do you think about when you draw manwha?”
Suji: “Um, what facial expression will friends make? Or, will they think that my manwha is interesting?”
Me: “Really? Then which is more important for you: drawing manwha for yourself or drawing manwha in order to show it to your friends?”
Suji: “Um… In fact, when I draw manwha to show to friends, I make more of an effort. I like it.”

(Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006)
Suji was very sensitive to how her classmates respond to her manwha. She wanted a positive response from them, so worked hard on her manwha. Therefore, it can be assumed that what she drew in her manwha was strongly influenced by her understanding of what her friends might like. As such, her choice of expressive strategies in depicting the assigned negative emotional theme may be affected by the fact that her peers wanted to see interesting stories and active figures (Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006).

**Suji, Teachers and Manwha**

I have never shown my manwha to my art teachers. I don’t want my art teacher at school and my art teachers at the private art institute to look at my manwha because they consider landscape paintings more important than manwha.

(Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006)

In the 2nd grade, I drew manwha in my daily journal instead of writing. Back then, I was collecting stickers. I had eight stickers! If we collected 10 stickers, our homeroom teacher gave us a snack as a prize. However, my teacher took five of my eight stickers because I drew manwha in my journal. After that, although I wanted to draw manwha, I just wrote three or four sentences in my journal.

(Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006)

Suji’s art teachers had a negative attitude toward manwha and manwha-type expressions in class. Suji commented that the art teachers at school emphasize the importance of landscape drawings and she most likely had a similar experience at the private art institute. When Suji drew manwha, her art teachers did not pay attention to it so not only she did not draw any manwha-type images in art classes but also she also did not seriously consider what they expected of her.
Suji, Parents and Manwha

Suji’s parents influenced her manwha more strongly than her teachers did since they actively exposed her to manwha by providing her books. Unlike her art teachers, Suji tried to interact more with her parents about manwha, especially with her mother.

I have never scolded her for drawing manwha. No, no. I haven’t. Ah, I remember I scolded her once! [Suji] doodled on her school textbooks. Yes, she drew manwha even on her textbooks! And, you know notebooks – notebook for math, a notebook for Korean. After homework, there was some extra space along each side of the page. Along this space, she drew manwha. She drew something like manwha! I said, “Don’t draw anything on your textbooks or notebooks. These things are not for drawing manwha. You have to draw manwha on other things.” However, she drew manwha in every extra space of her [textbooks and notebooks].

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2006)

These days, she [Suji] draws manwha a lot. Animation [manwha]. She makes something like a manwha book.

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2006)

Even though I don’t want to look at [Suji’s manwha], she pushes me to look at it. She makes me look at it. If I turn my head away from her manwha, she holds my head and makes me look at it, saying, ‘Look at this, mommy!’ She makes me do it while chasing me everywhere. I just say, ‘Yes. Yes. I will look at it later,’ but she explains her manwha to me in depth. I cannot understand her manwha, this kind of thing, no, I can’t. The story is nonsense. I said that your story is nonsense and illogical so I don’t understand it. I just look at the images. I do not try to read it carefully and understand it. I just pay attention to the depicted images, such as the characters. In fact, the stories of her manwha are not connected logically, but yes, I think she draws images really well. She [Suji] is really good at depicting something well.

(Interview with Suji’s mother, June 23, 2006)

Suji expects her mother to be a supportive reader of her manwha, but her mother considers Suji’s manwha as just doodling because the structure of her manwha stories is
confusing. As indicated from the quote above, Suji’s mother has become tired of Suji’s persistence in asking her to read her manwha.

If I draw one big manwha character, my mother will love it more [than the story manwha]. My mother cannot read the whole manwha so, in order to see how I draw, she loves to look at one big image of a manwha character.

(Interview with Suji, May 9, 2006).

From her mother’s responses, Suji understands that she does not pay attention to the story and how it develops. To get a positive response from her mom, Suji only has to draw the characters well.

**Suji’s Understanding of Important Others’ Expectations about her Manwha**

Those who Suji interacted with in her everyday life such as her peers, art teachers, and parents, all showed similar interest in specific types of techniques to produce more realistic or neatly painted drawings, which made Suji pay attention to her drawing and painting techniques.

However, each person’s interest in her techniques was different. For instance, Suji’s peers paid attention to her manwha stories rather than her drawing techniques; her teachers considered manwha meaningless and useless for artistic development and therefore prohibited it; and, in general, Suji’s mother through positively about Suji’s manwha, but did not attempt to understand it since she found it to be illogical and nonsensical.

From repeated interactions with these people, Suji understood that they have different expectations about her manwha and thus, she produced different types of
manwha to fulfill them. Her manwha can be categorized into three main types: (1) manwha for her friends; (2) manwha for adults, including teachers and parents; and (3) manwha for herself. In this section, I introduce characteristics of each of these types of manwha and explore the meaning and function of each in Suji’s life.

**Manwha for Friends**

Suji’s reward for drawing manwha is the ability to gain the attention of her classmates. Since they respond positively to her interesting manwha stories, Suji purposefully developed stories that they would like. Adults who read these stories would have difficulty understanding them since they are often based on children’s culture.

One example of Suji’s manwha for friends is the 51-page long story titled *Argard* (Figure 32). This manwha is based on a famous children’s online game of the same name. Children easily understand and enjoy the story because it is familiar. In addition, this manwha targets both girls and boys because it is based on romances female and male characters and includes many fighting scenes. Because the characters possessed magical powers, physical fights among the characters are not seen.
Figure 32: Suji’s Manwha for Friends Titled *Argard*. 
In addition to the four main characters, other characters are also depicted by focusing on their characteristics. Failure to do so would confuse the reader as to what is depicted in the story. For adults with no experience to the online game Argard, the story is difficult to understand because of the complex relationships among characters and stories between the real and imaginary worlds. Even for me, I was confused with several scenes without explanation from Suji.

In summary, Suji drew manwha for her peers with consideration towards the selection of the story and careful depiction of characters. These effective expressive strategies made her known as a skilled manwha artist among her classmates. However, adults, especially her teachers and art teachers, did not understand the reason for her drawing manwha and why it was interesting to her.

**Manwha for Adults**

In her interactions with her teachers and parents, Suji sensed that they are not interested in her manwha. Although Ms. Lee drew manwha characters in her teaching and allowed her students to read manwha during recess, her former teachers’ responses to manwha were very negative. Therefore, most of her manwha was not shown to her teachers aside from Ms. Lee.

Adults also had difficulty understanding the stories depicted in Suji’s manwha. In fact, they did not even attempt to understand her manwha. Suji would have been pleased if she was asked to explain her manwha. Instead, adults simply responded to it negatively. However, Suji spent close to an hour answering my questions after I read Argard and
explained in detail and in depth the structure of the story and characteristics of each character and their relationships. I was very surprised at the complexity of her manwha. Clearly, the adults Suji was around underestimated the importance of her manwha and reacted negatively towards it without full understanding about it.

Another characteristic response of adults to Suji’s manwhat was their interest in her skills of depicting her images rather than interest in the story being told. This is why Suji responded that her mother would prefer one large image depicted in detail.

When Suji drew one of her few manwha for adults, they were depicted with stories that are easily understood and with well drawn images (Figure 33 and 34). Yet, since the adults around Suji did not attend to what she drew in her manwha, their influence on her drawings was not very strong.

Figure 33: Suji’s Manwha Depicted in the Classroom Using the Story, Red Riding Hood
Manwha for Herself

Although all of Suji’s manwha is produced for herself in a sense, the reason I categorized some of them as manwha for herself is because she drew some that she did not share with even her friends. Therefore, I felt the need to explore this type of manwha separately from the other two types of manwha that she shared. As Suji became more comfortable with me, she brought different types of manwha that were drawn on the last page of her school notebook and on paper scraps instead of the special thick and shiny paper she usually draws on. I was surprised to see that these stories and images were
more violent than the other manwha she showed to others. Figure 35 illustrates a scene in
gymnastics class where one girl just finished performing and her classmates are cheering
for her. As the next girl prepares her performance, the classmates are still talking about
the first performance. The girl about to perform gets angry and yells, “Shut up!” One
child responds, “What a sight!” The girl angrily speaks abusively to him and suddenly
hits two boys’ faces. Next, another child replies, “So noisy! Be quiet!” Then, the girl
strikes a friend’s head with both of her fists and throws him down.

Figure 35: First Example of Suji’s Manwha for Herself
Figure 36 is another example of Suji’s manwha for herself. Again, the scene takes place in gymnastics class where one girl just finished performing and states, “I did great.” Another girl hits the first girl with her fingers, saying, “I can do it, too,” but she is actually afraid of performing. The images on the right side of the page express physical conflicts that Suji drew as practice.

Figure 37 is another self manwha titled “Human is stronger?!”. In this illustration, a robot suddenly appears when the ground opens up and surprises the girl. The robot hits her and sits on her. The girl calls the robot to come over and the robot stares at her.
Suddenly, she hits the robot’s face with her finger and hurts herself because she has just hit metal.

Figure 37: Third Example Suji’s Manwha for Herself

In these three manwha stories, the female main characters are angry because others are showing indifference, more interest in others, or attacking her, expressing their anger strongly with physical violence. In manwha for her peers to see, Suji also depicted
fighting scenes, but not as violently as these. In interviewing her, Suji admitted that she has not shown these manwha to others and does not talk about them seriously, in stark contrast to what the images depict. Instead, she explained that she drew these manwha for play and replied that she would rather talk about her other manwha, such as Argard.

When I asked Suji if she had a similar experience in gymnastics class as what was portrayed in her manwha, she curtly answered, “yes.”

To explore why she drew these types of drawing and others’ response to them, I showed the first manwha (figure 35) to other children in a group and observed their responses to it.

Jaemin: (He reads Suji’s manwha out loud.) “Be quiet… what… murmuring…”
Namsu: “Ha! Ah… it’s very cruel. I thought that it was blood because of the shooting.”
MK: “Um… it’s just her face becoming red.”
Jaemin: “Gender equality was not depicted well in this manwha.”
MK: “Really? Why?”
Jaemin: “Yes. This girl is bad.”
Namsu: “Right. Ah, here is a boy. Was he really hit by this girl? Right, right, right!”
Jaemin: “What were they doing? Did this girl just have a tumble in a gymnastic class?”
Namsu: “Look at it. There are three characters. One of them just did a performance such as rolling.”
Jaemin: “I know, but suddenly this girl [referring to the girl Namsu spoke about] says, “Good performance!”
Namsu: “No, she is another girl.”
Jaemin: “Did this pretty girl say something?”
Namsu: “She appeared suddenly, didn’t she?”
Jaemin: “But, why did she say that it was very noisy? Ah, since all the children are talking loudly about the girl [who performed first], she said, ’Be quiet,‘”
Namsu: “I don’t understand…”
Jaemin: “This story is very difficult to understand.”
Namsu: “But why did this girl hit this boy suddenly? She said, ‘Can’t you hear me?’ Wow, she is very scary.”
Jaemin: “Very violent!”
Namsu: “Yes. This manwha is not just scary, it’s really scary.”
Jaemin: “It’s like a boy’s manwha. The characters should have been boys.”
Namsu: “This girl is not a girl.”
Me: "You guys told me you liked manwha that includes fighting or slang…
Yes, but, this girl… how can this girl do it…? It’s somewhat serious...problematic…”
Namsu: “This story is very strange. There was no reason for her to hit other children. From the beginning to the end, she kept hitting someone without a specific reason.”

(Group Interview with Namsu and Jaemin, June 13, 2006)

Most of the children in this group recognized the manwha was drawn by a girl because of the drawing style. Unlike responses to Suji’s other manwha drawings, they expressed very negative opinions about this image. They felt uncomfortable because it was a female character who used violence, seeming to believe that girls should not behave in such a way. Second, they criticized the illogical story, with one boy stating if the reason for why the girl hit the other so violently was made clearer, he would not be as critical about the drawing.

From their responses to Suji’s manwha for herself, I confirmed that even when Suji draws manwha for herself, she still carefully considers how others will think about her manwha. When she really wants to draw freely, Suji draws without her peers’ knowledge and keeps it for her. That is, she expressed her feelings and ideas more freely in her own private manwha compared to what she expressed and thought in her manwha to the public.
Suji’s Understanding of Important Others’ Expectations about her Manwha

From an analysis of Suji’s drawing experiences related to her school- and manwha-type drawings, Suji learned and recognized the different meaning and function of these two types of drawings. First, in regards to her school-type drawing, Suji performed many drawing activities that focused on specific techniques. Most adults in her life, including her art teachers at school and at private art institutes and her parents, especially her mother, paid more attention to her learning how to draw landscapes, still images, and enlightening posters. Since a specific socio-cultural image of good drawing in Korean children exists, most adults expect this from their children and children themselves want to master this socio-cultural expectation. Therefore, Suji was concerned with what is to be expected when she produced drawings for school.

Suji understood characteristics of school-type art to be drawings that have no or small sized human figures, are related to nature instead of real-life experience, require advanced skills such as shading and perspective, are completed within a limited time, and take into consideration the importance of the adults’ responses.

In contrast, each group Suji shared her manwha with, such as her peers, teachers, and parents, had a different expectation about her manwha and she understood these differences clearly. Therefore, she drew different types of manwha depending on the audience, but since her friends are the most important readers of her manwha, she mainly targeted her manwha towards them. Because most adults view manwha negatively, children explore the themes and culture of manwha in secret without adults’ awareness.
What children consider as interesting manwha is related to things such as magic, silliness, and fighting that is shared only among themselves, making it difficult for adults to understand these types of themes in their stories and, thus, viewing them as nonsense or illogical. This neglect in manwha allows children to seek their own interests in it.

Suji’s own expectation of her manwha is similar to her peers’ expectations. As a result, she was concerned about drawing interesting stories that are easy to understand in order to make friends and gain attention. She developed her own stories using what is currently popular with children and creating new characters with distinct characteristics. She practiced drawing diverse poses and facial expressions to make her manwha more interesting.

Consequently, Suji understood the meanings and functions of these two types of drawings differently and drew them differently based on what she gained from her previous art experience. How could this different attitude toward these two types of drawings affect her depiction of an angry emotional theme in her school- and manwha-type drawings? Next, I will examine her drawings again with this additional information about her drawing experience.

**A Third Look at Suji’s Drawings**

My initial analysis of Suji’s drawings about her angry emotional experience remained several questions as unanswered fully (Chapter 4). Then in order to answer those questions about her use of expressive strategies, I attempted to gather additional information related to the assigned emotional theme from Suji’s everyday emotional life.
in and out of school and reexamine unanswered meaning and function of expressive strategies used in Suji’s two types of drawing (Chapter 5). Although much part of the secret of expressive strategies could be explained from this second analyzing attempt, however, even this second analysis with additional information about socialization of Suji’s angry expression still remained a few questions.

Therefore, I assumed that her choice of expressive strategies to depict her angry emotional experience in two types of drawing would be related to her drawing experience. Then I attempted to explore what artistic experience Suji had had regarding to school-type drawing and manwha-type drawing and what she learned from it, and look Suji’s drawings again with this another additional information.

A Third Look at Expressive Strategies used in Suji’s School-Type Drawing

In chapter 4, five big questions and several sub-questions were raised about Suji’s use of expressive strategies (Table 17) and most of those questions were actually explained with additional information about Suji’s emotional experience in chapter 5. In this section, I attempt to answer to questions which could not be answered as well as could be answered in different ways.

Unanswered Main Question about Suji’s Good Drawing Skills

In chapter 4, although at first I could not understand the situation depicted in Suji’s school-type drawing (Figure 3) well, I could find several evidences which showed
her good drawing skills or her attention to drawing techniques. In Table 20, I re-present what evidences were and how I interpreted the meaning of them and explore characteristics of drawing skills used by Suji.

Table 20: Characteristics of Suji’s Drawing Skills in Her School-Type Drawing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visual Evidences to Show Suji’s Good Drawing Skills</th>
<th>Interpretation of the Meaning of Suji’s Drawing Skills</th>
<th>Characteristics of Suji’s Use of Drawing Skills</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girl’s hair is depicted in detail using several lines drawn from top to bottom.</td>
<td>Suji paid attention to details and the realistic depiction of a human figure.</td>
<td>Detailed Depiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy’s figure is relatively small in size (almost 5 times smaller than the girl).</td>
<td>Suji considered describing the 3-D space using perspective.</td>
<td>Perspective (3-D space)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Although the size of the boy’s figure is small, most of his face and body are depicted in detail.</td>
<td>Ratio of each body part is depicted well and he is depicted in detail.</td>
<td>Detailed Depiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The right-hand 3-D solid is depicted from a bird’s-eye view. The left-hand 3-D solid is depicted from the girl’s view.</td>
<td>Suji is good at depicting objects in 3-D and from different views. The two 3-D solids depicted from different viewpoints make viewers understand the girl’s eye-level.</td>
<td>Realistic Depiction in Different Viewpoints (3-D solid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The lower part where the two characters are standing is depicted as a big round shape with two continent-like images and a grid pattern.</td>
<td>The two continent-like images and the grid pattern indicate that this space may represent earth. Objects are depicted in detail.</td>
<td>Realistic Depiction (3-D space) Detailed and Realistic Depiction (3-D solid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Recognizable erased traces” are usually found in 3-D objects (e.g. two building solids, air plane, ship, stairway, and bills).</td>
<td>Suji kept drawing and erasing lines in order to make the objects look more three dimensional.</td>
<td>Realistic Depiction (3-D solid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The erased images of the girls are similar to one another and express anger strongly through their facial expressions and blowing hair.</td>
<td>Why were strong and clear facial expressions of anger erased? Erased facial expressions appear to be manwha style.</td>
<td>Less Importance of Drawing Skills to Depict Diverse and Detailed Facial Expressions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When I looked at Suji’s school-type drawing first, I did not think that she was good at drawing because of my strong confusion about mismatch between her depicted theme and the assigned theme. While I observed and analyzed each element in her
drawing carefully, however, I could realize that she used her good drawing techniques in several parts. Those drawing techniques were detailed depiction, realistic depiction of objects in 3 dimensional, and another realistic depiction using perspective.

Suji’s school-type drawing seemed to focus on good looking such as detailed and realistic instead of good communication to tell what story Suji told through her drawing. In fact, Suji learned that it was more important to draw a landscape or objects (still images) realistically using drawing techniques. Art teachers had paid attention to whether Suji drew as they expected or not and they were not interested in what story she wanted to express through her school-type drawing. Therefore, in Suji’s school-type drawing, she paid more attention to depict objects and space in 3-D instead to explain the relationship among all human figures, objects, and space.

In Suji’s school-type drawing, several images of human figures were drawn and finally all erased. From the recovered erased images, I could figure out that Suji had good drawing skills to depict diverse facial expressions effectively in a front view. However, she erased these well-depicted images of human characters, instead she drew girl’s figure simply showing her back head and body and boy’s figure in a very small size. The reason why she depicted human characters like this was explained related to her socialized pattern to express her anger in chapter 5. However, it could be also possible to explain the reason for this specific way to depict human figures related to her understanding of school-type drawing.

First, Suji had drawn many pictures without human figures in art classes. Since she drew mainly landscapes and still images, actually drawing human figures were not considered importantly. Moreover, her private art teacher even taught her not to draw
human figures in her drawings and if she really needed to draw them, her art teachers allowed her to draw human figures in just a very small size. Therefore, it would be possible to assume that Suji did not want to depict her human figures as main objects in her school-type drawing.

Second, I also attempted to relate Suji’s way to depict human figures with her painting experience. As described, there was a specific pattern to draw a picture, first children developed their idea for making art and sketched their idea in detail with a pencil, and finally paint their sketch with watercolors. When all images and spaces were painted, it was considered a final product. However these all procedures had to be done within a short time, it was observed that many students ruined their detailed sketch when they started painting it with watercolors. Suji also had many unsuccessful experience painting because she painted watercolors on or near to not dried paints. Therefore, she had tendency to draw her sketch as she could paint it easily later. If she depicted human figures in detail and in a front view, it would be more difficult to paint them and detailed facial expressions would not be shown clearly after painted.

Landscape drawing is the most important drawing. I liked to draw human figures but art teachers told me that I should not draw any human figures in drawings. If I really want to draw them, I needed to draw it very small. Look at here, did you understand these little images were human figures? Like this, good landscape drawings should be depicted well using shading and perspective and ... no human figures... just trees... flowers... and what else... something like these drawings!

(Interview with Suji, July 19, 2006)

In addition, throughout drawing experience in her life, she learned that drawing figures were less important in school-type drawing than in manwha. Since she knew that most adults were negative to manwha-type drawing, she might not use her good drawing
techniques to draw human figures in order to avoid adults’ negative responses to her school-type drawing.

In summary, she knew the need of using good drawing techniques for her school-type drawing. In fact Suji had good drawing skills to depict not only objects and space but also human figures, but in her school-type drawing, she paid more attention to depiction of objects and space in detail and realistically than human figures. This shows that what she understood about school-type drawing and how this her understanding influenced on her choice of expressive strategies to depict the assigned theme.

**Unanswered Main Question about Viewers’ Confusion on Suji’s School-Type Drawing**

Suji’s school-type drawing included many elements which make viewers confused. In this section, I introduce a few of them and try to explain them with relation to Suji’s drawing experience.

Why did Suji select this emotional story as her subject matter?

Throughout her art experience related to school-type drawing, most her art teachers had paid attention to how to draw instead of what to draw. Therefore, it might not be a important issue for Suji to decide what story she would draw.
Why didn’t Suji depict her angry emotion directly?

In order to depict her figure’s emotional state directly, she might need to depict detailed facial expressions and body expressions. It means that human figures would be more focused on in her school-type drawing. As explained, Suji understood that it would be more important to produce a landscape, still image, or observation drawing with few human figures. Therefore, she might be reluctant to depict human figures’ direct emotional expressions in her school-type drawing.

Why was the boy’s figure, which holds an important clue about this emotional situation, depicted very small?

Since Suji drew an emotional situation within a wide space such as earth, if she needed to depict two human figures which were in two different continents using perspective, boy’s figure had to be depicted very small.

A Second Look at Expressive Strategies used in Suji’s Manwha-Type Drawing

I explored so far the meaning and function of Suji’s expressive strategies used in her school-type drawing with information about her everyday art experience. Next, I will attempt to look at Suji’s manwha-type drawing (Figure 6) in relation to her art experience and re-examine the meaning and function of expressive strategies used in it.


**Induced Viewers’ Attention to and Empathy with Suji**

Unlike Suji’s school-type drawing, I felt that my attention to and empathy with her were more actively induced when I looked at her manwha-type drawing. Therefore, even negative emotional expressions Suji expressed in her manwha-type drawing did not annoy me a lot. In fact, in Suji’s everyday life, she had not expressed her anger directly. She also did not depict direct negative emotional expressions in her school-type drawing. She knew her strong or direct negative emotional expression would cause unexpected results and applied this understanding on her school-type drawing, too. Then why did and could Suji depict strong and direct negative emotional expressions in her manwha-type drawing different from her school-type drawing and why still viewers, especially I did, feel empathy with her instead of judging her behavior negatively.

In chapter 4, since Suji’s figure was depicted more frequently as a bigger size than her brother’s figure was and the story was narrated in her perspective, I concluded that viewers attention was induced on Suji more actively in her manwha-type drawing (Table 21).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 21: Visual Evidences for How Viewers’ Attention Was Induced on Suji’s Figure in Her Manwha-Type Drawing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Suji is depicted larger than the boy. (#1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji’s figure is depicted as the main figure. (#2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji is depicted fully. (#6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji’s face is depicted as a full shot. (#7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Suji’s front view is seen up close. (#13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In school-type drawing, viewers’ attention was induced rather to boy’s figure or other objects more along to girl’s viewpoint. Girl’s emotional states could not be detected clearly and most viewers’ understanding about the depicted situation had to be done based on indirect information and viewers’ inference. Therefore, these expressive strategies in Suji’s school-type drawing caused viewers’ confusion. Viewers’ confusion, however, could be absolutely reduced in Suji’s manwha-type drawing because she expressed her emotional states directly through front facial expressions and body and verbal expressions as well. Therefore, obviously viewers’ attention was induced on Suji’s figure in her manwha-type drawing.

I was wonder why viewers’ attention could be on different aspects between school-type drawing and manwha-type drawing about the same emotional experience. In other words, why Suji, who had sought closed relationship with others so avoided expressing her negative emotional expressions in her real life and school-type drawing, let viewers pay attention to her negative emotional expressions in her manwha-type drawing?

In order to answer to this question, I re-examine what experience Suji had had related to her manwha drawings. Suji’s manwha was the almost only chance to get other friends’ active attention. Therefore, she could not help observing what aspects of her manwha her friends liked from their responses to her manwha. Unlike school-type drawing, Suji’s friends seemed attracted more when stories were interesting and could be understood well whether it is depicted well or not. Suji recognized her friends’ expectation on her manwha. Then it might be necessary for her to express everything
clearer and more directly and to induce viewers’ attention because these expressional strategies could help viewers’ better understanding of narrative of her manwha.

However, inducing viewers’ attention to girl’s figure in manwha and inducing viewers’ empathy with her are obviously different. In Suji’s school-type drawing, in order to induce viewers’ empathy with her, actually her attention was not induced to and rather distracted from her. In Suji’s everyday life, her negative emotional expressions were not accepted and treated negatively by others. Therefore, it was assumed that she might be afraid of expressing angry emotions through even depicted girl’s figure considered as Suji, herself. If Suji had had the same concern when she drew her manwha, she must not have used direct angry emotional expressions in it in order to keep viewers’ empathy with her. Then how could she depict negative emotional expressions including anger directly in her manwha-type drawing?

First, I paid attention to the fact that Suji’s friends were concentrated on narrative, storyline, of Suji’s manwha again. Lee (1998) conducted interesting study regarding how viewers perceived characters in manwha and how narrative of manwha influenced on this viewers’ perception. The result of Lee’s study provided me with important information to understand the meaning and function of Suji’s different expressive strategies to depict angry emotional states in school-type drawing and manwha-type drawing regarding the problem of viewers’ empathy with her.

In order to understand Lee’s study, it needs to understand functions of three categories of signs, an icon, an index, and a symbol. Among over sixty classes of signs identified by Peirce, three categories of signs, an icon, an index, and a symbol are most well known (Atkinson, 2002). An icon is a sign which functions as a sign “by means of
features of itself which resemble its object.” An index is a sign “which functions as a sign by virtue of some factual or causal connection with its object.” A symbol is a sign “which functions as a sign because of some ‘rule’ of conventional or habitual association between itself and its object” (Hawkes, as cited in Atkinson, 2002, p. 22). According to Peirce, these three types of signs can exist in one text together, but only one type of sign can prevail over other signs.

Lee (1998) had interest in how these three different signs, an icon, an index, and a symbol, were used in manhwa. According to Lee, in Suji’s manwha-type drawing, the female character can be categorized as icon that has a visual resemblance to the external figure of girl. Since this girl’s figure do not resemble to Suji’s real figure exactly, this female character could be regarded as merely one girl as an icon by viewers who did not know the drawer, Suji, and read her manwha before. On the contrary, this female character could be regarded as Suji as a symbol by viewers who did know the drawer, Suji, and read her manwha before. However, even when this female character could be regarded as Suji by viewers, narrative of manwha could impose new meaning and function on this character so this female character could be considered a specific character, “the girl” existing in the narrative itself. It means that the female character in Suji’s manwha-type drawing could be perceived as her and at the same time, it could be perceived as some girl in the story.

Manhwa has a special form of expression to make a character as an icon function as a symbol. Narrative makes this possible in manhwa. Through narrative, manhwa characters can have their own characteristics and their realities. Moreover, these characters perceived as not only icons but also symbols do not seem like fictional objects
anymore; rather, viewers can feel these symbols as living individuals (Lee, 1998). Therefore, since most Suji’s friends paid more attention to the narrative of manwha, when the female character expressed angry emotional expressions in manwha-type drawing, it would be possible for her friends to understand that some girl in the story expressed anger instead that Suji expressed her anger. Therefore, although even Suji’s previous self-initiated manwha included many negative emotional expressions, her friends did not respond to her manwha negatively and then Suji could realize that she could depict negative expressions in her manwha.

McCloud’s (1993) theory about characteristics of comic characters was also helpful for me to understand Suji’s expressive strategies in her manwha-type drawing. McCloud found that the unique features of manhwa characters. He explained that because manhwa characters were depicted as very simple figures, not realistic figures, viewers could feel familiar with them or identify with them easily. If characters are illustrated very realistically or perceived like a photo or a real drawing, viewers may consider them as others. If manhwa characters are perceived as a cartoon characters which have the only basic conceptual features of a human figure, viewers may project themselves onto a manhwa character. Therefore, McCloud explained that since viewers viewed manhwa characters as themselves not others, they could enjoy the story actively as their real experience. That is to say, simpler fictional characters are easier for viewers to identify with and once viewers identify with manhwa characters, viewers can “mask themselves in a character and safely enter a sensually stimulating world” (McCloud, 1993, p. 43). Then if Suji’s friends could make themselves in her character and feel the character’s
negative emotions as theirs, this might make Suji depict negative emotional expressions more freely in her manwha-type drawing.

Third, like movies or novels, manhwa can control how to show a specific aspect of events or characters purposefully through using diverse functions of frames such as emphasizing certain events more, providing more detailed information, making readers infer a lot about events, etc. (Chatman, as cited in Cho, 2005). Moreover, in order to show the same event differently, the manhwa artists can change the linear process of event. The order of sub-events can be composed differently from the original progression of events. Therefore, numerous types of plots are available to narrate the same story. These diverse ways to compose frames, which can make viewers perceive a specific event as artists intend, might also be helpful for Suji to depict her direct angry emotions liberally.

For instance, Suji was assigned to draw her angry emotional experience so she needed to draw her angry emotional expressions. In her school-type drawing, she used indirect angry expressions because she had to express her experience within only one frame so she could not make viewers understand her angry experience as she expected. On the contrary, in manwha-type drawing, Suji depicted her direct and strong emotional expressions and she also succeeded to gain viewers empathy with her instead of their negative responses to her negative emotional expressions through using expressive characteristics of only manhwa has.

Suji created an effective composition of frames in order to justify her female character’s negative emotional behaviors. First, she emphasized on her sadness instead of anger through extending the emotional situation from the real to her dream. Then viewers
could have more empathy with her. It was possible only in manwha because it had multi-frames and it was possible to show the change of character’s emotional states with the change of time and space. Second, Suji used more frames to persuade viewers to understand the reason of her negative emotional states. In other words, the viewers might be prevailed upon through gaining information which gives prominence to a certain aspect of an event. Suji helped viewers to trace back to and understand the emotion-eliciting situation through multi-frames so due to this reason, she might feel free to depict negative emotional expression in her manwha.

Finally, as I observed, children’s drawing manwha was not considered important visual expression like school-type drawing in Korea. This specific socio-cultural value on manwha in Korea could be another important clue to explain why Suji depict the assigned theme as she drew. According to Kim (2005), this specific Korean culture, ironically, provided children with a feel-free-to-draw zone so children explored whatever ignored or prohibited by adults. In fact, I collected many students’ manwha in trash box in Ms. Lee’s classroom and found that not only Suji but also many students drew diverse themes including negative emotional themes. Suji might continue to draw some themes she could not draw in school art classes or other art classes in her manwha so it might be very natural that she depicted negative emotional expressions freely in her manwha-type drawing.
**Direct and Clear Information about Emotional Context**

As discussed in previous section, Suji needed to provide her friends with direct and clear information about her manwha in order to gain their attention because her friends were more focused on whether the story of manwha was interesting or understandable. Moreover, the more information about emotional context was informed to her friends, the more empathy could be gained from them because of characteristics of manwha expression. Therefore, unlike school-type drawing, it could be assumed that Suji attempted to include more direct and clear information about the emotional situation she had experienced in her manwha-type drawing.

**Direct Emotional Expressions**

In chapter 5, Suji’s indirect emotional expressions in her school-type drawing was almost fully explained with the information about her emotional experience, but her direct emotional expression in her manwha-type drawing was not fully understood. The reason of these direct negative emotional expressions were inferred using information from observation and interviews and related theories in the previous section, Induced Viewers’ Attention to and Empathy with Suji.

**Good Drawing Techniques**

Unlike Suji’s school-type drawing, Suji’s good drawing skills were found in depiction of human figures. Suji knew how to draw different facial and body expressions
using diverse symbols. In school-type drawing, narrative was conveyed mainly through relatively well-depicted other objects instead of human figure’s direct emotional expressions. This narrative could be perceived indirectly moreover it was not understood clearly. On the contrary, in manwha-type drawing, narrative was progressed mostly through human figures and communicated directly and effectively.

Suji showed strong interests in learning how to draw many different forms of human figures, especially facial expressions and body expressions which showed emotions. In order to learn how to draw proper forms of human characters fitting to different situations, whenever she found good expressions from commercial manwha books or TV animations, she ordinarily kept a record of them in her own research notebook.

“I think that expression of surprise is depicted very well in this manwha book. Look at this! This facial expression of tiredness… and this expression of begging for help…embarrassment… hahaha… I copied many images from this manwha because there are a lot of interesting facial and body expressions of emotions.”

(Interview with Suji, July 5, 2006)

From interviews with other children, I could realize that the role of human characters were significantly important as much as children considered manwha a drawings of characters. Suji might also know the importance of role of human characters in manwha so practice to draw them. In fact, she seemed to master drawing skills to draw diverse types of human characters and any types of facial expressions, actions, movements, poses, clothes, hair styles, etc. Although she already had good drawing skills needed for manwha, she seemed to continue to learn more skills with efforts (Figure 38).
Figure 38: Suji told that each manwha book had a good expressive strength in a specific area so she learned different techniques from different references. She explained that she learned how to draw different gender characters from fig. 35-1; diverse forms of human figures and disgusting expressions from fig. 35-2; changes of facial expressions from 35-3; hair styles from 35-4; and different types of lips from 35-5.
As a result of this effort, she had high drawing skills to depict diverse forms of human figures as she wants to express. However, she perceived that drawing human figures in school drawings would not be welcomed through her art experience. Therefore, it was assumed that she used different expressive strategies regarding to drawing skills in her two types of drawing. If she had not hesitated to depict human figures in her school-type drawing, since she had a excellent drawing skills to express any emotions through human figures, her drawing would not have caused viewers’ confusions as it did.

Summary

Understanding what art experience she had in school and at home and what others’ expectation on her manwha she internalized was significantly helpful for me to explore the meaning and function of expressive strategies used in Suji’s two types of drawing more in depth. From the analysis of her drawings in chapter 4 and chapter 5, several questions about why she used different expressive strategies in two types of drawing still remained and in this chapter, many questions were answered considerably.

Although she was assigned to depict emotion-related drawing theme, she did not pay attention to only how to express it as much as effectively. Rather she also used her knowledge about what aspects of a specific type of drawing was emphasized on by others differently. Through her art experience, she learned that she needed to focus more on depict all things realistically using drawing techniques like a landscape and observation drawing when she produced a school-type drawing. Therefore, she seemed not to consider whether the narrative of her drawing would be understood clearly or not. On the
contrary, in manwha-type drawing, since she understood that it was most important to express narrative effectively, she emphasized on effective communication of the narrative which she wanted. Therefore, drawing skills which were required in school-type drawing were ignored and other types of drawing skills such as drawing skills to depict human figures in diverse ways were more used in Suji’s manwha-type drawing.
Chapter 7
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In Chapters 4 through 6, I described expressive strategies Suji used to depict her angry emotional experience in school in two types of drawings – school-type drawing and manwha-type drawing – by analyzing her visual expressions. I also explored the socio-cultural meaning and function of each expressive strategy used in her drawings with additional information about her emotional and artistic experiences in everyday life that were gained through observations and interviews.

In this chapter, I first discuss each of the three guiding research questions and then conclude with a summary of implications and future directions. The three research questions guiding my investigation are restated below:

3. How did one Korean 6th grade girl, Suji, depict her angry emotional experience in her school and manwha drawings? What expressive strategies did she use and how were they used?

4. What display rules to express anger exist in Korea? How did Suji internalize this emotional culture through everyday activities? How was this internalization reflected in her expressive strategies in her two types of drawings about an angry emotional theme?

5. What socio-cultural values and expectations about children’s drawings exist? How did Suji’s internalized knowledge of them affect her decision-making of what expressive strategies to use in depicting her angry experience?

Discussion of Research Questions
Research Question 1

To answer the first research question (How did one Korean 6th grade girl, Suji, depict her angry emotional experience in her school and manwha drawings? What expressive strategies did she use and how were they used?), I wanted to trace students’ decision-making about what expressive strategies they would use for the assigned drawing theme within a specific cultural context. In previous studies on child art, children’s complex expressive strategies are understood by paying attention to only a few aspects of their drawings, which causes many of the remaining expressive strategies to remain outside of researchers’ attention. In my study, however, I attempted to explore Suji’s drawings as more complex products by revealing her multifaceted decision-making strategies.

To understand the decision-making that Suji underwent in her use of expressive strategies to depict the assigned theme, I first questioned the way we look at children’s drawings. How carefully do we view their drawings? Do we look at all of their imagery or just some aspects of them? What imagery do we usually pay attention to and what do we ignore? Based on Warburton’s (1998) idea that all images are accumulated cultural text, I examined what was communicated in Suji’s two types of drawings by paying attention to all of her images and found a variety of expressive strategies.

For this analysis, I implemented a new strategy that analyzed Suji’s visual expressions step-wise. In order not to miss any of the visual strategies – both depicted images as well as traces that were depicted but erased – used in her two types of drawings, I first carefully transformed her visual texts into written texts. This allowed the
data speak for itself (Wolcott, 1994) and allowed me to make more informed decisions in
the following step, which was to categorize the list of themes and questions into groups
of expressive strategies.

In Suji’s school-type drawing, an overall characteristic of her expressive
strategies was the indirect expression of her angry emotional state. In other words, what
Suji tried to communicate through her drawing was not sufficiently clear. If she intended
to depict the assigned theme as well as possible and make viewers understand her
drawing fully, she should have used more direct facial and bodily expressions in her
school-type drawing. In addition, despite her drawing skills, Suji seemed to use her skills
in a specific area, such as depicting landscapes or objects more realistically, instead of
depicting the emotional situation she experienced in an understandable manner
(Figure 39).
In contrast, the expressive strategies used in Suji’s manwha-type drawing showed that she sought different meanings and functions in this type of drawing about the same assigned theme. The main characteristic of her expressive strategies in her manwha-type drawing was the depiction of what happened to her—what she felt and how she expressed her emotions and, in some sense, depicting her emotional situation in an exaggerated fashion. Unlike her school-type drawing, Suji’s manwha revealed her emotional experience directly and clearly through frontal facial expressions and induced viewers’ attention to her with the use of many expressive strategies. For example, Suji displayed quality drawing skills in her manwha, but she used her skills mainly in her portrayal of human figures. Through these well-drawn human figures, viewers understood Suji’s angry emotional experience without confusion (Figure 40).

Figure 39: Expressive Strategies Used In Suji’s School-Type Drawing

- Good Drawing Techniques for 3-D objects and perspective
- Indirect Emotional Expression
- Viewers’ Attention would be on it.
  1. Induced Viewers’ Empathy
  2. Viewers’ Confusion about Suji’s Emotional State

In contrast, the expressive strategies used in Suji’s manwha-type drawing showed that she sought different meanings and functions in this type of drawing about the same assigned theme. The main characteristic of her expressive strategies in her manwha-type drawing was the depiction of what happened to her—what she felt and how she expressed her emotions and, in some sense, depicting her emotional situation in an exaggerated fashion. Unlike her school-type drawing, Suji’s manwha revealed her emotional experience directly and clearly through frontal facial expressions and induced viewers’ attention to her with the use of many expressive strategies. For example, Suji displayed quality drawing skills in her manwha, but she used her skills mainly in her portrayal of human figures. Through these well-drawn human figures, viewers understood Suji’s angry emotional experience without confusion (Figure 40).
In conclusion, Suji selected distinctive groups of expressive strategies to depict the assigned theme in each type of drawing with a different aim. That is, the meaning and function of the expressed theme differed depending on what experience Suji related to and what type of drawing the theme depicted. Moreover, although Suji’s expressive decisions may be based on socio-cultural experience, there is possibility that her drawings can be considered products of her natural artistic development.

Figure 40: Expressive Strategies Used in Suji’s Manwha-Type Drawing: Characteristics of expressive strategies used to express what she experienced and felt clearly with direct emotional expressions through the character’s facial, bodily, and verbal expressions.
Research Question 2

From an initial look at Suji’s drawings, a variety of expressive strategies were found; however, many questions remained about why she used specific types of expressive strategies. To determine why she depicted the assigned negative emotional theme in two types of drawing as she did, additional information aside from the visual texts themselves was needed. The second research question (*What display rules to express anger exist in Korea? How did Suji internalize this emotional culture through everyday activities? How was this internalization reflected in her expressive strategies in her two types of drawings about an angry emotional theme?*) guided me to information I needed to collect to re-examine Suji’s drawings.

In three months of observations in Suji’s classroom, I found that Suji and her friends learned that angry expression is not allowed; it causes unexpected negative results such as harsh, physical punishment or additional assignments from the teacher. Suji’s teacher, Ms. Lee, had an adverse experience in the past with students’ negative expressions in her classroom and this experience made her strictly manage her class. In her classroom, students did not interact with friends frequently and emotional conflicts were solved together with those involved instead of Ms. Lee expressing them directly. Through repeated everyday activities by Ms. Lee, Suji and her classmates internalized this classroom emotional culture so that few direct angry expressions were observed. These observations revealed that students recognized and understood the expected display rules in a specific socio-cultural context which they lived through in daily
activities and their internalization of these rules strongly affected how they expressed their emotions.

In general, most students in Ms. Lee’s class responded similarly to negative emotional conflicts. Suji followed Ms. Lee’s classroom rules loyally and showed a general tendency to express anger like her friends. The meaning and function of her anger was, however, somewhat different from those of her friends’.

Suji’s lack of communication skills made it difficult for her to make friends throughout school, which continued when she transferred to Hangook Elementary School. In Ms. Lee’s class, Suji struggled to make friends, which might have made her express her anger more strongly because of the persistent negative results she faced. At home, Suji spent most of her time with her older brother, who treated her poorly. When she expressed her negative feelings towards him, he always returned with a negative reaction towards her. As a result of her emotional experiences at home and school, Suji learned that expressing anger does not help and, thus, internalized it. To avoid directly confronting the causes of her anger, such as poor relationships with classmates or being verbally and physically abused by her brother, Suji either suppressed her anger or expressed it weakly and indirectly except in situations where she was with her best friends or her parents who accepted her open expressions of negative emotions.

When I explored how Suji’s understanding of the meaning and function of expressing anger in her life affected her decision-making in depicting the assigned theme, I found that she selected different expressive strategies to portray her anger depending on the context. In other words, her emotional knowledge gained from previous experiences
played a significant role in filtering the expressive strategies she used in each specific
drawing context (Figure 41).

Figure 41: Influence of Suji’s Socialized Angry Emotional Expression on her Selection of Expressive Strategies in Two Types of Drawings: Filtering Expressive Strategies Based on Suji’s Evaluation of Socio-Cultural Meaning and Function of Expressive Strategies

Figure 41 shows that Suji selected different sets of expressive strategies depending on the type of drawing and that expressive strategies used in her school-type drawing were more similar to how she expressed anger in her everyday life. Therefore, it can be concluded that her socialization of an angry emotional experience affected and controlled how she depicted her angry emotional experience in her school-type drawing more than in her manwha-type drawing.
In an analysis of the few self-initiated manwha by Suji, the influence of the socialization of angry emotional expression on her self-initiated manwha was not strong like her school-type drawing or even her manwha drawing (Figure 42). In a second look...
at Suji’s drawings with additional information about her socialization of angry emotional experiences, I identified that Suji depicted her angry expression in her school-type drawing similarly to how she was socialized at school to display her anger. Therefore, I concluded that Suji’s visual expressions in school are more profoundly influenced by her diverse socialized behaviors. In other words, when Suji drew about a specific angry emotional theme within her specific socio-cultural context, her emotional knowledge gained within that context affected her decision of what angry emotional experience, among many (subject matter), to depict; what aspect of that angry emotional experience to draw; and how to depict it.

Research Question 3

Certainly, Suji’s emotional knowledge affected her decisions on how to depict her angry emotional experience in her school-type drawing, but why was her emotional knowledge not applied as much to her manwha-type drawing? I was unable to answer this question satisfactorily in exploring Suji’s artistic experience with the third research question (What socio-cultural values and expectations about children’s drawings exist? How did Suji’s internalized knowledge of them affect her decision-making of what expressive strategies to use in depicting her angry experience?).

In this study, a school-type drawing was defined as a large one-frame drawing that requires students to express their narrative or idea within it, unlike a manwha drawing which consists of multiple frames. However, throughout this study, it was found that Suji and her peers held a specific definition and understanding of what a school-type
drawing is. That is, they considered a school-type drawing as a drawing to satisfy others’ expectations rather than a free expression of their own ideas.

Suji and her peers learned and internalized what was expected in their school-type art through art and art-related activities in and outside of school. For example, in art class at school, Suji’s art teachers taught types of drawings they expected students to make by repeatedly focusing lessons on specific techniques or types of drawings, displaying examples, and correcting students’ drawings as they saw fit. Moreover, Suji learned similar expectations from art events and competitions at school and in what she learned at private art institutes. These repeated art experiences were constructed based on socio-cultural values and expectations of children’s drawings and taught Suji what was valued and expected in her school-type drawings. Suji and her classmates’ frequent questioning to clearly determine what their art teachers wanted indicates that they recognize the existence of socio-cultural values and expectations for their school-type art and try actively to learn what they are. As a result, they understand a school-type drawing to consist of either a landscape, still image, or poster drawing which requires specific drawing techniques. They also understand that adults pay attention to the technique of their drawings more so than the idea and narrative expressed in their drawings.

In Suji’s case, she had her own reasons to produce school-type drawings as expected by adults and understood by her friends. Because she had difficulty making friends at her new school, Suji sought to gain attention from her classmates. Their positive responses to her well-drawn pictures made her more sensitive to what others expected from her school-type drawings and Suji believed that others would like her drawings if she drew what they expected, which was displaying her drawing skills in a
landscape or other realistic drawing and not using human figures or any other manwha-like images in her school-type drawings. Analysis of her school-type drawing showed how her understanding about school-type drawings reflected her decisions of what expressive strategies to use.

In reality, with her many experiences with school-type drawings, Suji already knew what she could draw, what not to draw, and what considerations she had to make. These rules were programmed into her and whenever Suji needed to decide on what expressive strategies to use, these rules were systematically applied to her expressive decisions and specific expressive strategies were selected and used.

However, the assigned theme in this study was not what Suji usually drew in school-type drawings. Therefore, I assumed that many rules might not yet be encoded in her about depicting an angry emotional theme in a school-type drawing since she did not have many opportunities to observe how others would respond to her angry emotional drawings. Thus, she would need to develop a new decisive system to help her produce a socio-culturally competent drawing using her negative emotional experience. Analysis of her school-type drawing showed that Suji applied pre-programmed rules constructed from her previous drawing experiences to this drawing context as well.

In Suji’s school-type drawing, she decided to use several expressive strategies to display her drawing techniques instead of strategies to communicate what her angry emotional experience really was. Although she had the skills to effectively express her angry emotional state, Suji’s knowledge gained from her school-type drawing experiences made her careful in her attempt.
In contrast, Suji had different experiences related to manwha-type drawings. First, children’s manwha culture is outside the attention of adults where adults in Korea openly express their dislike for children’s manwha (Kim, 2007). Despite this, manwha culture was welcome and enjoyed in Ms. Lee’s class. Suji’s teacher, Ms. Lee, showed a somewhat open attitude toward manwha so Suji and her peers enjoyed the manwha culture relatively freely. Even under this circumstance, however, students did not draw manwha with adult supervision or instruction in class; rather, they learned to draw it on their own or from friends or media, such as from manwha books or television cartoons. Therefore, when children drew manwha, what their peers expected was considered more significantly than what adults expected.

While adults still expected exemplary drawing techniques in Suji’s manwha, her friends responded more actively to her manwha stories. They paid attention to the story she expressed and how well her manwha was understood. Therefore, Suji developed interesting stories and practiced different types of techniques from those expected in school-type drawings (e.g. techniques to depict diverse types and forms of human figures and symbols to express emotions and other dramatic effects) in order to make her classmates enjoy and understand her manwha.

Suji’s manwha-related experiences explain her use of different expressive strategies such as direct angry emotional expressions, direct and clear information about the emotional situation, and good drawing skills to depict human figures. When she drew manwha, Suji considered her friends’ and her own values and expectations of her manwha more seriously than when she drew school-type drawings.
Figure 43 illustrates that Suji’s expressive decisions were influenced by her understanding of socio-cultural meaning and function of each type of drawing. In conclusion, the expressive strategies she selected to depict her angry emotional experiences in the two types of drawings are the result of two filters in deciding what expressive strategies are most competent in the specific context (Figure 44).
Conclusions

As children get older, they consider the social context in which they express emotions and try to manage their emotional expressions depending on social expectancies (Bergin et al., 2003; Campos et al., 1994; Cole, 1986; Eisenberg et al., 2000; Malatesta &
Haviland, 1982; Parker et al., 2001; Thompson, 1994; Zeman & Garber, 1996; Zeman & Shipman, 1997). Namely, through the process of socialization of emotion, children learn how to regulate and express emotions, when to express emotions, and how to respond to emotionally-laden situations in socially acceptable ways.

Information about the socialization of children’s emotional expression made me question how emotions depicted in children’s drawings had been studied. Traditionally, many art educators interested in this research topic wanted to prove that children’s artistic ability increases with age. Therefore, their research analyzed the use of expressive strategies (e.g., color, shape, line, size, etc.) in depicting emotionally characterized humans or objects and their conclusions described how age or developmental differences affect the understanding and use of expressive strategies in depicting emotions.

However, I wondered about the possibility that expressive strategies are selected by children based on their understandings about socio-culturally competent ways to express emotions in a specific cultural context. If this process of making decisions were involved, previous researchers merely studied socio-culturally controlled images and expressive strategies to depict emotional themes and could not explain the mechanism of children’s art making in-depth.

I assume that if children’s emotional expressions are socialized through diverse emotional interactions with others, such as gaining emotional knowledge about competent display rules and regulating their emotional expressions in socio-culturally acceptable ways, their visual expression related to emotional expressions is also influenced by socialized emotional expressions. Therefore, I explored whether children’s drawings about an emotional theme are actually socialized.
This study showed that Suji’s selection of expressive strategies was strongly influenced by the socialization of her angry emotional expression. Analyzing why specific expressive strategies were selected made me criticize the belief that “[t]he child is speaking directly through his drawings, that is each line, shape, and form conveys the inner feelings as well as explicit themes of the young child” (Gardner, 1980, p. 94). Figures 38 and 39 portray that expressive strategies were not simply selected to depict the assigned emotional theme as is. Rather, Suji carefully selected expressive strategies based on her emotional knowledge about socio-cultural values and expectations about angry emotional expressions gained from her previous emotional experiences.

Another significant finding of this study is that children can decide what expressive strategies to use depending on how they understand the meaning and function of different types of drawings. Previous studies on how emotions are depicted in children’s drawings do not consider that the same emotional theme can be expressed with different expressive strategies in different forms of art. Suji recognized that there are completely different values and beliefs to different types of child art and her internalized knowledge about this affected her decision-making (Figure 40).

A third finding of this study is the discrimination between the idea that “children’s visual expression is affected by visual culture existing in a specific context” and the idea that “children’s visual expression is socialized according to social beliefs within a specific cultural context” as children are socialized in socio-culturally expected ways. The understanding that cultural influences are simply the common expressive patterns found in children’s drawings in a specific culture needs to be corrected. In Suji’s case, she depicted the same assigned theme using different sets of expressive strategies
depending on the context, revealing that a specific culture can influence not only children’s use of the same expressive strategies, but also different expressive strategies because of their different understanding of the meaning and function of a drawing. The latter case shows that children’s drawings are not merely influenced passively by culture but children can respond to this cultural influence actively. Therefore, I conclude that Suji’s drawings about her angry emotional experience were socialized based on her own understanding of the socio-cultural meaning and function of angry expressions and drawings in the Korean cultural context and not simply because they were influenced by her specific culture without her personal decision-making.

The fourth finding of this study is that Suji used different visual scripts depending on the drawing context. Lewis (1989) explained the socialization of children’s emotional expression with the concept of scripts, where children have many types of emotional scripts to express the same emotion differently and use different emotional scripts in different emotional situations. In Suji’s case, when she felt the same emotion, anger, she expressed it differently in front of her classmates or her brother compared to when she was in front of her mother or best friends. She gained emotional knowledge from previous experiences in diverse emotional situations and this knowledge made Suji develop and use different emotional scripts depending on the context. Similarly, when she drew the same drawing theme related to anger, Suji depicted it differently in her school-type drawing, manwha drawing, and her self-initiated manwha. Therefore, the concept of visual scripts is helpful to explain Suji’s use of different sets of expressive strategies in depicting her angry emotional experience.
In Figure 41, Suji’s emotional and artistic experiences helped her evaluate what expressive strategies were more effective in each drawing context. Through the process of filtering expressive strategies, Suji developed two types of visual scripts to depict her angry emotional experience in school.

The last significance of this study was to raise issues related to the need for a new method of analysis to understand underlying socio-cultural meanings from children’s drawing. Since I believe that cultural influence occurs throughout the entire process of art making, I attempted to analyze Suji’s drawings differently from previous studies on children’s drawings so as to not miss any signs. With this method, I avoided looking at only a few images, but rather, understood as many communicable meanings as she tried to express. As such, to understand the complex mechanism of children’s drawings, I attempted to make my understanding of Suji’s drawing as complex as possible instead of understanding children’s drawing simply by using a few signs in which the research was interested.

**Suggestions for the Future Study**

In recent years, cultural influence is considered an important factor to children’s artistic development. However, few case studies exist, making it difficult to explain how culture impacts children’s art making. Therefore, more cases should be introduced for better understanding of children’s art making. In fact, this study was initially designed to explore multiple cases of Korean children’s depiction of their angry emotional experience. If multiple case studies were conducted, different emotional and artistic
experiences of each child, and what visual scripts each child used in depicting the drawing theme, could be portrayed.
EPILOGUE

While it was risky to conduct a research study on a sample of one, I made the decision to focus solely on Suji in the middle of my data collection. Initially, this research was designed as a multiple case study on four manwha artists in one classroom. However, the complex layers of children’s drawings about emotionally-related themes required I observe situations I had not considered as important as those I had initially designed to observe, interview additional people who impacted their emotional and drawing experiences, and collect other related artifacts to enhance my understanding of their drawings. The time and effort it took to collect this data gradually increased to the point I had to decide to concentrate on Suji alone.

While I strongly believe the decision was necessary, I remained apprehensive throughout the whole process. My anxiety, however, gradually turned into astonishment during my analysis. This in-depth research on Suji and her drawings gave insight into the multi-layered dimensions of cultural influence on children’s art-making. The lengthy process spent on Suji alone proves the difficulty and the complicated nature of understanding children’s visual expressions. Reflecting back on this, I am convinced it would have been impossible to discover what I did if I did not make the decision to change the design into a single case study.

Because humans are influenced by all of their living experience, including what they see, hear, and feel, it is impossible to understand children’s complicated living experience – including drawing experience – fully through generated theory and
knowledge within a controlled experimental setting (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). This was also seen in my understanding of Suji and her drawings within a real context. While I had already developed my research questions, numerous sub-questions were continuously raised during the process. Many were left unanswered, but critical in the course of this project was that I was able to question Suji’s drawings as much as I wanted to and seek answers as much as I could. Because I was able to do this, I believe it was possible for me to come to a deeper understanding of Suji’s expressive strategies in drawings about her anger emotional experience.

While there are implications of this study to Korean art education specifically, this research also provides more in-depth insight to art educators in general in understanding that children’s visual expressions can be socialized, just like many of their other behaviors are. That is, when a child uses expressive strategies to depict a theme related to a behavior, the automatic socialized behavior is the result of what his/her culture values or expects.

**Implications for Korean Art Education**

While this study examined only one child’s drawings, Suji’s depictions not only tell us about herself, but also about Korean society and culture and its influence on Korean children’s art-making. It is strongly assumed that Suji’s selection of expressive strategies to depict her angry experience is closely related to display rules of expressing anger that are valued and expected within the Korean cultural context. Past studies on child art have focused mainly on understanding what children want to draw and how they
draw, where children’s art making is considered individual work (Dyson, 1989). In this study, however, the focus was on what makes children draw what they draw and why they draw it in that way. Significant evidence was found on the influence of socio-cultural context on children’s visual expressions using Suji’s case, taking the discussion about the relationship between cultural influence and children’s art to a different dimension. As a result, implications of Suji’s case to Korean art education need to be examined.

First, Suji’s case illustrates that children’s drawings can provide us with important information about not only their artistic development and their lives, but also other human development (e.g. emotional development) as well as the current educational system. Through Suji’s drawings about an emotionally-related drawing theme, knowledge was gained about Korean children’s emotional experience; that is, how their emotional expressions are socialized in their everyday context. It is unknown if most Korean teachers treat their students’ negative emotional expressions the same way as Ms. Lee did. However, similar to Ms. Lee, they are teaching within a specific Korean context where successful academic achievement is highly emphasized, are overwhelmed with teaching a large class, and take on the additional burden of responsibility for their students’ safety. It can be expected that most Korean elementary teachers would construct a similar emotional culture in their classrooms as Ms. Lee. Therefore, if art educators as well as homeroom teachers try to understand their students’ drawings about a specific theme, they would come to a better understanding of their students and of their own teaching and classroom management. This in-depth understanding would be a great resource for improving one’s teaching and developing better art curriculum.
For instance, during the course of the study, I shared with Ms. Lee what I found and felt in her classroom. At first, she was embarrassed with her classroom management style and her students’ feelings towards it. She later expressed through an email to me her appreciation for the opportunity to evaluate her teaching, of which she had never questioned in her seven years of teaching.

Minam, I have something to tell you. Thank you. After your research, I came to know the problems with my teaching. First, I did not give recess to my students. I learned this from one very experienced teacher but I think that this management strategy made the students very difficult. Second, I paid too much attention to teaching “more” than teaching “what and how.” Therefore, many problems came about even though I didn’t realize them. Third, I just wanted to make my students experience a happy school life… I just thought it, but did not take action. (May 19, 2009)

Second, this research provides another important message on the current Korean art curriculum. Throughout this study, I observed specific values and expectations about children’s drawing in Korean society and saw that they strongly influenced children’s visual expressions. I do not think that change and improvement in Korean art education will come about without considering the origin and problem of these values and expectations. For instance, Suji and her friends believed good drawings to be skillfully, that is, realistically, depicted, such as landscapes or still images which require detailed and realistic sketches and high quality painting skills. In fact, throughout Korean society, children, teachers, and even parents have a specific image of what a “good drawing” is. Whether this belief is correct or not, it is natural that art activities for Korean children focus on drawing techniques. When I analyzed characteristics of the art activities prepared by Mr. Han, Suji’s art teacher, I was surprised that the provided art activities, which seemed like they were different tasks, were actually based on one basic task, that
of drawing and coloring a detailed and realistic pencil sketch. Moreover, many parents expect their children to achieve these drawing skills that are valued in Korean elementary school so they enroll them in additional art courses through private art institutes, which teach those drawing techniques. With adults’ values and expectations imposed on them, Korean children understand art-making as merely learning good drawing skills rather than expressing and exploring through the process of making art.

Therefore, this study implies the need for adult (e.g. art teachers, school teachers, and parents) education about child art to learn what visual expressions mean in children’s lives and what art activities are meaningful to children. Consequently, new art curriculum can be developed to help children develop their diverse artistic interests and talent and explore, on their own, their world through art-making. Parents will also form a different attitude toward their children’s art-making and learning. In fact, parents play a significant role in their children’s artistic development because actually they make the decisions about their children’s art-learning (e.g. buying and providing art materials based on their own educational belief and deciding what art-learning opportunities to enroll). The change in adults’ attitude can result in children forming a different viewpoint of art, which may affect their artistic development. As a result, studying child art requires considering the role of adults and others around the child.

Third, this study made me realize that manwha is a space for children to explore their emotions. As one of many diverse drawing genres, manwha is drawn outside of a space that is managed by adults. Children use different expressive strategies (Kim, 2005, 2007; Wilson, 1974, 1997b, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007; Wilson & Wilson, 1977) and Suji illustrated this in freely exploring diverse emotional themes in her manwha drawings,
which was very different from how she has depicted emotional themes in her art in school. Why was it possible for her to depict diverse emotional themes, including negative ones, in her manwha and what does this imply for art education?

After examining many Korean children’s manwha on diverse emotional stories and images, I kept asking the question, “Why do children express even difficult emotional issues freely in manwha?” At the panel discussion, ”Graphic Novels: A Conversation,” featuring Harvey Pekar and Phoebe Gloeckner at the Pennsylvania State University in February 2007, I asked Ms. Gloeckner about The Diary of a Teenage Girl, her book about a young girl’s life into adulthood that was told frankly through comic-type drawings. I asked her how she was able to express this story, which was difficult to share with others, so easily in her comics.

I don’t know why I decided to draw my stories as a form of comics. In fact, I hated comics when I was young. I thought that comics were dirty, strange, weird, any ways something not good. But when I decided to draw my stories, I thought that comic would be the best form. In other words, I thought I could tell my stories if I expressed them in the form of a comic… I don’t know why… I don’t know… (P. Gloeckner, personal conversation, February 22, 2007)

When I heard her answer to my question, I was a bit disappointed in her answer. How could she not know why she chose a comic drawing to express her stories about difficult emotional experiences? Many young Korean manwha artists also are not able to convey their reason, saying, “I don’t know why I drew this story. I don’t know why I enjoy drawing manwha. I just like it. I just want to draw it.” Therefore, I wanted to find the reason why people can express their stories and ideas so freely and frankly in comics.

Much evidence points to the fact that children can depict their diverse emotional stories freely in comic drawings. The remaining problem is whether expressing diverse
emotions, including negative ones, in comics is GOOD or NOT. Contemporary children are socialized much earlier than generations previous, so they have more opportunities to be exposed to complicated social interactions. Moreover, children today are always stimulated emotionally through diverse social relationships. Therefore, children need to deal with their emotional problems effectively.

Many researchers (Parker et al., 2001; Radke-Yarrow & Kochanska, 1990; Zeman & Garber, 1996; Zeman & Shipman, 1997) maintain that when children express their emotions and confront diverse emotional situations, they can understand their emotions and themselves, learn better ways to deal with their emotions, and become an emotionally healthy child. However, children do not easily express their emotional difficulties not only in their lives but also even through their artwork because they already know what is valued and expected when they express their emotions. If it is difficult to deal with their emotional problems in their real lives, expressing them in an imaginary space like comics would be a good opportunity for them to explore the reason and possible solutions of their emotional problems indirectly.

As described in Chapter 5, Korean children are asked to suppress their negative emotions because it challenges adults’ authority and, more broadly, harmonized interpersonal relationships, which is a great value of Confucianism. Therefore, manwha is a safe place for Korean children to express and explore their emotional issues without social pressure.

In my case, my father was very strict and did not communicate much with his children. He was always busy and spent little time with the family, making it difficult for us to have any close interactions. One day as a young girl, I drew a fictional manwha
story that made fun of my father, something that I would not have done in real life. In
my manwha, he expressed anger, but I was not afraid of him. In fact, in my manhwa, I
expressed my anger to him and said whatever I wanted to say to him. I do not recall how
I got the courage to draw that story, but clearly remember that I felt a closer relationship
between my father and me after I drew it.

Brent Wilson (2004) characterizes three primary pedagogical sites: (1) traditional
art classroom; (2) self-initiated visual cultural sites constructed by children for
themselves outside and beyond schools; and (3) a third site, a space between the
traditional institutional art classroom settings and self-initiated visual cultural sites. He
maintained that all art teachers and parents should pay attention to the second
pedagogical site constructed by children in order for a better understanding of children
and their art. Moreover, he insisted that art educators construct a third pedagogical site in
collaboration with children because he believed that in this third pedagogical site,
students can use their infinite imaginations and their knowledge learned from visual
culture which were not used in the first site.

This study on Suji’s three types of drawings (school drawing, manwha drawing in
school, self-initiated manwha) shows how children’s visual expressions can be regulated
depending on the site. Wilson worried about the problem and limitation of moving
children’s self-initiated art, such as Korean children’s manwha, into the school. Although
Suji’s manwha-type drawing produced in school still used expressive strategies which
considered the viewers’ expectations, this type of drawing included much freer ideas than
her school-type drawing.
What This Study Leaves…

Much more work remains after the completion of this study. First, I need to explore the three other young manwha artists’ cases which were abandoned. Second, I would like to investigate more in depth the reason why children express diverse themes freely. Third, to help art educators understand the socio-cultural meaning and function of visual signs in children’s drawings, I want to improve upon the method of analysis used in this study. Fourth, I also want to look into children’s drawing about unusual drawing themes which are not used in traditional art classes. In addition, I am also interested in children’s responses to other children’s drawing. That is, what socio-cultural values and expectations are internalized by children and how are they employed when looking at other children’s drawings? Furthermore, I would like to investigate other forms of art, such as self-initiated art, and what meaning and function they play in children’s artistic development.
References


Court, E. (1989). Drawing on culture: The influence of culture on children’s drawing


Wilson, B. & Wilson, M. (1979c). Figure structure, figure action, and framing in drawings by American and Egyptian children. *Studies in Art Education, 21*(1), 36-43.


Appendix A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
Dear principal:

My name is Minam Kim. I am a doctoral candidate in the Art Education Program at the Pennsylvania State University. As one of elementary school teacher, I was very interested in investigating the success of art education in elementary school. In Korea, young adolescents, especially 5th or 6th graders, are very fascinated by manhwa (a Korean word for comics) and enjoy drawing manhwa. In their manhwa, children use more diverse emotions liberally and use different expressional ways to depict emotions. To better understand how differently children depict emotions between school drawings and manhwa, and why they depict emotions differently, I want to observe the process of your children’s making art and what kind of social interactions your children have related to drawings and interview your children about how he or she perceive school drawings and manhwa, how they understand others’ expectations about their drawings. Moreover, based on the belief that important others to children such as parents, teachers, and peers can be important factors for children’s visual expressions, I want to hear how they understand and interpret children’s drawings, and how these understandings and interpretations of children have been conveyed to children and influenced their drawings through interviews. For this study, your help is needed.

The compilation of data and study results will be kept strictly confidential. Any participants’ ID information will not be identified in any way. In other words, my academic advisor and I will be the only persons who have access to all data. The qualitative research strategies in this study involve no deception. You may ask any questions about the procedures, and I will answer these questions to your satisfaction. There are no risks to children’s mental and physical health in this study, beyond those encountered in everyday life.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me, 207 Art Cottage, University Park, PA 16801, (814) 278-0270, mxk414@psu.edu. You may contact the Office for Research Protections, 212 Kern Graduate Building, University Park, PA 16802, (814) 865-1775 for additional information. Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Minam Kim
Title of Project: Socialization of Children’s Visual Expression: The socio-cultural meaning and function of Korean children’s depiction of negative emotions in their drawings

Researcher: Minam Kim
Mailing Address: 207 Arts Cottage
University Park, PA 16802
Tel.: (814)278-0270
Email: mxk414@psu.edu

Advisor: Christine Thompson
Mailing Address: 207 Art Cottage
University Park, PA 16802
Tel.: (814)863-7311
Email: cmt15@psu.edu

Why are you doing this study?
I would like to learn more about Korean children’s drawings, such as school drawings and Manhwa (a word for comics). Parents, teachers, and other students will also provide information.

What will I be asked to do?
Your ordinary classroom activities will be observed. You will be asked to draw subjects including emotional situations. You will also be asked to talk with the researcher 2-3 times, each lasting 15-20 minutes, May through July. The observations will be done during your normal classroom instruction time. I would like to record classroom activities. I will also ask for your permission to keep some of your art projects.

Who can I talk to if I have questions?
Contact Minam Kim at (814) 278-0270 or email mxk414@psu.edu with questions about the research. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or you have concerns or general questions about the research, contact Penn State University’s Office for Research Protections at (814) 865-1775.

Who will know I am doing this?
Your participation will be known to the researcher and her advisor. Your parents will know, of course, since they need to give permission for you to take part. Your teacher and classmates may also know, but will not be part of the interview.

**Do I have to do this?**

You do not have to take part in this research. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Your course grade will not be influenced by your decision to take part or not.

**Please indicate your choices below:**

- [ ] I give my permission to be (audio/ digitally, or video) taped.
- [ ] I do not give my permission to be (audio/ digitally, or video) taped.
- [ ] I give my permission to the use of my photographs, art work, voice, and video for research and teaching.
- [ ] I do not give my permission to the use of my photographs, art work, voice, and video for research and teaching.

You will get a copy of this paper.

______________________________  ________________________
Student’s Name                      Date

______________________________  ________________________
Witness Signature               Date
Dear parents:

My name is Minam Kim. I am a doctoral candidate in the Art Education Department at the Pennsylvania State University. As an elementary school teacher, I was very interested in investigating the success of art education in elementary school. In Korea, young adolescents, especially 5th or 6th graders, are very fascinated by manhwa (a Korean word for comics) and enjoy drawing manhwa. In their manhwa, children use more diverse emotions liberally and use different expressional ways to depict emotions. To better understand how differently children depict emotions between school drawings and manhwa, and why they depict emotions differently, I want to observe the process of your child’s making art and what kind of social interactions your child has related to drawings and interview your child about how he or she perceives school drawings and manhwa, how he or she understands others’ expectations about their drawings. Moreover, based on the belief that parents can be an important factor for children’s visual expressions, I want to hear how you understand and interpret your child’s drawings, and how these understandings and interpretations of your child have been conveyed to your children through interviews. For this study, your help is needed.

If you agree for you and your child to participate in my study, please read the consent form closely and then sign the form. Since your child is a minor, parental consent must be obtained. It means that if you do not agree this project, I cannot contact with your child. Moreover, even if you consent you and your child’s participation in this project, you can withdraw youself and your child from this study at any time or decline to answer any specific questions.

The compilation of data and study results will be kept strictly confidential. Any child’s ID information will not be identified in any way. In other words, my academic advisor and I will be the only ones who have access to all data. The qualitative research strategies in this study involve no deception. You may ask any questions about the procedures, and I will answer these questions to your satisfaction. There are no risks to your and your child’s mental and physical health in this study, beyond those encountered in everyday life.

Please remember that you are participating voluntarily in this study. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me, 207 Art Cottage, University Park, PA 16801, (814) 278-0270, mxk414@psu.edu. You may contact the Office for Research Protections, 212 Kern Graduate Building, University Park, PA 16802, (814) 865-1775 for additional information concerning your right as a research participant. Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Minam Kim
Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research (PARENT)
The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: Socialization of Children’s Visual Expression: The socio-cultural meaning and function of Korean children’s depiction of negative emotions in their drawings

Researcher: Minam Kim
Mailing Address: 207 Arts Cottage
University Park, PA 16802
Tel.: (814)278-0270
Email: mxk414@psu.edu

Advisor: Christine Thompson
Mailing Address: 207 Art Cottage
University Park, PA 16802
Tel.: (814)863-7311
Email: cmt15@psu.edu

Title of Project: Socialization of Children’s Visual Expression: The socio-cultural meaning and function of Korean children’s depiction of negative emotions in their drawings

Principal Investigator: Minam Kim
Mailing Address: 207 Arts Cottage
University Park, PA 16802
Tel.: (814)278-0270
Email: mxk414@psu.edu

Advisor: Christine Thompson
Mailing Address: 207 Art Cottage
University Park, PA 16802
Tel.: (814)863-7311
Email: cmt15@psu.edu

1. Purpose of the Study: This study is to investigate Korean children’s different expressional strategies to depict emotions in their two types of drawings such as school drawings and Manhwa (a word for comics), and the influence of their social
interactions with others such as parents, teachers, and peers on their drawing strategies.

2. **Procedures to be followed:** Your child’s activities related to art in classroom will be observed, and he/she will be asked to draw subject matters including diverse emotional situations developed by the investigator, and interviewed about his/her belief about emotional competence and his/her expressional strategies to depict emotions; and his/her perception about art and interrelationships with others such as parent, teachers, and peers.

If you give permission for your child to participate in this study, you will be also asked to answer to questions about your belief about emotional competence, your parental style to teach your child's emotional expression, and your perception about your child's drawings and expressional strategies. These questions will be posed in two or three 30-minute interviews, to be scheduled at your convenience, during the time the study is in progress.

3. **Benefits:** The benefits to you include: You may better understand not only you and your attitude to respond to your children’s drawings, but also your children more deeply.

4. **Risks:** No risks are anticipated as a result of your and your child’s participation in this research study.

5. **Duration/Time:** You will be asked to talk with the researcher 2-4 times, each lasting 20-30 minutes, May through July. The observations will be done during your child’s normal classroom instruction time. I would like to record classroom activities. I will also ask for your permission to keep some of your child’s art projects.

6. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your and your child’s participation in this study is confidential. Only the investigator in charge, Minam Kim, and her academic advisor, Dr. Christine Thompson, will know your identity. In addition, the classroom teacher and his/her classmates may know your child is participating but will not know the responses to the interview. Your and your child’s identities will be presented in pseudonym and your child’s affiliates will not be indicated. The data will be stored and secured at my computer data base in a password protected file. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the study, no personally identifiable information will be shared. The following may review and copy records related to this research: The Office of Human Research Protections in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the Social Science Institutional Review Board and the PSU Office for Research Protections.

7. **Right to Ask Questions:** You can ask questions about this study. Contact Minam Kim at (814) 278-0270 or email mxk414@psu.edu with questions. You can also call this number or email this address if you have complaints or concerns about this study.
If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or you have concerns or general questions about the research, contact Penn State University’s Office for Research Protections at (814) 865-1775. You may also call this number if you cannot reach the research team or wish to talk to someone else.

8. **Voluntary Participation:** You and your child’s decision to participate in this study are voluntary. You and your child can stop at any time. You and your child do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

9. **Audio-/ Video-taping, Digital Photos, Drawings, Storage, Destruction, Access to others:** (a) Audio-/ video taping and digital photos will be made and stored in the CDs. Your child’s drawings will be scanned and stored in the CDs. The CDs will be stored at the investigator’s home office, which is secure. (b) Only the investigator and academic advisor will access to the CDs. (c) All materials except the CDs and original drawings are destroyed (notes are shredded and video records are removed from the original films) when the CDs are completed. With your and your child’s permission, the CDs and your child’s original drawings will be used for research and teaching at the investigator’s discretion and for perpetuity.

*Please indicate your choice below:*

☐ I authorize the use of my child’s photographs, art work, voice, and video performances for research and teaching. I agree to investigator’s use at her discretion, and for perpetuity.

☐ I do not authorize the use of my child’s photographs, art work, voice, and video performances for research teaching. I do not agree to investigator’s use at her discretion, and for perpetuity.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to take part in and provide permission for your child to participate in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, and you also consent your child’s participation in this study, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

You will be given a copy of this signed and dated consent form for your records.

I give permission for my child, _______________, to participate in this research project.
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Dear teacher:

My name is Minam Kim. I am a doctoral candidate in the Art Education Program at the Pennsylvania State University. As an elementary school teacher, I was very interested in investigating the success of art education in elementary school. In Korea, young adolescents, especially 5th or 6th graders, are very fascinated by manhwa (a Korean word for comics) and enjoy drawing manhwa. In their manhwa, children use more diverse emotions liberally and use different expressional ways to depict emotions. To better understand how differently children depict emotions between school drawings and manhwa, and why they depict emotions differently, I want to observe the process of your children’s making art and what kind of social interactions your children have related to drawings and interview your children about how he or she perceive school drawings and manhwa, how they understand others’ expectations about their drawings. Moreover, based on the belief that teachers can be an important factor for children’s visual expressions, I want to hear how you understand and interpret your children’s drawings, and how these understanding and interpretation of your children have been conveyed to your children through interviews. For this study, your help is needed.

If you agree to participate in my study, please read the consent form closely and then sign the form. Moreover, even if you consent your participation in this project, you can withdraw yourself from this study at any time or decline to answer any specific questions.

The compilation of data and study results will be kept strictly confidential. Any your ID information will not be identified in any way. In other words, my academic advisor and I will be the only person who has access to all data. The qualitative research strategies in this study involve no deception. You may ask any questions about the procedures, and I will answer these questions to your satisfaction. There are no risks to your mental and physical health in this study, beyond those encountered in everyday life.

Please remember that you are participating voluntarily in this study. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me, 207 Art Cottage, University Park, PA 16801, (814) 278-0270, mxk414@psu.edu. You may contact the Office for Research Protections, 212 Kern Graduate Building, University Park, PA 16802, (814) 865-1775 for additional information concerning your right as a research participant. Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Minam Kim
Title of Project: Socialization of Children’s Visual Expression: The socio-cultural meaning and function of Korean children’s depiction of negative emotions in their drawings

Researcher: Minam Kim
Mailing Address: 207 Arts Cottage
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Advisor: Christine Thompson
Mailing Address: 207 Art Cottage
University Park, PA 16802
Tel.: (814)863-7311
Email: cmt15@psu.edu

1. Purpose of the Study: This study is to investigate Korean children’s different expressional strategies to depict emotions in their two types of drawings such as school drawings and Manawa (a word for comics), and the influence of their social interactions with others such as parents, teachers, and peers on their drawing strategies.

2. Procedures to be followed: Your classes will be observed for three months, and will be asked to answer about questions related to children’s emotional development, drawings, and your classes.

3. Benefits: The benefits to you include: You will better understand not only you and your teaching practices but also your classroom environment influenced by your meta-emotion and your children more deeply. This understanding may help your future lesson plans for art class.

4. Risks: No risks are anticipated as a result of your participation in this research study.

5. Duration/Time: You will be asked to talk with the researcher 2-4 times, each lasting 20-30 minutes, May through July. I would like to observe and record normal
classroom instruction time. I will also ask to keep some of your students’ art projects, as long as the student and his/her parent also agree.

6. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your participation in this study is confidential. Only the investigator in charge, Minam Kim, and her academic advisor, Dr. Christine Thompson, will know your identity. Your identity will be presented in pseudonym and your affiliates will not be indicated. The data will be stored and secured at my computer data base in a password protected file. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the study, no personally identifiable information will be shared.

7. **Right to Ask Questions:** You can ask questions about this study. Contact Minam Kim at (814) 278-0270 or email mxk414@psu.edu with questions. You can also call this number or email this address if you have complaints or concerns about this study. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or you have concerns or general questions about the research, contact Penn State University’s Office for Research Protections at (814) 865-1775. You may also call this number if you cannot reach the research team or wish to talk to someone else. The following may review and copy records related to this research: The Office of Human Research Protections in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the Social Science Institutional Review Board and the PSU Office for Research Protections.

8. **Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to participate in this study is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

9. **Audio-/ Video-taping, Digital Photos, Drawings, Storage, Destruction, Access to others:** (a) Audio-/ video taping and digital photos will be made and stored in the CDs. Artwork will be scanned and stored in the CDs. The CDs will be stored at the investigator’s home office, which is secure. (b) Only the investigator and her advisor will access to the CDs. (c) All materials except the CDs and original drawings are destroyed (notes are shredded and video records are removed from the original films) when the CDs are completed. The CDs and students’ original drawings will be used for research and teaching at the investigator’s discretion and for perpetuity.

   - [☐] I authorize the use of photographs, voice, and video performances for research and teaching. I agree to investigator’s use at her discretion and for perpetuity.

   - [☐] I do not authorize the use of my photographs, voice, and video performances for Research teaching. I do not agree to investigator’s use at her discretion and for perpetuity.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.
You will be given a copy of this signed and dated consent form for your records.

Participant Signature          Date

Person Obtaining Consent        Date
Appendix B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Semi-structured questions will form the interview process. Because the researcher will be engaged in a combination of interview, observation, and review of children’s journals and art works, children’s responses and observations of children at work will necessarily affect the content and direction of the qualitative inquiry. The following questions are preliminary only and will change with each respondent.

**Interview Questions for Children**

How do children perceive school drawings and manhwa?: Perception and understanding differences between two types of drawings (school art/manhwa)-- a finite play or an infinite play/an institutionalized art or play art

[Could you tell me anything about your school art classes?]

a) How many art classes do you have a week?
b) The day before art classes, what does your teacher tell you about?
c) How do you feel/think before art class?
d) What do you usually draw?
e) What do you want to draw?
f) While you are drawing, what do you pay attention to most?
g) What do you feel/think during art class?
h) What is your teacher usually doing while you are drawing?
i) What is your teacher usually talking while you are drawing?
j) What are you talking with your friend while you are drawing?
k) Do you usually draw your real experience or imaginary story?
l) Are there any difficulties to draw in art classes?
m) How do you solve your difficulties or problems?
n) What is good and what is bad when you draw in school art class?
o) How are your drawings treated after art class?
p) After drawing, what do you feel/think?
q) Whom do you show your school drawing to?
r) What do others (parents, teachers, and friends) usually tell you about your drawings?
s) How do you feel/think when you hear something from others?
t) Whose comment do you usually concern most?
u) What do you think your teacher/parents/friends concern most in your drawing?
v) What kind of drawing do you think teachers/parents/friends like most?
w) Which drawing you drew was evaluated best by others? Why?
x) Do you like drawing? Which art activity do you like better? Why?
y) Do you like art class? Why?
z) Do you think that your friends like drawing? Why?
aa) Why do you think drawing is important?
bb) How do you think others think about drawing?
c) How have your feeling/thinking about drawing in art classes changed over time?

[Could you tell me anything about your experience drawing manhwa?]
a) Have you had any experience drawing manhwa?
b) When do you usually draw?
c) How long do you usually draw?
d) Where do you usually draw?
e) What do you usually draw?
f) Do you usually draw your real experience or imaginary story?
g) Why do you draw manhwa?
h) While you draw manhwa, what do you pay attention to most?
i) What do you feel/think before drawing manhwa?
j) What do you feel/think when you draw manhwa?
k) What do you feel/think after drawing manhwa?
l) How’s your manhwa treated after drawing?
m) Whom do you usually show your manhwa to?
n) What do others usually tell you about your manhwa?
o) How do you think others may think about your manhwa?
p) What kind of value do you think drawing manhwa has?
q) Are there any difficulties when you draw manhwa?
r) What is good and what is bad when you drawing manhwa?
s) How have your feeling/thinking about drawing manhwa changed over time?
t) What kind of manhwa is popular among friends?
u) Which type of manhwa do you expect your teachers and parents would like or dislike?

[Could you tell me differences between school drawing and manhwa?]
a) Subject matters
b) Techniques
c) Freedom
d) Personal feeling or thinking
e) Response from others
f) Others:

[About emotions: happy and angry]
a) How do children feel to draw different emotions such as happy and angry?
b) How do children understand social meaning of each emotion: happy and angry?
c) How have children learned how to express each emotion: happy and angry?

[Talking about drawings about emotions]
   a) After drawing two different emotional drawings, what did you feel?
   b) What did you draw most easily and freely?
   c) What did you draw most difficultly and uncomfortably?
   d) Which drawing are you most satisfied with?
   e) Which drawing do you want to show to your parents/teachers/friends?
   f) Which drawing do you not want to show to others?

Happy
   a) Could you tell me about this drawing? (How much do you feel happy? Description about situation before and after emotional situation depicted in your drawing)
   b) What did you feel when you are asked to draw happy experience?
   c) Are your drawings usually about happy thing or not?
   d) Are there any difficulties when you depict happiness?
   e) Do you have any strategies when you depict happiness in your drawings?
   f) If you show this drawing to others (parents, teachers, and friends), how do you expect they will respond to it?
   g) What do you think others will focus on in your drawing?
   h) Do you think that others can understand your happiness through this drawing?
   i) When do you feel happy?
   j) When do you feel happy, how do you express happy emotion?
   k) How do you feel/think when you express your happiness?
   l) When you expressed your happiness, what happened?
   m) When you express your happiness, what will happen?
   n) Which degree do you think you can express/show your happiness to others?
   o) Have you ever learn how to express happiness from others?
   p) Have you ever any experience that somebody prohibited your happy expression? Why? How did you feel/think about it?

Angry
   a) Could you tell me about this drawing? (How much angry is this drawing about? Description about situation before and after emotional situation depicted in your drawing)
   b) What did you feel when you are asked to draw angry experience?
c) Are your drawings usually about angry thing or not? OR Have you ever drawn any angry things in your school?
d) Are there any difficulties when you depict angry emotion?
e) Do you have any strategies to depict angry emotion in your drawings?
f) If you show this drawing to others (parents, teachers, and friends), how do you expect they will respond to it?
g) What do you think others will focus on in your drawing?
h) Do you think that others can understand your angry emotion through this drawing?
i) When do you feel sad?
j) When do you feel sad, how do you express anger?
k) How do you feel/think when you express your anger?
l) When you expressed your anger, what happened?
m) When you express your anger, what will happen?
n) Which degree do you think you can express/show your anger to others?
o) Have you ever learn how to express anger from others?
p) Have you ever any experience that somebody prohibited your angry expression? Why? How did you feel/think about it?

Influence of interaction with others (parents, teachers, and friends) on drawings
[With parents]
1) Have you ever talked with your mom/dad about your school drawings?
2) Do you have any memory about their comments about your drawings?
3) How often do your parents see your drawings?
4) Do you think that your parents are interested in your drawings? Why do you think like that?

[With teachers]
1) What kind of subject matters have your teachers provided in school art classes?
2) What do your teachers emphasize while you are drawing?
3) Do your teachers evaluate your drawings? How?
4) What do you want to hear from your teachers?
5) What do you want your teachers to do for you while you are drawing?

[With friends]
1) While you are drawing, do you talk with your friend? If you do, what you are usually talking about?
2) What comments from your friends do you remember about your drawings?
3) What do you hear from your friends about your drawings?

Interview Questions for Parents
[Interests in their child’s drawings]
1) Does your child usually show their drawings to you?
2) Which aspect of your child’s drawing do you pay attention to when you see them?

[Understanding children’s depiction of emotions in their drawings]
1) Can you understand which emotion your child draw in this drawing?
2) How do you know? Or what makes you think like that?
3) Could you tell me what you think of this drawing?
4) Which types of emotion do your children usually express in their drawings?

[Expectation about school art and manhwa]
1) Which drawing between school drawing and manhwa do you think to be the better way to express children’s emotions?
2) (In school drawing) Which expressional strategies to express a specific emotion (e.g. happiness, sad, anger, pride, and guilty) do you think to be used?
3) (In manhwa) Which expressional strategies to express a specific emotion (e.g. happiness, sad, anger, pride, and guilty) do you think to be used?
4) Which emotional situation depicted in school drawings and manhwa do you think to be more real emotional experience of your child’s.

Interview Questions for Teachers

[Art teaching]
1) When you teach art, do you interact with your children a lot?
2) What kind of interaction do you have with your children in art class?
3) What you focus on when you teach drawing to children?
4) Have ever taught manhwa in your art class? If you have, why did you decide to teach, and how much do you think its effectiveness?
5) Which types of emotion do your children usually express in their drawings?
6) Do you usually talk with your children about their drawings?
7) Which aspect of your children’s drawing do you pay attention to when you see them?

[Understanding children’s depiction of emotions in their drawings]
1) Can you understand which emotion your children draw in their drawings?
2) How do you know? Or what makes you think like that?
3) Could you tell me what you think of this drawing?
4) Which types of emotion do your children usually express in their drawings?

[Expectation about school art and manhwa]
1) Which drawing between school drawing and manhwa do you think to be the better way to express children’s emotions?
2) (In school drawing) Which expressional strategies to express a specific emotion (e.g. happiness, sad, anger, pride, and guilty) do you think to be used?
3) (In manhwa) Which expressional strategies to express a specific emotion (e.g. happiness, sad, anger, pride, and guilty) do you think to be used?
4) Which emotional situation depicted in school drawings and manhwa do you think to be more real emotional experience of your child’s.
## Appendix C

### TABLE OF CODES (CODING PROCESS)

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<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
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<tr>
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<td>CL: Interaction/T/Ch</td>
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<td>CL:Interaction/Fr</td>
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Education
2009 PhD in Art Education
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1999 BS in Elementary Education (Specialization in Art Education)
1994 BS in Education

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